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**Social control and social change factors in the nurturer-provider
role of women: A study of gender issues in two-parent working
families**

Bailey, Lois LaMonica, Ed.D.

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1986

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SOCIAL CONTROL AND SOCIAL CHANGE FACTORS
IN THE NURTURER-PROVIDER ROLE
OF WOMEN: A STUDY OF GENDER
ISSUES IN TWO-PARENT
WORKING FAMILIES


by

Lois LaMonica Bailey

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APPROVAL PAGE

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This dissertation deals with the nurturer-provider role of women today. What it means to work as well as raise a family for married women will be the central concern of discussion in this paper. This study examines factors in society that contribute to these definitions as well as identifies societal factors that are operating to change these definitions. Five questions of primary interest are examined: 1) How do the roles of worker and parent conflict in society today? (The problem of the integration of the reproductive and productive roles.) 2) How are they experienced by different women? 3) What is the role of business and how does it influence the role conflict of parent and worker? 4) Are there any changes in the work world/domestic sphere as the result of more mothers working? 5) And more specifically, how does a mother's working affect her husband? her children?

The study includes an analysis of the issues from biological and sociological perspectives. A conceptual framework for analysis is further developed. Relevant research is derived from the perspective of determining how the phenomenon is actually experienced by working mothers. Three working mothers are interviewed from three different manufacturing job categories: managerial, clerical, and

manual laborer. The content of these interviews included items on background information, job related problems, family difficulties, and personal life well-being. This information was analyzed individually and collectively and then conclusions were drawn from these interpretations. The interviews of three working mothers indicated that changes that did take place due to their working took place in the domestic sphere, not in the workplace.

The final chapter integrates the conceptual framework and the interviews and presents implications for changes in industry as flex-time, job sharing, paternity leave, etc. Educational recommendations include the incorporation of gender issues into the curriculum and an emphasis on cooperative values as opposed to competitive values.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION AND FOCUS OF THE STUDY

Background

We live in a body and a world.
Erik Erikson

The past fifteen years has seen a sudden and rapid growth of interest in women's studies. However, while the literature on the sociology and psychology of women grows and continues to grow, comparatively little has been written on the experience which dominates a large part of the lives of most women: motherhood and child care.

Motherhood has been the one area which has dominated my own life the past seven years. My interest in formally studying motherhood stems from one particular experience when I was teaching while "heavy with child." I complained one day in the company of supportive staff members that I was finding it difficult to teach since I could think of nothing but motherhood. "Fine," a colleague said, "Why don't you teach that?" What she was suggesting was to view Romeo and Juliet and the other tenth grade literature that I was teaching through a distinctive lens: motherhood. Introducing gender issues to curriculum development proved to be a valuable lesson for both my students and me, and since that time my interest in the subject has never waned.

The importance of understanding the meaning of motherhood and its relationship to other areas of life is clear. Eighty per-cent of women become mothers (Good Housekeeping Survey Unit 1984) and the evidence suggests that motherhood is a difficult experience for many of them. Oakley (1979) states the incidence of postnatal depression has been estimated at between three per cent and twenty-four per cent and the incidence of "normal" baby blues is estimated to be much higher: fifty to eighty-four per cent. A number of studies have also shown high rates of disturbance among women well beyond the post-partum years (Boulton, 1983). Brown and Harris (1978) found that thirty-one per cent of working class women with a child under six were clinically psychiatrically disturbed, in contrast to a rate of fifteen per cent for the sample as a whole. Such studies raise a variety of critical questions in which this difficulty is compounded if mothers decide or are forced to work outside the home. The vulnerability of so many women to severe distress by virtue of their roles as mothers may suggest the need for research which looks at the social and psychological experience of women as mothers and workers in order to throw light on the problems involved in motherhood and work as a social role.

At the beginning of my study of women's experience as mothers, I had several general contextual questions in mind:

1. How can man and woman achieve full humanity?
2. What is the role of women in society today?
3. How is the ideology of "The Other" shaped and supported?
4. What roles do "expert opinion," moral sentiment, and public bias play both within popular culture and academic wisdom?
5. Is the maternal the root of women's oppression as de Beauvoir claimed?

Within this general concern, other more specific questions started to evolve when I considered the issue of the "working mother."

1. How is parenting shared?
2. How does this differ for two-parent working families as opposed to the sole male breadwinner family?
3. What is the impact of these issues on the workplace?
4. How does the structure of work (by not providing for change) perpetuate the status quo?
5. Which sets of values of society are reflected in the workplace?
6. What are the experiences of mothers of different classes?
7. How does this relate to the attitudes we have about children?
8. What do the terms domination, subordination, and injustice mean for women?

At the center of all these questions is the issue of choice. What choices do men and women have today in relation to their work and family? How is choice limited? How can freedom of choice lead to change? And how can both men and women become more empowered? Before we can answer any of the above questions regarding issues of gender, we need to examine what exactly is meant by gender inequality. One of the underlying assumptions of this paper is that social factors maintain gender inequality. So before we can analyze factors fostering gender equality, we first need to investigate factors maintaining gender inequality.

Gender: Definitional Issues

The concern of this paper is gender inequality, in particular gender inequality with respect to the nurturer-provider role of women in two parent working families. All the social-psychological research that I have encountered confirms that women's situation is widely perceived as not only different from but inferior to that of men's in terms of material resources, valuation, and autonomy. I also believe it is fair to make the value judgment that follows that assumption: gender inequality exists and that it is harmful to both women and men as well as society. Our traditional gender system is founded on an assumption of inequality; i.e. women are thought to be smaller, less able to achieve, to think, to make decisions, etc. This belief

in women's "innate" inferiority justifies and makes acceptable the general subordination of women to men (Wallace, 1985). By and large, women have found themselves doing what men in their lives want them to do, rather than pursuing their own personal ends.

But how do we explain the phenomena of gender differences and gender inequality? Any attempt to make meaning of the world by means of description and explanation begins with an over-all theory. This analysis will be based in sociological theory. While the discipline of sociology is not constructed around a unified core of theory and method, the central ideas of this paper have basically been influenced by the interpretive theories of Peter Berger (1967). (Other particular theories which have informed particular issues of gender in relation to mothering and work will be discussed later in the conceptual framework section of this paper.) Two themes in Berger's theory that have been especially meaningful to me have been his thesis of everyday reality as socially constructed and his view of the individual as active.

For Berger, "Society is a human product. Society is an objective reality. (The individual) is a social product..." (1967, p. 61). The key proposition of Berger's theory is the circular dynamic between individual and collective life. Quite simply, Berger believes that externalized objects of

the social environment are taken into our consciousness, or internalized, which become belief systems by which the individual lives his/her life and in turn constructs and sustains reality by what he/she has internalized. The latter process is known as externalization. For Berger, internalization and externalization of social meanings, or socialization, is a basic social process.

This view of society has several implications for our study of gender. It implies that the "realities" of maleness and femaleness are constructs as are all social institutions. Deeper change requires reworking our knowledge of self and the world (Wallace, 1985, p. 14). Secondly, Berger's interpretive theory suggests that in addition to analyzing social life in terms of its large structural arrangements, we can study what people believe, their subjective reality. The key to this view is that the individual is not only an active (and not merely reactive) being. Berger sees society as both self-perpetuating and transformative, an understanding that is fundamental to this paper.

Before we can answer any questions concerning why gender inequality exists, we first need to take a look at the explanation of gender inequality most frequently opposed to the sociological - the biological explanation.

Gender as a Belief System: The Belief in "Natural"
Differences

Biologists have identified a large number of traits on which females and males differ. But even if we accept these data, it seems hard to explain why these differences give one gender, males, a consistently superior social position (Wallace, 1985). Why are menstruating women, in many cultures, viewed as unclean and polluting, while ejaculating men considered virile and powerful? Why do men get paid more for their work? Why do women not only bear children, but rear them and do housework without being paid? The elaborate cross-cultural phenomenon of powerful, positively valued males and subordinate, less valued females cannot be explained directly from the "facts" of biological difference. It is important to identify social arrangements, as they interact with biological differences, to explain gender inequality.

For example, why do we say that men are "stronger" when in fact women's endurance is much better? Women even endure life better; they live longer. Why are African and Asian women able to carry enormous loads and how do we explain Russian women using heavy machinery? We have to understand the relative physical weakness of American women as a complex interplay between cultural belief and social acts that make the belief come true. Do we encourage aggressiveness in females, athletic competence? Are not observable differences in strength socially produced? And then judged accordingly?

One might reply, "but men are bigger and stronger, less emotional; women are smaller, caring, supportive, nurturing. They are different; reality supports this." However real such claims may be, these differences cannot be solely attributed to "biology." There are exceptions where some women are taller than some men, etc., but whenever this occurs, we see the exception as somewhat deviant, as "not normal." To rephrase Berger, men and women have the traits they are culturally supposed to have because of the working through of the self-fulfilling prophecy - that is the adjustment of society and of people to prescriptions in the culture.

In other words, sociology claims that personality is a reflection of 'other's' opinions. It also claims that when a situation is defined as real, it is real in its consequences. If these claims are true, women develop inferior personalities because society views them as inferior. Women act inferior because they have been so defined. However, most people do not see this as their own creation, but affirm these differences as "natural." What is perceived as "natural" has its roots in biology, and is perpetuated through our educational and religious institutions as well as through the mass media (Wallace, 1985).

"Natural" beliefs continue to persist in many cultures as well as our own as long as people continue to reaffirm it rather than deny it. I recently saw an example of this on television when Imelda Marcos, the wife of Ferdinand Marcos, described opposition presidential candidate Corazon Aquino as being a "complete opposite" of a Filipino woman. "Women have their place somehow, at home," Marcos said. She described the widow of assassinated opposition leader Benigno S. Aquino Jr. as a "housekeeper" who was out of her depth in seeking the presidency but who had become power-hungry after being thrust forward for the job by powerful backers. She never mentioned Mrs. Aquino was educated at some of the best American schools where she specialized in French and law. Mrs. Marcos continued and said, "actually power here is always the man. Power and strength is men. Beauty, inspiration and love is woman. Peace, order, harmony: that is our role as women."

Although this is only one example, it should be noted that the belief in "natural" differences with regard to gender in specific cultures may vary. But, while this is true, why is gender inequality and male superiority almost universal to human societies? In order to answer this question, it is important to identify social arrangements and how they interact with biological differences. In the U. S. as in many other countries, women have been hostage,

until the birth control pill, to frequent child-bearing which limited women's capacity for unhampered action unlike men who have not had this "biological" constraint. But while women bear the child, why is she always the primary caretaker? We will need to historically examine how this constraint has controlled women and what factors are promoting changes that reveal new meanings about gender especially with regard to the nurturer and provider role of women.

Historical Perspective: The Relationship of Work and Family from an Agricultural Society to an Industrial Society

Responsibilities of work and family represent two major social roles of adult life. While these two realms basically seem to be in conflict with each other, the isolation of work from family is relatively recent in Western history. Before increased technology placed work outside the family environment, most of "work" in the early 1800's was done together within the home. However, since the Industrial Revolution, these adult responsibilities, in middle class households anyway, were such that the men worked outside the home in some capacity and the women remained home whether she had children or not. If she did have children, child rearing then became her main responsibility. This organization became the standard and accepted arrangement and was the beginning of the isolation of women and children from men in society.

Today with more and more mothers assuming more responsibility in the productive world of work alongside men, are men assuming an equal responsibility in the care of their children? There are many factors which work to restrict men's involvement in child-care, primarily the structure of the world of work itself; while other factors are reinforced by children and mothers themselves. Basically, however, this restriction lies in the fact that gender now sets the basic constraints on the division of labor within the home of a two parent family and this includes child care. If you are a married male, you more than likely would be "going to work" to provide for your family. And if you were a married female, whether you worked outside the home or not, you, more than likely, would bear the major responsibility of taking care of the children, especially at the preschool age. As Friedan has stated: "There is nothing wrong with dividing labor based on gender; but when one's work is valued more than the others, we have a problem" (Freidan, 1963, p. 54). The problem: taking care of children is women's work, if not by their mother then usually by a woman outside the home.

Gender then (like class and race) is another way that we structure society. In order to clarify that statement we need to trace how the social arrangements (public vs. private) evolved for men and women since the Industrial Revolution and how they perpetuated gender inequality and in particular, what it means to be a mother today.

Matrophobia: the fear not of one's mother or motherhood, but of becoming one's own mother.

A. Rich

Most of us have ambivalent feelings about mothers, including our own; and also about being or not being mothers in a society which either insults maternal work or sentimentalizes it. As of late, I have been concerned with the issue of work and "working women." (The latter euphemism for women who get paid for their labor; the euphemism for unpaid labor is housewife.) What is "women's work" and in particular, what role has it played in the oppression of women? What role has maternal work played in keeping women from working outside the home? What function did it play in keeping women from fully participating in society in general? Before I begin this analysis, we need to agree on several assumptions. We will first not deny that ideologies of motherhood are cultural inventions and that every aspect of maternal work is shaped by the material conditions in which a mother works and by the cultural construction of motherhood in her social group. Thus, if maternal work is a product of a particular culture or subculture, then mothering is a socially variable activity and "motherhood" is a cultural invention. How then has this invention taken shape?

In this analysis we will see how the following concepts: alienation, class, exploitation, and power(lessness) are central to the discussion of maternal work and how they contribute to the creation of the cultural

invention of motherhood and ultimately in the establishment of "women's place" in U. S. history as we know it today. We will define maternal work as work done within the home to maintain the home and the family. So central in our discussion will be the metaphor of the "home." We can then categorize work done within the home in two spheres: domestic work and child care. Throughout our discussion we will see how the "home" has evolved into what it is today.

Mothers of the Middle Class

Alienation for women began with the Industrial Revolution, with the separation of work outside the home. This is when the idea of home first became idealized. When work began to be done in the factories, middle class women were left in the home. (Working class women merely followed their work along to the factories; I will discuss this on page 22.) Before the Industrial Revolution the home was the basic "manufacturing" center: food was grown and canned, soap was made, clothes were made (there was very little cleaning because no one had time) (Ehrenreich, 1978, p. 315). Eighteenth and nineteenth century rural women (and most were rural) were making food from scratch: bread, butter; making their own clothing, soap, starch, candles, and other family essentials for family survival. The pressures of home production left very little time for the tasks which we would recognize today as housework. By all accounts, pre-Industrial Revolution women were sloppy

housekeepers by today's standards. Instead of the daily cleaning or the weekly cleaning, there was spring cleaning. Meals were simple and repetitive, clothes were changed infrequently and the wash was allowed to accumulate and maybe done only once every three months. Since each wash required the carting and heating of many buckets of water, there was a considerable disincentive to achieve higher standards of cleanliness. Rooms did not have individual uses and were plainly and sparsely furnished as places of work (Oakley, 1974b).

The labor of the household defined the work roles of men, women and children. Their work, in turn, fed the family. The interdependence of work and residence, of household labor needs, subsistence requirements and family relationships constituted the family economy. (Tilley and Scott, 1978, p. 12)

The architecture and furnishing of homes reflected this: beds and spinning wheels shared rooms; cooking, eating, working, and relaxing were all housed in the same space. The idea of the kitchen as a special room started to emerge among the upper class in the late sixteenth century (Chapman, 1955, p. 19). And people tended to eat out of the same wooden dish and share a single glass. It was a custom for the eater to wipe and re-use utensils between courses. But after the Industrial Revolution, the house itself became an instrument of power of the capitalist society.

The Glorification of the Home

As business replaced agriculture, shared work no longer held families together. The 1909 White House Conference on

the Care of Dependent Children declared "home life is the highest and finest product of civilization" (Ehrenreich, 1978, p. 146). The home as a physical place in the nineteenth century was really not a major interest to most since many were moving to conquer the West and people often moved when they ran out of land to support a growing family, etc. But by the turn of the century Ehrenreich says that social stability seemed to be the "requirement." She discusses how the frontier values of restlessness and adventure were no longer appropriate. Corporate leaders were as vigorous as anyone in advancing the virtues of domesticity. Sociologist Edward Ross encouraged them to see home ownership as the "prophylactic against mob minds:"

A wide diffusion of land ownership has long been recognized as fostering a stable and conservative political habit.... The man owns his home, but in a sense his home owns him, checking his rash impulses, holding him out of the human whirlpool, ever saying inaudibly, 'Heed me, care for me, or you lose me.' (Ehrenreich, 1978, p. 148)

Some companies tried to make it as easy as possible for their workers to own their own home. After the great strike of 1892, Carnegie Steel went into the business subsidizing home ownership for its Homestead workers (Ehrenreich, 1978, p. 148). This became the beginning of a trend and in the years that followed, scores of companies built model villages and offered home loans to their workers. Thus, the companies had a stake in home ownership and sometimes were responsible for literally building communities. As an

building communities. As an unidentified welfare director of a large company explained to early twentieth century housing reformer Charles Whitaker: "Get them to invest their savings in their homes, and own them. Then they won't leave and they won't strike. It ties them down so they have a stake in our prosperity" (Ehrenreich, 1978, p. 149).

Not all companies, of course, could afford to invest this much in an employee, but values of home and family were encouraged through other measures. For example, the Palmer Manufacturing Company provided basins and towels for its employees so that they could return home looking like "gentlemen," and thus, gain a higher respect for home life (Ehrenreich, 1978, p. 150).

The home, then, became an ideal "container" for aspirations which could not be met in an increasingly stratified society; from a middle class point of view it was a wholesome target for working class ambitions and from a male point of view it was a "holding place" for women's energies (p. 151). At the same time, in the 1920's the home became a market for conspicuous consumption. So as the men worked outside the home, the women stayed behind to glorify their homes.

From Production to Consumption

As the level of material possessions rose and definitions of women and work change, a radical

transformation is brought about in women's relationship to their work. Production for family use is converted into consumption for family use. Luxuries now become necessities. Commodities, such as bread and clothes, etc., become available on the market that require little of the housewife in the way of preparation. So with less and less to make in the home there was less and less to do, but then come the introduction of "domestic science" to keep the home germ free and the romance of the home was in full force.

Housework or "Domestic Science"

With the new age of industrial progress, "science" was playing a greater role in all aspects of people's lives. Thus, "domestic science" evolved through the main efforts of ex-chemist, Ellen Swallow Richards, to fill the domestic void for women and preserve the "home." Current preconceptions about housework originated in the hygiene movement that developed in the late nineteenth century. As a result of discrimination of women in her own profession, Ellen Richards (Oakley, 1974b; Ehrenreich, 1978) began to teach people about the "science of right living," a mixture of chemistry, biology and engineering geared to the practical tasks of housekeeping. "Biochemistry could reform cooking and economics would revolutionize shopping." But behind all this was the magnificent "germ theory of disease," whose foundations were laid when Pasteur discovered micro-organisms in 1857. Pasteur's discovery had

the advantage that disease could be reclassified as principally under man's control, or more specifically, as controlled by means of the cleanliness and common sense of women. Germs being invisible to the human eye might be anywhere and thus, by the the turn of the century public anxiety about "health" began. Helen Campbell in her book Household Economics, proclaimed: "to keep the world clean is the great task for women" (Ehrenreich, 1978, p. 158). Cleaning became a moral responsibility and housewives became the moral guardians of the home. Bad housecleaning could equate with child abuse, if the housewife was "careless" and the result was a sick or, in many cases, a dead child.

While the introduction of "science" into housekeeping was argued as a strategy for "reducing" housework, its unintended but overall effect was ironically to increase it (Oakley, 1974b). With the manufacturing of new tasks and the glorification of "womenhood" by the advertising industry, domestic technology did not liberate the housewife as promised. Ann Oakley says that "increasing division of labor and increasing routinization are almost inevitable products of general technological 'improvements' in the work process, and what these lead to for the worker is an intense feeling of 'powerlessness,' not a feeling of freedom from the bondage of work" (Oakley, 1974b, p. 23). As Betty Freidan pointed out in The Feminine Mystique touring suburbs in the 1950's she found that given the same house and the

same housewife, the same work could take one or six hours - hence, verification of Parkinson's Law: work expands to fill the time available to complete it. Freidan identified this as "the glorification of women's domestic role occurring at the same time as barriers to her full participation in society was lowered." She felt this was evidence of "society's reluctance to treat women as complete human beings; for the less real function that (women's) role has, the more it is decorated with meaningless details to conceal its emptiness" (Freidan, 1963, p. 239). Thus, with the invention of new appliances and promotions to get clothes "whiter than white," housework hours rose rather than declined. Many studies pointed to the fact that increasing employment of wives and the addition of more children to the family only in extreme cases raises the amount of housework done by men (Meissner, 1975; Vanek, 1974). So as housework increased how did that affect society in the long run?

Housework and a Capitalistic Society

According to J. K. Galbraith, housework exists to service the consumption function of the economy. It is the conversion of women into a "crypto-servant class" that renders consumption pleasurable to the economic group. "True" servants are available to only a minority of the population (and as the privacy of the home became stressed, servants were seen as an "invasion" of the home) but the

servant-wife is available, democratically, to almost the entire present male population. "If it were not for this service of women (as housewives) all forms of household consumption would be limited by the time required to manage such consumption - to select, transport, prepare, maintain, clean,.... and otherwise perform the tasks that are associated with the consumption of goods. The servant role of women is critical to the expansion of consumption in the modern economy" (Galbraith, 1973, p. 33).

Thus, Galbraith is saying that the chief significance of the housewife's invisible and unpaid work is the maintenance of the economy. The housewife's work remains productive, for what she produces is workers for industry: her husband with his clean clothes and fed stomach and mind freed from the need to provide daily care for his children and the children provided for and ready for their role as "workers" later on. This is one of the central points in the Marxist domestic labor debate that the housewife works for the maintenance of capitalism rather than simply being a worker for her family (Glazer-Malbin, 1976). Without this back-up of domestic labor the economy could not function - or at least - enormous and profit-handicapping resources would have to be devoted to catering for these personal and reproductive needs. Women as housewives are thus a hidden backbone of the economy, and their contribution, whether viewed as the psychological welfare of children, the

stability of marriage or the employer's pocket, is certainly 'productive.' These ideas were central to the argument of housewives being paid for her labors by the feminists in the sixties.

Child-rearing

The other major aspect of maternal work is child-rearing. The magnification of the child-rearing role was a twentieth century phenomenon. The welfare of the child is often used as justification for domestication of women. Slater (1976) claims child-rearing is not a full time job at any age in and of itself. In every other society throughout history women have been busy with other tasks. Before the post WWII era, few people had time to devote the better part of one's day to child care and if they did child care was handed over to a servant. Slater and Dally (1982) talk a great deal about how our isolated society is not suited for child management. Citing Spock's impact as well as American values and attitudes of the times, the magnification of the child-rearing role became the main factor in the domestication of the American women. "We are a product-oriented society and the American mother has been given the opportunity to turn out a really outstanding product" (Slater, 1976, p. 71). With this comes the blame or credit for the result.

Slater also says in most societies the impact of the mother's character defects are diluted by the presence of

many other nurturing agents within the community. The maternal overload of exclusive mothering by the American middle class women is experienced by the child as "heavily amplified noise" (Slater, 1976, p. 73). So for a child to be exposed to only his/her mother all the time is not a good arrangement for either the child or the mother.

Mothers of the Working Class

Thus far we have traced only middle class notions of maternal work. There is a dearth of American research concerning lower class women (there are more British studies) but what we do have shows that after the Industrial Revolution lower class women merely continued to work either in factories or as domestic servants, etc. This notion of the home was not applicable to them as we have so far described. Lower class women did have their own network of family support systems, mostly other women, that middle class counterparts lacked as a whole. Domestic science did have a function in "educating" the lower classes, however.

"Domestic Science" and the Working Class

Domestic science was used as a way to "civilize" slums and immigrants and to teach them "the science of right living" (Ehrenreich, 1978, p. 171). Poor immigrants were seen as a threat to be subdued or Americanized as quickly as possible. To conservatives, who blamed poverty on the individual shortcomings of the poor, domestic science

instruction was an obvious solution to "thriftlessness and intemperance and general disorderliness." To liberals it was a way of helping the poor cope with their environment and to live within their wages.

If you could feed a family for 10 cents a day higher wages would not be necessary. (Ehrenreich, 1978, p. 173)

Domestic science then became assistance in the struggle for survival. Right living ultimately meant "living like an American," in particular, a middle class American. Thus, domestic science became an important vehicle for the transmission of middle-class values.

The Special Trap for Working Class Mothers: Poverty

But domestic science did not raise these families out of poverty and poverty seemed to be a special trap for lower class women. Family breakdown leaves uneducated women (as well as educated women to some extent) and children vulnerable economically and in this sense the family can never cushion women from economic reality. The forces propelling female-headed single parent families into poverty are the reasons why women in society as a whole do not have economic autonomy or equality with men. They cannot earn enough to support themselves and their children nor can they get jobs compatible with child-rearing. Their longer dependence on inadequate state benefits penalizes them financially for motherhood (in contradiction to the

prevailing ideology of "glorifying motherhood") which singles out motherhood as the very proper pinnacle of women's achievement in the field of labor (Oakley, 1974a). In addition, government's failure to tackle the issue of women's low pay is obviously part of the ideology that views women's work as a secondary commitment. Thus, as a result, the state makes its own assumptions about normal family life. This ideology of femininity reinforces a paternalistic dependency whether it be by husbands or government.

