FACULTY WOMEN WITH CHILDREN AT HOME: A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF ROLE ATTITUDES HELD BY FEMALE ACADEMICS AND THEIR METHODS OF COPING WITH ROLE MULTIPLICITY

By

CLAUDETTE SCHROEDER HAGLE

Bachelor of Science
Louisiana Tech University
Ruston, Louisiana
1954

Master of Arts
University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa
1970

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College
of the Oklahoma State University
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Thesis Approved:

Larry M Hyman Jr
Thesis Adviser

Donald E Allen

George E Bryant, Jr

Norman N Durham
Dean of the Graduate College

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND AND FOCUS OF THE STUDY

Purpose

The purpose of the research reported in this thesis was to analyze data on married faculty women with children at home and how they cope with multiple roles. With over fifty percent of all women now working in jobs outside the home and because of the widespread attention being given to professional roles of women, the faculty women at the Oklahoma State University were selected as an appropriate target group.

Both conventional wisdom and some carefully conducted research studies suggest that female academic professionals work under a different set of conditions than most of their male counterparts. Perceptive understanding of these "differences" is poorly served by outmoded allusions to the difficulties women encounter in doing "men's work." Equally untenable is the view that such differences are merely "female problems," that is, deriving solely from the accident of femininity.

A broader viewpoint on the differences in work life conditions with which the married mother academic professional must contend indicates that these conditions arise both directly and indirectly from complex social, economic, and psychological sources. These include: self-imposed attitudinal factors, biological factors, prevailing tenets of socialization, male-dominated and oriented rules of employment

performance, and subtle to blatant prejudicial discrimination. If each of these could be clearly and separately defined, requirements for the individual or society to cope with the resulting differences in the conditions of female professional employment would likely be simplified. In reality, these social, economic and psychological factors interact in a complex manner, making it difficult to easily focus on the specific sources of perplexing obstacles women encounter in their work/life conditions.

Background

It is both logical and observable that rapid changes in the status of women have caused significant impacts in both family relations and relations in the non-home workplace. Yet, the nature of these emergent trends presents problems of impact assessment in terms of the persistence of change, permanence of change, and the degree to which observable change revolutionizes social behavior and social structures. After considering some of the emerging trends in the context of the family, the author of one well-known textbook ends his discussion by leaving the reader with the dilemma: "Whether our family system is simply being 'reorganized' or whether it is actually being 'disorganized' makes a fascinating and serious discussion question . . . " (Kephart, 1972, p. 288).

As sixty percent or more of all working women are married and a large proportion are also mothers, it is inevitable that the effects of women's increasing tendency to work outside the home may have some revolutionary impacts on the non-domestic workplace. So the question formulated above for the family could justifiably be paraphrased in

terms of the workplace. Is the labor market and workplace simply being "reorganized" or is it actually being "disorganized" by high female participation rates? Thus, this phenomenon which can be stated simply as increasing participation of females in non-home job markets has resulted in complex changes in two prominent socio-economic institutions: the family (home) and the labor market (workplace).

Women occupying jobs recognized as "professional" occupations represent a small but growing percentage of all women working outside the home (an estimated 16 percent in 1980 versus 14.5 percent in 1970, according to the U. S. Bureau of the Census) (Klein, 1980, p. 72). However, indications suggest that it is among these women that some of the most profound changes in family and other social relationships are occurring. Because of the frequently complex nature of academic employment, women faculty represent one type of professional occupation in which family and occupational change is most active.

This study concentrates on two aspects of the much larger problem: 1) the female academic professional's attitude toward her professional work, and 2) how she copes with other social roles which she has chosen (particularly, roles associated with being wife and mother). It is a descriptive analysis based on a sample survey of professional women employed in the Oklahoma State University.

A careful review of the literature on wives/mothers who are employed outside the home identified numerous conceptual commonalities. Several of these are closely associated with elements of what is termed role theory. Incorporating findings and insights from both the literature on working women and the more general literature of role theory, a conceptual strategy was developed for this study. This research

strategy served to organize and guide the use of data obtained by interview and questionnaire activities.

Although the study follows a structural/functional framework for reportage of findings, the primary investigative approach is that of role theory. In role theory, two different traditions have gained ascendancy--symbolic interactionism and social behaviorism.

> [Social] behaviorists see socialization as an interaction process. Roles develop out of persons in interaction as they mutually define the situation in which their interaction occurs. Roles persist independently of the individual actors in the sense that they are retained as commonly held expectations of behavior appropriate to a social position (Schulz, 1972, p. 6).

The social behaviorist view meshes well with the conceptual framework designed for reporting findings (see Chapter II). However, the methods and orientation of the research design in obtaining information by interview is probably more in the tradition of symbolic interaction. See Chapter III for a discussion of the symbolic interactionist elements in the research methodology.

Focus of This Study

The study has two principal objectives. First, based on interview information, this study provides a descriptive analysis of the ways and means whereby faculty women with children cope with the multiple roles they frequently find thrust upon them by choice or default. Second, an attempt is made toward constructing an idealized profile or model of the female faculty professional with children residing in the home. The purpose of the second objective was to improve on a deficiency in the literature--this type of individual is not adequately identified and described in research reports on the working woman.

With these objectives foremost, some of the sources of factors contributing to differences in the working conditions of female faculty are purposely ignored or neglected. Biological factors, prejudicial discrimination, and male-oriented employment rules are not examined directly but only as these reflect in women's attitudes toward employment and their attempts to cope with role multiplicity.

Exploratory Approach

The dominant research thrust of the study constitutes an exploratory approach. Emphasis is on identifying and exploring changing role behavior and relationships of female faculty in their attempts to cope with role multiplicity. As an exploratory and descriptive analysis, no formal hypotheses have been advanced. However, the findings of this exploratory study should provide a set of information capable of developing future hypothesis formulation.

Summary

This study explores factors related to a multiplicity of roles for professional faculty women with home responsibilities. The emphasis on role multiplicity in examining the changing status of employed female professionals is a relatively new approach which shows some promise toward enhancing understanding of some prominent and critical changes occurring in social behavior which may have profound effects on several important social institutions.

Primary methodological emphasis draws upon the elements of symbolic interactionism. However, some aspects of other approaches to role

theory also appeared to be useful and appropriate. For example, the social behaviorist view of the existence of roles independent of any given actor provided a logical bridge to the conceptual framework used for reporting research findings.

Using an exploratory research strategy, a rather large body of pertinent data were obtained by interview and questionnaire techniques. No formal hypotheses are advanced. Emphasis is placed on description (both qualitative and quantitative) of conditions, characteristics, and other factors which serve to identify and assess the problem of role performance in the face of multiplicity of roles.

The following chapter comprises a review of the literature on the working woman and on role theory. Also in the chapter the conceptual framework designed for presentation of research findings is presented and discussed.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Examination of the wife/mother woman faculty's life from the perspective of role conflict stresses and strains suggests the need to recognize prior work focusing on the working woman and to attempt to place this within the conceptual work of the sociological theory of roles. This chapter is composed of three parts. First, the literature on working women and family organization will be reviewed, based on a search of the literature for works emphasizing, or salient to, a role theory approach to the study of married working women with children. Second, an examination is made of the relevance of the more general elements of role theory to the study of problems of women working outside the home. Finally, relevant features of the first two sections are identified and organized as a conceptual frame of reference for this study.

Differential Roles of Working Mothers

In commenting on a published article by Rossi (1970), Van den Berghe (1970) identifies "the two roles of women." This has been a rather commonly offered distinction between woman's domestic role (wife-mother-homemaker) in traditional social organization and the role performed by women employed outside the home. The most common and pejorative use of this role contrast is between domestication and

work. Thus, the myth is perpetuated that domestic activities are "non-work," "a labor of love," or merely female responsibilities which may be time--mental--physical effort consuming, but after all are only "part of being a woman."

These simplistic notions of role allocation for women are restrictive, incomplete, and becoming demonstrably outmoded. Most women do not exhibit a life consumed by functioning in only one or two roles. To the contrary, it is the multiplicity of roles frequently assumed by women that must be considered in order to understand the difficulties women face in coping with their lives both at home and outside the home. To keep perspective, it should be observed that most males also are confronted with role multiplicity, resulting in role allocation conflict. However, women appear to have role allocation conflict in greater degree than men, because women generally have more roles ascribed to them.

The contention here is that it is not merely the domestic role but the complexity or multiplicity of domestic roles which creates heightened role conflict for the female, particularly if she attempts to become highly committed to other, extra-domestic roles. Similarly, and especially for the faculty woman, it is common for extra-domestic activities to take form in several distinguishable roles: teaching, research activities, student advising, and so on. While it is obvious that some of both domestic and extra-domestic roles may be overlapping, simultaneously or interchangeably performed, or shared, more insight is gained from recognizing their distinctiveness than by attempting to blend and blur them into heterogeneous aggregate roles.

Several writers maintain that the greatest source of obstacles to career success for married professional women is familial domesticity (e.g., Poloma and Garland, 1971b; Harris, 1979a; Rice, 1979; O'Leary, 1974; Bernard, 1976; Astin, 1969; Bailyn, 1970). If one agrees with that viewpoint, much of the conflict stress and strain may be attributed to women's attempts to contend with role multiplicity by overextending and overcommitting themselves (as Rose, 1951, does).

Few of the studies of this type involve careful definition and distinguishing of specific types of functional roles which are allocated to wife/mother either by ascription or achievement. One study of the late 1940s begins in a promising manner with the title "Functional Analysis of Sex Roles," but the reader is disappointed to find that neither are roles clearly identified nor are those identified carefully analyzed (Komarovsky, 1950). Komarovsky's article does make some important allusions to the problem. In attempting to account for increasing evidence of female role conflict and associated social and mental dysfunction among women, the author asserts that it is necessary to accept

> . . . the general premise that our culture is full of contradictions and inconsistencies with regard to women's roles, that new social goals have emerged without parallel development of social machinery for their attainment, that norms persist which are no longer functionally appropriate to the social situations to which they apply, that the same social situations are subject to the jurisdiction of conflicting social codes, that behavior patterns useful at some stage become dysfunctional at another (p. 508).

Failure to identify and emphasize the multiplicity of roles tends to place women in a rigid "either . . . or . . ." quandary. Either you may be a good homemaker or a successful career person, but not both. An example of the kind of thinking which leads to such rigidity, proscription and conflict is demonstrated by comments of Montagu (1958):

> Of course there are a good many women who are both good homemakers and happily employed outside the home on full-time jobs, but these are the women who either have no children in the home or whose children are of adolescent age. I put it down as an axiom that no woman with a husband and small children can hold a full-time job and be a good homemaker at one and the same time (p. 34).

Stated in this manner, the conclusions about alternatives are probably quite correct for many persons. Both domestic and extra-domestic careers can be quite exacting, time-consuming, and demanding. However, if the complex character of domestic activities is examined, it is evident that there is no single activity or role which alone can be labeled home-based but rather these activities constitude a collection of distinct functional roles which in aggregate may be viewed as "domestic" or home-based. Furthermore, few of these roles can be labeled as gender-exclusive, if examined logically from a purely functional point of view. Therefore, the deficiency in the 1958 thinking of Montagu is that to him all or most domestic functions are irrevocably, indisputably ascribed by sex to females.

Recognition of the multiplicity of roles greatly aids efforts to understand how women with career aspirations cope with the various externally generated expectations about their behavior deriving from their choice of also being a wife and mother. If it is assumed that all functions except that of biological mother can be viewed as "reassignable," then the various home-oriented (domestic) roles may be reallocated wholly or partially (role sharing) either to other members of the household or to a non-household member. The latter case is usually accompanied by payment in money or kind.

An important feature of the professional woman's ability to cope with role multiplicity hinges on her willingness to reallocate some roles (partially or wholly) to others and the willingness of others to accept the revised division of labor. This willingness is predicated by several factors:

1) The degree to which the woman feels that any given role is reallocatable or views it as her own responsibility. This might be referred to as "adherence to the norms of ascription based on traditional socialization" or perhaps more simply as "tolerance of domesticaiton," as suggested by Van den Berghe (1970) and Poloma and Garland (1971b).
2) The degree to which significant others perceive a given role as reassignable or solely the responsibility of the wife/mother. Much has been published on this conflict-producing condition. Some recent examples are: Rice, 1979; Moore and Sawhill, 1978; Safilios-Rothschild, 1970; Bailyn, 1970; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971.
3) Financial ability to reallocate some role activities to others by means of monetary payments. Although there are many allusions to this in the literature, no careful, detailed study was found.
4) The degree to which real or perceived proscriptions threaten the process of role reassignment. These could be external threats but probably most important are those felt or expressed by the husband or children.

Obviously there are limits to the process of role performance reallocation. If the woman reassigns or shares "too many" role functions,

she may be perceived as becoming, or in reality becomes, a marginal participant in domestic affairs with possible concommitant estrangement from family members. Women have commonly suffered (sometimes correctly but often prejudicially) from this perception in work outside the home.

For example, their commitment to career may be questioned on flimsy evidence or comments such as "her career is strictly secondary to her family." This comment presumably should as often apply to men as women, but it is rarely viewed as evidence of job performance marginality for men. On the other hand, if the woman decides to try to fully maintain all roles, she is simply trying to do too much, as Rose suggested nearly thirty years ago:

> . . . women expect to raise children and spend a good deal of time on them and housework . . . expect to get a job and carry on with it past the birth of children . . . expect to be at least as active as men in leisure-time work . . . in civic and social welfare work. . . . The whole adds up to <u>too much</u> [Emphasis added] (Rose, 1951, p. 75).

If nothing else, the career/family woman's expectations of what she may be able to do are limited by the 24-hour day and seven day week. In discussing the Rose article, Epstein observes that the study

> . . . indicates that because women expect to do everything, they may in fact be unrealistic in their planning and their time budgeting may limit them on all fronts. . . . women's expectations about their role-time budget as adults were overascribed and unrealistic, and that role conflict was assured if they attempted to fulfill all expectations (Epstein, 1970b, p. 67).

The Broader Context of Role Theory

An important complementary concept to that of role theory is the concept of position. Position might be viewed as the structural image

of the functional (or interaction) concept role. K. Davis (1966) identifies the concept of position in terms of interaction but as a structural element:

> A person . . . enters a social situation with an identity already established. His identity refers to his position, or status, within the social structure applicable to the given situation, and establishes his rights and obligations with reference to others holding positions in the same structure (p. 67).

He goes on further to state:

> All the positions occupied by a single individual constitute . . . an important element in his personality. Since each person has but so much time, energy, and ability, and since his activity must achieve results and satisfy needs, his system of statuses must be to some degree integrated. His personal efficiency, his mental stability and contentment depend to a large extent on the integration of his various social positions (p. 68).

These quotations from a work now more than 30 years old clearly reveal the multiple character of role allocation such that, with appropriate changes, it illustrates the case of the woman faculty and family person who occupies many distinct positions in the social structure of university employment and the family. Davis' reference to only ". . . so much time, energy, and ability . . ." points up the sources of stress (pressure and strain) which result in role performance conflicts.

Merton (1957) used the term "status-set" to refer to the complex of roles individuals may be allocated. In contrast he employs the concept of "role-set" as a referrent for the collection of others with whom the role performer interacts. Thus, status-set is based on a structural view of role function while role-set is an interaction conceptualization of role formation and performance.

In a more recent work, Merton (1967) more explicitly examines the problem of role multiplicity within the context of sociological theory:

> A conception basic to sociology holds that individuals have multiple social roles and tend to organize their behavior in terms of the structurally defined expectations assigned to each role. Further, it is said, the less integrated the society, the more often will individuals be subject to the strain of incompatible social roles. Type cases are numerous and familiar: . . . the professional woman torn between the demands of family and career (p. 170).

Undoubtedly, many of the changes, both advocated and realized, which have broadened and liberalized women's opportunities to increase their status-sets (to use Merton's concept) required a certain amount of social disintegration, frequently leading to conflict in relationships. However, the mainstream of those advocating such changes, both women and men, apparently do not advocate a state of continuing conflict or even a new order. The principal objective probably is a revised social order with a high degree of integration, based on modern functional realities in place of outmoded tenets of male-female socialization.

Use of the term "functional" above (and elsewhere in this report) refers only to the idea of an objective function or task (or, therefore, role) which is identifiable, demanded or wanted, assignable, and assumable by any actor, regardless of sex, capable of performing the role. It is not the Parsonian-type functionalist allocation of roles according to prescriptive rules of socialization and proscribed penalties for nonconformance (Parsons, 1959).

> Parsons' analysis of the integration of the family and occupational systems rests on certain basic assumptions about the primary allegiance of men and women to their respective worlds, an assumption which led logically to his conclusion that integration of the two worlds calls for role segregation. It appears that the Parsonian

> functionalism had the effect of justifying the sexual status quo, as though a functionalist explanation of it supplied a scientific basis for its existence (Tomeh, 1975, p. 3).

The purpose of this discussion is not to provide additional arguments on the female liberation issue, but to show how role allocation, both in theory and in practice, has been approached, examined, and "explained" from several contrasting points of view and assumptions.

It is useful to return to the concept of position, assuming that position is the structural referrent of the interactionist concept of role. According to K. Davis (1966, p. 69), positions are filled by the processes of ascription and achievement. Ascription constitutes position (role) assignment based on assumptions prevalent in current norms of socialization. Ascriptive role (position) allocation is not inherently conflictful to women, or men, unless significant others impose or threaten to impose proscriptive sanctions on the person who chooses not to accept the ascribed role.

For example, by the act of marriage a woman may be ascribed the role of housekeeping. This ascription of a position (housekeeper) may be readily accepted by the wife. However, if the wife dislikes housekeeping and attempts to reassign the role by allocating it partially or wholly to someone else (other household members or non-members), the reallocation process may remain non-conflictful unless other household members, i.e., husband and children, imply or assert that the role performance is the wife's/mother's duty, responsibility, or position.

While it is obvious that tasks associated with housekeeping are a vital and necessary function of household organization, it is equally logical that nothing constituting the position of housekeeper has

gender-exclusive functional imperatives in role allocation or role performance. It is perhaps relevant to point out that there are two domestic roles of women that are essentially not reallocatable because they are biologically gender-based. These are the roles of biological mother and sexual partner. While the role of sexual partner may be reassigned, this commonly results in such high degree of stress that resultant conflict encourages marital/family/household dissolution. Because of their highly personal and gender-based nature, the roles of biological mother and sexual partner are not specifically considered in this study.

The Conceptual Framework of This Study

The preceding sections suggest that significant differences occur among sociologists both in theoretical approach and in terminology used in describing role theory concepts. Therefore, it appears productive to briefly summarize the usage of terminology, or concepts, used in this study.

Position

As used in this study, position refers to a place in the social system in relation to others. This place, or space, has attendant identifiable functions. For example, in the domestic framework, the term "companion" identifies a position but the actual behavior of individuals who may fill this position depends on other variables.

Role

This term is used primarily as the behavioral image of position.

Thus, the term role is especially employed to indicate the interaction, or interrelationships, in the performance of some position. This use of the term "role" appears to have been first recognized by Nieman and Hughes (1951, p. 145). It is the primary usage found in the studies by Nye et al (1976, p. 111) who say ". . . we prefer to conceptualize roles in terms of behavior involved rather than the product or result of the behavior."

Role performance

This terminology refers to the actual behavior of an individual in fulfilling a role and can be judged or measured in terms of actual versus expected behavior of actors.

Role expectations

For any given position, expectations about the behavior which will be viewed as congruent to the needs or function which give rise to the position is referred to as role expectations. As role expectations of the person filling the role, or position, may differ importantly from the expectations of significant others, this is an obvious source of conditions creating role conflict.

Role conflict

Three interrelated meanings are used. First, conflict results when one role denies or contradicts another. Second, conflict may result and take a variety of forms when role expectations are not consistent or congruent with role performance. Third, when an individual attempts to fill many positions and becomes overextended, stress

(strain, tension, pressure) may ensue as the person attempts to make adjustments. The last type of conflict may be self-imposed but is heightened by signs of dissatisfaction with the actor's role performance by significant others.

Multiplicity of roles

As stated previously, this concept corresponds to the fact that most individuals interchangeably occupy several distinct positions and some hold many. It follows then that the quality and quantity of role performance depends importantly upon how the individual allocates time and effort among many sources of demand created by the holding of multiple positions.

Role allocation

This concept applies to two interrelated meanings through usage in this study: first, the actor's attempt to allocate time and effort among multiple role demands, and, second, the process through which positions are filled and thus roles allocated to each of a group of persons.

As suggested earlier, the literature on role concepts within the domestic framework does not indicate many studies where roles are associated with distinctive positions or functions. Important exceptions are the works of Nye et al (1976), Turner (1970), Blood and Wolfe (1960), and Lopata (1971).

Nye et al. (1976, p. 13) identify eight family "roles": provider, housekeeper, child care, child socialization, sexual, recreational, therapeutic, and kinship. Thus Nye et al. are following a research

pattern advocated in this study. But, based on the definitions of concepts submitted above, their "role" names appear to be a mixture of positions and roles, i.e., indiscriminantly structural/functional and behavioral.

Furthermore, the Nye et al. listing of roles, because it is not functionally based, does not immediately suggest that each of these "roles" is actually a status-set (or position-set) composed of various functions which can be more specifically identified and distinguished. Therefore, to provide an appropriate framework for this study, a revised identification of roles is provided below based on functions or positions, these having been discussed before as the structural counterpart of roles.

Recognition and consideration of the multiple role fulfillment demands encountered by married faculty women with children provides a conceptual-organizational structure for the questionnaire/interview information collected for this study. Therefore, it is necessary to identify some of the positions (and role responsibilities) which may be assigned to faculty women with children at home. The listing below identifies some distinct roles (positions) submitted for the purposes of this study. It does <u>not</u> pretend to be the only possible or most accurate enumeration of this type. That would require a careful analysis of substantive functional roles, a research activity beyond the scope of this study.

Each position (role) identified and included below is briefly defined. Because of the complex nature of the occupation "university faculty member," professional activities will also be singled out into a set of distinct positions (or roles).

Domestic Career Positions (Roles)

Homemaker-housekeeper:

Food service (food buyer, cook, food server, dishwasher)

Housecleaner (cleaning and ordering dwelling)

Clothing service (buying, making, and maintaining clothing).

Parent (mother):

Biological mother (child-bearing and birthing)

Counselor-teacher in the home (socialization agent)

Child care (affection, safety, health, personal needs)

Service provider (appointments, transportation).

Economic provider (source of income to household).

Social citizen:

Volunteer to service organizations

Religious participant (maintenance of religious ties)

Participant in social/political organizations.

Spouse (wife):

Companion/confidant (therapeutic services)

Relative/friend (maintenance of kinship and friendship ties)

Social representative (establishment/maintenance of formal social ties)

Household organization manager/decision-maker (budget, recreation, etc.)

Sexual partner.

Professional Career Positions (Roles)

Teacher (whose role is teaching and all that implies)

Research specialist (research activities and reportage)

Student advisor/counselor (advising and counseling students)

Professional disciplinary outreach (promoting one's discipline and oneself within the discipline)

Administration/extension/community outreach.

Although the substantive character of these positions (roles) appears to be reasonably and consistently identified, it is highly likely that different individuals may tend to interpret and assess them differently. Five different domestic position-sets were identified, these being viewed as composed of sixteen distinct functional positions (roles). The function of biological mother is patently incapable of reallocation. Similarly it was suggested previously in this chapter that the role of sexual partner is essentially non-reallocatable.

From the research viewpoint of this study, the remaining fourteen positions (roles) are distinctive functions which are not gender-exclusive and are reassignable partially or wholly to other family members or to other persons outside the household. Using the information obtained by the interview/questionnaire procedures discussed in the following chapter, a sample of Oklahoma State University married faculty women with children at home were examined in terms of their apparent behavior and attitudes towards coping with this domestic role multiplicity by means of role performance behavior and reallocation of role responsibilities.

Before proceeding farther, some comment on the economic provider position-set may be useful. Although a person may occupy only one position as economic provider at any given time, the status achieved

or ascribed may be one of four distinctive, but mutually exclusive, positions:

1. Sole provider (sole source of household income)
2. Primary provider (main source of household income)
3. Co-provider/dual provider (important source of household income)
4. Supplementary provider (supplements to household income).

For this study, these position variants are based on status interrelationships with the husband. Role behavior of persons may be importantly affected by which one of these four types of position status they hold. It should also be recognized that this status may change over time in relation to the changing economic contributions of other household members (in this case, the husband).

Based on evidence from the literature, women who function as a "sole provider" tend to have different attitudes toward careers and role responsibilities than those with lesser role as provider. Other findings of such studies suggest that women serving as primary or co-provider are much more subject to problems of role conflict involving husbands. The term supplementary provider refers to women, or men, whose income may be viewed as not essential to maintenance of family socioeconomic status. Some of the literature on these issues will be cited in the chapter on findings.

Five possible professional career roles are listed above. Obviously, not all faculty engage actively in all five roles (positions). However, those faculty at Oklahoma State University who seem to receive most recognition as "successful" either perform at exceedingly high

levels in one or two of these roles or perform with significant visibility in all five roles.