Feminine Values of the Home; Human Values in Society

This ideology of motherhood that we have discussed thus far takes all the responsibility for love and caring and places it squarely on the backs of women: individual women, each in isolation, holding out against the anarchy of the marketplace. The ideology existed as long as it did according to Ehrenreich (1978, p. 314), because it had a moral force: "It asserted, in however, trivialized and sentimental fashion, the supreme value of love as against self-interest.....it affirmed the human needs which could not be met in the market place....needs for love and intimacy, for nurturance and caring... It upheld the the infant, the elderly, in an economic world which rewarded only the victorious and the strong" (Ibid.).

At the root of this moral force were the rules of logic and science. As Mary Daly (1973, p. 5) says "when a higher

justification is needed, we skip over science to patriarchal religion: God has decreed unequal rights, male domination; a God who is at peace with a consumer society." Where sociologists saw "roles" and "institutions," psychiatrists saw "feminine adjustment" and medical authorities saw "biological destiny," feminists saw oppression (Ehrenreich, 1978, p. 315). But the arguments of "facts" are slowly becoming "myths." Scientists were seen by many to be apologists for the status quo (see Ch. III).

Ehrenreich (1978) says we need to re-ask the old questions. What is the nature of women? What are our needs? Is there a women's culture and what is its place in the broader culture? What is the place for love and caring in a masculine society? And what is women's responsibility for it? Is the alternative to the suffocation of domesticity, the world dominated by the market bereft of human values? Do women have a choice?

Should we assimilate into a masculine society or can we retreat in domestic isolation?

We must refuse to remain on the margins of society and refuse to enter society on its terms.... If we reject these alternatives, then the challenge is to frame a moral outlook which proceeds from women's needs and experiences but which cannot be trivialized, sentimentalized or domesticated. (Ehrenreich, 1978, p. 324)

Should women try to transcend the masculine order and insist that the human values women were assigned to preserve expand out of the confines of private life and become the organizing principles of society?

This is a vision that is implicit in a society that is organized around human needs, a society in which child-raising is not dismissed as each woman's individual problem, but in which the nurturance and well-being of all children is a transcendent public priority. (Ehrenreich, 1978, p. 324)

Should women take a cue from Black Americans? Instead of trying to become "white," militant Blacks said "black is better than white." Are women trying to become more like men and using the male model for her own development as we see in the model of the working mother? Do we need to become more vocal about our own attributes and show how when combined together with masculine attributes American culture will be a lot better off? For feminism to be a movement of human liberation, can we no longer tolerate a society that suppresses the attitudes of fifty per cent of its population? Should the "womanly" values of community and caring rise to the center of human values?

Selected Previous Research on the Mothering Experience

This position of women only possessing the necessary values of caring, especially for children, is reflected in much of the research on women's experience as mothers. Also, the vast amount of early studies on women's experience as mothers is couched in the realm of "effects upon children." Furthermore, with the consequence of the feminist movement, much of the basic values and assumptions of many of these studies need to be questioned. That is, it is assumed in many of the studies that mothers will

naturally stay home to rear their children. For the most part, research texts have ignored the existence of working mothers and particularly blue collar working mothers with the exception of studies made by Arlene Skolnick (1973). Therefore, keeping this in mind, the research on motherhood can be seen as falling into two basic points of view: those who see motherhood as "natural" and those who see it as a "trap." While these two positions are clearly vast oversimplifications, they can be traced to more rigorous theories and research to the two spheres we referred to earlier. Although these two camps are both based in social theories, they can be distinguished by their basic orientations: one is presented largely in biological terms; the other essentially in cultural terms.

Briefly, biologically based theories or those based on assumptions of "natural" differences in which full-time motherhood is seen as best for children and mothers. The proponents of this realm usually propose measures to make it easier for mothers to stay at home to raise their children. (Much of the welfare legislation to assist lower class working women is based upon this assumption.) This category includes the Freudian (patriarchal bias) perspective: those who believed that all critical psychological drama lies in the pre-school years and as a result reinforced the need for full-time mothering until a woman's youngest child was at least six years old (Pringle, Leach, Kitzinger, et. al.).

The second group see full-time motherhood as imposing restrictions on the development and self-realization of women as individuals and as sustaining their secondary status. This group assumes that women have needs that solely cannot be met in child care alone.

The biologically based theories of maternal care have been used to perpetuate the view that motherhood is naturally rewarding and to support the current institution of child care, which places the responsibility for children on the mother, exclusively and constantly. The argument is that this arrangement works smoothly and to the satisfaction of both mother and child, because it is in line with "biological programming." Any other arrangement is considered "unnatural" and therefore, both "harmful" to mother and child because it is doomed to failure because the force of "nature" will reassert itself (Tiger, Shepherd, 1977).

Innate predispositions and instinctual drives are shaped in a social context and biologically based theories have been criticized for failing to give sufficient recognition to the role of social factors in their accounts to the experience of motherhood. On the one hand, what Freud thought as natural has been construed as largely the product of the bourgeois Viennese society in which he worked (Paster, 1978). On the other hand, (Mead, 1972; Turnbull, 1974) some anthropological research has suggested

that it is only when "social" conditions are suitable that mothers form the deep affective ties with their children that biologically based theorists see as "natural."

Societal/cultural research has been used to challenge the view that motherhood is naturally rewarding and to question the current institution of child-care. There is research that shows the mother role is often experienced as frustrating and boring, it is argued, because of the restrictive and overburdening way child care is organized in our society. Major changes are therefore called for to relieve women of their exclusive responsibility for children and to re-integrate mothers and children into society as a whole (Rich, 1976; Dally, 1982; Chodorow, 1978).

This research has been used then as a balance to biologically-based theories by analyzing the social organization of motherhood and noting the negative consequences upon women. But much of this research has been fragmented. Few if any consider both genders and their relationship to child rearing. With more and more women working, this analysis is a necessary one.

The Relationship of Mother and Work and Its Significance to the Family

The Greeks conceived of work as the activity of women and slaves. Work was necessary but without intrinsic gratification. Leisure was the only proper activity for free men. This attitude toward work persisted through the Middle Ages and among the Hebrews and early Christians.

The Protestant ethic defined work as "the highest good" and as performing the will of God. Work, for many people, has come to be a means of achieving identity, of relating to society. Work is considered necessary for the maintenance and advancement of the individual and the society (Duberman, 1975, p. 83).

Work has not only become a means of supporting oneself, but also gives structure to the day and a feeling of personal adequacy. Work is necessary for man's image of himself as a figure of responsibility and respectability. Women in the modern world as we have seen have traditionally been outside the institution of work. Women are the housewives, home taking care of the children. But is this still true today? As we see more women from various classes entering the world of work, what are the effects on the workplace, on the family?

Women and Work

There is no mark on the wall, to measure the precise height of women.

Virginia Woolf

In the beginning of the feminist movement in the 1960s, work was often a matter of finding pride and alternatives, particularly for middle class women. The idea that women might also grow and realize herself through her children got short shrift; the notion that a man might experience the same satisfaction was either radical or sentimental and

rated no attention. "Fatherhood as fulfillment and as a responsibility, full-time, is a concept that may be more popular in the 80s when American families struggle to play catch-up with an inflationary economy and increasingly competitive consumer society" (Friedan, 1985, p. 26). Today, for a woman, fulfillment may or may not remain a priority. Work has become a necessity, as it always has been for the women of the lower classes.

Betty Friedan says that "the wife economy is as obsolete as the slave economy. Even though a women's paycheck is less than a man's - it keeps the American family alive. Given the realities of human, family and national survival, there can't be any serious consideration that women will go home again"(Friedan, 1985, p. 29).

In America, jobs have become more than just tools of success. Barry Stein, president of Goodmeasure, a Cambridge, Massachusetts business consultancy, says that "we have learned that jobs do not simply earn money, they also create people" (Time, July 12, 1985). What does it mean for women; what does it mean for her children?

Children and Work

About 65 per cent of North Carolina's mothers - more than any other state in the union - work outside of the home. Many of these mothers, 58.3 per cent in 1980, have children under six years of age (The Greensboro Daily News and Record, Editorial, Feb., 26, 1985). A large majority of

woman have always worked in North Carolina because many of the state's industries like textile, furniture, and cigarette manufacturer's traditionally hired women workers (The Greensboro News and Record, "Bills on Day Care," Feb. 24, 1985). In 1984, national statistics showed that 52 per cent of mothers with children under the age of six were working. More specifically, 60 per cent of women with children ages 3, 4, and 5 worked. And almost half of the mothers with children under age 3 worked (Ibid.). From 1960 to 1980, statistics show that one-earner households have declined from 49 per cent to 22.4 per cent (Time, July 12, 1982). The number of children with mothers who work (31.8 million) has become, for the first time, larger than the number of children with mothers at home (26.3 million) (Ibid.). Who are caring for the children?

First there are nine months before the baby is born. Then there are three or four months spent in playing with the baby. You cannot, it seems, let children run about the streets. People who have seen them running wild in Russia say the sight is not a pleasant one.

Virginia Woolf

Another telling statistic from the national survey on the needs of pre-school children was that 55 per cent of 3 and 4 year olds in median or higher income families attended private pre-school programs compared to less than 30 per cent in lower income families (Ibid.).

Children of low income families likely will be closed out of pre-school programs unless the public plays a role in providing what is clearly going to be a growing supply of services for children that age. Shiela Kamerman, Professor of Social Policy and Planning at Columbia University (The Greensboro News and Record, "Bills on Day Care," Feb. 24, 1985)

Other than enlisting the aid of family members, day care remains the most common way to manage the children during work hours. The findings show that very low and very high economic levels resort to other family members to care for their children, while the day care alternative seems to be the method of the middle class.

Day Care

North Carolina ranks sixth in the nation in day care population, with 100,000 children attending 2,450 licensed centers. The state hovers near or at the bottom in several areas, particularly staff-ratios, staff training and enforcement. For example, the ratio for a group of 3 and 4 year olds is 1 to 15; the tolerance level allows 3 additional children. North Carolina is the only state which allows this flexibility. It is designed to compensate for what John Lail, director of the Office of Child Day Care Licensing in the Department of Administration, called the "volatile nature of attendance" in day-care centers. (Some days several children may be ill throwing off a center's income for that day; others come for after school care.

Those opposed to the tolerance say it would become a standard.) (The Greensboro News and Record, "Bills on Day Care," Feb. 24, 1985)

The current ratio for children under two is 1 to 9. This is the lowest in the country; the national average being 1 to 5. Supporters of a new ratio say that one adult cannot meet the needs of nine infants (Ibid.).

It is humanly impossible to care for nine infants, keep them happy, changed, and safe. In my estimation, this constitutes neglect. Lois Queen, Director of South-western Child Development Center in Waynesville, N. C. (Ibid.)

At a recent General Assembly in N. C. which introduced bills for day care - we see two opposing points of view. "I know we need to protect children" said Maryland Lee, operator of a Charlotte area day-care center, "but parents need to be able to pay and operators need to take a pay check home on Friday afternoon" (Ibid.).

"If you need to make money on children, you're in the wrong business," said Virginia Gregory, a Durham day-care center director. "You need to make money on cars" (Ibid.).

Maternity and Paternity Leave

Along with the issue of women who work and along with the issue of day care, another problem for women who work is the problem of maternity leave. Across the country, maternity leave policies vary widely. They are often arbitrary and vague and many companies have no policy at all.

It is estimated that only 40 per cent of employed women receive a six week disability leave for child birth. That proviso is the result of the Pregnancy Disability Act of 1978, a measure requiring companies to treat pregnancies as a disability if disability benefits are provided in other situations. Payments vary; however, and are usually a percentage based on seniority. The majority of women who work for smaller companies that offer no fringe benefits are not covered at all. Only five states (California, Hawaii, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island) have temporary disability legislation giving short term disability payments to almost all working women. Thus, many women worry that if they take unpaid leave for several months, they may not get their jobs back.

This is in sharp contrast with most European countries, where the minimum is 14 weeks paid leave. In Sweden, mothers receive 90 per cent of their salaries for up to nine months. Furthermore, the "parent benefit" can be used by fathers, too. Kamerman, Kahn and Alfred (of Columbia University's School of Social Work) think it's ironic that the United States, one of the richest countries in the world, lags in recognizing the importance of ensuring new parents and their infants a decent period for recovery and for launching their lives together (National Academy of Science, 1986).

A survey by Catalyst - the non-profit agency monitoring career and family issues - shows that a handful of U. S. companies are leading the way to superior maternity benefits. CBS provides paid maternity leave and allows mothers or fathers to take up to six months unpaid leave with job reinstatement guaranteed. American Telephone and Telegraph has a policy of eight weeks paid leave for the mother, and couples working for the company can take up to a year of unpaid leave between them.

Some companies encourage women to ease back into full-time work over a month or two to help them adjust to their new life as working mothers. Other firms are open to job-sharing or part-time employment. But such employers are the exception. Most women, particularly lower class women, face two choices: returning to work in six to eight weeks or bowing out of the labor force for a period of time. This is true for the following reasons: the types of jobs and their salary ranges.

Inequality of Women's Work

The kinds of jobs and ranges of salary remain a significant barrier for women in both clerical positions and professional positions. There are vast amounts of statistics that show that the pay for women in each category is lower than the salary for the same position if it were held by a man. Women in high profile jobs as doctors and lawyers, where the greatest progress has been made in

admissions to universities, still earn less than their male counterparts. This is also true for full-time clerical workers. Women average over \$11,000 a year as compared with male clerical, who earn over \$17,000. This is a major issue especially for women in the poverty class who are the only source of income. This has become known as "The Feminization of Poverty" since one-half of all families below the poverty level in 1980 were maintained by women with no husband present. The poverty rate for such families was 32.7 per cent compared with 6.2 per cent for married couple families, and 11 per cent for families with a male householder, no wife present (Time, 1985).

Summary

What are the implications of all these conditions upon the working mother, the family, the workplace, society, and gender issues? The influence of social structures/arrangements and their impact on individual behavior is vital in understanding gender role differences. At the onset, I expressed a personal as well as societal need for a look at the problems involved in motherhood and work. I have shown how the social arrangements of work - first located inside the home and then outside the home, helped maintain, by interacting with biological difference, gender inequality. And in effect, how this arrangement keeps perpetuating the belief in "natural" differences.

Initially, I asked how we can become more empowered. If the above social arrangements as we have described fosters gender inequality, is there also another which could foster equality?

With more and more mothers working today, the responsibility of taking care of our children is not merely an academic interest, but a matter of public concern. How working parents in 1986, both factory and executive-type workers, arrange and cope with child care and how they make meaning of their work, their roles both inside and outside the family could give rise to new patterns of child rearing that would not only be more creative and beneficial but more dignified and just for all involved; parent, children and employer. Therefore, changes in consciousness can be achieved by parents themselves. By articulating their concerns, their relationships, their methods, their problems in raising children in a working world, they could be their own change agents. The existing ideology could be re-shaped and they are the ones who could change it. It is hoped that this paper will contribute a small voice in articulating those changes.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Gender Differences: A Construction of Social Forces

In order to gain more insight into the issues of gender we need to develop theoretical understandings of the major elements of the issues. My analysis involves a number of dimensions with special emphasis on: the positional differences of gender (Bakan, 1966; Gilligan, 1982; Chodorow, 1978; Dinnerstein, 1976) which contribute to structural differences in power or patriarchy (Gray, 1982; Bakan, 1966; Gramsci), in socio-economic levels or class (Anyon, 1984), structural differences in notions of work (Bernard, 1974, 1981), as well as in the workplace itself (Kanter, 1975, 1977). But before we make the more particular analysis of how human potentialities are restricted by sex stereotypes and their problematics, we must first examine the roots of the problem of interpretations of sex differences.

Gender as a Cultural Construct

The crux of the problem of interpretations of sex differences is the old argument of nature ("anatomy is destiny") and nurture (socialization). It would be helpful if we viewed these sex differences on a continuum: at one end are biological sex characteristics (both primary and

secondary) and at the other "gender role" qualities, purely culturally determined (why women use make-up, enjoy romance novels, etc.) Imagining all characteristics along this continuum, we would encounter a progressive decline of biologically based differences between males and females. Differences are expressed only if socialization and the social setting allow or encourage what is already there. I do not mean to over-simplify the degrees of sex differentiation, but feel it is important to emphasize that sex differences and gender-role differences need to be distinguished so that greater care in avoiding biological explanations for observed cultural differences will be taken. For example, to look for street gang aggression in their hormone levels and not in social factors is as ridiculous as to explain that women mother because of a biological quirk. I believe that the notion of mothering/nurturing by women is culturally determined and perpetuated in part by the organizational structure of the work world and thus belongs nearer the right end of the scale. This notion can even be traced to specific folk models of the sexes.

It was as big as man and wife together; it divided itself into two, husband (pati) and wife (patni) were born. As Yagnayalkya said, "Man's is only half himself: and his wife is the other half." They joined and mankind was born. (Purochet, Swami and Yeat, p. 119)

There are some folk models of the sexes that portray them as completely dichotomous. It follows then that qualities of behavior that are found or thought to be characteristic for men and women are also dichotomized by association. Like the image from Brihadaranyaka Upanishad quoted above, Plato's sphere shaped Original Being (from the Symposium), medieval symbols for the Original Adam, and historical models for human personality (Jung, 1954) depict a mutually exclusive split between man and women. The modern day equivalent of these metaphors is the double bell-curve distribution, with only slightly overlapping tails (Tresemer, 1975, p. 311). The authors I intend to cite, on the other hand, do not view the sexes as dichotomous.

The authors that I discuss feel that what gender is, what men and women "are," and what types of relationships they have are not simply products of biological "givens," but largely a construction of social and cultural forces interacting with biological differences. They do not deny, as many researchers have, the ideological dimensions of culture which play important roles to help create, reproduce, and transform gender. Each argues the centrality of the social construction of gender in understanding the changing roles of men and women with regard to the institutions of work and family. In addition, many recognize class as well as gender as instruments of power which involve control of some over others and the ability of

the controllers to organize social life to their own advantage. As Connell says: "Class and gender abrade, inflame, amplify, twist, negate, dampen and complicate one another. In short, they interact vigorously.....with significant consequences for schooling" (Connell, 1982, p. 182). However, before we even make this relationship of gender and class to schooling, we must first clarify the extent of gender as a world-view structuring experience and to do that we must begin with the individual (Hartsock, 1983, p. 15).

My own feminism grows out of a struggle to affirm a self against a culture which has taught me that female was not only "other" but "less." I became aware of how sexism affects what James Agee calls "the slendering of one's chances for life." Recognition of the dimensions of my own oppression, especially with relation to the helping role of women built into the role of wife and mother (and teacher, which I will elaborate upon later) enabled me to move from its debilitating effects to an awareness of the many guises of oppression.

The Concept of Patriarchy

A core feminist belief is that patriarchy, the socially sanctioned power of men over women, operates in both the private and public spheres (work and family) to perpetuate a social order which benefits men at the expense

of women. Patriarchy is reproduced through the social construction of gender which reflects and reinforces the splits between nurturance and autonomy, public and private (domestic sphere) and male and female (Grumet, 1981, p.165). Because women live intimately with our patriarchal representatives, we have been especially subjected to layers of myths about our own nature and that of the society in which we live. Women receive double messages from our culture with schizophrenic regularity. For example, most working women put "double days" in a culture that, in practice, cares little for children. Some of the people who have tried to uncover these myths are cited in my discussion that follows.

There have been specific people that have influenced my thinking on the subject of gender issues and the nurturer and provider role in the family. Jean Anyon's (1984) and Lucile Duberman's (1975) work have been quite enlightening on the relationship of class and gender, as well as Jessie Bernard's (1974, 1981) work on marriage and the family and Rosabeth Moss Kanter's (1977) work on the structural conditions of organizations and their effects on men and women. But in particular, Bakan, Gilligan, Gramsci, Dinnerstein, Gray, and Chodorow have helped to conceptualize the notion of the male/female model and their respective social locations and what this means for human liberation now and in the future. For example, both Dinnerstein and

Chodorow suggest that if both parents were equally involved in the care of infants, we would have very different ideas of maleness and femaleness.

Since we live in a patriarchal society, we have learned through education and socialization to value and view the world in male terms. Implicated in the reconstruction of male dominance is the fact that women mother (Chodorow, 1978; Dinnerstein, 1976). Although benefiting many people: children and men primarily, women's mothering is a central and defining feature of the social organization of gender. Because of their child care responsibilities, women's primary social location has primarily always been domestic, while men's social location has primarily been, especially in modern times, in the public sphere. This then defines society itself as masculine.

It gives men power to create and enforce institutions of social and political control, important among these..... marriage as an institution that both expresses men's rights in women's sexual and reproductive capacities and reinforces these rights.
(Chodorow, 1978, p. 9)

The idea of women's mothering as fundamental to our ideology of gender will thus, I believe, explain, to a large extent, why our society is dominated by the male model. Someone has to care for the children.

Consequently, the notion of the current/dominant male/female model is necessary in understanding the basic systematic frameworks of many of our institutions: education, work and family; and therefore, underlines much of the discussion relating to these institutions. However, I believe we do men and women a disservice by calling these two spheres male and female. We need to again remember these are not innate or biological differences to which we are referring; these are learned characteristics due to social and cultural traditions. Also, there is a danger in the automatic dichotomization of all cultural and scientific knowledge in that it produces a distortion of reality. However, it is necessary to do so in order that we may question many inherent assumptions for their soundness and validity. And lastly, some may ask why not discuss similarities instead of differences to give a different perspective of the problem?

Social Implications of Patriarchy

To analyze our society's contemporary gender arrangements, it is important that we distinguish between the public sphere (social location of the male model) and the private or domestic sphere (social location of the female model). [See diagram on next page] The public sphere refers to the bureaucratic organized institutions of modern life: education, organized religion, governmental

THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS OF THE NURTURER/PROVIDER
ROLE: WORKING AND MOTHERING

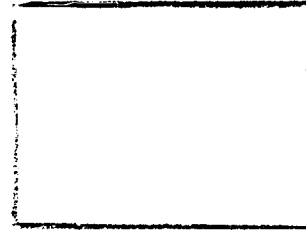
SOCIAL LOCATION:

PUBLIC SPHERE



SOCIAL LOCATION:

DOMESTIC SPHERE



<by working, mothers
are moving into
public sphere

WORK MODEL

NURTURING MODEL/
PARENTING MODEL

p.s.

(feminine values)

WORK
MODEL



(masculine values)

HUMAN PERCEPTION OF REALITY

agencies, professions, unions, mass media, etc. In advanced industrialized societies like ours, the main power centers of society lie in this public sphere (Wallace, 1985). The domestic or private sphere refers to the less formal networks, social relationships that coexist with the public sphere. This sphere includes emotionally more open networks such as: family, marriage, neighborhood, social clubs, etc. This sphere is less influential in a country such as ours, but is greatly affected by actions of the public sphere. The functions of the private sphere are anchored in practical and emotional "services" that refuel individuals for the public sphere.

It is fair to say that women have restricted access to the public sphere while men have restricted participation in the private. Seeing the relationship of the two spheres and the arrangement of gender in each, it is easy to see how women have played a subordinate, dependent role, and at the same time, a powerless one. Of course, because men and women occupy these two different locations they, of course, see the world differently.

Other people have given different labels to what I describe as the male/female model (or, if you prefer, the public/private model or work/family model.) Other characteristics that have been used to describe each are as follows: rationality vs. emotionality (Rich, 1976), hierarchy vs. diversity (Gray, 1982), love vs. will (May,

1969), competition vs. cooperation (Gray, 1982), (Fromm, 1941) capitalism vs. Christianity (Fox, 1983), separateness vs. relatedness (Gilligan, 1982). Gray (1982) uses a similar framework to explain why we deny connections from person to person, from man from Nature, and the world from God. She says this will be our undoing.

Gray (1982) says that if we historically trace the underlying theories of man-made theology (God is 'outside' of man), of philosophy, "the abstraction of the mind from everyday reality is one thing that many women have very little patience," and psychology and the sciences in general, the idea of separation rather than connection will become quite evident in such an investigation. Gray uses the example of a time when she was trying to deal with her adolescent child. She referred to all the male psychologists "and their too-ready acceptance of not the mind in its nimbleness but of the self-in-separation" (p. 117). What they were saying in fact was that in order for teen-agers to become autonomous selves, they literally had to break the parental tie "quite traumatically... and we as parents were supposed to be sufficiently authoritarian to make all this necessary in order for them to take control of their own lives. I thought the whole thing was unnecessary and DUMB" (Gray, 1982, p. 118). Her feelings were that teen-agers need their connections with their parents even more than almost at any other time of their lives.

"Teen-agers need less destruction rather than more in these vital relationships in order to become themselves... these were only gut feelings until I read Gilligan and Chodorow. I hadn't made the intellectual distinction between maturing within relationships (which is what women are expected to do and what women do, indeed, conceptualize themselves as doing) and the male way of separating yourself from relationships in order to grow" (Ibid.).

Thus, Gray, like many others, feels the unique perspective and potential of 50 per cent of the population has been disregarded. We are "seeing" with just one eye. If we view the two paradigms of thinking on opposing ends of a scale as we have previously noted, can we be optimistic of a balance in the future?

To achieve total well-being, many scholars note two spheres in our lives that should be equally realized. Quite simply, all state that there needs to be maintained an emerging dialectic in which neither pole has the moral force of solution. (my emphasis) When one sphere/pole dominates the other, alienation, low self-esteem or neurotic behavior could occur. Some have seen these two spheres as masculine and feminine as David Bakan in The Duality of Human Existence and Carol Gilligan in In a Different Voice. In their books both make the point that the sex/gender system of our society has been restrictive of the development of

both males' and females' full humanity. Thus, using this premise as the basis of my discussion, I would like to compare major elements of Bakan's and Gilligan's works.

David Bakan drew on Gutman's work, Women and the Conception of Ego Strength (1965), which states that the concept of "ego strength" in psychology stresses the capacity for delay, future orientation, ability to form ego boundaries, and objectivity, all of which are very relevant to the social and psychological realms in which men spend a large part of their lives. Gutman argues that to judge ego strength in women by such a definition is invariably to find ego functioning maladaptive and regressive. Gilligan (1982) as we will see forthwith presents this same argument in her discussion of psychological theory and women's development.

From this insight, Bakan (1966) developed the concepts of "agency" and "communion." Agency refers to the existence of an organism as an individual and communion to the participation of an individual in some larger organism of which the individual is a part. "Agency manifests itself in self protection, self-assertion, self expansion; communion.... in the sense of being at one with other organisms" (Bakan, 1966, p. 15). Thus, the stress in agency is on separation, isolation, urge to master, and repression of feelings and impulse, while the concept of communion stresses contact, openness, union, cooperation. (Gilligan develops further the relationship of these ideas

with regard to gender.) Bakan considers both agency and communion to be necessary qualities within any organism. Since men and women in modern societies function in a milieu characterized by both polarities, an individual has to show two complementary types of ego strength rather than the polarized strengths that gender role stereotyping has historically encouraged. Bakan concludes that a chief developmental task of an individual and a condition for a viable organism or a viable society as well is the integration of agency and communion. (my emphasis)

We can be spared the ultimate despair by not separating ourselves from each other...what appears to be 'the other' to man is really himself. (Bakan, 1966, p. 235)

Gilligan (1982) makes similar acknowledgements that there are differences in males and females and also indirectly challenges, as does Bakan, contemporary models of human development that equate maleness to humanness. In her book, In a Different Voice, she demonstrates that theories of human development, using the male model, have failed to account for the experience of women. Her essay also cites key differences, similar to Bakan's, in male and female perception with regard to oneself as well as in relation to others. Gilligan incorporates the work of Nancy Chodorow who studies the consequences of exclusive parenting by women on the development of the gender personalities of both men and women in her analysis of gender relationships.

Chodorow (1978) traces these origins in the psychodynamics of early childhood in which she demonstrates how the male and female go through significantly different experiences in relating to the major nurturing figure within patriarchy - which is always female. For boys and men, the psychodynamics by which a male develops self is more aware of being separated than by being connected. Separation and individuation are critically tied to gender identity since separation from the mother is essential to the development of masculinity. "Mothers experience their sons as a male opposite and boys defining themselves as masculine - separate themselves, thus curtailing empathy." For girls and women, issues of femininity or feminine identity do not depend on the achievement of separation from the mother or on the process of individuation: "Girls emerge with a basis of empathy." Since masculinity is defined through separation, while femininity is defined through attachment, male gender identity is threatened by intimacy while female gender is threatened by separation. Thus, since males value autonomy, theirs and others, men tend to have difficulty with relationships; while females, who tend to value attachment and see all as part of the whole, tend to have problems with individuation (Gilligan, 1982, p. 8).

Gilligan's most important study is her study on moral reasoning. Gilligan discovered women do moral reasoning differently than what Lawrence Kohlberg (1981) had

described. Kohlberg's stages did not "fit" what she was hearing from women in her studies. When Kohlberg tried to put women into his stages the women had rarely gotten past stage three, the last relational stage. To elaborate, Kohlberg's (1958, 1981) six stages describe the development of moral judgment from childhood to adulthood and are based empirically on a study of eighty-four boys whose development Kohlberg has followed for a period of years. Gilligan states, "Although Kohlberg claims universality for his stage sequence, those groups not included in his original sample rarely reach his higher stages...prominent among those are women, whose judgments seem to exemplify the third stage...the stage where morality is conceived in interpersonal terms and goodness is equated with helping and pleasing others" (Gilligan, 1982, p. 18). As men earlier had done, some interpret this as proof once again that women are morally deficient (because they reasoned differently than men).

Their thinking about moral decisions diverged from Kohlberg's orientation to individual rights, counterposing an ethic of responsibility and care to his concept of justice and fairness. (Ibid.)

Women were doing moral reasoning in a highly relational way and did not involve Kohlberg's abstract moral principles.

Gilligan goes on to demonstrate that other male researchers, Freud, Erikson, as well as Piaget, all said "the self" grows toward individuating through separation. The importance of being autonomous is always stressed in

male psychology. (Elizabeth Gray interprets this as a "violent" mode of thinking.) But the point is that everyone's consciousness bears the indelible marks of biology and life experience. Both male and female consciousness are limited by the socialization of growing up male or female respectively.

Elizabeth Gray in Patriarchy as a Conceptual Trap (1982) contends that we need to "draw upon this other half of human experience: and allow women to give leadership and use the nurturing skills that life as a woman has taught us for human survival itself. Mastery has not achieved human harmony and ultimately may destroy us; the female qualities of relatedness are now necessary for survival. She asks: "Can we let women bring those skills into a male world? Or must men do it all themselves? Are men able to do it all themselves?" (Gray, 1982, p. 65)

This, basically, is the ultimate point of both Bakan and Gilligan. Bakan initially discusses the basic thrusts in human existence which have led to both the formation of science and religion. And he identifies this thrust to be agentic in character. Agency features have been dominant in history. This idea of the "separated self" has been fundamental in the formation of our ideas about morality (see Mary Daly), ethics, etc., and as a result we have masculine ideology dressed as objective truth. The fact that male values have dominated in our society has an

impact, as Gilligan has shown, on the moral reasoning and decision-making processes of males and females. Both are saying maleness is not humanness. The female is oppressed because communion features in our society are repressed. Alienated aspects of our society frustrates women's need, as well as men's potential, for communion. Bakan feels we as a civilization are in an intermediate stage of development. He states in order to progress to a more advanced order, our moral imperative is to "mitigate agency with communion."

The proper way to die is from fatigue after a life of trying to mitigate agency with communion. (Bakan, 1966, p. 233).

Another theoretical orientation that informs my position of gender is Gramsci's consensus theory (although it has many weaknesses, I feel it is applicable to our discussion of gender roles). Gramsci believed that the idea of consciousness had to be taken more seriously. Central to his theory is an understanding he terms hegemony. Gramsci in his prison writings on Italian history, states that the supremacy of a social group may manifest itself in two forms: "Domination" which is realized through the coercive organs of the state, and "intellectual and moral leadership" which is objectified in and exercised through the institutions of civil society, the ensemble of education, religious and associational institutions (Femia, 1978, p. 112). Hegemony therefore is: "the predominance obtained by

consent rather than force of one class or group over other classes; and it is attained through the myriad ways in which the institutions of civil society operate to shape, directly or indirectly, the cognitive and affective structures of social reality"(Femia, 1975, p. 115). Gramsci eventually came to view hegemony as the most important face of power, the "normal" form of control in any post feudal society and in particular the strength of bourgeois rule in advanced capitalist society. Gramsci's work provides a useful framework of why conflict that would seem to be inherent in a system based on competition of scarce resources is submerged and domesticated.

As we have seen when we traced the "natural" division of labor in the family and how it has evolved, it is clear how this dominance has been a result of consent rather than conflict. This disagrees with the majority of Marxist thinking that every social order based on a division of labor is a conflictual system - a class divided society that is inevitably rife with turmoil. To Gramsci hegemony was a legitimacy mask over the predatory nature of class domination. This mask as metaphor is a word that always recurred in my own mind whenever thinking of the public sphere in relation to the domestic sphere. So I found it curious that Gramsci used that particular word. Let us follow that line of thought.

In my discussions and readings of the home and family, the home is always seen, for men in particular, as a respite from the world of work. It is where he can relax and "be himself" and "get away" from the "real world." If the home is the place he can relax and "be himself" why does he refer to the other sphere as the "real world?" Is not this "real world" merely the "legitimacy mask" that covers "the predatory nature of class domination" of which Gramsci speaks? Is it only in the domestic sphere that we can throw off that mask in order that we can be ourselves? If that is so, what does this say about the characteristics/values of the male/female model? How has this domestic sanctuary participated in our own imprisonment? How has this depository, while giving us some sense of autonomy and achievement, while indulging in our need for intimacy, assisted us to avoid responsibility in the outside world? By men going "out" to work, we have created a sexual division of labor in which we separate man from feeling and woman from the responsibility to transform the world. This sexual division of labor contributes to women's alienation from responsibility and men's alienation from feelings.

Male/Femaleness and The Sexual Division of Labor

Jessie Bernard (1974, 1981) talks about how the very nature of male/femaleness becomes embedded in the sexual division of labor. In her articles on family and marriage and mothering she talks about the demise of the provider

role as we know it today. The general structure of the "traditional" American family in which the husband-father is the provider and the wife-mother the housewife began to take shape early in the nineteenth century. This structure lasted about 150 years from the 1830's to 1980 (when the U. S. Census no longer automatically documented the male as head of the household). As "providing" became increasingly mediated by cash derived from participation in the labor force - the powers and perogatives of the provider role augmented, and those of the housewife, who lacked a cash income, declined. Gender identity became associated with work sites as well as with work. As more and more married women entered the labor force and thus assumed a share of the provider role, the powers and perogatives of the provider role became diluted. At the present time, a process that Ralph Smith calls "the subtle revolution" is realigning family roles. But a host of social-psychological obstacles related to gender identity have to be overcome before a new social-psychological structure can be achieved.

Dorothy Dinnerstein (1976) also advocates a new vision in her book The Mermaid and the Minataur. She further documents women's continued status as "the Other" and examines with lucid account the sources of patriarchy. The "sexual arrangements" of partriarchy are a reaction against female dominion in infancy, a reaction perpetuated through women's collusion with and consent of male rule. Her only

solution to the "destructive, suicidal course on which humanity is embarked is, like Chodorow, to alter the sexual arrangements which control early child-rearing. In her view, women are both victims and perpetrators of their own oppression. However, Dinnerstein's emphasis on the pervasive, unpredictable and oppressive power of the mother does have potentially anti-feminist implications. She seems to be blaming mothers for reproducing all the ills of society. This defensive tone is understandable since psychoanalytic theory with its biological rendering and its assumption of the weak superego of women has provided a gloss of psychopathology to any women's political strivings which threaten man's domination.

The Need for Social Structures to Change

Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1975) in "Women and The Structure of Explorations in Theory and Behavior" cites the requirement of organizations - not people - to change. She feels a basic understanding in structural conditions for men and women in organizations and the organizational behavior of men and women is critical for both social inquiry and social change. She states that: "This is an organizational society. The lives of very few of us are untouched by the growth and power of large, complex, organizations in the twentieth century... The distribution of functions within organizations affects the quality of daily life for a large

proportion of working Americans: their opportunities for growth and self-expression, for good or poor health, as well as their daily social contacts" (Kanter, 1975, p. 34).

She discusses the ideological underpinnings of modern organizations, such as the connection between a "masculine ethic" and "a spirit of managerialism" which distinguishes the work world of men and work world of women. While men in the clerical labor force tend to be concentrated in a few physically oriented occupations where they far outnumber women (messengers, mail carriers, shipping and receiving clerks, stock clerks); the core of office work is heavily female.

Women are to clerical labor as men are to management.
(Kanter, 1975, p. 38)

Class and Gender

This issue of structure is also pertinent outside the business world in society as a whole. As we stated earlier, there is a dialectic between gender and class that cannot be ignored. The notion that feminism is strictly a middle-class issue abounds. Poor and minority women may still be more concerned with problems of employment and discrimination within a much larger context. But it cannot be denied that over the past 20 years, there is only a small minority of families in the U. S. who have not had to deal with the consequences of the feminist movement. While poor and minority classes have had their priority issues, the

issues of gender and class are intertwined and cannot be separated and have to be dealt with in a dialectical fashion. (Purpel)

So keeping this in mind, the basic findings of many of the class/gender studies show that the basic differences of working class and middle class mothers lie in the area of general awareness as well as in their values, attitudes and behavior. For example, Garvon (1961) reported that "the working class wife" expects to find her main source of satisfaction in her family; and thus, to become a mother is to achieve one of the things she wants. Whereas the middle class wife expects to be an independent person in her own right, and thus, finds that the presence of young children frustrates her from what she considers to be her rightful role. Oakley (1974) also noted differences in orientation toward housework; Newson and Newson (1965) found social class differences in attitudes to children and the mother-child relationship.

Accommodation and Resistance

Anyon (1984) presents a new interpretation/twist to Gramsci's consensus theory - she calls it "accommodation and resistance." She argues that paternalism undermines solidarity among the oppressed (whether class or gender) by linking them in dependency relations not to each other, but to their oppressors. She goes on to say the problems of individual women acting alone cannot transform these

relations of power. She advocates that individual power is necessary, but more importantly, it is necessary that all women join together in a collective fashion.

The refusal by an individual woman to comply with her own exploitation is necessary in my scenario but it is not sufficient; all woman must refuse together. And all those men who support humanitarian social change must refuse with them. (Anyon, 1984, p. 46)

Similarly, Gramsci said that the masses in Western countries are powerless to overcome their intellectual and moral subordination. The long and arduous process of demystification requires an "intellectual elite" to lead them to instill in them the critical self-consciousness which will enable them to overthrow the existing order for the emergence of a new culture.

Critical self-consciousness means historically and politically the creation of an intellectual elite. A human mass does not 'distinguish' itself, does not become independent, 'for itself,' without in a broad sense, organizing itself; and there is no organization without organizers and leaders. (Femia, 1978, p. 35)

Thus, the preceding authors have been my "intellectual mentors;" their research has led me to sharpen my own questions. Specifically, if we have a certain segment of society, which also happens to be primarily of the same gender, which has based her identity on relationships (children, husband, etc.), what happens to their individual and collective identities when they begin to participate in a realm which is geared to tasks which are more individuated/autonomous? How does this affect our class

structured society? What does it mean for the institutions of work and family? How does this affect our feminine consciousness? Our human consciousness?

Summary

We have thus seen how the hierarchical structures of class (Anyon), power/patriarchy (Gray, Gramsci), and the workplace (Bernard, Kanter) derive in varying degrees, from the differing social locations of men and women and from the fact that men's orientations are based on a "positional rights" orientation and female orientations are based on a "personal responsibility" orientation (Bakan, Gilligan). These differing orientations are due to a large part to the fact that women are the primary care-takers and, as a result, produce what we consider "normal," that is mother-reared male/female personalities (Chodorow, Dinnerstein). It should be noted here that the premise of this paper breaks away from Freud's (1930) conceptual patriarchal bias which has dominated so much of the literature about women's roles. We want to understand how women returning to work can restructure gender arrangements and consequently Freud's (and other "biologically"-based researchers) notion of female inferiority.

Therefore, we have thus far elaborated upon certain factors which maintain gender inequality based on the belief in "natural" differences which leads to patriarchy and the

biological fact that women give birth. The main goal of my research is to investigate what happens when increasing numbers of females leave their primary location, the domestic sphere, one that they have dominated for so long and enter the public sphere, one which is still primarily dominated by men. How can/does this help to restructure gender arrangements which can promote gender equality? How do the basic characteristics of each model change? What are the nature of those changes? causes and effects? And, in particular, how are these transformations brought about by the experiences of individual working mothers?

My concerns are not only theoretical but also involve the realities of everyday life. While home and workplace once the same are now separate, (since the The Industrial Revolution) women's mothering role is one of the few universal and enduring elements of the sexual division of labor. However, with women's increasing participation in the paid labor force, what are the affects upon this division of labor? Are women still essentially the primary caretakers? Has the work world changed in any way with the presence of more and more women among its ranks? If so, how? Has the complexion of the domestic domain changed in any way? With the loss of many of the roles that were once assumed by the family: not only the productive but religious and educational roles as well, has the family's sole function merely become a "personal" unit of society?

Is it merely a storehouse for children? What is its function today for society? While women's main role in the last century has been child care and taking care of men; is this changing? Have men assumed more responsibility for child care and if so, how has this affected the public sphere (policies, work habits, etc.)? In essence, these questions are just some of the questions that need to be asked. These questions when set against our conceptual grid can help us see if women's increasing participation in the public sphere will result in gender equality, specifically in the world of work and the world of home and family.

CHAPTER III
EMPIRICAL RESEARCH ON THE WORKING MOTHER

Background

Thus far, we have seen how men and women approach life not only from differing social locations, but also with different orientations: men with a "positional rights" orientation and women with a "personal responsibility" orientation. How men and women make meaning of their experiences is based on these different perspectives. As I have tried to demonstrate (Ch. 1 & 2) much of the previous literature/research regarding women/mothers was not rooted in this foundation of social locations or positional orientations. Nor, at the same time, has much of the previous literature/research been rooted in the unique experiences of individuals. There has been a dearth of such studies with regard to both areas. In this chapter, I will address methodology, and in particular, show how the lack of empirical/experiential studies has given direction to my own research methodology.

The methodology employed in previous studies did not provide for the illumination of individual lived experience in its uniqueness. Previous research, as cited in Chapter I, incorporated methodologies that emphasized investigating "separate facts" or entities of individual responses or behaviors and as a result ignored the relationship of these facts to the human experience.

Since we live in relationships, human experience cannot/should not be isolated. At the same time human experience is uniquely original. The compilation and presentation of merely the "facts" is disjunctive and does not consider the totality of the experience. In so doing the uniqueness of the individual experience and its personal meaning are lost.

Therefore, due to these major shortcomings, I believe it is important to supplement theoretical and conceptual research with empirical research to show how individual mothers from different socio-economic levels make meaning of their own experience in their lives. Do the recent social changes of the genders affect male/female orientations and if so how? What does this mean for gender equality? And what does it mean with regard to Kanter's notion that says in order to make changes in gender inequality it is necessary to change social structures rather than individual personalities? How are the changing experiences of individuals affecting structural change in our society?

How We Make Meaning

All institutional structures; marriage, work, family, education, etc., have embedded in them some set of assumptions about the nature of society and about the individuals who live within that society. To help us become more aware about our world and ourselves, it is important for us to try to understand what these assumptions are. In order to achieve that goal we need to try and discover how

people make meaning of their worlds. Fundamental to this creation is the dialectical nature of the individual and his world. We can trace this perspective of knowing to the hermeneutic tradition.

The "inner space" of persons and the dialogue between the inner world of imagination and the outer world of behavior are key elements in the dialectical approach to research. Its main assumption is that the individual makes sense of his own life experience.

It is appropriate here to repeat what Peter Berger has said. In Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective, Berger elaborates on this notion by saying the structures of society becomes the structures of our own consciousness (1963, p. 139). Our imprisonment in society now appears as something affected as much from within ourselves as by the operation of external forces. The key term used by sociologists to refer to the phenomena is "internalization." What happens in socialization is that the social world is internalized within the individual/child. Society then, is not only something "out there," in the Durkheimian sense - but it is also "in here," part of our innermost being.

Harvey Cox (1973) outlined a method of inquiry which demonstrates an understanding for the interiority, both for the participants and the inquirer and the nature of the experience itself. Cox's approach is outlined as follows and will be used as a framework for my own study:

1. a careful attempt to discover the pre-history of the event of phenomenon studied;
2. rigorous attempt to learn about the larger setting within which the activity takes place;
3. a thorough observation of the phenomenon itself;
4. a meticulous awareness of the meaning it all has for me.

I will refer back to this outline in my future discussion. "The fundamental human quest is the search for meaning and the basic human capacity for this search is experienced in the hermeneutic process" (Macdonald, 1981, p. 157).

Accordingly, in order to understand how people make meaning of their worlds it is necessary to understand an event from the point of view of the participant. A major theme of the hermeneutic tradition is "to the things themselves." This is what Husserl refers to as "bracketing." What both these terms mean is that the researcher needs to lay aside traditionally preconceived notions about even the most ordinary event in order to see it in a new way. Entering another's world while remaining the researcher at the same time, I believe must be the most difficult task of this form of research. It is important then that in this type of research to take one piece of social reality - whatever that experience is - and try to find out how one makes meaning of his world. In so doing, the primary area of concern will be: What are the assumptions of being a

woman today, in particular of being a working married mother in American society? What are the "taken for granted" assumptions which underlie her life? Thus, people will be describing their own experiences from their own points of view in their own language.

The way people talk about their lives is of significance, that the language they use and the connections they make reveal the world they see in which they act. (Gilligan, 1982, p. 2)

The Language of Science - The Quantitative Tradition

Language is the fundamental tool of any study. Barritt says at times this is a weak tool because it cannot fully carry the meanings of gesture and feeling which are also an important part of experience, but it is the tool we use nonetheless because it is the best available (1983, p. 141).

The language of science, according to Shapiro, "speaks only partially, and sometimes not at all, to the concerns, the sensibilities, and the lives of human beings" (Shapiro, 1983, p. 138). He says, "Indeed, for some, science is a language that is viewed as, in part at least, constitutive of the very problems of our civilization rather than the means by which such problems might be solved" (Ibid.). Shapiro goes on to discuss the increased tension between the human benefits of technology and the "dehumanizing and imperilling consequences of scientific progress" (1983, p. 137).

The movement towards new methodologies in educational inquiry must be seen as part of a wider movement critical of the epistemological and political dominance of positivism in our culture - a dominance that for growing numbers represents an inadequate framework within which to understand our own existence and on which to make socially significant judgements. (Shapiro, 1983, p. 138)

Macdonald, too, says that the main purpose of rational thought is to explain things so that we may predict and control them, or what he refers to as "flattening out." Macdonald says understanding is not totally a rational process... "Understanding is not an outcome of problem-solving or a product which emerges rationally from pre-existent structures" (Macdonald, 1981, p. 173).

Rist says it is "dangerous politically and intellectually to rely on outcomes measured while one is left to guess at the process" (Rist, 1982, p. 440). He says statistical realities do not necessarily coincide with cultural realities. Rist says asking the question, "What is going on here?" is at once disarming simply and incredibly complex. In his discussion of modes of analysis, Rist says there should be a constant dialectic between collection and analysis, i.e. a constant assessment of what is known versus what is to be learned.

Max Weber's description of the development of bureaucracy has striking application to the personality of scientific research: "Its specific nature... develops the more perfectly the more bureaucracy is 'dehumanized,' the

more completely it succeeds in eliminating from official business love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements which escape calculation" (Weber, 1946, p. 214).

William James (1917) argued simply that "the facts of science are myth."

We exclude and what we exclude haunts us at the walls we set up. We include and what we include limps, wounded by amputation. (James, 1917, p. 18)

Therefore, a new language is needed.

A New Language

The new language that I seek has its foundations in the tradition of art while set in the hermeneutic framework. In John Dewey's Art as Experience (1934), a consummate book about life and our relationship to it, he talks about the task of restoring "continuity" from art to original object. He says that the aesthetic enjoyment not only resides in the final product of creation, but belongs with the creator, the original object, and the perceiver as well. There is a dialectic going on between all involved. A break in this continuity or "dialectic" would be dishonest or what Tillich refers to as "idolatry." Most of the key points of Cox's methodology are repeated in Dewey's work; therefore, I would like to elaborate on them by continuing in that context.

Along with continuity and the dialectical approach, there are other analogies for my own study that I see in

Dewey (1934) says one also needs to understand the art object to fully appreciate the object involved. He cites the examples of flowers. We can appreciate them as objects on a lower level, but if one does not know what they are, one cannot totally appreciate them unless he "understands" them. (By understand, he means to see the continuity). At the same token we can say the same about two people in a dialogue.

Third, Dewey says that one not only needs to understand the artist and the object, but also needs to understand the society, culture from which both come. Individuals, as well as art reflect emotions and ideas that are associated with major institutions of social life; art is not a copy, it should be life; individuals are not apart from society, they are society.

Thus, the problem as Dewey sees it is to recover the continuity of the experience with the normal process of living. He says our basic concept of everyday life operates in a fragmented, departmentalized manner. We need to live our lives more "(w)holistically:" one in which the whole has a reality independent of and greater than the sum of its parts.

Experience for Dewey is a significant word. He says the nature of experience is determined by the essentials of life.

Art is not nature, but is nature transformed by entering into new relationships where it evokes a new emotional response.

So too, it is hoped that my own questions would initiate new ways of thinking about the experience of working mothers. On the whole, methodology of previous research on women who work ignored a heuristic approach, prior research just generated 'certain kinds' of questions. New questions would be evoked through an understanding of the events elicited by the subject and could be starting off points for new interpretations in order that others can share meaning made of them. Like art, we hope the new questions can form the foundation for new discoveries.

In the century of the adult, true liberation could well lie in our heroic refusal to disown the past - while we reconstruct with loving care the terms of that more nearly perfect social order that men and women shall someday share.

Erikson

The value of this tradition does not stress methodological purity but rather emphasizes the shared experience in an understandable way through the researchers ability to share experience and interpret it. "The value of research in the human sciences rests upon its utility - not its orthodoxy" (Barritt, 1983, p. 141). Shapiro says "the fragmented concerns of traditional researchers, accompanied by their efforts to remove all traces of subjectivity from their inquiries, leave descriptions peculiarly out of touch with the existential realities of people's lives.... The

scientific method appears to move away from the educational world rather than towards it" (Shapiro, 1983, p. 137).