Adding the 16 domestic positions (roles) to the five professional career roles (positions) yields a total of 21 distinctive functional roles which married faculty women with children may be allocated by ascription and/or achievement. Confronted with this multiplicity of role environment, how do women involved cope with the multiple demands on their time and endurance? In order to learn more about the attitudes and behavioral responses of such women at Oklahoma State University, the interview/questionnaire procedure was used to obtain some representative information.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

An important part of the research strategy employed was to elicit information by interview and questionnaire from a sample of Oklahoma State University married female faculty members with children living at home. The intent was to obtain evidence indicating the nature and sources of role stress. Potential for resultant conflict was considered by reviewing strategies and actions used by the respondents to alleviate stress and to effect role conflict resolution.

Symbolic Interaction Perspective

This study was approached from the perspective of symbolic interactionism which endeavors to explain human behavior in terms of meanings. This concept had its basis in the works of Cooley, Mead, and Thomas. Blumer (1969) identified three premises underlying symbolic interaction:

> . . . human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them. . . . meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows. . . . meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters . . . (p. 2).

Both Mead and Cooley assumed that persons have a dual social component which is a collection of behaviors that develop in response to

the expectations of others. Of most importance are the significant others--families, close friends, persons looked to as mentors, etc.

The symbolic interactionist looks at roles developing from a person's efforts to communicate. The primary method of communication examined in this study was through language.

> Language occupies such a large part of human experience that most of us take it for granted. We talk to others and ourselves. We listen to people talking. We make plans silently and review things in our minds by means of language. . . . Whatever approach . . . language enters into every phase of the research process. . . . Language is more than a means of communication about reality: it is a tool for constructing reality . . . (Spradley, 1979, p. 17).

This viewpoint espoused by Mead and Cooley has relevance for this study of married faculty women's perception of their multiple roles and their ability to come to grips with the demands of time and energy in their daily lives. This viewpoint is also taken to examine the women's behavior in response to what they view as the roles they perform.

To study meaning, it was necessary to find out what these women know and how they interpret what they know. It was, thus, necessary to devise a methodology to "get inside their heads" and get them to talk about themselves. To explain the regularities, variations and diversities of social behavior of the married faculty women studied, it was deemed expedient to use primarily the interview technique to gain information.

Interview Method Rationale

Warwick and Lininger (1975) and Gorden (1975) in their works on interview and survey methodology have cited many advantages for the use of the interview method. Among them are:

1. Increased probability of getting a high response rate (Warwick and Lininger, p. 129). This was proven true when all persons selected for the sample agreed to participate in the study and to be interviewed.

2. Increased motivation to provide complete and accurate answers (Warwick and Lininger, p. 129; Gorden, p. 76). It was appropriate that at all stages of the interview the interviewee was made to feel that she had a role in the research process. The respondents indicated a strong interest in the study which tends to encourage objectivity and accuracy in the information given. The respondent was informed from the start, as well as throughout the questioning process, concerning the kinds of information sought and why.

3. Greater flexibility in questioning (Warwick and Lininger, p. 129; Gorden, p. 76-77). When an item was not understood, it was repeated, and ambiguous answers were cleared up. Flexibility allowed the researcher to probe for more complete answers. All respondents answered every question. Only once was the interviewer cautioned about probing further on a topic the respondent considered sensitive.

4. Control over sequence of the questions and other aspects of the interview situation (Warwick and Lininger, p. 129; Gorden, p. 77).

5. Opportunity to evaluate respondent's attitude toward the study, nonverbal behavior, and other observed behavior (Warwick and Lininger, p. 129; Gorden, p. 77). This was accomplished by keeping a diary for each interview, as mentioned below in the discussion of the field work journal in this chapter.

In addition, two other factors were considered in choosing the interview methodology: time constraints and ease of access to the sample of the population studied.

The existence of time constraints should be noted. Collection of data had to be done in early summer when annual leave time from the researcher's job was available and a lighter work schedule allowed time in the evenings for interviewing and transcribing the tape recorded interviews.

Most interviews were conducted on the Oklahoma State University campus or at homes within the Stillwater city limits. Only one interview was conducted in the home of a respondent outside the city. Ease of access to the respondents helped keep monetary costs down.

Field Research

Because of the small size of the sample, it was decided that a qualitative research design would be the most viable and creative. An "objectifying" interview (Sjoberg, 1968, p. 214-217) in which the interviewees know the purpose of the study was used. This method of interviewing casts the interviewee in the role of expert. Ideally, the respondent feels that she is a peer with whom the scientist can discuss the study objectively, thus reducing antagonism and suspicion.

The faculty women interviewed, being highly educated persons, were able to clearly express themselves and their feelings. All had at least a fair knowledge of scientific methodology and an understanding of the kind of study the researcher was conducting. It was therefore appropriate that from the beginning of the interview and throughout the process, the respondent was kept informed about the reasons for gathering the information. This method of interviewing has the advantage of getting around the ethical problem of gaining information without the respondent's knowledge. The method also helps to build rapport between

the interviewer and respondent and stresses the seriousness of the research study.

Research which aims at an adequate description may require more than one method. The interview was followed by a short questionnaire for purposes of cross-check on responses and to gain complementary data.

Field-Related Procedures

The Sample

The sample used in this study was randomly drawn from a stratified list of all Oklahoma State University married women faculty employed at least half-time as of May 1, 1980, and who had at least one child living at home during the 1979-80 school year. Stratification was by college: Agriculture, Arts and Sciences, Business, Education, Engineering, Home Economics, Library, and Veterinary Medicine.

The 1979-1980 O. S. U. Student-Faculty-Staff Directory was used initially to identify women faculty and their rank and college. The list of personnel actions approved by the O. S. U. Board of Regents from July, 1979, through May, 1980, was checked also for new appointments and promotions. All women found to be single, widowed, or divorced were eliminated from the list. Information used for identification was also obtained from, or verified by, departmental administrative personnel and used to further narrow the list to those who matched the criteria for inclusion in the study.

Of the seventy women identified, two resigned in June and one was recently divorced, leaving a population of sixty-seven women faculty from which to draw a sample. It was found that two of the 67 were out

of the country during the summer, and these were omitted, reducing the population to 65. From this number, a sample of 32 women, stratified by college, was contacted and all agreed to participate in the study.

Although a stratified design introduces some sampling bias, this method was employed in an attempt to avoid disciplinary bias and to assure some representation from all colleges within the university. When possible, a random sample of names from each of the colleges was drawn. For the College of Agriculture and the College of Engineering this was not possible, as Table I shows.

TABLE I

SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION BY COLLEGE

College	Population	Sample	Sample Percent
Agriculture	1	1	100.00
Arts and Sciences	20	10	50.00
Business	8	3	37.50
Education	9	4	44.44
Engineering	1	1	100.00
Home Economics	15	7	46.66
Library	6	4	66.67
Veterinary Medicine	5	2	40.00
All Colleges	65	32	49.23

An incidental by-product of the sampling procedure was that the sample selected represents approximately 50 percent of the population from each professional rank. The sample included 2 (50 percent) of the full professors, 5 (50 percent) of the associate professors, 12 (52.17 percent) assistant professors, 6 (46.15 percent) instructors, 5 (45.45 percent) adjunct teaching faculty not on the tenure track, and 2 (40 percent) others who hold research positions only. Table II illustrates this distribution of the sample by rank.

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY RANK

Rank	Population	Sample	Sample Percent
Professor	4	2	50.00
Associate Professor	10	5	50.00
Assistant Professor	23	12	52.17
Instructor	13	6	46.15
Adjunct	11	5	45.45
Researcher	5	2	40.00
All Ranks	65	32	49.23

Sequencing and Scheduling Interviews

After the thirty-two women in the sample were identified, the name of each person in the sample was placed on a card, the cards shuffled, and each person contacted by telephone in the order in which the cards were dealt. This was done to avoid bias in the sequencing and scheduling of interviews.

The purpose and nature of the study was briefly explained to each person, the interview and questionnaire procedure was described, confidentiality and anonymity were assured, and their consent for a tape-recorded interview was requested. All persons contacted gave consent with the exception of one who had just resigned her position at the Oklahoma State University and was in the process of moving to another city. A substitute name was drawn from the same college, and her consent received for inclusion in the study.

Following a suggestion by Warwick and Lininger (1975, p. 125) for research sequence, an attempt was made to preserve, as nearly as possible, the order for interviewing that was obtained when the cards were shuffled, allowing for the constraints of time and location of the interview place. Respondents were assigned a number based on the order in which they were interviewed.

Tape Recording Interviews

To allow the interviewer freedom to concentrate on the questioning process without constantly taking notes, a portable tape recorder was used with the respondent's permission. All respondents agreed to taped interviews because it would take less of their time. However, two

interviewees expressed some discomfort at first to being taped, giving as their reason a dislike for the sound of their voice recorded on a machine. Those two respondents did agree to continue the taping, nonetheless.

This procedure has the disadvantage for the researcher of requiring that twice to triple the time for the interview be devoted to transcribing the responses (Warwick and Lininger, 1975, p. 217). After transcription, all of the taped interviews were destroyed.

A concern was that the tape recorder distraction might have an adverse effect on the completeness or accuracy of the responses given. In his discussion of the effect of tape recorded interviews on accuracy of the surveys, Warwick and Lininger (1975, p. 218) stated that the existing research turned up little differences, however they also mentioned that the studies were not tightly controlled and the evidence was very limited.

Field Work Journal

In an effort to gather as much information as possible, a careful log of all activities surrounding the interviews was kept in the form of a diary. This procedure has many advocates who stress that this log be kept continuously during the data gathering process (Spradley, 1980, p. 71-72; Warwick and Lininger, 1975, p. 219).

A diary was kept during the entire period in which the interviews were conducted. Immediately after each interview, the following information was recorded: respondent's number, date, time interview began and ended, place of interview, information about the questionnaire completion (whether done after the interview or left for the respondent

to mail in), body language used by the respondent, appearance of the respondent, ease of interview, any problems or interruptions encountered during the interview, researcher's impressions during the interview, and any notations about possible quotations that might be used later. The diary was found to be very useful later when the taped interviews were typed by the researcher.

Role of the Researcher

Sjoberg (1968, p. 173) observed that field work can be hindered or facilitated by the status and role of the researcher. The researcher was known beforehand to at least 16 of the 32 faculty women in the sample as a middle-aged, married faculty colleague with children in her home. This knowledge helped to establish rapport for the interview.

> The rapport methodologists strive to establish is actually in the nature of a social bond between interviewer and interviewee, a bond that develops . . . because he is a friend, or at least an acquaintance, in need of information. . . . The objectifying interview, by clarifying the motives of the scientist, minimizes the possibility of exploitation, real or apparent, of the individual who cooperates with the researcher (p. 216).

The researcher also was known to most of the respondents as a librarian and as an active participant in campus and community affairs. Like those women in the study, the researcher was known to be coping with a multiplicity of roles. For this study it was felt that the known role of the researcher helped build empathy between the respondent and the researcher, or at least, promoted cooperation with the study.

Timing

The first interview was held May 25, 1980; the last interview was

conducted on July 6, 1980. Interview time ranged from 45 minutes to 1 hour and 45 minutes (the longer time being punctuated with many interruptions). The mean time for the interview was 65 minutes. When time allowed and the respondent was agreeable, the questionnaire was completed after the interview. This took an additional five minutes.

Interview Location

Twenty-two persons were interviewed in their work environment (office/desk/laboratory). Five persons were interviewed in their home, three were interviewed in the researcher's home, one was interviewed at the Oklahoma State University Library (not their workplace), and one was interviewed in a church library. Location of the interview place was primarily at the convenience of the interviewee.

In his discussion of the setting and conduct of the interview, Madge (1965, p. 246) stated, "The actual material setting is of considerable importance. . . . Experience shows that the best results are obtained if the informant feels on his home ground."

While some writers have stated privacy was necessary, Bradburn (1979, p. 169) found that third parties present during the interview made little difference. For most of the interviews conducted for this study, privacy was ensured. Children were in the home during all of the five interviews conducted in the respondent's home, however, no child was in the same room where the interview took place. The only instance where third parties may have overheard the interview proceedings was in a laboratory/work setting in which several people came and went, leaving and picking up specimens and reports.

Interruptions were forestalled by office personnel holding telephone calls for most of the faculty interviewed in their work environments. Those faculty interviewed in their homes also tried to minimize interruptions. In one instance, however, interruptions were frequent and the interview lasted 1 hour and 45 minutes, as mentioned above.

Collection of the Data

To employ the framework outlined above and adequately explore the research area of how the sample women perceive their domestic and professional roles, two data collection instruments were used: interview and questionnaire.

A copy of the interview schedule is attached in Appendix A. The questionnaire form is included as Appendix B.