Mothers as Workers

'Agency operates by way of mastery and control; communion with naturalistic observation, sensitivity to qualitative patterning, and greater personal participation by the investigator (Carlson, 1972). Nothing in this polarity is fundamentally new. For almost 50 years I have watched one or another version of it in sociology (for example, statistical vs. case method, quantitative vs. qualitative, knowledge vs. understanding or verstehen..... What is new and illuminating, however, is the recognition of a machismo element in research. The specific processes involved in agentic research are typically male preoccupations; agency is identified with a masculine principle, the Protestant ethic, a Faustian pursuit of knowledge -- as with all forces toward master, separation, ego enhancement (Carlson, 1972). The scientist using this approach creates his own controlled reality. He can manipulate it. He is master. He has power. He can add or subtract or combine variables. He can play with a simulated reality like an Olympian god. He can remain at a distance, safely behind his shield, uninvolved. The communal approach is much humbler. It disavows control, for control spoils results. (Bernard, 1973) (Kanter, 1976, p. x)

Since the piece of empirical research in this dissertation will not have an hypothesis to be tested and an environment to be "controlled," it will not be of the agentic nature as depicted above. It is not intended to be representative of nor generalizable to any population. Eisner in his discussion of differences between an artistic approach to research and the scientific approach said:

Artistic approaches to research focus less on behavior than on the experience the individuals are having and the meaning the actions have for others. (Eisner, 1981, p. 59)

So it is true of my own work. My study is concerned with the role conflicts of working mothers through interactions with persons experiencing this phenomenon. The study consists of theoretical analysis, interviews, and interpretation. In this chapter we are concerned with the second aspect: the interviews. The interviews serve two purposes: providing a voice to our subjects, which is the basis of interpretation.

A Voice

Our interest here is to give voice to individuals and their personal and unique way in which they struggle. That voice will help us delineate the different assumptions about the nature of working mothers, their role expectations for themselves, their husbands, their children, and the actual behaviors that can be attributed to differences in the life situations, especially in the realm of work/family of various classes of workers.

As we have demonstrated, in the majority of studies, the individual voice of a participant does not normally get heard. Their voices are often blurred and truncated, for example, by forms or tables of statistics. For the most part, participants are not allowed to articulate their experiences in the accuracy of their own language. By meeting each participant individually, I was able to listen to each mother's struggle; for clearly, the struggle that each of these mothers endures is not the struggle of groups, but of individuals.

Interpretation and Significance of the Theoretical Framework

These interviews will then in turn provide insight into the broader issues of concern informed by Chodorow, Gilligan, Bakan and the other authors discussed in the previous chapter. It is important that we recognize this dialectic between the voices and the theoretical framework. After a description and interpretation of each interview, I will conclude with the insights I have gained regarding the larger questions addressed in earlier chapters. Hopefully, these insights will provide an understanding of past inequities as well as provide more viable models for the future. For example, despite the continuing acceptance of employment for married women, traditional socialization may create barriers to her occupational advancement. This can occur in two ways. The first is through the psychological fear that if a woman is "too achieving" or "too successful" she will not be regarded as feminine. The second is the cultural imperative that career women must still "prove" themselves by being good wives and mothers and by not exceeding their husband's status and achievements. In effect, we will be able to see to what extent these barriers play in the lives of those we interview.

It, then, has been my task to first identify these issues and connect them to the individual voices and their interpretations in order that when the two realms are combined they will act as metaphor - an allegory of what it means to be a working mother today.

As mentioned earlier, most of the previous literature considered that a natural division of labor occurs within the family unit, with nurturance and care-giving allotted to the mother and breadwinning to the father. The fact that women mother is a central and defining feature of the social organization of gender. Because of their child care responsibilities, women's primary social location is domestic while men's social location is in the public sphere, and thus, defines society as masculine. The basic goal of this research then is to clarify similarities and differences between working and middle-class women vis-a-vis social control of the mother role.

Design of the Interview Study

Interviews were held with employees of a national manufacturing plant located in a town of approximately 15,000 that lies 20 miles outside a large North Carolina metropolitan area. In January, 1978, this company broke ground for a \$37.5 million manufacturing plant. The plant became operational in October, 1979, and employed union (represented by a national union) and non-union workers alike. The company employs about 500 people.

Selection

The selection of the participants to be interviewed was based partly on the availability and willingness to participate than on other criteria and partly on some general guidelines. Basic criteria included that a mother

lives with a spouse who also is employed full-time (this study does not deal with the problems of the single working mother which is an altogether different circumstance) and that each had at least one child of pre-school age when they returned to work. (Problems of working for a mother are more complex if she continues/returns to work before her child's time is occupied with the routine of school. The main difficulty is related to the lack of adequate day care facilities. In addition, there are problems of trying to find someone dependable to sit in your home, etc.) All the participants selected for interviews were referred to me by mutual friends. After receiving their names I then contacted them to confirm the overlapping roles of work and family and to see if they would agree to be interviewed.

Once selection of participants were made, two interviews were accomplished - one initial and one follow-up interview - each approximating about two hours. Each was taped and transcribed. The second interview was mainly to clarify and correct and elaborate upon the first. All participants have been referred to by names that are not their own. Also, henceforth, the company under discussion will always be referred to as Smith. All efforts have been made to protect the identities of people and to disguise the places in which they live and work.

The employees interviewed represented the three basic divisions of job categories: one represented management,

one, clerical, and one was a factory worker. I felt it was important to talk to workers who were representative of these three general classes of workers because it was important to see if there were any differences in: a) how they were treated by the company (including policies, benefits, etc.); b) how the problems of the factory worker compared/contrasted with the managerial employee, clerical; c) if the role of work itself was a factor in the conflicts between work and home or if the problems somehow stemmed from outside the work realm. (Basic criteria as to availability and age of children has already been delineated.) All interviews included items on background information, job related factors, family/homelife sphere experiences, work/family interference and personal well-being.

Two mothers have a high school diploma and one is a college graduate who has done some graduate work. All mothers began working or returned to work when their children were of pre-school age.

Job Categories

At the beginning of the interviewing process I had intended to interview four women. Although there are three general classes of workers, the company categorizes their workers in the following four categories: exempt, non-exempt, clerical, and hourly.

Each category is quite complicated, but I will simplify the distinctions for the purposes of this paper. The input on these job descriptions were gathered from company brochures as well as from participant workers and non-participant workers alike.

The Exempt Worker

The exempt workers are the managerial types who are salaried and are not compensated for over-time. (Thus the derivation of the term, they are "exempt" from compensation for over-time.) However, their salary in itself is supposedly "high enough" to cover all eventual over-time possibilities. These employees are mostly college graduates and they are non-unionized. They are on call all the time and have to work shift work. Their main duties involved supervising the supervisors of the floor people and to act as liason to corporate headquarters.

The Non-Exempt Worker

The non-exempt are the floor supervisors and the quality control people. They are salaried but do receive overtime; thus, are "non-exempt" from over-time. They are mostly college graduates, but non-college graduates are encouraged to work themselves up into this position. This position is considered the "middle man" (sic) position. They are not protected by a union nor do they have some of the "inherent protection" that many feel comes with the exempt position. Some workers that I talked to chose to stay in this

position rather than move to the exempt position in order that they would still be eligible for overtime. Also, this position is considered the position which has all the responsibility, but no authority.

The Hourly Worker

The hourly workers are the workers who work "on the floor," that is, the production line. They have hands-on contact with the machinery and if the machinery breaks down they are supposed to call one of the floor supervisors whose responsibility it is to make sure everything is running again as quickly as possible. They are protected by a strong national union which fights for excellent benefits for them. Smith Company's benefits far surpass any of the other manufacturing companies nearby. One of the chief reasons for many to seek employment at this facility is for "such good benefits." They do get paid for overtime.

The Clerical Worker

The clerical category mainly consists of secretarial people, mostly all female, who, on the whole, do not work shift work (for reasons to be explained shortly). Actually within this category are two smaller categories. Let me explain.

Most of the clerical workers work 8:00 to 5:00 or 9:00 to 6:00. These are salaried workers and they do not get over-time nor are they protected by the union. Their times are staggered depending on which crew is working.

Those who do work in shifts work with certain crews and do the clerical work for that particular crew. These clerical workers do receive over-time and are protected by the union, because their job description overlaps into the hourly category.

Shift Work

With the exception of some of the clerical workers, all employees at the plant work shift work. The shifts are rotated approximately every four months, depending on holidays and vacations. When working the day shift, a worker works from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. and when working the night shift, she works from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. So in other words, one could work the night shift for four months starting in January, then switch to the day shift at the end of March, then return to the night shift in July, and then finish out the year on the day shift. The company felt it was a good idea to work four straight days and then have three consecutive days off. Many of the workers that I talked with also felt it was a good way to work as well, although most acknowledged working twelve straight hours was not easy. One's vacations were influenced by the way the shifts fell and the length of the shifts are also influenced by vacations.

Problematics of Participant Selection and Interviewing

I wanted to interview one mother from each of the four categories but I later learned there were no mothers in the

first category, the exempt category. There were several women employed in that category, but they did not have children. So I decided to interview one mother from the remaining three categories. In actuality, I interviewed two from each of the last three categories. I had thought about using all six interviews but I decided to select the three that I felt were most interesting and which lacked inconsistencies. That is, since there were minor problems with the first three: bad tape quality, not enough depth, etc., I decided to use the interviews in which all the problems were "ironed out" so to speak. So upon listening and re-listening to all the interviews, I decided to use the last three interviews that were made for the above reasons.

Since each participant was recommended by various friends of mine who had worked with the participants at one time or another at the same facility, I had not met any of them previously with the exception of the non-exempt worker who I had been introduced to at a party but had not seen since then. When we met she did not remember me. After deciding "who" I was going to interview, the next problem I had to encounter was "where" I was going to carry on our conversations.

After having the first participant come to my house, I had decided not to do that again. I felt the participant was distracted by new surroundings and could not concentrate fully on the matter at hand. (I did, however, acquiesce to

a request by a participant to hold the interview at my home because it was easier for her.) With the remaining interviews, I decided to either go to their place of residence or their place of employment. I was curious to go to their place of employment because I felt it would give me some insight into our discussions. However, I also felt going to the workplace might be too distracting for me. But as it turned out the room that was chosen was very secluded so neither one of us was bothered with distractions, and as a result, it turned out to be the best of all possible places.

Focus of the Interviews and Interview Questions

In general, I hoped to obtain a better understanding of the work/family interactions of working mothers through an examination of the following:

1. the amount of conflict existing between job and homelife demands,
2. the level of stress associated with demands,
3. strategies employees utilize to manage multiple responsibilities (including support system, etc.)

More specifically, the following exploratory questions were used as guidelines for discussion and I believe follow Cox's framework. They hopefully, I believe, enabled me to gain additional insight into the nurturer/provider role of working mothers and its relationship to issues of gender. I

tried to steer away from the formal structured question and answer-type interview method, but instead encouraged a relaxed atmosphere which would allow for open discussion/conversation. These questions were not asked literally but provided the framework for the discussion as a whole:

1. Describe your job.
2. Describe yourself. (note how one sees oneself: note key words and relationships)
3. Describe your family.
4. How does your family feel about (the effects) your working?
5. Do you have/feel equal loyalties to your family and work?
6. How do you feel about your work? your employer? (elaborate on the above)
7. How do you handle all the demands on your time?
8. From whom do you get the most support?
9. What was your own family like when you were growing up and how do you feel it influenced your own choices today?
10. How are the chores shared in the household?

In interviewing all the mothers, I, at some point, asked each to explore the term responsibility as referred by these questions. What does it mean to them as an individual, as a family member, as an employee for a corporation? How do you resolve conflicts in responsibility involving the above?

In as much as this study is based on interviews of three working mothers from three different spheres of work (the public domain), I was particularly interested in the meaning each mother attached to any conflicting demands their multiple roles exerted on them and the language they used to share their experiences and the implications thereof.

The interviews themselves were informal and could be characterized as conversations. All interviews were taped and then transcribed. I then worked from the transcriptions to recreate the interviews themselves. I then let each participant read what I had written and allowed each to respond by making any additional comments and corrections. After incorporating this into each conversation, I followed with an analysis of my own observations. I lastly presented a collective interpretation of the interviews as a whole.

Before presenting the participants own words, I believe it would be interesting to see the company's "own words" as documented in their company brochure. Since we are dealing with the issues of gender equality and the working mother, it is interesting to see what the company means by equal employment and, in particular, how they define maternity. What follows are excerpts from the employee manual which outlines company policy.

"Equal employment opportunity is the foundation for human resource development at Company. There is no limitation based on race, color, national origin, sex, age, veteran status, or religious persuasion. Every reasonable effort is made to accommodate disabilities and handicaps. Our policy prohibits physical, psychological, or verbal harassment....

"Equal employment opportunity is a reality at Company, because management is committed to equal opportunity. That commitment is expressed in effective programs..... Such programs ensure that recruitment, selection, work assignments, performance evaluations, promotions, compensations, benefits, termination, company-sponsored training, education, tuition assistance, social and recreational programs and transfer transactions are implemented without discrimination.....

"Equal pay and benefits are the result of professionally conducted position and compensation evaluations.....

"Company-sponsored training, education, tuition assistance, social and recreational programs are open to all employees. Further, all employees are urged to participate in these activities. The result is an environment in which all persons may realize their career potential."

Regarding Maternity Benefits:

"An employee or an employee's wife is eligible for

benefits for maternity care for normal pregnancy as well as for direct and indirect complications of pregnancy. The plan provides benefits the same as any ILLNESS OR INJURY."

(my emphasis)

This interview section of the paper has been at times a struggle, an adventure, and an exercise in finding continuity in an holistic context. It has been a masculine creation using feminine components; a dialectic of the two.

CHAPTER IV
PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS

Cindy

When I first contacted Cindy over the phone, my first impression was that she sounded like a person who had a lot of energy. When I introduced myself and told her what I was doing, she sounded reluctant to speak to me. At that point I thought to myself if someone I did not even know had called me and asked me to take time from my busy schedule I would probably make excuses as well. But when I mentioned our mutual friend, her former supervisor and the person who had recommended her to me, the doubt seemed to leave her voice.

Since she was working nights we agreed to meet on Thursday night, the end of the work week. She would not have to work that Thursday and since it would be the beginning of her three day weekend she thought that would be a convenient time for her. She did mention that since she was away so much she would rather I come to her house than she come to mine. She also hinted that her husband liked that she stay at home as much as possible with the family while she was not working. We agreed on 8:30 because her children, two boys, 4 years old and 9 months old would most likely be in bed by then and would not be a distraction. I told her that would enable me to get my own into bed. We both laughed understandingly.

So with tape recorder in hand I traveled the 10 minutes to her house. She lived right across from the local high school in a new development that was less than a year old. Her home was the neat two story colonial brick house on the corner. A pick up truck and a new American sedan was in the driveway, as she had said.

As I walked to the front door, I saw her waiting on the couch as I looked through the front window. As soon as she saw me she ran to the door and had it wide open before I even got there. She had this enormous smile and a bright face that just glowed with enthusiasm. She wore a brightly colored comfortable looking jogging suit and had her long dark hair casually pulled back behind her head. This accentuated her broad smile and high cheek bones. She was quite pretty - not the type of pretty that some women work at, but the pretty that comes naturally with high cheek bones and a warm smile. She wore no make-up. I estimated she was in her late twenties. As I entered the house, she smiled all the while she spoke in a slow Southern drawl. It was not a typical Southern accent of this area and I thought she was possibly from Mississippi. But her speech was matched with quick movements and I could tell she was a little nervous as I was. I liked her immediately.

As we walked from the foyer down the hall, we passed her husband and she introduced him to me. He was a tall

thin man, who was in the midst of finishing the boy's bath. As he went back into the bathroom, this little cherub of an infant came crawling down the hall as if "running away" from his father.

Cindy said, "This is my nine-month old, Danny," as she bent down to pick him up. It was the biggest nine-month old I had ever seen. She said he weighed 32 lbs. I told her that was the weight of my four year old girl. As I reached out to hold him he did not seem to mind as some do when first met by strangers. He just glared at me with this huge stoic face and did not seem the least bit frightened. I handed him over to his father who was ready to take him to the bathtub and Cindy and I went to the dining room to sit at the dining room table - her suggestion for the site of our interview. Her house was quite attractive and I told her so. She said they moved in the weekend Danny was born. It was not sparsely furnished like young marrieds I had known. All the furnishings were spotless and the rooms were uncluttered. I placed the tape recorder between us on the table. Before I turned it on I repeated the purpose of the interview as I had stated over the phone and asked her if she had any questions. She said no and just replied that she would like to read my paper when I finished. She kiddingly added when her husband heard what I wanted to talk to her about, he wanted to know when I was going to talk to working fathers.

I asked her to first tell me a little bit about her own family: her parents, their occupations, brothers and sisters, etc. I quickly realized I would not have any problems getting her to talk. She eagerly told me how she came from a family who believed in hard work and was very proud of that fact. She spoke freely and in detail interjecting with humorous little stories. She said she was born and raised in this very same town that she now lives. As a matter of fact she was born just a few blocks from where she now lived. She has two brothers, and two sisters. She is the second daughter in a family which ranges in age from 31 (sister), 30 years, 28 years (brother), 23 years (brother), to 14 years of age (sister). Her mother worked first shift (8:00 to 4:00) in a local factory before she was born and is still working that shift now. And her father, age 55, just retired from the same factory where he worked the second shift for 25 years (4:00 until midnight). While his wife worked the first shift, he ran his landscaping business which he now does full-time. She said her mother always had someone to "keep them" at the house since her father had the landscaping business. And she acknowledged the thought of him looking after them during the day really never was considered especially since he did have two jobs. All her brothers and sisters are employed, with the exception of the youngest sister. One brother is in the military.

Cindy first started working at 14 years old in a bowling alley and has been working ever since. After various part-time jobs during high school, she found full-time employment working in a textile mill in a nearby city. She began her present employment in 1979 when Smith Company opened in town and has been working shift work ever since. She was working there two years before she was married. She was twenty-five before she was married and has been married five years.

Since she felt she was "old" when she married, Cindy said she wanted to become pregnant right away. She was pregnant with her first child within three months of her wedding. She worked almost up to the day she had Max. Then Max was two before she had Danny. She stayed out four months when she had Max and ten weeks when she had Danny. She said. "You know how it is with the first child, I felt only I could take care of him." With Danny she went back early mainly because they needed her full-time salary for the new house.

I asked if she could explain a "typical" working day to me, problems and all. She gave me a hearty laugh and she said "just ask me the easy stuff. The easy part is that I have a lady who comes to the house to keep the children." It turned out this was the same woman who kept Cindy and her brothers and sisters for many years. As she did for Cindy's mother she does for Cindy. Millie not only watches the children, but also cooks, cleans, washes clothes, vacuums,

changes sheets on the bed and irons. She said, "She does everything 'a housewife' would do" and laughed. I was curious what she had to pay for this service, but I did not ask. I did comment that she was very fortunate to find someone like that. She agreed and she said that she always considered herself fortunate, that she herself never had to stay at a day care or at someone else's house when she was younger as some of her friends did, so she wanted her children to be able to stay at home as well. But she said it was not always this easy.

Cindy said the most difficult task she had after she had the children and knowing she was going to return to work was finding someone (or a facility) to care for the children. She preferred the former, but realized it was a lot easier finding a day care center. Max, for his first two years, was kept by a sister-in-law who drove to Cindy's home. When Cindy was home with Danny after he was born, her younger sister-in-law accepted a job at a local bank. Cindy said she "couldn't fault her none," but, for the first time since she started working, she was in the difficult position of finding someone to care for the two children. At that time she said she thought it might be good to get Max and the baby into a day care facility because she felt Max needed the time to play with other children.

"He needed to learn how to share and didn't want to get along with nobody." She then decided to enroll the children

in day care at a Baptist Church. "Afterward, when I did find someone to come to the house, it did break my heart to take them out because Max did love playing with the other children." But on the otherhand she rationalized, "They did catch everything when you take them outside and they needed to have all them extra shots." This was the only day care facility in town at that time that kept infants under the age of two.

Even today most facilities in town will only keep children who are toilet trained. At this time there is only one other facility, a church, that enrolls infants, but the waiting lists for both are very long; and thus, the chances of being accepted are very slim. Cindy said she decided on day care before putting an ad in the paper for someone to come to the house because, "it was just easier. I visited and met the teachers and felt this was the best way to go."

However, what was easiest initially was not easiest in the long run. Cindy said just trying to negotiate taking the children to day care and picking them up was very difficult. Sam, her husband, who works as a salesman at a hardware chain store would take the children when she worked the day shift, then he had to leave work early to pick them up. When she worked 6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., he worked 7:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. In the summer months or as soon as it would stay lighter later in the evening, he would work until 6:00. The day care facility was only open until 5:30 so he

was always rushed in picking them up. When she worked nights, she'd return home to take them to day care then would wake up early to get them and wait until Sam got home before she would rush to work at 6:00. That was particularly difficult and was compounded by the fact that she didn't get to see them much when she was working the night shift.

"So when we got Millie, it was the answer to our prayers." But Millie did not come for awhile yet.

Six months of this juggling was more strain than they could bear. Cindy decided to put an ad in the paper to try to find someone to come to their home. A friend of hers that worked with her at the textile mill happened to answer the ad. Already knowing the woman, Cindy in her ever present positive attitude felt this would "be just perfect." It wasn't, however. She worked about one month and called in one morning and said she "wouldn't be here."

"I had just gotten off night shift and I decided to stay up and wait for the children to wake up before Sue came at 8:00." But before her husband left for work she told her husband she was exhausted and was going to bed. It was not quite 8:30. Then about 8:30 Max woke her up and said Sue was not here yet. "So about that time I was frantic because I had to sleep in order to go back to work that evening." At that time Sue did call and said she was not coming in anymore. "Just like that," she said. So I then got on the

phone and "called everybody trying to find someone to keep the children so I could go back to sleep in order to go to work that night." She then said emphatically, "Smith is good to work for, but they don't understand stuff like this you know." She couldn't call her mother since she was also working; her grandmother was a possibility, but when she learned that she was on jury duty that day she felt deserted. She then tried to think of non-family members who might happen to be home with young children. It just so happened that her supervisor who was on leave from her job to be with her own son, "was the only one I knew to call. I explained the situation to my supervisor and she offered to keep them. It was then 11:00 when she got the kids to her house and 12:00 before I got to bed. Then I awoke at 3:00 to get bottles down to Stacy." After that her grandmother kept the children for about a month until she learned that Millie was available. She said the whole experience was "a horror story." I agreed.

Cindy said child care was especially difficult for mothers that worked at Smith because the hours are unusual, e.g. sometimes employees have to work weekends at least twice a month and in her case her husband sometimes has to work weekends. She found it difficult to locate all day babysitters also willing to work weekends. She repeated again that she just could not ask "Mommy and Daddy to keep the children." I always received the impression that work

was always the first priority; it was for her parents and it was also true with Cindy. That was their way of life and now hers.

Cindy said her mother always worked first shift and never experienced the difficulties of shift work, but she felt she was still "too tired to keep the children." I then commented that my own father worked shift work for many years and he never could get used to it. He had to work three shifts, but finally was glad to be put on "steady nights."

"We all liked that," I remembered, "because he was up when we woke up in the morning, slept while we were at school, then was awake to play with us when we arrived home from school." I told her my brother and sister and I were grateful to have him around the house all the time, but I never knew how my mother felt.

Cindy agreed that working shift work does "put a burden on your family, you know. My husband is always saying, 'you don't cook enough, the house used to be spotless, etc. etc.'" She continued, "I always enjoyed cooking and I am a good cook, but I just don't have the time now. Sam just said tonight, 'you used to cook all the time.' Yeah, but then I didn't have two children, it was just me and you!"

I then asked how her children coped with her working. She said after being home for so long, about two straight weeks for Christmas vacation, her older boy, Max, begged

her, "Mama, please don't go back to work." And she said, "I replied, 'talk to your Daddy.'" She said holidays and vacations were especially difficult when she had to return to work, but she also added that she "was ready. He'd cry and have crying spells all the time. He'd yell, 'Mommy, don't leave, don't go to work.'" She said it "breaks your heart," but in a resigned manner she quickly added, "What could you do?" She said he does the same to "his Daddy" and continued, "I no longer let myself feel guilty."

When I asked her what she did when a child got sick, Cindy quickly replied that Smith was "very good about that." Cindy explained that as long as a worker has a doctor's excuse, she could stay home with a sick child the length of his illness. This surprised me, but then I quickly learned this was not a fully paid leave. Even though she was not fully paid for this she still felt it was not an unfair policy since the many other good benefits "compensated" for it. She said she never had any problems with the policy, that is, getting her note verified "unexcused," etc. I was curious to learn what exactly "unexcused" meant. I later found out "unexcused" meant no pay. She said that she was excused from work even when she had to take the baby in for a shot. "I just take in a doctor's excuse and there's no problem."

Being a little confused, I again asked, "So you don't have to use one of your sick days?"

She clarified, "We have no sick days." She then elaborated to me that she gets four days a year that are considered unexcused absences. "These are for a wedding or a party," she explained. "This is considered a personal day." She continued, "There's no limit for sick days. If I am sick for a week or two weeks; as long as you have a doctor's excuse they won't count it against you. You can get up to six months paid leave; that's as much benefits that you can get. It's a real good deal," and added, "it can't be for anything though; it has to be a good reason." I asked her who she gave her slip to and she said her supervisor. At this point I felt I needed to verify some facts. I was not sure if Cindy did not know or was just unclear about the sick leave policy.

What I learned was that according to their contract, hourly workers qualify for up to six months disability, which includes time off for a worker's illness or maternity leave, or if a worker needed to stay home with a sick child. This is not accrued from year to year. The disability pay is based on a certain percentage of a worker's salary; in Cindy's case it was about one/half. Disability was categorized as long-term or short-term disability and maternity leave was considered long-term disability. If by chance all the disability leave was used up and one needed more sick days, a worker could apply for major medical benefits under the insurance plan.

For her first child, Cindy said she stayed out from March 6th. and returned to work on July 5th. She said almost apologetically, "he was my first baby and I just couldn't leave him. I didn't want to hurt my baby." Then with the second child she worked up to four weeks before he was born, then went back to work when he was seven weeks old. She again explained that the longest one could stay out was six months and that if you needed to stay out longer, to recover from an operation or something equally serious then "you have to go on major medical." She felt the benefits that the employees received from her employer were the best in the area.

For any work after 6:00 p.m., a worker gets paid time and a half, so as a result the workers have not requested to work steady days or steady nights. But she still insisted her disability pay, "wasn't enough." Apparently, that was the main reason why she decided to return to work seven weeks after the second child was born. As she said, she needed the money "for the new house."

I then asked her if she liked her job. She answered very matter of factly that she liked the job because, "I get my three days off a week and vacations and holidays - its good. Just the hours are so long." She said that when she worked at the textile mill they would sometimes run out of

drapes and then they could leave early. "But at Smith the machinery was never turned off. When it's always going, you always have to work." She said she could be like her Daddy and work 25 years for Smith with no problem. She did seem very content with her work and I then tried to no avail to see if she did have any major complaints with Smith.

She then reminisced about her own upbringing. "Growing up we always had someone to take care of us until we were 10 or 11 then we really didn't need anyone except for about an hour after school. And then during the summer we were big enough to take care of ourselves. There were so many of us." She implied that they took care of each other. Cindy honestly believed that this was a good way to grow up and her children should grow up in the same manner.

At this point, her husband was walking in and out of the room and I got the impression that he wanted to add to what Cindy was saying. I glanced at him several times and he just grinned and shook his head, but he never did say anything.

I then asked if she thought a day care would be useful for the mothers that worked at Smith. She quickly responded, "You know, a lot of people have talked about it but there's really not many people that have small children that work at Smith." Then she looked at the ceiling and tried to think of all the women who worked there. She said on her shift there were only two other women besides herself

with children. The other two mothers had six children apiece, but she believed that they were all in school at this time. She said both began work after the children were in school and Smith was their first job. She believed they stayed home to raise their children and she was pretty sure they didn't begin work until the children were all in school. She was not sure how many mothers worked the other shift.

When I asked her again to elaborate on her husband's feelings about her working, she just replied, "I have to." I wasn't sure if that meant he encouraged her to work or she wanted to work no matter what he said. "That's how I came back to work so early because we just bought this house." She said, "As a matter of fact, I went into labor as I was putting the silverware in the drawer in the kitchen" and she laughed. "Our first payment was due in June, so I had to go back to work." She said they tax her sick pay now "so it ends up not being nothing." She did say then that made her sick pay come to about \$130.00 a week which she felt was not nearly enough for them to live on.

To change the subject away from money, I asked how her husband helped at home. She quickly responded, "Oh, yes, I couldn't make it without Sam. He keeps the children at night when I work. He says he works all day then works all night.

"He is just wonderful with the children. He takes over when I leave." She acknowledged a lot of men would not do what he does. She did add that his help around the house is contingent upon her working. "He says when I'm not working, he don't have to do anything. But I told him that that don't give me no time off. I pay the bills, take the children to the doctor's. This morning I went grocery shopping at 6:00 in the morning coming home from work." She felt it will probably get easier when the children get older and also said that having Millie do a lot of the housework saves her and Sam a lot of time. "I'll feel less guilty when they'll be in school, knowing they are somewhere." I then asked her if she ever thought about leaving her job. She looked me straight in the eye and said, "No." She thought for awhile, "I love my work and I know I have to work. I think I spend enough time with them." (meaning the children.) "I just work one half of a year minus 6 weeks vacation." (I later figured her hours out for a year and she was about right - she works approximately 180 days a year.) "So I can't be away from them that much."

Thinking of what my own problems were while working, I asked her if the baby slept all night. I told her mine were never good sleepers and as a result I was always tired after being up half the night. I wondered if her husband was bothered by that while she worked nights. She said Danny

rarely gets up at night. Sometimes at the start of night shift he'll wake up for her husband at 12:00 a.m. or 1:00 p.m. and she thinks this is because he knows that she didn't put him to bed. But now she said, "He's getting used to Sam and he won't have no use for me!"

Cindy said her oldest is the one that gives them most of the problems right now with his crying when they go to work. "It's getting to be an everyday affair. And I'll say to him, 'we go through this everyday.' Then when I come home from night shift, Max will ask me where his Daddy is."

Seeing that it was getting late, I said, "If you had to do it all over again, would you, that is, work for Smith?"

"Yes, of course," she said. "They are real good to you - as long as you do your job, they don't bother you. Everyone says it would be a lot easier if we worked just 9 to 5, but we make all our money after 8:00 - that's time and a half. Plus, you just can't cut the machinery off. They have to run continuously. When we shut down for holidays it takes weeks to get them back right. For example, we shut down from Christmas Eve to the 2nd of Jan. They sorted cans but that was the only thing that was running." Whenever talking about her job Cindy never really said much about exactly what she did. I knew she made 'containers' and was on the assembly line, but whenever we talked about what she enjoyed about her work, etc., she always referred to the

salary or the vacations and benefits. She mentioned that as another benefit her three weeks vacation (after 5 years) "plus, what they call 'change over weeks' - one week off after 7 straight weeks of working." She also gets a paid week at Thanksgiving and a week at Christmas. She said the contract last year called for 4 weeks of vacation after nine years. So she said in two more years she will receive 4 weeks vacation.

When I asked if she had a good union, she didn't seem so enthusiastic. "It's alright," she said shrugging her shoulders. "I guess it's as good a union as can be."

The baby started to cry and I knew Cindy wanted to draw to a close. "I couldn't stay home with the kids all the time. I don't see how mothers do that (with an emphasis on 'that') - the housekeeping and all." She then acknowledged that she was so glad to get back to work after the holidays, "because I had been with them so long. I enjoyed it," she said, "but, you know, I knew I had to go back to work - I didn't dread it when I went back."

I finished by asking her how the people were with whom she worked. She said all were "real nice. We are all real close because when you work with them long hours for years and years you really get close with them." I remarked it was difficult for me to meet any women when we first moved here because mostly everyone who had small children worked.

She replied, "It always comes up - 'they should of never hired a woman down here' all the men say. You hear that all the time and I get so sick of it." For the first time she did exhibit genuine irritation. I asked her what she meant. "You know, a woman can't do the job like a man can, you know. That's what they mean. I tell the men, 'you have babies and we'll quit working.' If they have babies all us women will be glad to quit everything else." She said there are mostly men who work on the floor with her. She figured it was about 3/4 men to 1/4 women. She said the men are always 'picking' at the women. "They'll come by with a mop and say, 'this is what you need to be doing....you ought to be home mopping the floor.'" Then she gave out a hearty laugh and said, "They ride us about it all the time, but we don't pay no attention to it. We say if you can clean house and look after kids all day then come in the night and work 12 hours then maybe you will wonder why I'm 'slacking.' That's why I give out even before I get here." She said a woman's day in general is a lot longer than a man's. She realized she was a lot luckier than some of the other women who work with her, because she does have Millie to do a lot of the chores around the house. She said it was mostly for Sam though that she's happy about Millie because "day care was killing him. He did it while I was on day time, then it was my turn when I was nights. I had to come in fix

breakfast and bottles and you had to take all this stuff: diapers, medicine, out there..... I was so tired.....I was desperate."

Returning to her positive attitude she went on proudly, "Sam is starting to teach Max his ABC's at night when I'm gone. Then he will tell Max to tell Mama about doing our homework last night. I could start Max at a private kindergarten at four and a half but I am going to wait until 1987, its too early to let him go."

She ended by saying she really enjoyed talking to me and said she was really looking forward to it since I last spoke to her. I thanked her for her time and saw myself out while she went back to the boys' bedroom.

Analysis

Cindy is independent, uncomplaining, positive, and energetic. Being raised in a two parent working family, she believes hard work is a part of her identity. Although at times she lacked the language, that is, she sometimes could not find the appropriate words to express what she wanted to convey, and at times I felt her level of awareness to be far below the other participants; I felt her to be honest and sincere in her opinions.

A controversy that has engaged social scientists for a very long time concerns the infant's need for continual contact with one maternal figure, usually meaning the

mother. John Bowlby (1979) held that working mothers did irreparable harm to the infant's personality by leaving him/her in the care of others. Nye and Berardo (1973) feel, however, that it "mattered little who or how many people care for a child, provided it is given affection, stimulation, exercise, and adequate food, and clothing. Of course, if this is true, it still might follow that mothers or fathers are more likely to provide for those needs. The quality of the care of the child, whether it be by its mother, or by someone else, appears to be the crucial factor." (p. 130)

Cindy, herself, could be a prime example of this type of care-giving. Cindy, who grew up with her mother working days while her father worked two jobs, seems to be very well-adjusted, even though she has a relatively narrow vision of what it means to be a woman today. She, like most children of working class mothers, has modeled her own behavior of raising children and work after her own mother.

Cindy was the most detached from her children of all the women I had interviewed. Because of that, I believe, she probably did not get too overly involved with them which, all the current research I have read says, is "good" for both the mother and the child. That is the mother does not live through the child or uses the child in some way as to compensate for her own inadequacies. (Slater, 1976) I was not so sure about the relationship with her husband,

however. There were quite a few overt comments of how she wanted to do things for Sam's sake: the child care arrangement, cook the home-cooked meals he would like, etc. But on the otherhand, there was a strong undercurrent in the conversation which somehow suggested that she was the dominant partner in the relationship even though she did not want him to think so. I will explain.

I believe this pretext is a reflection of the fact that in taking on the dual role of nurturer and economic provider, working class women, like Cindy, are not expressing any ideology of feminine equality, since superiority is still ascribed to men. However, the stable working class family may be said to operate according to matriarchal norms, although the wife, like Cindy, makes every effort to maintain "the fiction" that the husband is the head of the house (Duberman, 1975, p. 157). "Talk to your Daddy."

An argument that continues (Duberman, 1975) (Anyon, 1984) (Wallace, 1985) is that women of the working class are not seeking a broadening or redefinition of the traditional feminine role, but rather, an opportunity to fulfill the middle-class version of that role. That is, they do not wish to encroach upon formerly masculine prerogatives, but regret the deficiencies of their own husbands or male role models in enacting the middle-class masculine role.

Cindy also possessed many middle-class values of consumption and aspired to acquire many material items and saw her job as the way to gain them. Helen Mayer Hacker says it is difficult to demarcate the lower classes partly because the "working class" has become "middle classified" (Duberman, 1975, p. 146) in their outlook and patterns of consumptive behavior.

She, however, did not embrace the notion about women and mothering that says the mother should stay at home, do the chores, be primary caretaker for the children at home. But she never questioned the values of her working-class mother, in which good hard work was part of the life of a wife and a mother.

Lois Hoffman (1963) found that women generally say they are working either because the money they earn is required for family necessities or in order to have "extras." Like Cindy, financial reward is the motive most often given. Edwin Lewis, (1968) however, believes that financial need has been over-emphasized as a motive for working (especially for upper class women). Instead, Lewis contends that psychological satisfaction is the chief reason. Lewis feels that women defined their working on economic grounds because they are afraid that society will not understand more personal motives.

Someone told me later on that before Cindy was married, after she finished working the night shift, she also worked

for five more hours at a local restaurant. At 6 a.m. Cindy went directly from Smith to the restaurant and helped serve breakfast and pour coffee before she went home to go to sleep to get ready for the next night of twelve hour work at Smith. This would seem to suggest that she derived pride and satisfaction from working or why else would she drive herself so? I believe Cindy enjoyed working and expressed this satisfaction in terms of the material "rewards."

Throughout the interview, I kept thinking about Ehrenreich and what she said about the employers who loaned money to employees so they could buy homes. "The home became a wholesome target for working class ambitions and a holding place for women's energies.... the symbol for oppression and a container for aspirations...."

Whatever her motives for working, Cindy reminded me of what I think pioneer women were like. She was tough, realistic and practical. However, while Cindy talked about the here and now, I found Ann to be more reflective.

Ann

When I first spoke to Ann over the phone to ask her if I could talk to her about her job she was very gracious and said she would "love to." She had a beautiful voice and I immediately thought she must make a very good impression for her employer whenever she answered the phone. She asked where I was from and when I answered she kidded me but ever

so slightly, "I knew it wasn't from around here!" After we agreed to meet on a Friday afternoon and after mentioning where I lived she asked if I would mind if she came to my house. She explained it was on the way to her daughter's babysitter and she felt that would be easiest for her. From previous experience I immediately thought that may not be a good idea, but at the same time I thought my children would not be home that afternoon, so we readily agreed on Friday.

When I answered the doorbell that Friday afternoon, I found a tall, thin, attractive woman very meticulously dressed with every hair in place. She greeted me with a warm smile that matched her pleasant voice. As she took off a very stylish black fur jacket, I noticed she wore a beautiful pink satinlike blouse with a loose cowl neckline. It looked very attractive on her. It was matched with a simple gray A-line skirt and dark stockings and dark high heeled shoes. I am not very conscious of what other people wear, but for some reason it caught my eye immediately. I guessed she was in her early forties, but she looked much younger. Her posture was erect and she carried herself very well. I asked her if she would rather sit in here on the couch or at the dining room table. She said she believed she would be more comfortable at the table. As we walked into the dining room she made some very polite comments about my home and asked how long we had lived here. She was

a good listener and for the first ten minutes it was she who was asking me the questions - about my home, the town, my children. She was very gracious and was the epitome of what would be considered when I first moved South, a true "Southern Lady."

After realizing she was doing all the questioning, she immediately excused herself and asked exactly what my paper was about. She said it sounded "very exciting." As I was telling her about my interests she hinted that she would be a good person to talk with because she "has been there." She spoke with a reflection that Cindy lacked and also spoke in a more punctilious and studied manner--sometimes almost painstakingly. She seemed to dwell on her upbringing more and its effects upon her later life.

She said she was born in Stanly county in North Carolina and was the oldest of three girls and three boys. Her father was a carpenter and they moved around alot from job to job since he did a lot of construction work. He had to go where the work was. When I asked her what it meant to be the oldest she said that being the oldest meant she was "head babysitter." She said she learned very few things about the house except "how to babysit" which was her permanent responsibility until she married. I asked her how she felt about being "head babysitter" and she said, "I always found it very difficult to have my homework done or

have outside activities because of being responsible for smaller brothers and sisters."

She said her mother did not work outside the home, but imagined by the time she came home from school, her mother was, most likely, quite tired from the chores and from taking care of the children. As soon as Ann returned from school her mother then did other chores that she was unable to do while the children were around. "My mother did not graduate from school and my parents were largely a strict family - my mother never had many prejudices, so they weren't passed on to me. My father had a few, but even so I was allowed to be broad-minded in my outlook on life. "

I asked her if she had any other responsibilities around the house. She said she also did the cooking and helped her mother with many of the household chores, "but the babies were mine." I remarked that must have been a very big responsibility. She agreed, "Yes, I changed diapers and everything else that had to be done for the babies. From the time I walked in the door until I went to bed, the babies were left to me." I asked how old she was when she started taking care of the children and she said she was about 8 or 9. "My brothers and sisters came one after the other...but it was good.... because it kept me out of trouble that I might have gotten into otherwise, I guess." I said to her that she didn't look like the type who might have gotten into any kind of trouble when she was

younger. She laughed and said, "Well, I guess I was really resentful at the time, especially not having time for homework. High grades were expected and that was difficult to do. And when my mother went to the hospital to have another baby, I had to run the whole household." I remarked that she sounded like she was a very responsible girl at such a young age. "I believe I was. I had to make my Dad's lunch, get his meals ready, his clothes. My father was very strict about getting the meals on the table on time. So, yes, I did resent it somewhat at the time." Since a brother followed her in line in the family, she felt that he never shared or was required to help with the children.

I asked her if the boys had "different" chores and she replied, "It was funny, but I don't remember the boys having any chores around the house at all. In fact, as time went on, and as one child would grow up and be married the other children seemed to have much more latitude of activities than I did when I was at home. But I don't know if that's good or bad... I don't notice any difference in their happiness now... but that's the way it was then."

"What do you think at this time about the role you had in your own family?" I asked. "Well, I guess you would say that I played a very subservient role; we were trained to back then. When I graduated from high school, there was not a question about if you were going to college - what mattered then was if you could find a job and handle it. If

not, tough." She continued, "So I really miss not having the opportunity of going to a college."

I asked her about her first job and if she was married at the time. "I met Al a year before I graduated from high school. We were married two weeks after high school graduation. As a matter of fact, I had to get permission from the company while I was still in high school in order that I could go on my honeymoon to N. Y." She explained in the spring of her senior year local companies came to the school to interview students for jobs. She was promised a job with a local textile firm as soon as she finished high school, but they had no knowledge that she intended to get married. "Then after I came back from my honeymoon I began working in personnel at Smith."

She told me about her job then which she characterized as a "general job." "You just did everything - you interviewed people, did a lot of typing, shorthand;" she felt it was good preparation for the job she holds now and she felt she was well-prepared due to her business courses in high school. "We even helped set up norms for hiring other people." Ann gave the impression she could handle and enjoyed having a lot of responsibility, which could be attributed to her early baby sitting days.

"That job just came to me; they came to the high school and interviewed me, so I got the job while I was in high school but didn't start work until afterward. I worked there for several years before our children came along. I

enjoyed it very much. Reminiscing about "how things had changed," she said at that time they had a rule at this company that the men in her department could have coffee and donuts at their desks but the women could not. "And I'm afraid," she said proudly, "I started a little trouble about that." She said she had started a petition that ultimately changed the policy, but she added twenty five years ago "you didn't do those things... not in our small town at any rate."

Getting back to her husband, she said Al did not mind her working because it meant we could have "extra things that we couldn't have afforded if I was not working." And "just getting a start" we needed the extra money. But after she had the children and she wanted to return to work, he felt differently. She continued to talk about the past.

"I took all secretarial courses in high school to prepare me for my job. And I did very well in them," she said proudly. "I was married three years before I had my oldest girl and worked up until six weeks before I had her. I enjoyed my children and my home, but I realized after a number of years that I was becoming so family-oriented.... depending so much on Al to make me happy. I felt it was an unfair burden for him to carry. That's just too much to expect from one person."

After 3 children (a girl now 23, a boy 16 and a girl, 7) she told Al two years ago that she thought she would like

to return to work. He replied that he didn't have any doubt that she could do "anything that you set your mind to"..she then said he was referring to her stubbornness...but he said that he really "would rather that she stayed at home."

He then began to list all the reasons or as she put it, "inconveniencences" as to why she should stay at home. I couldn't help myself, but said, "Boy, does this sound familiar." And she laughed. He insisted that it just wouldn't be worth it - her working, that is. He said she would have to hire a babysitter (her youngest was in school for half a day), she would have to buy new clothes, pay for traveling expenses, and "we'll probably be eating out (fast foods, etc.) more. He reasoned it would just cost us more money for me to work. After he said it over and over again, I finally agreed with him.

"And that's when I said, 'Yes, I want to eat out more, buy more clothes, do a little traveling, that's the point!'" She laughed. She said, "Then he could no longer argue with me. So he reluctantly agreed, 'If that's what you want to do, go ahead.'" Then she said seriously, "He really wasn't that thrilled about it. Although his attitude is changing I still try doubly hard to keep the house in order, have the meals ready. I get up 5:00 a.m. every morning and go to bed about 10:00 or 10:30.

"Although I was not working for 15 years, you can't say I wasn't working. I did a lot of volunteer work, library work, taught Sunday school. I also picked up a lot of adult continuing education courses that at the time I felt was good for me. I wouldn't want to go back to that now, but at the time, I enjoyed it."

So Ann returned to work a little before her youngest girl started school. One daughter was by then married and no longer living at home and her middle boy was in high school. The only baby sitting care she needed was for the youngest for after school and in the summer and when she was sick. "This was something I worried about a lot - what will I do when Susie got sick. After being home with the children for so long, I thought no one is going to care for them the way I did. But this was not the case. I found a lady who lived near me and kept children a number of years and was very good with them. One day when my little girl was sick, I thought, I couldn't go to work and leave her sick with the babysitter because she needed medicine at a certain time, etc., and I felt that no one else could supervise that like I would. But I decided to send her, medicine and all to the babysitter. I explained the instructions very carefully to the babysitter, but later still thought she would 'forget.' When I picked Susie up that first day I left her there sick, I found she was demonstrating to the other children that she could take her

own medicine 'by herself' without any problems. So it worked out that leaving her was quite good for her because it gave her confidence and made her a little more independent. She didn't seem like a baby any longer. And I might have been babying her more, being the youngest, if I was not working," she said as an afterthought.

Ann said she loved her job. She did not dwell on the benefits as Cindy did but did say they were rather good. She was salaried and did not get paid for overtime. She was also not protected by a union. She rarely put in overtime, but there have been occasions when she did take work home. Aware of this, her boss has been very generous about bonuses and gifts around holiday times. She's learned all about computers since she began working, and was very proud of this fact. She no longer uses her shorthand, but does a lot of transcribing straight onto the computer. She works mainly on a word processor all day that she was once so afraid of "never being able to learn." She now says "it really wasn't that difficult at all."

She works from 8:00 to 5:00 and says she would never be able to work shift work as some do. She didn't think her husband would allow it. Not that it mattered; she wouldn't want to do it anyway. She likes her boss a lot and feels a good relationship is very important. She could not work for someone who was very demanding and discourteous. She

considers herself very lucky and says quite frankly that she feels very good about herself since she went back to work.

Elaborating on her relationship with her boss; she said he is younger than she is, but is always very considerate and has been very good to her. She said he is always doing little things for her like getting her coffee sending gifts home to the children when they were sick, "just doing little things for me." For example, when he hired her, he asked if it would bother her if he "cursed." She said no. He then said he would try to be careful, but he did have a bad habit of that in the past. She also said a lot of the men who worked with her were from the North and she feels Northern men have a "better attitude" about women working than local men. She couldn't think of anything in particular that made her feel this way, but she believed it to be true. The department that she worked in employed mostly men. There was one other woman who worked at a desk nearby and she was a lot younger than Ann.

I asked her what she enjoyed about working at Smith. She said that this might sound silly, but what she enjoyed most was getting dressed in the morning and just driving to work. She said some of the other secretaries in the other departments wore slacks, but she felt it is important in her position to have a good appearance. "There are always people and other customers coming from the Head Office and I feel it is important to make an impression."

I asked her again about her husband. She repeated that Al was not "thrilled" about the idea of her returning to work, but he's accepted it now and she believes its been a "growing" experience for him. "He's doing things he never did before like taking the children to the doctor's. He's doing things he never did before in all the years we were married. I never felt he ever spent enough time with the children. He worked all day and when he came home he was very tired and really did not want to be bothered with the children. I would often try to keep the children away until he had his dinner and was more relaxed. But it is really a lot different now. We also do a lot more things together now which we never did before. We are going out dancing and sometimes go away on the weekends together. I believe our relationship is much more improved."

I then asked her how the children felt about her working. "My son loves it because he could have a house full of teenagers after school." She laughed. "As I told you my seven year goes to the babysitter after school. She'll take the bus straight to her house, then I'll pick her up there. I thought about letting her stay home with Pete but she has other children her age she gets to play with there, so I rather she go there." She thought for a moment, "I think my little one would like to have me home more, but I do try to compensate by doing things with her more. For example, last year I took a personal day to go on a field

trip with her. We went to a museum. And you know some of the mothers who don't work don't even do that. I also schedule a party for her with her class at the beginning of the year. We do have our little together time when I drive her to school in the morning and I go in to speak to the teacher and even though it's very brief I feel I am in touch now a lot more with the school than I ever was. I never did that for my other two. I feel like I am in closer contact with her now than before.

"My older daughter is especially supportive. She is really glad I returned to work. She said she was very proud of me. She told me just the other day this someone mentioned the aches and pains as you grow older and then someone said to her 'just wait until you get to be my and your mother's age.' And my daughter replied, 'I can't wait to be my mother's age - she looks better and acts better and she's having more fun than she ever did!' When she told me that I said, 'Lord, I love that kid!'" She laughed heartily.

She went on to say while she was home she was very temperamental. "There were times when I felt just like crying." She said she felt confined having so many things to do in the home and people would always ask, "Do you work?" She said she felt like screaming, "Yes, I work; I work all day taking care of this house!" But she went on

that she knew what they meant. What they were saying to me was "so what! Who cares about someone taking care of the house. After awhile, I didn't care about the house either." Then she began to get more upbeat and said, "It's a job. I'm glad I stayed home and had that time with the children, but now I'm glad to be doing something different."