The Interview

To discover firsthand how married faculty women at Oklahoma State University who have children in the home "define their situation" (to use the words of W. I. Thomas), a descriptive approach following the interview method was used. This method has the advantage of providing potential for a fuller understanding and explanation of role stress and conflict.

There were several steps involved in the interview process. Conducting the interview was only part of the series of steps taken. Briefly, the steps were:

1. Creating an interview schedule.
2. Pretesting the interview.

3. Conducting the interviews.

4. Typing up the recorded interviews.

5. Creating a numerical scale for recording responses, where applicable.

6. Coding the interview responses.

The interview was constructed so as to minimize threatening questions and put the interviewee at ease immediately. The first question asked the respondents to describe their typical day. This usually took several minutes to answer and gave both the researcher and the respondent time to relax and gain some rapport with one another. Rapport has been described as the goal or foundation for good interviewing (Michigan. University. Survey Research Center, 1969, p. 3-4).

Items in the interview schedule were identified and developed for this particular study. After being asked to describe their typical day, interviewees were asked to explain how household duties were apportioned among their family members. This was followed by questions about child care, household help, work history and career decisions, professional networks, support of spouse, family decision-making, and how leisure time is spent. Time allocation was probed as a means of investigating role perception and attempts to cope with role stress. Interviewees were asked to give their views on ideal situations (child care, allocation of household duties, vacations) and to relate how their families differed from what they perceived as ideal.

The interview was pretested on a female faculty member from another state who was visiting on the Oklahoma State University campus about two weeks prior to scheduling the first interview. This allowed the researcher to clear up some misleading questions and also get some idea

of the time needed to conduct the interviews. The person pretested provided a valuable critique of the methodology.

As soon after the interviews were conducted as possible, usually two or three days, the taped interviews were transcribed omitting extraneous materials, i. e., the interviewer's preliminary remarks and other conversational "small talk" between interviewer and interviewee. The transcriptions of interviews were organized so that comparison of responses between respondents on a given topic (question) could be made more quickly and consistently.

The last two steps in the interview process (creating a numerical scale and coding the responses) will be discussed below under organization and use of information.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire contained twenty-four multiple choice and short answer items. All questions except items three, four, thirteen, and twenty-two through twenty-four were based in part on a similar instrument developed by Astin (1969, p. 170-179).

Item three was included to get information about number of years employed in higher education, especially the years employed full-time. Item four was added to ascertain the number of years employed at the Oklahoma State University.

Item thirteen was included to gain information concerning the economic provider role. The amount of total family income was to be indicated by the respondent as falling in one of seven income classes or categories. The indicated class range was checked against the salary figures listed in Operating Budget for the Oklahoma State University

for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1980, for each woman faculty and for her husband, if he was also a university employee. This procedure allowed for identification of the woman's relative contribution as economic provider.

The last three questions on the questionnaire concerned the respondent's feelings about the interview. These were immediately checked to see if any clarification was needed before typing up the interview and to gain feedback on interview methodology as the interviews progressed.

Questions based on the Astin study contained items of information on work experiences, marital history, domestic and community activities, problems during career development, degrees held, and other personal data. Astin had used this data to examine how certain environmental conditions may affect a women's employment status and how personal characteristics of highly educated women influence their educational and occupational development.

Of the thirty-two faculty women in the sample, seventeen indicated a desire to answer the questionnaire immediately following the interview and completed it before leaving the place of interview. For the remaining fifteen, the questionnaire was provided along with a self-addressed envelope for mail back to the researcher. This was done because of time constraints and/or indications that it might be prudent to do so (the person appeared tired, hurried, anxious, or otherwise reluctant). All questionnaires were received and coded by mid-July.

Organization and Use of Information

Responses from interviews and questionnaires comprise a rather rich and detailed set of information on married female faculty with children in the home. In an effort to organize and manage the data to facilitate use, several procedures were followed. After the interviews were transcribed, a numerical scale for recording responses, where applicable, was devised and the responses coded.

Most of the questionnaire items, and anticipated form of responses, were designed to be quantifiable either as interval scale measures or by use of some nominal (categorical) scale. A total of 73 items were quantifiable and were coded and recorded for ease of usage. Some nominal measurements were derived from broad question items. For example, a nominal variable designated as "school status of children" was obtained from question #10 which asked respondents to list all children living at home by giving the sex, age, and year completed in school for each. The school status nominal scale was designed as follows:

Category 1 = preschool children only
Category 2 = preschool and elementary children
Category 3 = elementary school children only
Category 4 = elementary and middle school/high school
Category 5 = children in middle school/high school only.

Interview questions with a high degree of closure for range of responses were also quantitatively summarized, all by use of a nominal scale. It was possible to quantify 36 items as attribute or categorical variables. An example based on responses obtained from interview question #26: "Can you tell me how your family makes decisions about when and where to spend vacations?" It was found that the responses

could be placed in one of the following categories:

Category 1 = We don't have (or take) vacations
Category 2 = It is decided for us (vacations are usually or always planned as extensions of professionally required or inspired travel)
Category 3 = We decide together
Category 4 = I (respondent) decide
Category 5 = Husband usually or always decides.

A total of 109 response variables were quantified. To ease management and handling of these coded data, all were entered as a Time Sharing Option (TSO) data set. Thus, it was possible to use the Oklahoma State University's TSO computer system to create data summaries, statistics, and cross-tabulations. Summary statistics, etc., were obtained by use of the Statistical Analysis System (SAS) program package. Using SAS procedures, frequency counts (distributions), cross-tabulations, and summary statistics (means, standard deviations, etc., for interval measures) were obtained.

Summary

The methodology for the study was approached from the perspective of symbolic interaction. This perspective, based on the works of Cooley and Mead, seeks to explain human behavior in terms of meanings.

The sample selected for the study was randomly drawn from a list stratified by college in the Oklahoma State University. The sample consisted of 32 of the 65 married women faculty employed at least half-time as of May 1, 1980, who had at least one child living at home during the 1979-80 school year.

To investigate how the women perceived their domestic and professional roles, the methods of gathering data were the "objectifying" interview followed by a short self-administered questionnaire. The

questionnaire served as a cross-check on interview responses and also added complementary data.

Interviews were held between May 25 and July 6, 1980. Each interview was tape-recorded and later transcribed. A numerical scale was devised for responses that could be quantified in the interview and on the questionnaire. Responses were coded and entered as a TSO data set. Summary statistics were obtained by use of the Statistical Analysis System (SAS) computer program package.

In reporting findings in Chapter IV, quantified data summary information, quotes from respondents, and evaluative-interpretive commentary on responses are included as evidence of respondent's situational or environmental conditions, instances of stress associated with role multiplicity, and problems and methods respondents have in their attempts to contend with potential role conflict. Findings are organized and presented within the conceptual framework developed in Chapter II.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The interview and questionnaire results of this study constitute a rich collection of information on women faculty with children at home. The detail and depth of information obtained actually extends beyond the intended scope of this study. Because of the highly cooperative and concerned participation of the respondents a great deal of information was obtained. Consequently, the limits of the study were expanded somewhat beyond those originally planned.

Findings are presented within the framework of functional roles or positions presented in Chapter II. As identified there, six position-sets provide the basis for ordering findings. However, some of these position-sets will be treated in greater depth and detail than others. Principal emphasis will be placed on describing the activities and problems of respondents in contending with role performance involving the housekeeping, parent, and professional position-sets. The three remaining position-sets: spouse, economic provider, and social citizen are examined only briefly because 1) original plans for the study did not focus on these roles of women, 2) information obtained was not as complete or revealing, and 3) extended treatment of these roles would detract from those planned to receive primary emphasis.

Table III below shows demographic and other characteristics of the sample.

TABLE III

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

Characteristic	Mean	Minimum	Maximum
Age	40.03	31	57
Number of children at home	1.97	1	3
Family income (in dollars)	32,500*	22,500**	Over 40,000
Years employed in higher education	8.91	1	22
Years employed full-time	5.31	0	17
Years employed part-time	3.59	0	13
Years employed at O. S. U.	7.34	1	18
Number of siblings	1.84	0	6

* Range 30,001-35,000
** Range 20,001-25,000

As the above table shows, the average age of the sample is slightly over 40 years. The women studied average less than two children in the family, and came from families which averaged slightly over two children. The average family income for the sample was reported to be in the $30,001-35,000 range. The women had been employed an average of slightly under 9 years in higher education, 60 percent of which was full-time and 40 percent part-time, on the average. Approximately 80 percent of the average years of employment in higher education have

been in the employment of Oklahoma State University. Other important statistics will be reported throughout this chapter.

Homemaker/Housekeeper Position-Set

Although others could be included, only the three functions, or roles, of providing food service, housecleaning, and clothing maintenance and service were examined. Except for attitudinal biases and potential proscriptive sanctions, the roles, or functions, associated with housewiving (as opposed to other wife and mother activities) should be among the most easily reallocatable.

Allocation of Role

Despite the lack of functionally based gender-exclusiveness in housekeeping tasks, findings based on the 32 interview/questionnaire case studies suggest that some housekeeping activities are more easily reallocated than others. Table IV provides a breakdown of the allocation of some of the most common housekeeping tasks in the 32 households surveyed.

The amount of time and effort expended by household members on tasks such as housecleaning, clothing maintenance, and food service varies widely between households, even with non-domestic employment characteristics held constant. This interhousehold variability results from a number of factors: level and idiosyncrasies of demand for those services by household members, access to and patterns of usage of housekeeping technology, division of household labor, and other factors.

TABLE IV

ALLOCATION OF HOUSEKEEPING ROLE PERFORMANCE

Person(s) Performing Role	House Cleaning	Clothes Washing	Grocery Shopping	Cooking	Dining Cleanup
Wife (only or mainly)	4	17	20	14	6
Husband (only or mainly)	1	1	3	4	4
Children (only or mainly)	-	-	-	1	2
Shared: All	10	3	2	1	8
Wife/Husband	3	2	6	6	6
Wife/Children	4	5	-	2	2
Husband/Children	2	1	-	-	2
*Hired/Shared: Wife	1	-	-	3	-
Wife/Husband	1	-	-	-	-
Children	1	-	-	-	-
All	2	-	-	1	-
Hired (only or mainly)	3	1	-	-	-
No or Insufficient Response	-	2	1	-	2
Totals	32	32	32	32	32

*For cooking, "hired" indicates "eating out."

Readjustment of Expectations

It is important to note that attitudes of household members about the quality, quantity, timing, and source of these services are adjusted in response to the household and community environment. Among the

sample households it was evident that members were attempting to adjust expectations in response to the conditions associated with an employed wife/mother. However, it should also be pointed out that the Oklahoma State University/Stillwater community is rather informal and the urbanized area is small in size. Ease of movement between workplace and residence allows considerable time flexibility not found in large urban areas. Similarly, informality permits adequacy of a lesser or different level of demand for some services than might be the case in more formal social environments.

Some examples of these adjustments in the words of the respondents follow:

> We don't make beds. Frankly, I think it is a big waste of time (Case #31).

This is only one outspoken example among the many respondents who indicated a low priority for bedmaking and other similar minor tasks. Ironing clothes was another activity given low priority, but one in which technology has made substitution more readily acceptable (wash and dry, no-iron fabrics and home washers and dryers).

> Laundry is no problem, but I never iron anything. If I buy something that needs ironing, I either take it to the cleaners or I give it to the Salvation Army (Case #31).

Or with respect to housecleaning, the tongue-in-cheek comment of another respondent indicates some readjustment of expectations.

> What is typically done is live in squalor. As long as you have clean clothes on the body, can get through and find a dish to put some food into, you are doing good at our house (Case #4).

Another respondent appears to be more circumspect about adjustments to expectations:

> We don't keep the place picked up every day. It is a matter of setting priorities; if someone has something big that week, the rest of us take up the slack. Everyone in the family has activities that are crucial to them. If that happens to everybody at the same time, then it shows up in the household. But everybody says 'We'll just get through this.' It isn't as bad as it looks sometimes. It is mild clutter, not filth (Case #17).

But there were abundant comments suggesting that adjustments were not being made effectively or satisfactorily:

> I think that I should go to the grocery on Friday and plan what we are going to have for the week, but I never seem to make the time to plan and make menus. It is a great failing of mine. I know it would really help if I just sat down and planned my menus because that would be one thing that would go smoother (Case #16).

> I do the wash, and I do a load or two whenever it piles up. I change the beds when I get a chance. . . . And, when I am in a time crunch, my husband pitches in and helps with cleaning and does the wash. If it wasn't for the last month of the school year, we would do really well. Then things fall apart and we all get very busy (Case #24).

> I only clean house not by design but because we are going to have company. It sometimes is months between a big cleaning. I try to keep the kitchen in order. I should sweep it every day--my mother always did that--but I don't. I mop it when I can't stand the sticky floors anymore (Case #15).

The interviews show evidence of considerable effort toward adjustment of attitudes and expectations with respect to the nature and quality of role performance. This could be viewed as a realistic revision of values and expectations which have been acquired under different conditions of earlier, formative socialization. However, some of the comments by the respondents suggested uneasy "rationalization" of these changes and some feelings of guilt about perceived responsibility for changes in expectations which the individual had not yet reconciled with themselves as being "acceptable."

Housecleaning: The Most Despised Task

Housecleaning was found to be the most disliked or least enjoyed of the housekeeping activities among the women of the sample group. This disdain was well-expressed by the words of some of the more outspoken:

> I don't want to do cleaning. My husband doesn't want to do it, and the kids don't want to do it. So, why not hire someone to do it. If I can afford it, I will have help. I don't like any of it (Case #31).

> Nobody really likes to do the cleaning in our house (Case #29).

> I don't like to do any of the cleaning, but I do what is necessary (Case #20).

Despite the common feelings of dislike for housecleaning tasks, the data in Table IV imply that the 32 respondents are more successful in reallocating these activities than any other housekeeping tasks. Only four women indicated that housecleaning was done largely or wholly by themselves. In one household, performance of these activities had been mainly or entirely assumed by the husband, in three households hired persons did most of this work, and in three other sharing arrangements the wife/mother was largely relieved of these duties. It is significant to note that almost one third (10) of the respondents so valued the contributions of other household members that they could say that housecleaning is a shared activity.

Given that housecleaning is so commonly disliked by the women of the sample, it appears surprising that only 8 of them (25 percent) hire outsiders to do some or all of these tasks. However, this finding is somewhat misleading. During responses to interview topic #10 (See Appendix A), respondents indicated that they 1) had in the past hired

persons to perform housecleaning tasks, 2) planned to hire persons, or 3) would like to hire persons given resolution of some obstacles, and 4) in only a few cases demonstrated little or no interest in hiring outside help. Problems associated with discontinuance of past hiring of outsiders, plans for hiring, and conditional interest in hiring are demonstrated by selected comments by respondents:

> We did hire persons previously, but we don't now. We had success in all but one case and that time I think we had a person who was not as mature as we would have wanted. My husband thought hiring someone was OK. My children didn't like it when they were older because they thought we were putting them down and having the person doubling as a housekeeper and a babysitter (Case #19).

> My husband is always after me to get somebody. I have had people off and on during the years. I used to have somebody really good and I would give my right arm if I could have her again. I have had others since, but it was not satisfactory. I said that I'd rather have it dirty than waste my money. I didn't want to have to go and do the work over myself after paying someone to do it (Case #15).

> I tried it and was going to pay the lady $10 a day. She came one day and did a good job, but she left me a note: 'I talked to you on the phone and you sounded like a really nice person, but your house is so far behind I can't catch it up.' So discouraging. I'll never try again. Oh, I might do it <u>if</u> I could find someone reliable (Case #6).

> We plan on hiring a woman to clean once a week. We have hired one who takes care of the baby now and she will do cleaning in the fall and also do babysitting (Case #20).

> It would be fine with me to hire someone. My husband would feel it was all right, too. I could not justify it working half-time. . . . If I worked full-time, it would still be hard for me because of my background. When I grew up, the people I knew did not have household help and everybody kept their own house (Case #16).

> For a long time I didn't like it as I thought it would be a reflection that I couldn't handle it. But, . . . I got to thinking that if I am spending my time away from my family earning money for them, then my time with my family is worth something, too. I should spend some of that money to pay for time-consuming jobs that anybody can do (Case #14).

> We had a variety of experiences. I had a lot of problems . . . philosophically, because the going rate was to be paying too little, in my opinion, for those services. They were willing to do the work, but I didn't like the system. Then I employed a person who worked for a company, and you pay through the nose for that, but you have none of those other problems. It is done professionally; it is done well. And, it is very expensive, and I have to justify the expense. My husband's preference is to spend the money than for me to be exhausted or for him to take his time to do something he doesn't like to do (Case #29).

A common theme of the interviewees' preceding quotes is a well-recognized, yet unresolved, major problem. Essentially this problem extends from the norms of socialization, namely that housekeeping is the woman's job or, at least, the wife's responsibility. Thus, a set of gender-exclusive tasks which every household demands and requires in some degree of quantity and quality is transformed into a gender-based imperative becoming wife's work and/or responsibility. If the wife/mother cannot do the work, does not want to do the work, and/or is unsuccessful in convincing other household members to share the work, then <u>she</u> must hire someone to do the work.

> This approach continues to place domestic service outside the normative employer-employee relationship in the American economy. It stresses the personal, woman-to-woman approach. Implicit . . . is the notion that problems in the work can be solved by goodwill, sympathetic understanding, and a protective attitude by the employer. . . . Explicitly rejected is the economic basis of employer-employee relationships that prevails in American industry: the concept that performance of the tasks and level of skill are the criteria for job tenure, not the worker's personality (Katzman, 1978, p. 388).

Katzman makes several suggestions for reforms which may transform domestic service from the emotional, woman's work point of view into an objective view of functional tasks to be performed. He concludes:

> It will take unionization of employees and supporting local legislation before worker-controlled hiring halls can gain a monopoly over the work. Without these shifts in power, domestic service will continue, as it has been for the last 150 years, to be a low-status occupation, offering low wages, to virtually immobile workers, in an anachronistic employee-employer relationship based on personalities rather than job skills (Katzman, 1978, p. 390).

Among the respondents were some women who, even though they expressed dislike for housecleaning, displayed negative feelings about hiring outsiders to do this work. The reasons were varied:

1) persons who view themselves as too "hard to please,"

> Well, I'd do it if I had to. . . . I'm afraid I'd be too critical. I am not good at delegating authority. I am the type of person who tries to do everything myself. That way I am assured that it will get done the way I want it (Case #7).

2) persons with strong feelings of need for privacy,

> I don't want anybody in my house. I am very private about my house. My husband feels the same way (Case #21).

> I have mixed feelings about it although at times I think it would be delightful to have help. But, first of all, I am not particularly thrilled about the expense. Secondly, I don't really care to have anybody meddling with . . . (Case #23).

3) a proscriptive husband,

> I would love it, but my husband is totally against it. He is very particular about his house and he doesn't want to have anybody in it, even someone we might know fairly well (Case #26).

(It should be mentioned that in this case, the husband did back up his objections by performing a disproportionate share of the housecleaning tasks himself).

and, 4) persons strongly influenced by early socialization.

> I won't do it. Mother always said that if you were so busy that you have to have someone clean your own house for you, you are too busy (Case #1).

Although about half the persons interviewed indicated some misgivings about hiring outsiders to do housecleaning, most have done so, or show a willingness to do so. Only a few show no inclination to hire outsiders. All but eight of the women recognized a significant sharing of these tasks by other family members. Therefore, of all the housekeeping activities, housecleaning showed the highest degree of role-sharing. As a consequence it appeared to be one set of activities in which women employed outside the home are realizing positive relief from some of the burden of multiple role performance.

Clothing Maintenance

More than half (57 percent) or 17 of the 30 respondents (two did not provide clearcut responses) said that they did most, or all, of the clothes washing in their household. Only three viewed themselves as largely relieved of this job by other household members (two cases) or by hired persons (one case).

These data suggest a much lower incidence of sharing or role allocation than prevailed for housecleaning. However, it should be observed that clothes washing is a rather specific task, while housecleaning tasks (such as vacuuming, sweeping, dusting, polishing, bathroom cleaning, etc.) were all grouped together in the discussion above. Clothing maintenance may also be viewed as a position-set encompassing such segmentable tasks as clothing buying, clothes washing, clothes ironing, clothes-making, and clothing repair.

Many of the respondents made some references to clothing purchases, ironing, clothing repairs, and even clothes-making in some cases. Yet, washing was the only task associated with clothing that was discussed

by almost all respondents. Only two persons failed to make significant references to this activity. Probably the lower incidence of references to the other possible or potential tasks reflects some adjustments and substitutions made in families hard pressed to find sufficient time to do all things. Some types of time-saving adjustments identified from respondents' comments include:

1. For all but the most minor clothing repairs, clothing is replaced. This suggests that substitution of money expenditure for replacement has gained ascendance over time expenditure for making repairs.

2. As previously discussed above, clothing made of fabrics requiring little or no ironing are substituted for those which do require ironing.

3. Also as previously mentioned, both the informal social environment in Stillwater as well as climatic conditions allow for less necessity for attentiveness to clothing.

4. More formal clothing may be sent to commercial laundry and dry cleaning establishments, generally without strong protests from household members.

5. Minor clothing repairs and ironing which are done may be carried out sporadically, only in response to "emergencies" or when higher priority tasks permit.

If such reasoning is a generally accurate portrayal of actual behavior, then time required for clothing maintenance tasks is significantly reduced and becomes less demanding than other domestic jobs for the scarce time of women employed outside the home. This conclusion

is partly conjecture, but the statements of the women interviewed do give it some support. Of course, it does not universally apply as a few respondents mentioned spending several hours each week ironing clothes.

With modern automatic washers and dryers, home laundering of clothes has become a comparatively easy and routinized task. A logical question therefore might be to ask why doesn't a larger proportion of the women interviewed share this task with other household members or even reassign the responsibility. The interview included no probing on this issue so only a few hints of explanation were obtained from respondents.

Some possible elements of explanation may be: 1) although the skills required for home laundering may be relatively simple and teachable, they still must be done consistently and correctly for best results--some women may simply be too particular; 2) to some people, clothes washing is viewed as personally sensitive and may be done by wife/mother but not by father and children, 3) perhaps to many women it is not such a tremendous chore as some other tasks, and they therefore choose to fight their role-sharing wars on other domestic fronts, and 4) finally, home laundering may carry strong ascriptive norms as a "woman's job" by means of a residual effect of many women's earlier socialization.

Food Services

Some of the tasks associated with providing food for a household require the highest levels of skill and creativity of any domestic jobs. Traditional norms have placed strong ascriptive sanctions that wives

should be able and willing to cook. Yet, as with all housekeeping roles, there is nothing inherent to the role of cooking that better qualifies a given sex for role performance. However, the realities of socialization have commonly made women better prepared to assume the role. As cooking is a high skill activity, the fact that girls are generally encouraged to learn how to cook and boys are not means that women more commonly enter a formative household with better culinary skills than men.

Thus even in the absence of gender-based ascription, wives often win the job of cook by default if the welfare and quality of life of the household is to be maximized. In cases where performance of this role is allocated to the husband, the most common reason is that the wife is unskilled or perhaps even shows little aptitude for the tasks. A quote from one person interviewed demonstrates this:

> For the first six month I was married, I tried to cook. At the end of that time, my husband said, 'Do you mind if I try?' He has cooked ever since then. He is a very good cook, too. He does all the grocery shopping. My son has, therefore, been raised in an atmosphere where it is very masculine to cook. Men cook, so he does also. When my husband is out of town, my son cooks for me (Case #10).

As cooking is viewed by many persons as a high skill, high status domestic job which allows for considerable creative expression, it is not surprising that some women, and men, strongly like this work and gladly accept this role even if it is attained by ascription rather than achievement. Comments by several respondents verify this:

> I am in the kitchen close to two hours every evening. I cook from scratch and I enjoy cooking very much. We did purchase a microwave oven which cuts back on clean-up because there are not so many things to be washed. I do the clean-up (Case #9).

> I cook from scratch. I consider convenience foods very poor nutrition and very expensive. We use frozen vegetables, or I may start something in the slow cooker in the morning. The average meal preparation time is one hour (Case #12).

> Meals are special for our family. We complete eating by 7:00 or 7:30 P. M. and things are put in the dishwasher by me and my husband. . . . I do all the cooking (Case #25).

But in contrast some women find household conditions and family activities too hectic for regular, planned meal preparation.

> Any cooking that is done, I do it. Depending on who is going where, we eat supper between 6:30 and 8:00 P. M. We often do not eat together and it is pretty hysterical around that time in our house. Weekends, we do eat together (Case #31).

> We eat when we feel like it. I just keep things around so the children can fix a sandwich when they want it. We probably eat together as a family 4 or 5 times a week. Most of the time it just doesn't work out with the schedule (Case #21).

Although none of the 32 households paid persons to cook in their homes, many, in effect, "hired" food services by eating out frequently. Eating at a food service establishment represents a means for reassignment of the food service tasks outside the household.

> We eat out a lot. More and more all the time, we do that. When we eat at home, we all just gather in the kitchen at the bar; it is very convenient. We have just very simple things, sometimes just sandwiches (Case #6).