She began looking at her watch and I knew her daughter would be waiting for her so I quickly asked her two more questions. I asked her to define "responsibility." She said she would define it as something you have to do. Then I asked what she believed her greatest strength was either at home or on the job. She quickly replied, "Perseverance, hang in there!"

I thanked her for her time and I said if she had a minute on the way back I would like to meet her daughter. She seemed flattered and said she would love for me to meet her. She raced out the door while putting on her coat and returned in about 15 minutes.

By Ann's side was a beautiful, very thin lanky girl with long blonde hair that was tied back with two pink ribbons, one on each side of her head. Her hair hung almost to her waist and like her mother's not a hair was out of place. She wore a bright monogrammed pink sweater over a neat white blouse and wore gray cullotes with white tights. She also wore a white fur jacket that looked a little like Ann's black fur one. She was her mother's daughter. She

was very quiet and didn't smile much, looking quite serious. I told her she had to come back when my own daughter was here. Ann and I chatted a little while longer then we said our goodbyes. I could tell Ann was very proud of her.

Analysis

Ann revealed herself in this interview to be a dedicated family person and worker. Ann's role change from predominately housewife to corporate secretary seemed to give her a great deal of self confidence. She felt her husband valued her more and she valued herself more as an individual. Ann seemed to view all her life experiences as positive and believed all was a learning experience.

Ann is a perfectionist. She gets up every morning at 5:00 a.m. to clean the house and to get the children ready for school. She later told me that she now goes to work on Saturday afternoons with her 16 year old son. She managed to get him a part-time job cleaning several offices. She said this took only a couple of hours so she really didn't mind. She said they had hired a woman to clean the offices but she really wasn't doing a very good job. So she asked her boss that if he didn't mind she would get her son to do the same work and they would only have to pay him half of what they paid her. She felt it would teach him responsibility, something she felt he was lacking. Although she said she just pointed out some things that

needed to be looked after, I somehow got the feeling she assisted with the work.

Her compulsiveness about the house may be attributed to her husband's feelings about her going back to work. She wanted to maintain the home just as she did before she started to work. She didn't want anything or anyone to suffer because of her working.

Ann seemed to be preoccupied with romantic notions of male-female relations and often stressed her husband's newly found interest with the children and with herself. I believe if she had known that would have been the outcome of her returning to work she would have done so earlier. I believe, her feeling that the job had to be tailored to her home demands was also due in part to her husband's feelings about her working. Her views about what it means to be feminine are quite traditional. And I believe she was teaching her daughter those same values: importance of appearance, there is women's work and men's work, etc. I was only a little surprised that she did not have her son babysit for her daughter especially since she felt her brother had not assumed some of her chores in the home.

I feel her one big regret was the fact that she did not attend college. She only touched on this briefly, but I received the impression that it was something she would

rather not talk about. Ann mentioned later on that she still may do it yet, but her husband at this point in time did not want her to because it would take her away from him and the children even more. He felt she could either work or go to school and, she added, that it was "kind of foolish" to be going to school at her age. I felt once she acquired enough confidence in herself she very likely would pursue that as well. But since her husband did not have a college degree, I then thought that returning to school might threaten their relationship and she would not want to do that.

For Ann, relationships with others, boss, husband, children, were top priority -even I believe if it meant going without an education. Financial reward was not the motive behind Ann's decision to return to work. I believe it had more to do with psychological satisfaction - to feel valued, needed. She was no longer "needed" at home, and at the same time there was no value ascribed in her staying at home. Plus, I believe she was "bored" at home and needed more stimulation due to her intellectual level.

Satisfactory employment for Ann seemed to be correlated more with interpersonal variables: the people she worked with and the surroundings and less with achievement - although achievement - being successful at what she does, in her case, does play a factor. (For men achievement plays a

bigger role than the interpersonal relationship factor says Gilligan.) Ann worked mainly for the intrinsic satisfactions that were derived from human relationships - not for the sole opportunity to do creative work, or for mere material rewards.

Many studies show a high correlation between a woman's job satisfaction and her attitude toward her children. If her job satisfaction is high her pleasure in her children is likely to be high. In Ann's case the job seems to act as a "safety valve" - permitting frustration that might otherwise build up if all her activities were confined to the home.

I do think Ann is an intelligent woman and demonstrated a thoughtful approach in her actions. However, I was worried how long she could integrate work and family through the "superwoman" approach. While Cindy had the "whatever will be, will be" attitude and a more or less silent determinism, Ann I felt was more driven. Both were very pleased with the company; Ann for the work and for the people, Cindy mainly for the money and the benefits. However, Stacy, our next participant was displeased about many aspects of working at Smith.

Stacy

When I first called Stacy she sounded very eager to talk to me. However, she took me by surprise when she asked if we 'could do it over the phone.' I told her that would be rather difficult and I really thought it was necessary to

talk to her in person. She said the next two weeks would be extremely busy for her for she was starting a new management training course at the company and she would be working extra hours and would not have a free minute. Since they just adopted a new baby, all her extra time is spent at home with him. I told her I understood completely and asked if it would be alright if I called her back in about two weeks and try to set up an appointment then. She said that would be fine, but she then quickly stated that she preferred that we conducted the interview at her job site. I did not think that that would be a good idea, but I said if that was alright with her it would be fine with me. She apparently did not want to use any of her personal time.

She went on to talk about why she was so upset with the company. I wanted to tell her to "save it," but I found it difficult to interrupt her. She sounded like she really needed to talk to someone. I then wished I had the tape-recorder going. She said she had been so disgusted with Smith lately that that was the reason she wanted to conduct the interview during work. I asked if my being there would get her "into trouble." She replied in the negative and said during the night shift she is the only supervisor around and added I need not worry.

In exactly two weeks on a Thursday I called her back and an older woman answered the phone in a whispered hello. She said that Stacy was not up yet and if I could call back

in about an hour, at three in the afternoon. I was never quite sure when to call the workers on the night shift. I later learned that most slept until about 2:00 or 3:00 in the afternoon before they went to work at 6:00 p.m.

I called back about 3:10 and Stacy answered the phone. I knew that Thursday was the end of her work week and I had hoped maybe she would agree to meet me sometime before Monday at her home, before she had to go back to work. I asked her how the training program went and she said that she was glad to have a few days off from work. When I asked about when we could meet, she said that I should call her at work either on the following Monday or Tuesday evening after 8:00. She was always very direct and matter-of-fact and came to the point immediately. I received the impression that time was of the essence and she could not afford to waste a minute of it.

She then gave me her business phone number and I agreed to call her there. She said after 8:00 she really wouldn't have much to do and she would have a lot of time to talk to me then. She said she would meet me at the gate so I could get into the building. But she said to call her first to make sure everything was alright. I still didn't feel very good about going to her workplace. I reminded her that I had a tape-recorder and if anyone saw me taping her what would they think? She again told me not to worry and we would be able to use the big conference room and that no one would see us.

The following Monday I called her at 8:05 p.m. and she said she would meet me at the gate at 8:30 p.m. I drove to the factory which was 10 minutes from my home and entered the parking lot at 8:25. The factory was all lit up and was encircled by a chainlinked fence which also surrounded the parking lot. There was no one at the little security house at the entrance of the parking lot so I just drove past it. No flashing lights or sirens went off, I thought, so I felt I was safe. (I was really nervous!) I parked in the visitors parking lot and saw someone waiting inside the main entrance. I quickly got out of my car and walked up the few feet to the entrance and found Stacy waiting for me.

We shook hands as she told me that I looked familiar. I mentioned a party that we had both attended several years ago but she vaguely remembered it. We walked down this long hall and she then asked me if I wanted any coffee. I thanked her and after emptying the coffee pot we made two more turns down the long stark hallway before we came to the conference room. There was no one in sight. The place seemed empty. All I could hear were the loud noises of the machinery on "the floor" nearby. Before we went into the conference room she asked me if I wanted to see "the floor." I shook my head yes and we walked several more feet straight ahead and looked through a small window on the top of the heavy double doors. I looked into a massive assembly room where machines were grinding away very noisily and workers

were casually standing or sitting by. It was very loud. I asked how they could stand the noise. She said everyone is used to it. Most wear earplugs. I only stayed a minute due to my increasing nervousness and quickly retreated to the entrance of the conference room.

The conference room was beautifully decorated with its largest feature being a huge table in the center of the room. The table was surrounded by about 16 chairs. Stacy sat at one end of the table and I sat to her right. I found a plug right behind me so I plugged in the tape recorder immediately.

Stacy was a fragile looking woman about 5'4" with dark medium length hair. She looked about my age, maybe 38 or 39. She wore a white blouse and dark pants and carried a heavy helmet that she said she had to wear when she went out on the floor. She immediately began talking in a very fast paced manner that even surpassed my own Yankee speed.

"You know I have a little boy, he'll be 9 months on the 8th. You do know I adopted him, which I think puts more stress on me going back to work. You know it gets on your nerves to finally get a child and then, when I get him, the adoption ended up being so expensive that financially I just had to come back to work, because it was really expensive. So the financial need was there, but then, too, I feel like this might be the only baby I'm ever going to get and then you've got that stress there and you want to enjoy every minute." She talked non-stop. I just let her continue.

"Then there's this other side of me; however, that is used to working for so many years I have developed this work attitude, this 'work ethic,'.... I'd probably get bored with just staying home. I just wish I had a more minimal work schedule." She went on.

"I don't find anything wrong with staying at home, but I think work or staying at home should be a decision based on desire, rather than something imposed on you financially, or because society says you should.

"I think this job sharing thing that was really so big at one time; that would be an answer to professional women. I have a friend in Raleigh that works at Wake Hospital. She has a nursing degree and works there in teaching cardiac patients how they need to re-design their lives and she shares that position with someone else that also has had a child. Her baby is about three years old and she and this other nurse, after they both had children, decided to share that job. I don't know how they work the benefits out. I think that's usually one of the big drawbacks - the benefit situation. But, other than that, the salary can work itself out... you could take care of that. But I really think that would be the answer to those of us who want to be home and fulfill your desires of work also.

"I've always thought that the biggest thing that would help this company per se - this plant right here would be some kind of child care, a 24 hour child care situation. It

would not necessarily have to be subsidized by the company; I just feel it would really help people that work just to have good care for their children and it would end up being self-supporting. And if the company would just, if nothing else, help get it started and provide a facility for it.....that would really answer so many of our problems... for men as well as women workers. We have a few men who work here who have full custody of their children, so it really isn't only working mothers who need help in that area." Remembering what Cindy had said, I told her that others have told me that there were not enough workers who had pre-school children.... that a day care facility would not work out here for that reason. But Stacy replied.

"That is not the case on my shift. Most of our workers have young children and we also have a single male parent who has sole custody of his four children. I know for a fact he has a lot of problems. He comes from Greensboro and has gone through a lot of babysitters. He had no family around - he depended on a lot of neighbors. His children are getting older now, but he doesn't like the fact that they are in the house by themselves at night. But what can he do?

"I believe there are plenty of workers like him that would justify some kind of day care facility here. They would use something like that. If the 'hourlys' could work it into their contract that would be a great help. But that

never came up during any contract negotiations. Child care has never been a priority issue. If we had a day-care here, I believe it would be cost-effective... it would end up paying for itself. I also think that it would cut out a lot of absenteeism. Where can you put a child at night if you are a single parent and you are working D crew? Friday and Saturday night, who wants to keep a child from six at night on a Saturday night until 6 in the morning? Unless you have family around, you are stuck or you pay through the nose for someone to come to your house. If there were a day care facility, you both could benefit: the company and the individual. I pay \$18.00 a day for someone to just sit and watch Ross during normal work hours. I would bring my child here to sleep." I wondered how that would work remembering Cindy's experience of taking her children outside the home for care.

She took a sip of her coffee and shook her head. She continued. "In some ways it makes a strain on the marriage since our babysitter works around my husband more than around me. Most children say 'Daddy' first because the mother is always talking to them about their father. But our baby said 'Mama' first. In a way it makes you wonder.... it is not easy being a working parent."

I then asked her about her own parents. Did her mother work? What did her father do? She said, "My mother never worked until I was in the seventh grade. She went to school

to study cosmetology and worked in a beauty shop. She liked working with people, but working in a beauty shop was not what she wanted to do she later found out. So she went back to the local community college and took some psychology courses. She then started working with The Caswell Training School in the eastern part of the state. She worked with the mentally retarded. My father farmed and when my Dad retired from farming, when all of us were still at home, he also started working at Caswell as a cottage parent. Since working as a cottage parent meant he was a supervisor of the county, he mainly did this to get some retirement benefits since as a farmer, working for himself, he really had none. My grandparents farmed and my father also farmed their land for them when they were older. I also have three brothers and no sisters; I am the oldest."

I asked her if she worked in high school. She replied that she had a part-time job in a little grocery store. "I lived in the country, but we did have a little grocery store nearby. I worked there at the checkout when I was in high school. I also drove a school bus. And, of course, we all did a lot of work on the farm. We all grew up working." I learned to just let her talk. I enjoyed listening to her.

"I went to UNC-G and afterward worked in Raleigh. I majored in biology education so I was able to obtain work at the Museum of Natural History as curator of education for five years. I also took some courses at State, trying to

pick up a master's degree. I loved the work at the museum, but there was no money in it." I told her I thought it sounded like a wonderful job. "It really was, but since there really wasn't much chance for advancement, I applied for another job with the state that I felt like I was qualified for, but the guy in charge of it was pretty much.... well, he was an ex-marine sergeant and he wanted to know why I wanted to work anyway, especially a job that would involve traveling. The job was an egg inspector's job, which doesn't sound that glamorous but I was more than qualified with my background and having grown up on a farm directly across from a poultry farm and having had worked there some, I knew what was involved and I felt capable. I could handle the job well. So I did have experience, and even though I was overqualified for the job, the job offered a car with a travel allowance and was paying much more than the position I was presently in, even though it required less education. So at any rate, I applied for it and when I didn't get it, it made me so mad....I came to this town and applied for the job at Smith. It all happened so fast, but the salary increase was phenomenal even though I started working here just as a clerk.

So I came here in 1980 and I have been here five years. The first year after Rob and I got married, he finished up graduate school in Raleigh and I just rented a room here during the work week and went back to Raleigh on weekends

and then he did his internship in Greensboro. We moved here the following September. Rob works with the County Health Department. His degree is in public administration."

I tried to steer her back to the issue of work and family so I then asked, "You told me something over the phone about you weren't considered a 'parent' in the eyes of the company; what did you mean by that?" I remembered Stacy being really enraged about this over the phone and I wanted her to elaborate about that.

"In terms of benefits, if I had been pregnant, I could have taken a leave with pay, basically.... my benefits and my salary... but since I adopted, that was a 'personal decision,' so I had to take a personal and did not get any pay. My medical benefits would have been stopped after three months, so I arranged it so I could get a full month's leave, by using my vacation, shift change, and grievance. I came back on a Friday night, believe it or not, so I wouldn't lose my benefits. On personal leave, there are no survivor benefits. We have a program here for the salaried people that if a worker dies, either on or off the job, my family would receive a very substantial amount. My family would have an income for many years if anything happens to me. So since we don't carry any additional insurance I felt it was important for me to get back to work just so I would be covered."

Since the company did not consider Stacy a parent, she was unable to accrue the typical benefits that any other working mother who had had a child naturally would have. I did not want to ask her: is not pregnancy also a personal decision? I thought that would make her angrier. She went onto explain how the benefits work for salaried people.

"When I was going to adopt Ross, I interpreted personal leave to mean that I could use that time that I had built up as personal leave, but it did not work that way. Due to the fact that I had so much built up, the adoption agency wanted me to take a six month leave. I then explained to the agency that it would not be fair to the company for me to be away that long. I explained that my job requires one person to be in that position for an extended period of time and it just wouldn't be possible for me to take that much time away from the job. So I explained my work schedule to them and the fact that Ross would be only with the sitter two days one week and three days the next, because Rob would pick up the extra day. I work four days one week and three days the next so the adoption agency agreed that they would waiver the six months and that I would take three months leave. With my vacation, Ross would be four months old when I came back to work. Well," she clarified, "actually he was closer to five months old, since we didn't get him at first. So the agency really had no problem with that."

"But here I had done something for the company and then I found out that the leave would be totally without pay. Basically, I could have at that point had the six months, but financially the adoption was so expensive. Plus, the big thing that scared me was the medical benefits. The instant we adopted Ross, he was automatically covered. In fact, from the day he was born he really wasn't covered, but the day we actually picked him up, I had gotten everything set up so that he was covered from that time on. Since I didn't want those medical benefits to lapse, I stuck to my original three months for that reason. And that was the one big factor, as well as the fact that it was financially expedient to come back to work." Then she paused for the first time. After 30 seconds she said, "But I believe we could have made the financial sacrifice, if it hadn't been really for the medical benefits. Rob's medical benefits with the county are not that great, so I wanted to have the coverage here. And Ross and Rob are covered with me at no extra cost. We have good coverage through my job."

"I am just curious," I asked, "did the agency give you a hard time about not taking the full six months?"

"The agency preferred that you didn't work, especially since it is a Christian agency and its beliefs are a little more traditional - as opposed to a state agency. They know I am back at work now and they have been very understanding.

One of the things that convinced them was the the fact that I was getting somebody to come in the home and stay with Ross rather than have him go to a day care center." I asked her if it was very hard to find someone to stay with her son.

"Well, I thought it was going to be, but it wasn't. Mrs. Smith worked for a friend who now is no longer working and at the present time is staying home with her children. So, as a result, Mrs. Smith was looking for another baby to keep. She drives over herself so we don't have to pick her up. She's been wonderful. If it wasn't for her, I don't know how I would have felt coming back to work. I felt bad enough, but knowing she is with Ross has made it a lot easier. The whole time she was with my friend, she was only unable to take care of her children two days when she was out with the flu. I don't think two days sick is very bad for three years work.

"She is also very good about last minute changes, etc. The past few months have been rather hectic taking this management training course. So some weeks she has had to come in five days a week as opposed to four. So she's been very good about helping out.

"Rob has been a very big help as well. He's been known to take Ross to board meetings when I have to work at night. Also, he's taken some vacation days to stay home with Ross. He helps a great deal." I then asked how she coped working twelve hour days.

"That I like, I like the twelve hour days from the standpoint that you get your work week over with quicker and I have gotten so accustomed to it, that the time goes by very fast. I wish, however, we were on a rotating schedule in that I would go Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, one week and then maybe Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, the next. The way my shift works, I work three weekends out of a month and that is very difficult. The B shift only works on the average maybe one weekend out of the month. It makes it difficult especially when your husband has a 'normal' job and is home on weekends. I am just glad I am through with that training course, because that took up so much of my time.....This place keeps going and going...We shut down Easter, two days at Thanksgiving and shut down on Christmas Eve and open up the day after Christmas. And lots of times if I'm scheduled for a class or I'm asked to attend a meeting for the supervisors, I have to attend meetings on off days. Sometimes it seems like it never stops..." She elaborated upon the shift work. She enjoyed talking about how the plant structured the work day.

"If we would go to a 4/4 rotation, a lot of companies especially fire departments, and police departments and that kind of things are going to this: 12 hour days/ 4 day weeks. You work four days and are off four days, so that it rotates your days off and you are not stuck working every weekend. You might work, manage to work three weekends in a row, but then you've got three complete weekends off. Now being that

I'm on D crew and have been every summer for the last four summers, I work Thursday, Friday, Saturday nights 6 to 6 and every other Wednesday night. It really limits my family, in terms of what we can do. And I hate that part of the job. I realized it when I came here, but I still don't like it. But if we were on 4/4 rotation, I might not be on nights during the summer and I also wouldn't be working every single weekend. It would take 16 months to complete a cycle instead of 12. Stress factors, everything I've read on that, prefers it to a 3/3 or to a 4/3 or 3/4, because on 4/3 or 3/4 you always have your switch day on Sunday." She seemed to enjoy talking about this. I asked how the workers could go about changing it?

"Well, the union has not voted it in. There was one time when that was an issue, when it was almost voted in. The controversy that year was the issue of lock shift. Lock shift means that you are set, you work nights all of the time or days all of the time, you are locked in because of your seniority. A worker would get to pick based on his seniority. But here we had people that were standing in line behind each other when we were hired for these jobs... we were all hired within two days of each other, because we're such a new plant. The problem of seniority is not so cut and dry here as it would be at other plants. For example, some people were only hired two hours before I was and just happened to get handed a number before I did. So

lock shift was not voted in. It was kind of like, you're not giving us locked shift, so we're not giving you 4/4. All the people that have been on that night time D crew were working it the year round and they got tired of it. So when the new contracts came up, they opened it up to get rotating shifts. A lot of the day time people were against the rotating shifts, so in retaliation they said we might have to rotate shifts, but we are not going to do 4/4. A lot of people don't realize the advantages of rotating shifts. Management could take a stand on it, but I don't think they will. It would be better for the union and the people to do it than the company to say, 'hey, you are going to start working....' So I don't think rotating will ever happen, not in the near future anyway.

"This whole work business is really ridiculous when you really stop and think about it. You must think I am crazy to work in this type of situation... And make [liquor boxes] no less! Talk about bettering the world!" She became almost apologetic. "When I really stop long enough to think about it - it depresses the hell out of me. If I were working in my chosen field, biology, I would maybe be either teaching or working in a lab. In either case I could be helping humanity. But here I am making [liquor boxes]! I don't even do that really; I supervise others and tell them how to make [liquor boxes]!"

"I really don't think I'll be here much longer; however. Rob is looking for a new job as a city planner. He has to start in a small town somewhere and we thought this would be an ideal town but it didn't work out that way. He has a master's degree and he makes a little more than one-half of my salary working as a health inspector. He goes around and inspects restaurants and cafeterias to check on their cleanliness standards. He can't do that much longer. We are really going to miss this salary, but we have to start thinking of his career right now. You can't really say this is 'a career.' He's not going anywhere here so its time, I believe, to make a move." She seemed almost relieved.

"When you asked me earlier what my greatest assest was and I couldn't answer it - probably my greatest asset is that I have a husband who helps out. He helps sometimes around the house. For example, I am getting a basket of clothes and I think I am just going to leave these things until tomorrow and he'll go pick them up and do them. Mrs. Smith just takes care of Ross - I don't want her to do the housekeeping. I prefer to have someone who only looks after him. If things got bad with the house I'd probably hire someone else once a week just to take care of the house... Although right now we are not at that point...I feel its my house so I really don't mind doing the housework....

"Mrs. Smith is really good about things like walking him around the block two or three times a day. Some days when I'm home and I've got a lot to do, I feel like he gets bored with me because she will sit down and read his little books and really just plays with him. She takes a lot of time with him - that's why I like her.

"When he gets a little bit older though, I want to put him in some kind of day care, maybe just start out a couple of days or a couple of mornings a week to get him exposed to other children. The only exposure he gets now with other children is at church and that's very limited. As soon as we brought him home, I called up the _____ Church Day Care Center and put him on the waiting list for 1989." I told her I knew about the long waiting lists when I tried to get my youngest in a center after we moved here. And since I wasn't working full-time some parents resented the fact that I was "taking up space!"

"That's why I feel like if we had some type of learning center here, not just a day care or nursery, it would be great. I was reading about some in The New York Times where some workers started such a facility...the parents were really involved in them. It is not run by the workers/parents, but they have a lot of say in what goes on. It's good for the company and it's good for the parents and its good for everyone's morale. It all started when the company wouldn't allow mothers to take time off when their

children were sick, and as a result, the women were taking off and it was affecting the company and the emotions of the mothers. It also was affecting their promotions in the company. It's tough. But here there is really not too much of a problem to take off when a child is sick. My problem would be finding someone else to be responsible for my job.

"There was one day when Mrs. Smith had to be out of town for her sister's funeral and it was easier for Rob to take off, than for me. He took a personal day because Ross was sick at that time. He was getting over the flu. Even if we had had a day care, we wouldn't have carried him, because he was sick. We didn't have family around, so one of us had to stay home. So the next time Ross is sick and that problem comes up where Mrs. Smith cannot be with him; regardless of what is going on with me at work, it is going to have to be my turn. I have not been confronted with that situation yet, but I am wondering what my reaction, my response is going to be. I feel like that it will not be overly hostile...unless it would get to be a habit..... I am sure there would be some problems with that....

"So really there are problems with a day care. You don't want sick children around healthy children." I told her that the center where my daughter goes, working mothers bring their youngsters in with their medication. It is allowed. Some days teachers have to keep track of dozens of medication schedules. She replied, "I don't know if that's a good idea.

"The main reason that I did not want to put Ross in a center right now is because we began to realize more and more how much, you know, the bonding is so important. That was one of the reasons that the adoption agency maybe wanted me to take six months, because they felt like that I needed that maternal bonding with him. I felt like that if we put Ross in that kind of environment, where all day long he is going to be in a crib and often times when he would cry, get a bottle stuck in his mouth, rather than cuddling and attention as needed, I just wouldn't have been able to handle it. Plus, I don't think it would have been good for his development. It borders on neglect at that stage. If we had not been able to find someone, I probably would have rearranged our life style and I would not have come back at that point. Or I would have come back and said, 'Hey, I've got to take some more time...' But it worked out fine... it always does, doesn't it? But I do think that bonding is important....."