> We eat out a great deal because there are so many after school activities (Case #4).

Eating out often may not be a fully adequate solution for easing the burden of cooking following a long day at work, but it is at least a less tiring alternative. One fourth of the women interviewed indicated on the questionnaire that they eat out eight or more times per month. An important reason why such women may wish to eat out on the average of two or more times per week is poignantly stated by one:

> My worst time of the day is from 5:00 to 7:00 P. M. when I get home and I am tired. I don't have a meal planned, and our daughter is ready for some attention (Case #16).

Under such conditions, McDonald's fast food restaurant may seem like a veritable working woman's friend.

Summary

Households in the study varied widely in the amount of time and effort expended by its members on the tasks of housecleaning, clothing maintenance, and food service. Attitudes of the household members toward role performance of housekeeping functions were adjusted in response to the household and community environments.

Some tasks were more easily reallocated than others. Housecleaning (the respondents' most disliked task) was shared. The respondents were successful in reallocating housecleaning tasks; housecleaning was more likely than any other housekeeping task to be reallocated, also.

Clothing maintenance and service showed the least amount of sharing or role allocation of the three tasks. This may have been due to time-saving adjustments and substitutions made in the families concerning their clothing needs and purchases.

Finally, it was found that cooking is viewed by most of the respondents as a creative and skill-demanding task. It was the most readily accepted and enjoyable task of the respondents; however, many respondents shared this role either with other family members or by the means of eating out.

Parent (Mother) Position-Set

The thirty-two women in the study have 63 children living at home;

33 are males and 30 are females. Table V below shows the number of households with 1, 2, and 3 children. No households had more than 3 children living at home.

TABLE V

SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN AT HOME

Category	Number of Households	Percent of Households	Number of Children
1 child at home	8	25.00	8
2 children at home	17	53.13	34
3 children at home	7	21.87	21
Totals	32	100.00	63

Mean number of children = 1.969 s.d. = 0.695 s.e. = 0.12

Of the 32 women in the study, 14 have only elementary school age or younger children. Table VI shows the school status categories and the number and percentage of women having children at home who fall into each category of this school status classification. It can be noted that 2 women in the study stated that they had a child in college who was living at home during the 1979-80 school year.

TABLE VI

SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS BY CHILDREN'S SCHOOL STATUS

Children's School Status	Number of Households	Percent of Households
Preschoolers only	5	15.63
Preschool and elementary	3	9.38
Elementary school only	6	18.75
Elementary and middle/high school	7	21.87
Middle/high school only	8	25.00
Preschool, elementary and middle/high school	1	3.13
High school and college	2	6.25
Totals	32	100.00

Child Care

The most practical problem faced by academic women with small children at home is that of adequate child care. Even for husbands who are highly supportive of their wives' academic careers, the responsibility for child care is assumed by the mother. Thus, she must not only make the arrangements, but she must also ensure that there are adequate provisions when disruptions occur.

Of the fourteen women in the study who have only elementary school age or younger children, twelve women indicated that they needed some

child care arrangement while they worked. Three women allocated this role to unrelated day babysitters. One woman paid both a relative and a day care center for child care. The day care center was the child care arrangement used exclusively by six women for the care of their children. Two other women used both a day care center and an unrelated day babysitter.

To work at an effective level these mothers of young children found it necessary to resolve any role conflicts in regard to family and career. These conflicts often centered on obtaining competent child care. The inability to find competent substitute child care has been cited as the primary limiting factor in a professional woman's decision to work--part-time, full-time or not at all for a time (Rich, 1975, p. 34-36; Ginzberg, 1966, p. 122).

Ideal Care. In response to being asked what they viewed as ideal care for young children while the mother works full-time, the respondents separated their answer into two parts: infant care (birth until about two years of age) and toddler care (two years of age until child enters elementary school). Table VII illustrates how the majority of women felt about ideal child care and how this ideal differs with the age of the child. It is noteworthy that ideally, the majority felt an infant should be cared for in a home situation, preferably on a one-to-one basis, and the majority felt that a toddler would best receive ideal care in a "quality" day care center.

Many of the women in the sample stated that the kind of child care they gave, or were giving, their child(ren) was nearly ideal. Others thought they diverged from the ideal in their role performance.

TABLE VII

SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION BY IDEALIZED CHILD

CARE FOR INFANTS AND TODDLERS

Ideal Child Care	Infant		Toddler	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Home situation, preferably one to one, or very small group	19	59.4	6	18.8
Day care center	7	21.9	22	68.8
Mother should stay home	3	9.4	1	3.1
Relative to care for child	2	6.2	2	6.2
No opinion	1	3.1	1	3.1
Totals	32	100.0	32	100.0

From those who thought they diverged from the ideal in their role performance for child care arrangements, this feeling of deficiency is reflected in selected comments from the respondents:

> I think a mother should be home with preschool age kids. It was not ideal in our case because my husband was getting a doctorate and I worked teaching . . . full-time. We had a babysitter and it was less than ideal (Case #2).

> I have mixed feelings about the ideal. A home situation is best. My daughter went to a good preschool, but I think a home situation is best because there would be more nurturing and it would be a more normal atmosphere for the child (Case #4).

> We had several different kinds of arrangements. We never had anyone come into the home. We always took our child somewhere. But, I think it is ideal for the very young ones to have someone come to the home because you don't have to disturb the baby's sleep (Case #14).

Several women expressed concern for the quality of day care provided for their children. When choosing a "mother substitute," one woman said that she would "never consider a sitter who looked upon the job as a 'free ride.' They think they will take care of someone and also get to do their own housework" (Case #16). What bothered her the most was that "they may watch the children, but they don't really interact with them" (Case #16).

Most of the women who indicated that they had very positive experiences with child care in their home situation mentioned that they were looking for a "grandmotherly-type" who would spend a lot of time giving comfort and assurance of affection to their child. Three expressed appreciation for the "mother substitute" they found.

> For eight years our son was cared for by a woman who came to the home. She was a wonderful woman, full of love. She was like a grandmother to him. He still writes to her (Case #10).

> We got an 'Oklahoma Grandma' who took care of our youngest child. We found her through lots of talking to lots of people. We wanted someone who would come into the home and be a grandma figure. She came in for however long I needed her (Case #17).

> I had a woman come in and take care of the children all day. We just happened to find each other and we needed each other badly. She needed work and I could pay her enough money to get by. She was one of those special kind of people who loved children. She played with them. She made doll clothes for them. . . . God gave us to each other is all I can say. The kids loved her and they were in many ways at that time better off with her than they would have been with me (Case #18).

Many studies have called for adequate child care services and facilities for academic women. Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973), Rossi and Calderwood (1973), Gappa and Uehling (1979), Schmalzried (1974), and Rich (1975) are a few examples.

When discussing the need for adequate comprehensive day care for their children, four faculty women in the study expressed resentment that the university did not give a higher priority to this need. They expressed a desire that children of faculty (both men and women) be given preferential treatment for the laboratory day care program on campus. One woman respondent stated that "child care for faculty children should be as important as faculty parking, football tickets, TIAA-CREF, and other faculty benefits" (Case #32). Another commented on the university day care program not accepting children until they have reached their third birthday.

> Most universitites the size of O. S. U. have some provision for the care of infants, especially for faculty and staff. It would have been a lot more convenient and time-saving had my child been on the campus. . . . It makes it more difficult for working mothers to be with their children during the day if they have to drive a good way to be with them. Essentially, it is impossible (Case #26).

Putting child care in a broader frame of reference, two women in the study called upon society to make changes by providing some support for child care.

> We shouldn't put the whole burden on the family for providing adequate child care. We should, as a society, come to realize that our children are very important to us. As employer, the university makes an impact on people in the work schedule. We should invent new structures to help families to fulfill their parenting role (Case #19).

> We have a societal assumption that women are going to take care of their children. And, we don't recognize the investment in human resources, time and money, that it represents.

> If a woman wants to stay home with her children and is comfortable doing it because that is where her rewards are, then that is splendid. But, it is not for every woman. And, if it is not for every woman and society is saying it must be done, then there should be some societal support for child care arrangements (Case #29).

Role Sharing. If the husband is also in academia, there may be more sharing of parenting roles because of the flexibility of academic schedules. Harris (1979b), in her recent study noted

> In my experience academic couples are the only professionals who regularly share child care on an equal basis. The crucial operative factor is that academic schedules are extremely flexible and contain relatively few fixed hours when an individual must be away from home. The academic world is also more supportive than most environments of couples who share child care. Men who express nurturant qualities and spend a great deal of time with their children are admired, not criticized for being unmasculine or unambitious . . . (p. 28).

Twenty-five of the respondents (78 percent) indicated in the interview that their spouse shared importantly in the responsibility of child care. This care included seeing the child off to school, a day care center, or babysitter in the morning or picking the child up in the evening and being home when the child arrives from school. Also mentioned was providing transportation, reading to the child, preparing meals for the child, playing games and supervising the child's activities.

Seven of the respondents reported that they received little or no help from their spouse with general child care. However, of these seven, four noted that their youngest child was in high school and essentially provided their own care and transportation. Of the other three, one had older children who assumed some responsibility for the care and transportation of a younger sibling. Because of the sensitive

nature of this role performance, it was not deemed advisable to further probe this behavior with the two remaining respondents.

In addition to the one respondent mentioned above who received help from older children, four other respondents reported that they have partly allocated some of the child care of a younger child to an older child. As with help from the child's father, the older child was reported to assist with preparing meals, read to younger sibling, play games and otherwise entertain the younger child, transport the younger child to sports activities in addition to supervise the younger child after school until a parent arrived home.

Making Time. Occupations differ in terms of expected commitment of time and energy by the participants in the occupation.

> . . . Success in an academic career . . . makes inordinate demands on time and energy. The absorption in subject matter which is required of a successful academician is, if not all consuming, at least consuming of enough time, energy, and emotional substance to affect all other relationships. . . . Being an academic person therefore required enormous preoccupation with professional work for many hours a day, usually at the expense of family contacts. In rapidly growing areas of knowledge, reading alone takes great chunks of time . . . (Bernard, 1964, p. 222).

The academic woman with children, like other working mothers, is likely to make a special effort to spend time with her children to counteract her perceived ideas of the negative affect of her working on her children (Bernard, 1964, p. 223). In order to do this, many of the women in the sample made a great effort to be home at, or nearly at, the same time that their school age children arrived home in the afternoon.

Eleven women reported that they try to arrive home around 3:30 P. M. before their children do. Eight additional women usually arrive

home by 4:45 P. M., and thirteen women reported that they usually leave work after 5:00 P. M.

One respondent stated that she felt

> . . . very strongly that one of us needs to be home at 3:30 when the children get there. It does not matter whether it is the mother or the father. A parent should be there (Case #19).

Five of the women in the study stated that they coped with time pressures and role stress by occasionally bringing the children to the office with them. One of these women said

> I always tried to be there when the children got home from school so we could have a few minutes to talk things over. Then, sometimes I might bring one child to the office and they would talk about things there with me (Case #15).

All of these office visits, when they occurred occasionally, appeared to be enjoyed by both parent and child.

Comments by some of the women who reported that they cannot be home when their child arrives show varying degrees of role stress.

> The oldest gets home at approximately 4:00 P. M. and she will stay there. She gets a snack and does homework. She knows that she cannot have anyone in the house with her. We have done this with her since she started to school because both parents work and don't get home for approximately an hour after her school lets out (Case #13).

> My daughter may have to stay alone by herself for fifteen minutes or so. I feel a little guilty about it, although I guess I shouldn't. By age 10, she should be able to be left alone a few minutes (Case #2).

> My daughter arrives home on the bus at 4:10 every day, and I call her faithfully <u>every day</u> [Emphasis by respondent] (Case #6).

> Our younger children are at home for about an hour after school before my husband and I get home, but we have an older child there to cover for us. However, having a built-in baby-sitter doesn't always work out as well as it might if we had a regular sitter because of the sibling rivalry (Case #18).

> My son normally remembers his key. I can't think of but one or two times in the last three years that our son has forgotten his key. It does bother me that he is there alone by himself for an hour or so, and I don't particularly like it. But, he is in middle school and is responsible. I have pretty good confidence in his ability to manage by himself. He usually calls me when he gets home (Case #12).

The women in the study varied in the ways that they have dealt with making time for their children. Eight of the respondents (25 percent) have resolved role conflicts and accommodated their family's needs by working part-time. A respondent who works full-time on campus told of two decisions made by her and her husband which she felt reduced a great amount of anxiety and frustration in their household about child care.

One of the decisions was to have two telephone lines at home. She stated emphatically,

> If any member of the family is not home, one of the lines has to be free. It makes the communication to the household from the outside world better. No matter where your child is, if they need you, I want a line available. Sometimes, too, I only have thirty seconds to call home and check to see that all is all right, and I want to get through (Case #17).

The other decision was to live near the university which saved time and energy and eliminated distance as a major barrier for emergencies. Seventeen other women in the study (56 percent of the total) also noted that "living close to the campus" was a major time-saver for their families.

Quality Time. Most of the women in the study stated that they endeavor to give their children "quality time" when they are at home with them. They devoted some time every day to finding out about their child's activities that day. They also thought it very important that

they be available to listen when their child wanted to talk over their feelings with them. Some respondents referred to this time as a "special time" and indicated that they did not attempt to change this routine even when pressured to do so by their professional job demands.

> After supper we spend quality time with our children until they go to bed. Then we burn the midnight oil (Case #4).

> When the children have tests, I may spend two hours giving questions to them. It is something I started and they seem to want this help. They like to show me what they know (Case #5).

> When my son was young, I helped him with homework and played games with him from the time I got home until he was in bed. I did that so I could enjoy him. . . . My son knows that if he has a problem, he can always come and chat with me about it. We really like to talk and it is an important area of being together (Case #10).

> With our preschool children, they have needs that should be met, and I don't want to miss some of it. And what comes at the end is my work. If it gets slighted right now, it gets slighted (Case #20).

Overcompensation. Role stress occured when a person attempted to take on too many activities, given limited time and energy. Nonetheless, several of the respondents in the study found it difficult to cut down on activities involving their children. The following remarks are typical and exemplify this stress.

> I have sponsored our children's clubs. My husband and I go to every one of their sports events in town and some of the out-of-town events as well (Case #5).

> My mother had to work and I can remember lots of times when mother couldn't do things because of having to work. . . . I try to be very careful and do things that other mothers do. I have been a room mother, for example, an inordinate number of times. I visited the kids' school every year until my son was in fifth grade and he asked me not to come any more (Case #2).

Even more emphatic were these statements from a respondent who has coped with an increasingly heavy workload in her professional role.

> I feel very strongly that I must support my kids' activities at school. I can't use the fact that I work as a reason not to do something. I always bend over backward to be involved in every event my children participate in. If I am asked to do something, for example, bake cookies for a bake sale, then I do that. I don't want to ever throw off on the mothers who don't work things that I feel like I ought to be handling also. I think that I should hold up my share. I don't have any patience with mothers who don't cooperate like that (Case #11).

Summer Work. One of the most stressful situations that occurs to faculty women in the study who either work on a twelve-month basis or teach in the summer is what to do about their school age children who are on vacation from the end of May until the end of August. Of the thirty-two women in the study, 27 reported that they usually teach/work in the summers. Eight of the twenty-seven women work on a year-round basis full-time.

Sixteen of the 27 women who work in the summers reported that they have to leave their children alone at home for at least part of the day. Four of these 16 women reported that they only have to leave the children for a few minutes between the time that they must leave for class on campus and the time that their spouse gets home to exchange (share) child care.

Two women echoed the frustrations that occurred when their children were left alone in the summer.

> I have to make special arrangements in the summer and it is terrible. Every summer has been different. This summer my children stay home in the morning and they do their chores then. They are not allowed to have anyone in the house or

> go outside. Each one of them may call me if they have a big problem, but they don't abuse that, for which I am very grateful. I have a sitter in the afternoon, however, this summer I have been unsuccessful in getting one who drives or has a car (Case #11).
>
> I consider the kids old enough to take care of themselves. So, they stay home and I pay them a quarter a day to babysit themselves. I go home at noon, and there are some afternoons when I have to come back to work for committees. . . . If I go home and the house is neat and clean, the chores done, and they are peacefully watching television and not fighting at that time, I consider that good enough. If they fight, they have to work it out themselves. It is too expensive to pay a sitter for three children (Case #21).

Respondents reported that they use various city and university sponsored programs to keep their children occupied in the summer whenever possible. Several made use of the Stillwater Parks and Recreation Department's Arts and Crafts program which is held from 8:30 until 11:30 each morning during June and July.

For the three women who had their children in the National Youth Sports Program at the Colvin Center on campus, this was a very satisfactory situation, they felt. Lunch was included, and the hours of 10:30 A. M. until 5:00 P. M. allowed the parents sufficient time to accomplish what needed to be done at work. The relatively late beginning time of 10:30 A. M., however, was given as a problem in one case and did involve carpooling with a neighbor to accommodate the time factor.

Another program used by several respondents was the Y. M. C. A. Day Care Program. This program was praised by those who used it and one respondent said, "I had the children in the 'Y' Day Camp. They really loved it. I just wish they had a program that appealed to the 11-13 year old age group" (Case #31).

For one woman in the study who works on a twelve-month basis, finding activities to fill the day for her children involved considerable time management, dependence on others, and probably some role stress. Her comments echo those of other mothers who must find summer activities for their school age children.

> It is a decided pain to work summers out. I have had college students come in to babysit. I have had the children at Arts and Crafts in the mornings, band practice at the high school as they got older, carpool to swimming lessons and bowling lessons, and just about anything else I could think of to keep the children busy so they did not have to stay home alone all day. I usually go home for lunch in the summers, mainly to check on the children. Fortunately, my husband had some flexibility in his job so that he could come and go in the summers, especially in the mornings, so the children had some attention. The last two or three years, the children have been old enough to stay by themselves. However, I still like to have some organization to their days, and I encourage them to take classes and participate in sports. This, I feel, gives them something to plan for each day (Case #32).

Accommodations to summer work were worked out for a few of the women by sending the children to summer camp or to visit relatives for a few weeks. Some of the women reported that they depend on the help of friends for transportation in the summer, usually to allow their child to participate in a sports activity such as swimming, bowling, and baseball.

Except for those who work on a twelve-month schedule, the women who reported teaching/work activity in the summer usually do so on a part-time basis. Most accomplish their work while the children have a morning activity if that is possible.

> Summer is 'my time.' I have always had a half-day situation so the children go to the Arts and Crafts program while I am away (Case #4).

> I like to start my classes early in the summer so that I can be home by noon (Case #22).

Emergencies. On no topic involving child care was more anxiety shown than on the handling of emergencies, especially sudden illness or accident befalling one of their children when the parents were at work. This nurturing/comforting role appeared to be allocated very reluctantly to others. Table VIII shows the plan that each of the respondents had worked out in case of an emergency as described above.

TABLE VIII

SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS BY RESPONSE TO CHILD'S EMERGENCY

Response to Child's Emergency	Number of Households	Percent of Households
Mother would leave immediately and go take care of child	10	31.2
Either parent would go	16	50.0
Friend or close neighbor would go	3	9.4
Relative in town would go	3	9.4
Totals	32	100.0

As noted in the above Table VIII, ten women in the study felt very strongly that they should go immediately to their child's aid. Typical statements by the respondents were indicative of this strong feeling.

> If a child is very sick, they need their mom there (Case #20).
>
> Normally, my children called me because they spent more time with me, and I was the one they wanted when they were ill. When people are sick they generally call mother. . . (Case #15).
>
> Because of the flexible hours here . . . I can leave in an emergency. I have never been in a meeting yet that was more important than a sick or injured child who needed me. Teaching in higher education, from that aspect, has some advantages (Case #27).

When the faculty woman and her husband were both on the teaching faculty at the university, an effort was made to prevent overlapping of class schedules. In that way one parent would always be available to handle a family emergency, it was reasoned. However, it should be noted that even though sixteen women stated that either parent would go to an ill child's aid, only two of the women indicated that their husband would be called first and be the most likely one to feel free to leave immediately.

Dealing with an extended illness of a child can create other problems for the working parents. Flexible hours for the parents and nearness of the home to campus were cited by some of the respondents as easing this stressful situation.

> I can't remember ever cancelling a class because one of the children was sick. We do have a fair amount of flexibility if my husband and I don't have classes at the same time. We have always been able to rush back and forth from home to campus (Case #30).
>
> My husband and I try to stagger our classes to take care of the possibility of any emergency. If a child has to stay home sick, for example, with a bad cold, we can run back and forth and check on the child. We don't live very far from campus. It is just ideal for us (Case #2).
>
> One problem with working is when you have sick children. . . . When we have had a sick child, we spent the whole day running back and forth to campus, sandwiching in our classes in

> between. It was so hectic and it wore us out. We could not keep office hours. I felt that I wasn't doing quite what I should be doing (Case #20).

As the table shows, three women had worked out an arrangement with a friend or close neighbor who, they felt, could handle an emergency in their family if necessary. Another three women had a relative in town (or the town where their child attended school) who was available for emergencies. Both of these two arrangements were utilized by women in the sample who commute to Stillwater to work from their home in other communities as well as Stillwater residents who must travel extensively as part of their professional work commitment.

Service Provider Role

This role of service provider appeared to be the least stressful, although somewhat time-consuming, for some of the women in the sample. These women have children who are not yet old enough to drive but are old enough to need to be transported to activities. Activities reported as requiring transportation generally fell into three categories: lessons (dancing, music, etc.), religious and club activities (church youth groups, Scouts, Rainbow Girls, and such), and sports events (soccer, football, swimming, tennis, etc.). Because the city of Stillwater lacks public transportation, most transportation provided was by private automobile. Some women stated that they encouraged their children to ride their bicycles or walk to activities whenever possible.

Twenty-two women reported that their children needed transportation service every week. Roughly sixty-six hours per week were spent in this activity among these women, for an average of three hours per week

for each of the twenty-two households. The range was one-half hour to five hours per week for transportation service.

Not all of the transportation service was performed by the mother. Two women (9 percent) reported that they provided almost all the transportation for their children. Three women (14 percent) indicated that their spouse provided most of the transportation, while the remaining seventeen women (77 percent) stated that the role was shared equally with their husband.

Carpooling was reported by twelve respondents as being engaged in as often as possible. Typical statements of these women were:

> We have been real lucky and have friends help with carpooling the kids (Case #13).

> Children have arranged their own rides sometimes. I carpool for sports activities, dancing, church on Wednesday nights, and tennis lessons, so I feel that I do my part (Case #5).

For one of the women who does most of the transporting of her children, time was reported to be used as efficiently as she could manage.

> After school . . . we skip from one side of town to another for piano and dancing lessons, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts. While I am driving them around, I have some chunks of time (usually 15 to 45 minutes) while I am waiting for the children that I can spend reading, grading papers, writing letters, or grocery shopping (Case #21).

Counselor-teacher in the Home Role

Little information was gathered about the counselor-teacher role from the respondents. Only two interview questions elicited perceived feelings about this role, and to both questions the answers were brief, for the most part. Asked of all respondents was a question concerning

the one activity the women enjoyed doing alone with each of their children. Those respondents with female children were also asked if they thought that they would (or did) influence their daughter to make a career choice.

Most Enjoyed Activity With Child. The respondents generally had some difficulty in recalling just one activity that they enjoyed doing alone with each child. Many of the respondents mentioned several activities and tried to decide which of the activities both they and the child enjoyed best.

Two respondents stated that they had great difficulty with the question. One could not think of any activity that she had with one of her children alone and stated that it was mostly her husband who spent time alone with the child (Case #6). The other respondent, whose children are in middle/high school, answered with some anxiety

> We just don't have time [to be alone with the children]. We have not been able to give that high priority. I have to answer that with a twinge of guilt. . . . The way that I cope with all the work that I have to do now is to believe that I was the very best mother that I could have been during the most formative years of my children's lives. I look on that as my savings account (Case #19).

Table IX lists those activities which were reported by the respondents to be those most enjoyed by them with at least one of their offspring. It should be noted that the distributions do not total 32 respondents and 63 children because the respondents could answer in more than one category of activity for each child. Twenty-four of the respondents had more than one child at home, and this seemed to add additional information about what activity each child enjoyed doing with another child and proved to be a problem to sort this statistic.

TABLE IX

MOST ENJOYED ACTIVITY OF FACULTY WOMAN AND HER CHILD

Most Enjoyed Activity	Number of Women Reporting*	Number of Children Involved*
Talking together	11	15
Shopping together	10	10
Playing games	6	7
Reading to child	6	7
Participating with child in sports activity	5	5
Attending child's sporting event	3	4
Cooking together	3	3
Singing and sharing music	2	4
Doing arts and crafts together	2	3
Gardening together	2	2
Fixing child's hair	1	1
No activity alone	2	4

* Multiple responses were given, therefore totals are greater than 32 respondents and 63 children.