It was getting late. She seemed to have such mixed emotions about her job, so I then asked her how happy she really was working. "Oh, I'm happy most of the time... I've just been through a bad time right now. This job does have a lot of responsibility but no authority. If something major goes wrong on the floor during my time, it is my responsibility to rectify it." I asked her if she had at anytime, wanted to work in research here in the company.

That would have been the next job position up the ladder. I mentioned with her background in science that would be a good promotion.

She replied if she worked in research that would mean a move to corporate headquarters in Minnesota and neither she nor her husband at this point in time would want to move out of state, especially to Minnesota. She reaffirmed her commitment to concentrate on her husband's professional advancement. "He's been patient long enough - I at least owe him that.

"In the long run Smith has really been good to me. They've sent me to management training school where I have learned a lot about management. This may be helpful to me in the future. Smith has really given me some good advantages, I guess. I never thought I'd be making this much money. I can appreciate my job here because I did work for so long in state government and let me tell you there are a lot of shortcomings there. It was a much more laid back pace, but I like the hectic pace here. This is not as acclimated to life, but I think I probably work much better in this type of environment. The company does do a lot of family things. I always felt left out before, but now I am looking forward to all the parties they have for the children: the Easter egg hunt, the Christmas party, etc. So all and all I guess I really hadn't had it so bad." She kept looking at her time and she apologized at this point

and said she really had to get back on the floor. I told her I appreciated her having me so long and I quickly got up and walked down the hall.

As we were walking she began to tell me about all the "smart comments" she had to endure from males as well as females about her not being able to have a family. She said it was so humiliating at times to have to listen to comments at parties and at work. Men told her that she "needed a real man" and women would give her "timing tips." She said she realized the mentality of the people making such comments but she said it still didn't keep her from getting upset. She said she now wants to adopt another child. She said she and her husband are "still trying" but she said she knows they will probably just adopt. I wished her a lot of luck and thanked her again for sharing herself with me. She told me she believed it helped both of us and then smiled for the first time all evening. She looked like she meant it.

Analysis

Stacy is a hardworking, intelligent, serious woman who is adjusting to the new role of parenthood. Stacy spoke almost in a stream of consciousness. I tried interrupting her in the beginning, but after awhile I found it non-productive to do so. So then I just let her lead the discussion with only very little prodding from me.

One thing that surprised me with all three participants was their willingness to share so much, and in some cases, such personal information. I feel all of them during their busy days really didn't have much time to talk to anyone about their personal lives - probably not even their husbands. So as a result they were overflowing with information about experiences, some of which probably never even had been articulated.

I identified with Stacy in a lot of ways: we both were under very severe time constraints in our work so we did not want to waste a minute. She also expressed many of the same anxieties that I had about raising a child: as the issue of bonding and day care and quality time vs. quantity time. There were several points in the interview where I wanted to ask, "Why are you doing this?" But then I realized I was judging by my own standards. After I put this notion out of my mind I felt I was more open to what she had to say.

I did feel if she did decide to just stay home with Ross it wouldn't last long. She had too much energy and seemed to have the need to express that energy in some type of meaningful work outside the home. When she said she thought "Ross got bored with her" the times she was home with him and was "too busy with other things," I believe it was really she who probably got bored with him and needed to be doing other things.

Stacy, unlike Cindy who shrugged her shoulders alot, took herself very seriously and I believe agonized over finding correct solutions to problems. Being childless for so long, I believe, had a profound affect on her, and I believe, had something to do with her seriousness. At one point she asked that I turn off the tape recorder and hide it under her seat because she thought she heard someone coming. Of course at that point I was panic-stricken and when we started to talk again I forgot to turn on the recorder immediately. But at that point she was telling me that she never realized she would come to a time in her life when she would have to admit to herself that she would probably not have any children. She was getting close to forty and realizing that for the first time, she said, really "threw me for a loop." Being able to have Ross she said, "changed her life." At the same time, she was very sensitive about this fact and the fact that the company did not recognize her as a parent compounded this bitterness. And having to listen to all "the helpful hints" from friends and associates added insult to injury.

Stacy was also very well versed in the technicalities regarding benefits and was unwilling to compromise. At the same time, she was able to define issues down to the last detail. For example, after finding out my husband was a lawyer she then went into detail about the inequities of the adoption laws in this state. She said this was one of the few states that didn't allow the parents who wanted to adopt

to pay for the pregnant mother's medical expenses. As a result she said most young girls, because they cannot afford to pay the expenses themselves, decide to abort. She thought the law was ridiculous and one of the first things she was going to do after she was no longer working was to lobby in Raleigh to change the law. I believed she would do just that.

I was glad I did go to the plant to interview her because it gave me a lot more insight about the plant itself and also about her own work. I noticed the huge plush offices near the entrance for the directors and compared them to Stacy's "desk" sitting in a bare room in line with three others.

Stacy complained about the job a lot, but like her personal decision to adopt, she did not make the same analogy about her job. She referred to her decision to work as being "imposed on her." Like Cindy and less so, Ann, Stacy felt she had to work - she had "no choice." When they moved here they bought a huge house near the country club that had a huge mortgage along with it. She thought her husband would eventually be offered the planning job and she would be able to quit. But it hadn't worked out that way. Now with the new baby she particularly wanted to stay at Smith because she received such good medical and insurance coverage. So for her working was not a choice she said.

But this decision to work conflicted with "the only baby I'm maybe ever going to have." She was torn. "I would probably get bored with just staying home...but you want to enjoy every minute especially if he's going to be the only baby." If she could have her way, I believe, Stacy would work, but only at a minimal schedule - time share if possible.

I believe Stacy was naive to some extent about "the solution" of a company day care facility. Just talking with Cindy made me more aware of the problems of transporting children to outside locations. I wasn't so sure if a company facility would be self-supporting. From what I had read I believed the main reason companies would not initiate such a "benefit" was because such a facility would not be cost-effective. If they were, I believe, companies across this country would begin such programs. I did not ask her why they did not work toward one - however, she seemed to imply that the effort needed to come from the union if it was going to be accepted.

I thought being the oldest of three brothers encouraged her to take on the masculine notion of work. Although, since she felt very guilty about not being home with her child and the fact that her own mother did not work until she was in the seventh grade, I feel she also internalized, to a certain degree, traditional feminine values. Her desire to be "fair" about taking turns to stay home with Ross when he was sick and the notion that

"fairness" was a factor for consideration of Rob's professional growth suggests she reasons along the relational lines of Gilligan's analysis. How many men would forego their own careers in order that their wives could advance in theirs? But that was what Stacy was about to do because she felt it was "fair."

Stacy, on the otherhand, didn't feel she needed to be fair with Smith. She had a lot of mixed feelings working there. On the one hand, Stacy was very upset with Smith and thought that what she was doing was "ridiculous." But as we closed our interview she said she benefited alot by working there. I believe what she meant was that she was grateful to Smith for giving her the opportunity to work outside the home which, as a result, gave her a great deal of personal satisfaction. I believe both were her true feelings. One did not negate the other. She was glad to have the opportunity to work at such a "ridiculous" job.

Analysis of the Three Interviews

Background

All people interviewed came from an upper or lower middle class background. None of their parents were college educated and only one of the spouses, Stacy's, was college-educated. The other two husbands graduated from high school. One husband works as a salesman and another worked for a textile corporation as a computer specialist. Stacy's husband was hoping to work as a city planner although he did

not work in that capacity at this time. All were married to their first husbands.

Only one woman (Ann) was encouraged to follow the traditional feminine role of becoming a wife and mother without working. All women acknowledged to varying degrees that they could not stay home (or no longer stay home) with the children and all felt the need for more stimulation. All said to some degree that they "needed" the money. But, I believe, a more accurate description would be that they "needed more money." Unlike single mothers, all were married to husbands with full-time positions. This would imply there was more of a choice involved in their working as opposed to someone like a single mother (which is a completely different situation) who works out of basic necessity. However, none of the participants implied that they had no "choice" in the matter of opting to work. Many studies (National Academy of Sciences, Women's Work, Men's Work, 1986) say that women who work out of "choice" rather than out of "necessity" are much happier about working. I hope there comes a time when we can all, men and women work out of "choice." Let us now refer to each participant individually.

What Cindy did not say was probably more important than what she did say. Cindy copes very well with the reality of things. She is uncomplaining and does not make excuses. She has internalized the social message from her own mother that it is "natural" for mothers to work outside the home as

well as raise children. Cindy is very honest in her feelings and seems to keep her sense of humor no matter what. She doesn't take herself too seriously, which I believe helps her cope in her situation.

Ann has accepted the social message that to be feminine is to be able to do it all. I believe she's a person who depends a lot upon the opinions of others. She is very sensitive of these opinions and they influence her behavior. She was at a major "life stage" when she decided to go back to work and I believe working helped her in that adjustment.

Stacy has a high level of awareness about herself and her job situation. She is able to articulate problems abstractly, but with a touch of anger. Because her parenthood is a fairly new experience for her, she has not yet been able to adjust to being apart from her child. I was not sure if she would choose to stay home if her husband's salary compensated for her own. She did not care for her job, but I do not believe she would feel "valued" by merely staying home to raise her child.

Job Related Factors

I could not make any salary comparisons of similar jobs for male/female workers. This could be a contributing factor to work/family strain. All did seem to be more than reasonably satisfied with their salary. All mothers have been employed for over four years and and two work more than forty hours a week most weeks. Two work shift work, one works steady days only.

Only one said if a child was sick and had to be at home she would most likely be the one who would stay home with the child (Ann). Their absentee rate for 1985 averaged 6 days each.

Job Satisfaction

All are generally satisfied with their jobs. All felt Smith was a good company to work for and were very pleased with the fringe benefits (dental care, pension plans, etc.) The only one who showed some dissatisfaction was Stacy. All acknowledged that the salary played a big part in their working there. Only one, Ann, (who was raised with the most traditional feminine expectations) stressed "relationships." All said they would probably take their job again knowing what they know now. And all to a certain degree feel that the people they work with take a personal interest in them.

Family/Home Life

a) Home chores

All have major responsibility for home chores and child care. Two husbands will help out with shopping and sometimes pick up children from the babysitter, if need be. One has some help with housework from a person outside the family (Cindy). All feel they do twice as much around the house as their husbands.

b) Child care

None of the employees utilized formal child care

arrangements for any great length of time. It should be noted, however, that at the time when these women began working there was only one all day care facility nearby and that one had a long waiting list. One kept their child at another's house, while the other two hired an older woman to come into their homes when she was working a shift when her husband wasn't able to be home. All say when their children are old enough to care for themselves, they would allow them to stay home alone after school or check in with a relative or neighbor. All gave differing ages as to what age that would be appropriate, however.

c) Coping with Illness

When children are sick, as mentioned previously, the mothers, not the fathers, stay home with the sick child. No special child care arrangements exist when children are sick. It should be noted that children twelve and under are sick an average of five days per year. (National Academy of Sciences, Women's Work, Men's Work, 1986) This may account for a higher absenteeism rate among women parents and ultimately could affect future promotions.

Job/Family Management

The following child-care problems are those that the participants cited with regard to job/family management. However, the order in which these problems were stressed surprised me. Before even talking to the participants, I thought the problems would be stressed in exactly the

reverse order. The order in which they appear here coincide with what the working mothers felt to be the most serious problem to the least serious problem:

1. handling emergency child care, snow days, etc.,
2. making doctors appointments, waiting for doctor, etc.,
3. staying home with a sick child,
4. not being able to attend school related events,
5. not being home with the child (pre-school) or not being home when the child got home from school.

All the mothers have been working long enough to be beyond the fact that they were upset not to be home when their child was home. (#5) This problem seemed to be a major difficulty when the mothers first returned to work after they had their children. It was no longer a major concern. The last minute changes or emergencies, snow days (#1) and sudden childhood illnesses (#3), that disrupt normal routine seem to produce the most difficulties. Also, time factors (#2 and #4) played a major role in their problems. Last minute changes and not enough or wasted time produces a great deal of stress in the busy lives of these women.

Attitudes About Their Role as Parents and Workers

All feel they are better parents because they work, but all feel they are more "successful" in their jobs than carrying out family responsibilities. I believe, there is no

comparison. Raising a child is more process-oriented while job tasks are more goal oriented. But all felt that they could make that comparison.

The most frequently mentioned sources of conflict were:

1. scheduling difficulties, not having enough time in a day,
2. inability to leave problems at home or at work,
3. irregular work schedule interfering with personal life.

As we have already mentioned, not having enough time in a day seemed to be the major complaint of all the working mothers. Picking up children, going shopping, going to the cleaners, etc. finding the time to do all the chores that are needed to keep both a home and career going seemed to all at times overwhelming. The emotional difficulties of separating work problems from the home and vice versa seemed to be another major problem in importance. Worrying about a sick child at day care, or wondering if the sitter will show could be distracting to work. Lastly, the unusual work schedule at Smith, the shift work, was another significant factor that interfered with the worker's home lives.

Measures of Physical and Emotional Well-Being

There were commonalities in experiences regarding physical and emotional well-being.

1. All mothers say they lacked "energy" and are at times "depressed."

2. All said they had higher absenteeism rates than their husbands.

Absenteeism is most strongly associated with decreased health and energy levels and health and energy is in turn associated with the amount of job-family role strain and hours spent on home chores. It is important to note that other major studies (Boston University, 1985) (National Academy of Sciences, 1986) show that the least satisfied groups of workers were single female parents. This is probably due to the fact that their working was, as we said earlier, not by choice but by true necessity. Plus, they most likely lacked a support person that was close to them in their lives. I believe it is interesting to note that the most satisfied were married males. It also should be noted that measures of well-being (that is, depression, life satisfaction, etc.) are most strongly associated with job-family role strain, not with gender. Men who have increased family responsibilities are as likely to have as decreased well-being as some women workers. High levels of life satisfaction appeared most related to the times of having low job-family role strain.

Recommendations to the Company

After talking to the participants, the following recommendations to the company would be made by me:

1. child-care benefits for parent employees;
2. greater company sensitivity to work/family issues;

3. flexible work hours that are compatible with spouse's hours.

Of course the major problem of these working mothers is child care. To have a day care facility at work or to have some other type of child care benefits would be of great assistance to working mothers. Working mothers are struggling to hold their own in companies that, designed by and for men, have been slow to adjust to their special needs. Betty Friedan says, "A woman thinks there is something wrong with her if she can't be a perfect corporate executive and at the same time, a perfect wife and mother."

With regard to the second recommendation, greater company sensitivity to work/family issues, I strongly doubt if many corporate executives who work for Smith realize what working mothers who are in their employment have to go through just to be able to work outside the home. Companies need to listen to the concerns women are expressing and help put together public solutions for private problems. Ann Hewlett, in a new book entitled, A Lesser Life: The Myth of Women's Liberation in America suggests that working mothers should be treated as equal - but separate from men. "The lack of any kind of mandated benefit around child-birth is the biggest single reason why women are doing so badly in the workplace. Unless you support women in their role as mothers, you will never get equality of opportunity."

Since Carol Gilligan says women are taught to value cooperation and relationships, and by contrast, men are encouraged to pursue individual power, is it not surprising that women would like their work hours to be compatible with their husbands (#3). This value on good relationships also contributes to the fact that women often feel at odds with themselves in a corporate culture based on competition. Barbara Rosenthal, a therapist from the Boston area, says, "By and large women have had no choice but to buy into the male paradigm for success. But making it on those terms can mean paying a psychic price. Women have been measuring themselves by a man's yardstick which lowers their self-esteem."

While husbands have to participate in changes in the home - child care, housework, etc., male employers have to participate in changes in the workplace. "With liberation comes anxiety, dread, and the meaninglessness of choices," says Rutgers University political scientist, Benjamin Barber. "This is something that men have always had to deal with." If men and women could meet on a common ground to open up a dialogue of recommendations for changes at home and at work only then will we come closer to solving problems that are ultimately human based, not gender based.

Concluding Remarks

A chief developmental task of an individual and a condition for a viable organism or a viable society...is the integration of agency and communion.

Bakan

Throughout this paper, we have stressed that what gender is, what men and women are, is a construction of social and cultural forces interacting with biological differences. At the same time and just as important to consider for the purposes for our paper, we said that the notion of "mothering/nurturing" is also culturally determined and acts as the central and defining feature of the social organization of gender. The main goal of our research is to investigate "what happens" when mothers leave their primary location, the domestic sphere, and enter the public sphere, one which is still primarily dominated and controlled by men.

In this analysis, I want to delineate these theoretical questions as they impinge on the three interviews. The focus of this analysis will be on changes at home and at work for these people. In the last chapter we will discuss in more detail how these changes, in addition to other possible changes that we will set forth, can effect the restructuring of gender arrangements in order to promote gender equality.

The Workplace

Originally I thought like Ehrenreich that if an increasing number of women with their own unique relational qualities of compassion and caring moved out into a different social sphere, they were bound to make profound changes in that arena. This may someday happen, but has not yet occurred at any great lengths for the three people

interviewed because most of the positions of power (and in most of our institutions today) are still primarily occupied by men. The mothers were the ones who had to make the adjustments in order to "fit into" the public sphere of work. The public sphere did little to help them make that adjustment. The more traditional mother, Ann, especially, had to tailor her job to her home demands; she refused to work shift work, over-time, etc. All the working mothers, with the help of babysitters and their husbands to some degree, arranged for child care and domestic arrangements, so they would be able to have the time to work outside the home. As long as women keep doing this, why should the business world have to change? With unions having a lesser influence on businesses, especially in the South, it will mainly be up to individual mothers themselves to help institute changes in the workplace. So, "what happens" or the changes that have taken place in the public sphere when our mothers returned to work in our own case, at this point in time, have been very little. But at the same time we must realize true change takes place over a long period of time. So, as more women continue to work at Smith and are able to get into positions of power in the company, changes may be realized that could benefit working mothers. So I will be optimistic and say Smith may just be in the early stages of institutional change regarding equal employment of the genders.

The Domestic Sphere

On the other hand major changes had occurred in the domestic or private sphere from the time a mother decided to return to work after she had children. The chores in the home were no longer performed primarily by the mother, again with the exception of the traditional mother, Ann. Cindy hired someone to help with the housework, while Stacy shared them with her husband. Ann, being married to a traditional husband, continued to try to do them all herself, although when I last spoke to her she did say her husband was assuming more responsibility with regard to the children, but not with respect to housework. Chores such as shopping, picking up the children, as well as part-time babysitting were also shared with husbands to a certain degree as long as the mothers were working. Cindy suggested that when she was not working (when on vacation or during her "off" days) her husband would then resort back to traditional roles of husband and wife with her doing all the chores in relation to the house. But over-all, after speaking with all our working mothers, I believe it is safe to say that more changes have taken place in this sphere than in the public sphere.

Changes in Individual Working Mothers

Probably the biggest change in attitude and perspective about work and her relationships occurred with Ann. By choosing to go back to work Ann gained more

confidence in herself which she felt enhanced her relationship with her husband and her children. She also was the only one who said she was working out of choice. Both Cindy and Stacy said they had "no choice" about working - whether they meant this with regard to financial or personal reasons is immaterial. But what is important is that as we have shown, those who work out of choice are more satisfied with themselves and their work as opposed to those who feel they "have to" work.

Also, a great deal of their problems with regard to adjusting to work after having children had a lot to do with how they themselves were raised/socialized in their own families. Since Cindy's mother always worked, she had no difficulty with the notion of working after her children were born. I doubt if it was ever questioned. Ann probably had the most difficult time in deciding to return to work since she was raised in a family that felt "a women's place was in the home." Stacy also was raised in a more or less traditional middle class home where the mother stayed home while she was young, but Stacy's conflict over working or staying home was not derived from this socialization. She seemed to rise above it. Her conflicts over working were mainly complicated by the fact that she had just adopted a child. In addition, since she was on a higher level of consciousness, she was also bothered by the fact that she was making a lot of money for the work she was doing. This

did not bother Cindy nor Ann. On the contrary, this fact pleased both, especially Cindy.

Changes in Conceptual Framework

I believe the only issue I would like to stress here, which I may not have emphasized as much as I should have in my conceptual framework, is that for many, especially the working class, the home was never their primary sphere. Many mothers, like Cindy's, continued to work in the factories and on the farms, after having children. They played a large role in manufacturing and industry even though their place was in the lower eschelons of the workforce.

There are a variety of reasons why women remain or seek refuge in the workplace. Some women, like most men, just want or need to work, whether it be for the money or the stimulation. While some mothers decide to stay home after they have a child, for others, that may be the hinge that makes them decide to keep working. Therefore, when I say the home was women's primary location I mean, whether mothers worked or not, the home was still their responsibility. What we see today, with more educated and enlightened husbands, is a sharing of tasks in that sphere especially with regard to child care.

Summary

What each of the people I interviewed has presented is significant and important in its own right. What each mother brings to the job and, in turn, how the job affects the mother is the basic dialectic in understanding the problems of working mothers. What we can generalize from talking to the mothers is that the amount of conflict has a lot to do with economic status, number and age of children, flexibility of work situation, and the amount of emotional and physical assistance/support available. In the next chapter we will attempt to suggest specific recommendations, especially with regard to the public domain since that sphere seemed to change little to meet the needs of working mothers, that would help to reduce this conflict and in effect produce possibilities for institutional change. After talking to the working mothers, I believe it is clear that they and their families are doing as much as they can to make the necessary adjustments in order for them to work. It is clear for humane reasons, they can use some help. To recall Bakan, "An emerging dialectic can be maintained so that neither pole has the moral force of solution."

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

We have tried to demonstrate in this dissertation how the social arrangements, on both the theoretical and literal level, of men and women have fostered gender inequality. We noted that the influence of social structures and their arrangements had a strong impact on personal behavior. We asked how working mothers, in particular, can become more empowered and whether social arrangements foster equality. We then documented the experiences of three working mothers to see how their experiences spoke to these issues. We noted the changes that occurred in the domestic sphere, in the mothers themselves, and the lack of change in the public sphere. In this chapter we will speak to the latter area: how changes and their implications in the public sphere will help foster gender equality.

After talking to the working mothers I realized the only way social arrangements can foster equality is if those arrangements are allowed to "connect" with each other. In general, the basic problem is the lack of connections in our society between the public and domestic sphere. How can mothers work in an institution that disregards the fact that they are mothers? If women work in an arena which encourages competition and discourages relational values,

how can they themselves feel "connected?" They will feel alienated. By the same token, if women decide not to work and stay home to rear their children they will not feel valued since work has become a means in which one is valued. She will not feel "connected;" she, too, will feel alienated from the rest of society. If men think that relational values are secondary and reserved merely for the home, what does that mean for their children and their future in society?

Ross Mooney, during a lecture at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, said we are all "connected:" the birds, the trees; nature, man - to have order we all have to work together - in connection with each other. When we are "connected" we are united and when we are united we have community. If we do not, we have disorder and then ultimately destruction.

I believe the American work place, shaped by attitudes of government and industry, has failed to adjust or to "connect" to dramatic changes in the American family. Jobs today are still structured much as if the typical family was composed of a man going out to work and leaving his wife home with the children, even though less than ten percent of families still fit that model (New York Times, Jan. 19, 1986, p. 1). It is as if the world of work has made no connection to the rest of society - unless, of course, with the exception of consumerism. The lack of connection produces disorder or conflict and with regard to gender the

conflict is centered around the "rights" and "responsibility" issue.

The Meaning of Gender Conflict: "Rights" vs.
"Responsibility"

Gender role conflict is basically a metaphor of the "rights v.s. responsibility" issue. Parents who are frustrated and unsure of how to balance competing pressures of work and family are on the theoretical level dealing with the problematics of living autonomously (rights) and relationally (responsibility) (Gilligan, 1982). We have seen the amount of work/family strain is due to many factors: economic status, the type and demands of the job, the number of hours one works, the time of day one works, the age and number of children, and the amount of emotional as well as physical support from the spouse, children, and individuals outside the family.

Responsibility and the Home

As the number of children increase in a family demands multiply. The dynamics of family interactions change significantly with the addition of a new family member. The age of the child plays a significant role in the amount of conflict as well as the spacing between children. While adolescents are not as dependent as toddlers and do not need constant care, this time of life requires supervision of a different nature: car-pooling, assisting with social and academic problems, etc.

Rights (or their lack) at Work

Also, the "powerlessness" of the occupational position is a contributing factor to work/family strain. Cindy always had to "get permission" when she was absent, Stacy and Ann did not. Also, Stacy's position was less constrained in that if she wanted "to hide" for an hour or so she was free enough that she could get away from other workers and no one would miss her. Ann, nor especially Cindy, was able to do that; their job situation would not allow it.

What it Means to Work and to be a Mother: Social Messages

The social messages one internalizes about what it means for mothers to work and raise a family also contribute to the amount of role strain a mother experiences. For example, Cindy, who was raised in a working class family, believed women automatically mixed work and family. I believe she had the least problems emotionally about having to work and rear children. She experienced very little guilt and appeared to be the most emotionally detached from her children and the problems that resulted from her working. I almost characterized her feelings at one point as being "masculine" in that I believed she regarded her work and her children as most men do and was unlike most women that I know who feel very guilty about working today. I would describe her as operating in a less "relational fashion" as did Ann.

Ann, on the other hand, internalized quite a different message about women and work. She was taught that women take care of babies and serve men. Her husband also believed this to be true. This is a very traditional message that was experienced by most girls whose mothers did not work outside the home. For this reason, the strain she experienced centered around her efforts to try to maintain the home and to serve her family the way she did before she worked.

Stacy, who operated on a higher level of consciousness than both Ann and Cindy, was bothered by the morality of the work itself. She did not want to work only for the utilization of money as Cindy did, nor did she work merely to derive an increased amount of self-esteem and prestige that resulted from knowing she could do both as Ann did. She was bothered by the fact that she made "[liquor boxes] for a living." It disturbed her that she was sacrificing creativity for the money the job offered her. But what bothered her the most was the fact that she was choosing the money over staying home with the baby she had wanted so much and for so long. The fact that she felt she had no other choice is indicative of the social message she has internalized which in turn resulted in stress.

Today's Working Mothers are in a State of Transition

How each working mother copes with work/family conflicts is a very complex and individual matter and has

to do with all the issues we have discussed thus far. The fact that more and more women are in the work world will force many of these issues to be addressed. This is now just beginning. We are in a state of transition. Thus, as a result, the fact that more women are working will have a dialectical effect on the socialization of gender roles. Some of the old myths will eventually fall apart.

The fact that more women are working alongside of men will help destroy the myth that girls and boys should be taught that female roles are complementary to those of males. The fact that more women are working will help destroy the myth that it is not "natural" for girls to compete with boys, much less to be "better" than them. The fact that more women are working will help destroy the attitude that women should be dependent on men for social definition and economic support. The fact that more women are working and achieving an identity of their own may even destroy the myth that women should give up their names when they marry to take on their husband's. With more women working it may help to destroy the myth that only women are nurses and men doctor's. With more women working, it may help do away with the idea that the only roles for women which are socially rewarded are wife, mother, secretary and teacher. The pervasiveness of a male establishment (along with our consent) in the socialization process will slowly be eroded. We can create a new order.

A New Order - Examination of the Issues

Most anthropologists conclude that males always and everywhere have been dominant. We have referred to the two biological factors that are largely responsible for that state of affairs: the superior physical strength of the male and the exclusive reproductive function of the female. Primitive man contributed to society by providing protection against enemies and by hunting animals for food; woman contributed by producing and nurturing offspring. Logically this division of labor should have made them equals because each benefited from the participation of the other (Duberman, 1975, p. 4). However, because of the time differential, primitive man made no connection between sexual intercourse and the birth of a child; and thus, he thought woman "controlled life itself" (as well as death).

To assuage his fear of this female power, man used his heavier muscles to enforce taboos that reduced women to an inferior status, giving him dominance over her. Thus, man, in his desire to control woman's mysterious sexual power, took advantage of her biological handicaps to subject her to his will.
(Duberman, 1975, p. 6)

This led to the idea that has held throughout history that women are meant to please, serve, and assist men in their important work and, at the same time, has played a great role in our socialization.

This domination continued from primitive times to the time of the early Christian Church and influenced attitudes and values throughout the Middle Ages. At the end of the

fourteenth century when feudalism declined and the Renaissance and Reformation were emerging, women were still considered God's least valued creatures. Women were welcome to some extent in certain areas of intellectual and social life which had long been closed to them. But nevertheless, with the concept of predestination, women, as well as men, could no longer even hope for redemption in heaven. At least Catholicism held out the expectation of forgiveness and a place in heaven.

Our American ideology concerning women, however, owes much to the seventeenth century Puritans whose religion and colonial law were inseparable. Religion was based on the notion that man is naturally evil and must try to repress this flaw in himself by devotion to work, sacrifice, and thrift. This ideology also owes it to the Victorians, who unlike the Puritan woman who at least shared her life with man, the Victorian "Lady" was preoccupied with dress and manners and repressed sexuality.

What the whole community believes grasps the individual as a vice.

Henry James

Today male values still dominate. We still measure in male terms, whether it be success in work or the lack of value in child care. Today's mothers who work must cope with living in a society that accepts, but does not completely support, either choice by women - that is, of working or of staying home with the children. This is because, as we have

said, at this point in time, we are in a stage of transition. The question now is: can women really do everything our mothers did AND everything our fathers did? Certainly not without some help. But why should women be expected to do what is not expected of men? How can men's and women's working lead us to live a life that is more just and egalitarian and one in which we as well as society will benefit?

New Structure in the Workplace

First and foremost, we need to re-educate men and other women, as well as institutions in our society, to see the mothering of small children as a legitimate and purposeful phase of woman's and man's life together. Nonetheless, even if we have the idea of shared parenthood, we don't have the institutional changes that would make shared parenthood possible. While more equal sharing by men and women of child care and other home tasks may await change in gender ideology, policy can affect that process. According to the Department of Health and Human Services, the number of firms providing some kind of child-care aid for working mothers has tripled since 1982, but it still is not enough. Work place policies that allow flexible scheduling of work time, part time employment for both sexes across all occupations in a firm and maternity as well as paternity leave would help reduce job inequities, but at the same time, help make

the ideal of shared parenthood become a reality. (At the present time there is a congressional proposal for a national parental-leave policy.)

The problem is that most businesses and government policies are still geared toward the husband-provider, homemaker-wife family which now represents as we said less than 10 per cent of all American households. "It's just incredible that we have seen the feminization of the work force with no more adaptation than we have had," says Labor Secretary William Brock. "It is a problem of significant magnitude that everybody is going to have to play a role: families, individuals, businesses, and local and state governments" (New York Times, Jan. 19, 1986, p. 1).

The way the work world is structured today, it seems to be saying: you can work for us but don't bother us with problems of child care and other family matters. As long as professions believe they are recruiting full-time, committed individuals who do not have family obligations, an egalitarian and caring ideology which we have already spoken of at length will not help women become professionals. In fact, such an ideology can have boomerang effects. Women can use the ideology to exit from professional programs. Also, this ideology will have little effect if women are expected to be the main care-givers and to take the major responsibility for working career plans around family plans.

The current widespread belief that women rather than men should be primarily responsible for children and family

care probably also contributes negatively to attitudes toward women workers and their treatment in nearly all occupations. Today, it is critical that assumptions about women's AND men's responsibilities for children and families not be used as a basis for discrimination.

In sum, the socialization process in the work world cannot help women solve their problems in professional careers until gender expectations and the structure of professional work has changed.

What I am suggesting in this paper is that male/female differences are the result of differential socialization and acculturation; and because socially induced differences result in differential rewards, efforts should be made to alter social structure which encourage them. Underlying all suggestions for change is the egalitarian ethic that sees both men and women in our society are constrained and confined by social values and institutions and that both sexes need to be liberated. Options and diversity can be unlimited for both sexes if we learn to see biological differences in the correct perspective. If we can eliminate "men's work" and "women's work," people and society will benefit because we will then be able to utilize better the talents of all people.

Implication for the Family

The concept of the nuclear family - father, mother, children - is relatively a new one. For most of human history, children have been raised in an extended family

consisting of parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, etc. Only since the entrenchment of the Industrial Revolution when grown children left the homeplace to be near the workplace have children been deprived of the close contact of the extended family. In fact, in most parts of the world today the extended family is still the normal way of raising children. The biological father and mother are often forced to pursue life-supporting work while the children are minded by other family members.

In those societies, the parents are not the only source of adult guidance for their children. This sharing of nurturing responsibility is beneficial not only to the children, but also to the parents. Being responsible for other people is an awesome task. Parents need a break from their children and children need a break from their parents.

In our society, with many people being isolated from other family members, child-rearing falls primarily on the "nuclear parents." We need to develop a structure to support the parents and provide the relief for them once provided by extended family members. Neighbors and day-care centers do this to some extent, but we need more. Perhaps corporations could help by removing the obstacles that could allow fathers and mothers to share both work roles and nurturing roles by making work schedules and child care arrangements more flexible and less sexist. A number of other concrete alternatives have been advocated, but need to be taken more seriously in order to allow for more

egalitarian gender roles: staggered hours, job-sharing, child-care centers at the place of employment, homemaker payments, and male birth control.

But let us address the question underlying the issue of work for both parents: if the father and mother both work, does this mean that the child will have inadequate parenting? Under some conditions, yes; under others, no. It is important that the process of nurturance and discipline be shared among all those who care for the children - mother, father, or the equivalent of a child-care center. The parents should be with the child often enough to provide a long-term source of stability to the child and should be attentive, with both nurturance and discipline, when they are with the child. The surrogate parent should share basic values or methods of caring for the children with parents.

These conditions take time and effort to find or develop. Sharing the childrearing means sharing the responsibility to look for adequate care and even to stay home to care for the children in the event such care cannot be found. In the absence of role models and support systems, women are relying more and more on their husbands. Once the breadwinning role is shared by the woman, sharing child-care and housework becomes a part of the man's role. Many men have no problems HELPING in the raising of children on weekends and in the evenings when they happen to be free,

as we have seen in our study. But when it comes to sharing the responsibility; this is still not a reality and all the old myths arise about mothers and the "maternal instinct" - or what we have described as the socialization of motherhood. A child is said to be poly-morphous; in other words, he really does not care who loves him, nor does it matter what sex that person is. The fact is that the American method of childrearing, with a dominant mother and an absentee father, has negative effects as we have seen on the socialization of gender identities of both boys and girls (Gilligan, Chodorow, Dinnerstein, et. al.).

To summarize, a male friend of mine said "initially homemakers wanted a piece of the male pie; now they want a 'different' pie." Sociologist Ann Swidler says it better, however. "We are currently engaged in a major cultural struggle about what is important in life."

Implication of Social Class Variations

As we have seen sex (not gender) role standards differ by social class. Various aspects of family composition affect both the content and potency of sex-role socialization (Weitzman, 1979, p. 170). Because it is impossible to consider all factors that come into play, we will discuss one factor that was particularly evident in our own study: parental influence.

A parent's social class position is an important determinant of his or her sex-role standards or

expectations. (Sociologists have generally used a combination of three indicators to measure social class - education, occupation, and income and we have already discussed the problematics of this categorization with regard to married women who work.) I believe it is fair to say that persons in the higher, better educated, social classes tend to be less rigid about sex distinctions. In working-class families, there is much more concern as we can see from our own interviews about different roles for boys and girls and men and women (Ann and Cindy).

The sharpest distinctions between boys and girls roles appears to be in lower class families. Parental pressures to follow a traditional female role are greater on a working class girl than on a middle class girl. The working-class girl who aspires to a professional career is seen as especially threatening because her occupational aspiration (if achieved) would result in her being more successful than her father and brothers in addition to being unfeminine (Ann).

Middle class parents may encourage "traditional feminine behavior" in their daughter, but they also encourage a degree of assertiveness (Stacy). For example, not only are middle class parents willing to "tolerate" daughters who are tomboys," etc., many encourage daughters to excel at sports or something untraditional.

But regardless of parental class influence, the 1980s mother is unique because she is a woman in transition caught between two powerful images that have shaped her ideas about what a mother should be. In the 1950s and early 60s, when today's mothers were growing up, the dominant image (encouraged from various media: television, books, movies, etc.) for young girls was the perfect mother - ready with cookies and wise words when her children arrived home from school (Freidan). The 70s saw the birth of 'Supermom,' a successful working woman who still managed to dote on her family. (Newsweek, March 31, 1986, p. 47) But today, the myth of the Supermom is fading fast. Working mothers today, says Pennsylvania State University researcher Jay Belsky, are "pioneers trying to find their way in the wilderness." And that journey, as we have seen, can be very exhausting.

One positive note that may come out of this struggle of mothers from different classes working outside the home while also raising a family is that their own daughters will not experience the guilt that seems to be a common characteristic of working mothers today. Mothers are very defensive about the choices they make, whether their choice is to work or to stay home full-time to raise their children. This ambivalence is characteristic of any institutional change in transition. But ultimately, what is most important, is that there will come a time, hopefully in the near future, when we can all, men and women, work out of "choice" - not out of necessity. Thus, the whole notion of class will be a moot issue.

Implication for Education

When you are criticizing the philosophy of an epoch, do those intellectual positions which its exponents not chiefly direct your attention to, those intellectual positions which its exponents feel it necessary explicitly to defend. There will be some fundamental assumptions which adherents of all the various systems within the epoch unconsciously presuppose. Such assumptions appear so obvious that people do not know what they are assuming because no other way of putting things has ever occurred to them.

Alfred North Whitehead

An exploitative system could not be perpetuated without the consent of the victims as well as of the dominant sex and such consent is obtained through sex role socialization, a conditioning process which begins as we have seen to operate from the moment we are born, and which is enforced by most institutions. Parents, friends, teachers, textbook authors, and illustrators, and advertising, those who control the mass media, toy and clothes manufacturers, professionals such as doctors and psychologists - all contribute to the socialization process. This happens through dynamics that are highly uncalculated and unconscious, yet which reinforce the assumptions, attitudes, stereotypes, customs, and arrangements of a sexually hierarchical society.

We need other ways of looking at the very "nature of things." Schools present the masculine view as we have thus far described. By focusing on individual models of self, hiercharical systems, assessment, competition of how

and what we learn, we seem to be lapsing into a kind of "theoretical ego-centricism." What happens in a particular "belief system or ideology" begins to mask and submerge other ways of looking at the nature of things, other possible perspective models - in this particular case, the feminine model. In this discussion we will be concerned with the feminine model with relation (or its lack of) to the institution of education in the United States.

There is, of course, a special place in our history regarding woman and education, mainly her lack of opportunity to it. For the sake of brevity, I will not document this history, but maintain that the idea that education as the escape route for women (and minority men) from second-class citizenship still holds true today. In our captialistic society, this idea of upward mobility is fundamental in our belief in American education.

The capitalistic economy not only produces goods, it produces people (Althusser, 1971). The economic system maintains the means of production through the accumulation of profit, but it is the role of other institutions to ensure the continuation of labor power and social relations of production. The family is one such institution, schools are another. Both transmit the the ideas and practices intrinsic to the survival of capitalism and a masculine culture.

The educational system is the meeting place of contradictory beliefs and values about society, human potential and the desirable role of the educational system itself. Employers use schools as suppliers of amenable workers. On the otherhand, minorities, students, parents and women see schools as promoting other objectives such as material security for the individual, personal fulfillment and a more just society; a society, nonetheless, dominated by male values. In this essay, I would like to focus on how the male model dominates the institution of education. In doing so I intend to cite the following aspects of the institution of organized education: hierarchy of power, curriculum structure and methodology, teaching for careers, the scientific method in general, and how we need to emphasis self-autonomy by doing away with authoritarianism so we could encourage creative decision-making in our students.

The intrinsic values of education are masculine and one characteristic of the male model is hierarchy of power. The administration of our schools usually consists of male bureaucrats whose careers entail the services of a very large base of ill-paid persons who are chiefly women; teachers, secretaries, teaching assistants, and lower-eschelon administrators. The male tradition of hierarchy is especially pronounced in the higher eschelons of education. A. Rich says the system prepares men to take up roles of power in a male centered society and asks questions and teaches "facts" generated by a male intellectual tradition.

"The exceptional women who have emerged from this system and who hold distinguished positions in it are just that: the required exceptions used by every system to justify and maintain itself" (Rich, 1976, p. 26).

Our educational ideology today supports the axiom of sex equality but despite this, formal curricula of primary and secondary schools separate the sexes in more ways than one. This crystallizes in crafts and games and even in lining up to go to lunch. The use of gender as an organizational principle is very much alive in our school systems today, as my own observations have shown. James Douglas also has observed that girls excel in subjects that are taught by women (Douglas, 1964). Since the primary school is a highly feminine teaching environment, (merely meaning they have more female teachers) this is probably one explanation of girls success at the primary school stage. In addition, many teachers categorize their students in educationally relevant sex differences. The "good students" tend to be conformists (usually girls) whereas intransigent boys were "enterprising and inventive" (Douglas, 1964, p. 73).

The curriculum also encourages "separation thinking" rather than thinking that is based on connection. Philip Slater says in The Pursuit of Loneliness that "our most profound mental block as a people is our inability to think in relation to each other - our insistence at looking at

only one thing at a time. We always think that getting more of something will make us happy and a lot more will make us happier still. We have a hard time understanding that health, or happiness, or true prosperity is achieved when things are in balance... We need to work together to create more balance" (Slater, 1976, p. 199). This inability to see things in relation to each other can be said to be a male characteristic that is perpetuated through the mentality of our educational system and society in general. Courses of history are taught separately from courses of literature as well as math from science, art from music, etc.

Slater also defines the whole notion of careers, what our educational system supposedly prepares us for, as a masculine concept: "When we say 'career' it suggests a demanding, rigorous, pre-ordained life to whose goals everything else is ruthlessly subordinated... It's a stern Calvinistic word..... When a man asks a woman if she wants a career, it's intimidating. He's saying, are you willing to suppress half of your being as I am, neglect your family as I do? Naturally she shudders a bit and shuffles back to the the broom closet. She even feels a bit sorry for him" (p. 78). But aren't more women "buying" this argument today? Is this what we are educating students for? Slater says the revolutionary stance of women should be: "My unwillingness to sacrifice human values to my personal

narcissism and self aggrandizement makes me the superior sex" (Slater, 1976, p. 79). Slater feels such a stance would liberate both sexes. But women have rarely been able to produce a feminine revolt. Feminists have tried to do it through total separation, (which both Gilligan and Bakan say is a male characteristic) but like black separatists, it has yet been unable to attain enough power. However, before we can liberate both sexes, we need to value a new "method."

Nothing in education is so astonishing as the amount
of ignorance it accumulates in the form of inert fact.
Henry Adams

Method is a false god of academicians as well as psychologists, sociologists and the like. "It commonly happens that the choice of a problem is determined by method, instead of method being determined by the problem" (Daly, 1973). Many feminists believe that the limits of thought are not so much set from the outside as from within. This tyranny of methodology hinders new discoveries. It prevents us from raising questions never asked before and from being illumined by ideas that do not fit into pre-established boxes and forms. I have seen how data that does not fit into "respectable categories" is handled - it is simply classified as "non-data" or "other," thereby rendering it invisible.

At the same time, method also serves higher powers. As we have seen in discussing Kohlberg and Erikson, under patriarchy, method, "the scientific," has "wiped out" women's questions so totally that even women are unable to hear and formulate their own questions. We need to begin asking, discovering, analyzing nondata...there are other ways at looking at the "nature of things." The scientific method has its place, but not in the evaluation of human beings. Along with the scientific method comes assessment, then ranking which then produces "competition" instead of cooperation.

If we are to survive as a culture, cooperation, not competition is what is needed. I see the major shift in human evolution going from behaving like an animal struggling to survive to behaving like an animal choosing to evolve.

Jonas Salk

We need an "evolution" of everyone rather than the survival of the fittest.

Fundamental to masculine models of method is the tendency to separate thought and action from wider social and historical contexts (DeVitis, 1985, p. 152). The example presented by DeVitis is Freud's paradigm of the internalized patriarchal family and his neglect of socio-historical context and how it is doubly hazardous for Victorian women. Freud said since women have a weaker superego development, it is psychologically impossible to achieve a strong sense of morality. This line of thinking only contributes to the theoretical ego-centrism of academic psychology and education models in general.

One of the conclusions I have formulated after doing research on women, work, and the family, masculine and feminine roles, is that we must insist that the human values of nurturing, cooperation, community, caring, the so-called feminine characteristics - the so-called survival skills - be incorporated and stressed in our institutions of learning. In so doing, educators should provide settings for development of creative and critical thinking among our children, problem solving and role taking techniques which would develop empathy and which would encourage dialogue (instead of competition) as well as develop community awareness.

All experience is an arch to build upon.

Henry Adams

For example, by setting up situations where students can engage in playing "mother" and "father" we would be encouraging empathy. When a young man in high school plays the role of "housewife" and "provider" he is able to empathize with different points of view. (Students could also be asked to play the role of a migrant worker, an Army general, a plant supervisor or a two year old child.) The student will, thus, be able to see the morality of a situation from a number of different perspectives. The wider the range of role-experience of the individual, the greater likelihood that he will make a decision that will be a just one for him and others. If the development of moral judgment is a cognitive knowing process, rather than the

absorption of an imposed set of standards, it is clearly the responsibility of teachers to set up learning experiences, rather than to lecture or preach to students, which will facilitate moral thinking about the issues of work and family and roles in general. In doing all the above, we will thus increase self-autonomy.

Self-autonomy is the pre-requisite for a creative decision-maker. The creative person sees old problems in new ways. We must educate students to resist seeing the world in a series of givens, in particular with regard to gender roles. I found in my readings on creativity, although the emphasis placed on education by the family was frequently strong, most creative people interviewed their formal schooling as stifling and in a number of instances were ready to quit school, but "stayed with it" because of a single inspiring teacher. Fundamental to creative thinking is an atmosphere of freedom, trust, and security; creative thinking is impossible in an authoritarian atmosphere. When we do away with authoritarianism we increase self-autonomy. A combination of creative thinking and responsible decision-making will facilitate autonomy with awareness of interdependence - the mitigation of agency and communion - the balance that Bakan says is necessary for a full life.

The philosophy of an educational system clarifies the beliefs about the purpose and goals of a specific school. It is a broad and comprehensive statement from which goals, objectives, and curriculum are derived. This philosophy

should emphasize feminine values as well as male. While speaking to the developmental needs of the child and supporting the discovery approach to learning, general goals of the school should be for the development of the whole child, this means the "masculine" as well as "feminine" nature. The curriculum should be designed to lead the child from wonder to discovery, from investigation to affirmation. The curriculum should help the child in the process of discovering, affirming, and developing his/her inherent goodness and realizations with others.

This goodness is not reflected in the institution as we know it today. The whole "machine" designed as a solution to social problems (John Dewey was troubled by the failure of schools to promote democratic literacy) now has become a major social problem in itself. A more egalitarian model of education would prepare both adults and children to function more effectively in a changing society. And in so doing, education would teach us about change - change in our institutions, change for both men and women and their roles. We need to change, in effect, our belief in human nature. If we consider it essentially weak or pre-ordained, it frees us from the responsibility to help one another.

Implication for Me

Becoming a Person means that the individual moves toward being, knowingly and acceptingly, the process which he/she inwardly and actually is. He/She moves away from being what is not, from being a facade. He/She is not trying to be more than he/she is, with the attendant feelings of insecurity or bombastic defensiveness. He is not trying to be less than he is, with the attendant feeling of guilt or self-depreciation. He is increasingly willing to be, with greater accuracy and depth, that self which he which he most truly is. (Rogers, 1961, p. 176)

Although I only worked part-time after my two children were born the strain between work and family was quite evident. This strain was exasperated by a job change by my husband, a re-location of residence and a death of a close family member, my mother. It was not a very stable time for me, to say the least - the effects of change are never stabilizing.

Even though my own parents encouraged me to have a career, it was never considered that it would take the place of marriage and a family. I always felt there would be a time for me to take "time off" from teaching in order that I could raise my children. When the appropriate time came, most likely when the children began school, I always felt I would return to work.

When I began this study I was eager to return to work and I felt undertaking this study would help me make that transition. I was like those women Betty Freidan described twenty years ago in The Feminine Mystique: women who put aside their pursuits for self-development in order to raise their children, but eventually became disillusioned and

unfulfilled. I read that book when I was a freshman in college and I thought of it often after I had my own children. The meaning that it had for me then is quite different from what it means to me now. Then I thought that I would be "different" because I would be choosing to stay home with my children. However, what I did not realize was that that choice was already made for me by society - I was socialized through a myriad of social forces that interacted between me and society. I had internalized one particular definition which happened to be the status-quo definition of what it meant to work and raise children in society at that time; that is, 'mothers stay home to raise children because they may be harming them if they work.'

I still have not decided whether to "work" or not. But in any event I do have a better understanding of what it means to work in America today and the values that embody it. A statement by a friend who had just returned from The 1985 Women's Conference that was held in Nairobi, Africa, could summarize my own feelings on that matter. When I asked her what was the biggest change in her as a result of attending the conference, she replied: "Being a middle class, well-educated woman, I had always wanted to be regarded as man's 'equal' especially when it came to jobs and a career. I wanted equal pay, the same opportunities for promotion, etc. But after attending the conference in

Nairobi I realized what I considered 'equality' the rest of the world considered 'oppression.' That changed me."

This study became a part of me and as a result made a profound change upon me. At times I struggled to detach myself, 'separate' myself from the ideas, but after a time it was impossible to do so, and I realized more importantly, that it was non-productive to do so. This study allowed me to re-examine this tendency to separate myself from the consequences of newly learned material. I question if I could truly learn in such a manner again - a manner that is constantly reinforced in our schools. This change came about, I believe, when I began to interact with the participants. I felt them all to be courageous women and I marvelled at their strength. Talking to them allowed me to understand the meaning an individual attaches to his life. And as a result, I came to recognize more clearly how the gender role differences are built into society and how this affects our children.

In addition, doing this study has also enabled me to re-assert the idea that I have a responsibility to myself before I could fully care for others. I have a better understanding of my own values and my inclination to "to please" others in order to please myself.

Women's deference is rooted not only in their social circumstances but also in the substance of their moral concern. Sensitivity to the needs of others and the assumption of responsibility for taking care lead women to attend to voices other than their own and to include in their judgement other points of view. (Gilligan, 1982, p. 440)

I will be reminded of this especially with regard to my own daughters. I will teach them to be human beings first and women second.

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