As noted in the table, the major enjoyed activity with each child alone was reported to be talking together, followed closely by shopping together which undoubtedly involves some talking together also. Six women enjoyed reading to their child and several other women mentioned

this was an activity very often shared with their husband. Playing games, usually card games or board games, was mentioned by six women as being a favorite activity for them and one of their children to do alone. Five women reported that they enjoyed participating in a sport with their child, while three women enjoyed watching their child participate in a sport--usually swimming, soccer, or tennis. Other enjoyable activities that were reported as favorites for doing together were cooking, singing, making arts and crafts, gardening, and arranging one child's hair.

Influence on Daughter's Career Choice. This aspect of the role of counselor-teacher was reported rather matter of factly as a natural occurrence by most of the women in the study. Most said that while they might try to suggest various options to their daughters, they expected their daughters to make up their own minds about a career. In a study by Epstein (1970b), she suggested that

> One might expect that young women with mothers who are professionals, and thus positive role models, will see that pursuing both career and motherhood is possible. And, working mothers who enjoy what they are doing emanate positive messages to their daughters (p. 77).

The findings of this study during the interview appear to confirm Epstein's statement.

Of the 25 women in the study who have daughters, 18 women (72 percent) felt they would definitely have some influence on their daughter's choice of a career. Five women (20 percent) felt that they either would not, or could not, influence their daughter's career choice, and two women (8 percent) did not know whether or not they would have any influence in this decision. Of those who felt that they would

definitely have some influence on their daughter's choice of a career, it was not probed how much of an influence. That would depend on the relationship of the mother and her child, the age of the child, the influence of peers of the child, the personality of mother and child, other family members, and other factors not investigated in the context of this topic.

A selection of comments by the respondents points out their feelings about the topic.

> We discuss careers often. Even though she sees me working too much and knows it affects our family life, she also knows it is important to use one's full talents (Case #19).

> I hope that I do influence the amount of time spent in introspection so that she gets to know her strengths. I do not believe in directing anybody. It wouldn't break my heart at this point if she did not go to college, for example (Case #4).

> She is so capable that she can do whatever she wants to do. I think, however, that I have made her aware of women's roles and women's problems. She still suffers from male attitudes toward careers and it makes me so angry (Case #15).

> She is interested in so many things, that whatever she ends up doing is most likely going to be her decision. For one thing, she is stronger willed than I am. . . . I would like to think that even though we throw out suggestions, that is all they are. We are just showing her possibilities that maybe she didn't think of (Case #22).

> I would point out some various careers that are open and mention the pros and cons of them. But, I would never say, 'This is what I think you should be.' It would put a lot of guilt on a kid to do that (Case #28).

> I probably have influenced my daughter, because any child growing up in a family looks at what the parents do and it seems like the regular thing to do. I would be absolutely crushed if my daughter decided not to have some kind of career. I really don't care what, but I want her to be something. I would hate for her to feel like she was dependent on someone else for everything (Case #31).

> I am sure that I have had a great deal of influence on my daughter. I would be very surprised if she didn't aim high.

> I think she is truly a remarkable person. She is assertive enough to find opportunities and seize them as they come along (Case #32).

Summary

The parent (mother) position-set produced some role stress among most of the respondents, while child care resulted in the most anxiety and guilt feelings. Most of the women had been socialized from childhood to believe that mothers should stay home with their infant children. Many of these women were not completely happy with leaving their offspring with someone else on a regular basis, but as one respondent said, "There was nothing else I could do" (Case #8).

The most crucial factor in the accommodation of role expectation to role performance was found to be the support of the husband, which is examined in another part of the findings. If both the professional woman and her husband are in academia, flexible schedules allow more sharing of parenting roles. Without this flexibility for both parents, the professional woman felt some selfishness and experienced guilt and anxiety at times.

A few of the women who had cooperative husbands and a strong career motivation were able to find adequate child care and they experienced less guilt than those who were not able to make satisfactory arrangements. These women have been able to work full-time continuously. Others have felt it necessary to accommodate their family's needs by working part-time.

The role of service provider appeared to be time-consuming, but not particularly stressful, for the faculty women in the study. The role of counselor-teacher in the home for their children was accepted

by all the respondents as natural and necessary. Generally, they perceived this function as a positive and satisfying aspect of their parenting role.

Economic Provider Postion-Set

Among the women selected for this study's sample, at most a very few could be viewed as economically compelled to work (in the usual sense of a threat of poverty). To illustrate this point it should be noted that 1) all are married, 2) none have a husband who is entirely unemployed or without income, 3) twenty-two are married to other Oklahoma State University professors, and 4) all but a few have husbands whose income alone would place the family above the national median family income. Yet, in almost all cases, the women interviewed considered their income to be an important contribution to the family's financial status and quality of living.

Three conditions which have high potential for producing role conflict were examined:

1. Power status problems--effects of wives' income-producing activities on family authority/power relationships.

2. The double standard in household accounting--problems associated with viewing wives' income differently from husbands' income.

3. Real contributions to family quality of life.

Power Status Problems

Considerable evidence exists suggesting that the only traditional family role which has been unequivocally assigned to the husband/

father is that of economic provider. Within this context of traditional socialization it is not surprising to observe conflict-inducing situations when the wife is viewed as competing for the role of breadwinner.

While many husbands of professional women profess rather strong support of their wives' careers, they tend to be more circumspect when their role as the primary economic provider for the family is threatened.

> The one factor which seems to have a negative effect on the quality of marital life is money, when the wife makes more money than the husband. The wife's status as a professional does not, by itself, seem to affect the structure of the family significantly (Garland, 1972, p. 213).

Today as more professional women receive higher salaries, the possibility becomes much more prevalent that they will have incomes equalling or exceeding their husband's. Thus strain from role conflict may become more likely.

In Chapter II, activities of economic provider were identified as a position-set, not as a single position or role, and explained on page 22. Four types of positions (roles) were identified: sole provider, primary provider, co-provider (or dual provider), and supplementary provider. The reason for using this convention evolved from the evidence that, because of persisting and perhaps prevailing attitudes, women are faced with very different sets of expectations and types of stress based on which of the four positions they occupy. This may also change over time.

Based on Question #13 of the Questionnaire (See Appendix B), it was possible to use income data to make an estimate of each respondent's

role as economic provider. Procedures for compiling income data were described in Chapter III. A largely arbitrary decision was made in order to identify or define the provider role of each respondent. The procedure followed was: 1) if a woman's income was more than 25 percent greater than her husband's, she was designated as a primary provider; 2) when the wife's and the husband's incomes were within 25 percent of each other, they were said to be dual providers; and 3) when a wife's income was less than 75 percent of her husband's, she was designated as a supplementary provider. It should be emphasized that this convention was used for definitional convenience and was not based on any recognized rules deriving from evidence or theory.

Based on the above procedure, five of the women were identified as having primary provider status, seven met the criterion for dual provider, and twenty were identified as supplementary providers. Obviously this classification is based only on what the women earned in the formal labor market expressed as a ratio relationship with the income earned by their husbands.

Item #26 of the interview schedule used for this study (See Appendix A), asked several questions about household decision-making. Each respondent was asked to report how household decisions were made on the income spent for major purchases, such as property (land and house), automobile, and major appliances or furnishings. Table X below is a cross-tabulation of responses on who makes decisions on major household purchases with the economic provider status of each woman as described above.

TABLE X

DECISIONS ON MAJOR PURCHASES BY PROVIDER ROLE

Principal Decision-maker	Economic Provider Role of Respondent			
	Primary	Dual	Supplementary	Total
Husband decides	2	2	10	14
Wife decides	2	3	4	9
Joint decision	1	2	6	9
Totals	5	7	20	32

The size of the sample is too small to make conclusive remarks about the data in the above table. But, with this limitation kept in mind, a few comments on the table are offered:

1. If we assume that an egalitarian marriage is least stressful, and that joint decision-making is egalitarian, then the first two rows represent potentially stressful conditions relating to decision-making authority.

2. Further assuming that income stimulates power, then row 1 (husband decides) is most satisfying to the husband in 14 cases, and row 2 (wife decides) is most desired by the wife in 9 cases.

3. The cross-tabulated position which would have highest potential for conflict for women would be when the wife is the primary producer and the husband makes major decisions (2 cases).

4. A classical situation which has potential for producing conflict is when the wife is the supplementary provider, but she makes the major decisions (4 cases).

5. If these data are indicative, increased earnings of women relative to their husband's earnings may not encourage more egalitarian decision-making but rather a power concentration reversal. The table shows that in 5 of the 12 (42 percent) of the combined primary/dual provider cases, the wife is the principal decision-maker for major purchases. Also, in 4 of these 12 households, the husband was indicated as making major decisions, thus conforming to the traditional male-dominated head of household role even though they are not the primary breadwinner.

The preceding arguments, although based on issues frequently discussed in the literature, are founded on assumptions which are highly limited and possibly misleading. In reality, many other factors besides power and authority propensities may affect the decision-making patterns in these marriages, and income is seldom the sole basis for allocation of decision-making.

The Double Standard

The double standard becomes most pernicious when used in accounting for the use of income earned by professional women.

> There are two levels on which one can examine the use of money in connection with two careers. One is the reality level. Some costs are, in reality, tied directly to having two careers. Child care is the best example. . . . A second level is how the people perceive the use of money and how they account for it mentally. The tendency is to do a very asymmetrical job of accounting. . . . The logic

> applied to the income of the wife is different than the logic applied to the income of the husband (Holstrom, 1973, p. 99).

Because of traditional socialization, child care, housekeeping, and other household tasks are viewed as primarily the responsibility of the wife. Therefore, if the household must purchase these services, child care, for example, then it is assumed that the wife alone benefits from this expenditure and thus it must be subtracted from her earnings. Actually, this accounting may be manipulated several ways, but the damaging results of careless application is in the effect that such may have on attitudes and perceptions of the persons involved.

This double standard is not placed on women solely by men. Women do it to themselves. Evidence of its existence was found in the comments of some of the women interviewed. As an example,

> . . . husbands are so resentful, especially in the time spent and the money made in return. I barely break even in a year, because I spend so much money on . . . . I maybe clear $100 in a year and I work my tail off for it (Case #1).

However, the overall impression gained from the interviews was that the double standard in accounting was not prevalent in the majority of the households.

Real Contributions to Quality of Family Life

By pooling family income and similarly by pooling family expenses, role conflict relating to differential status of wife and husband as economic providers were reduced, as was reported by most of the respondents. The respondents related that money matter issues are considered,

but they are not a major cause of stress. For example, one faculty woman clearly indicated the spirit of sharing with respect to hiring housecleaning assistance.

> One of the real luxuries in our house has been to have the housecleaning done by a hired person (Case #22).

Summary

Perhaps most important to the woman who is committed and devoted to a professional career is that income and economic provider status offers her independence to pursue career interests with a minimum of justifiable reproach from other family members. Her career aspirations become as important to the family as the aspirations and needs of any other member of the family.

Social Citizen Position-Set

This section examines the extent of participation by the women in the study in community voluntary activities. With the many demands on their time, it might be expected that very little time would be devoted to community activities, however this was not reported to be the case among the women interviewed for this study.

Data were gathered for this role from Question #21 on the Questionnaire (See Appendix B). This question was a replication of the questions asked about community activities of women holders of the doctorate degree by Astin (1969, p. 96-97) in her study.

Table XI shows the percentage distribution of the women in the sample who participate in a selected list of voluntary activities and other community organizations.

TABLE XI

RESPONDENT PARTICIPATION IN SELECTED VOLUNTARY ACTIVITIES AND OTHER COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

(Percentage Distribution)

Activity or Club	Regular Participation	Occasional Participation	Total Percent
Parent-Teacher Association	13	56	69
League of Women Voters	3	13	16
Lahoma Club	-	22	22
Church or religious groups	44	22	66
Den mother or scout leader	9	16	25
Women's social clubs	13	9	22
Country club	-	6	6
Other*	25	6	31

* "Other" includes primarily participation in music and sports clubs, and in educational organizations such as Phi Delta Kappa or college student clubs which they sponsor.

About two-thirds (21 women) of the respondents reported that they participated in church or religious groups. It is impossible, however, to determine if the women interpreted this question as their participation apart from regular attendance at church services. Even more women, 69 percent (22 women), reported involvement in parent-teacher groups. Scouting activities of their children elicited participation from 25 percent of the mothers in the sample, giving further evidence

of the importance these women placed on the activities and development of their children.

Women's social clubs, the country club, and Lahoma Club (a club for women faculty and wives of male faculty on the Oklahoma State University campus) drew involvement from 22 percent, 6 percent, and 22 percent of the women, respectively. The League of Women Voters was reported as a group in which 16 percent of the sample committed some time.

As a comparison, Astin (1969, p. 97) found that 53 percent of the women in her sample reported participation in religious groups, 26 percent in parent-teacher groups, 3 percent in scouting, 23 percent in women's social clubs, and 9 percent in the country club. Other categories were not comparable. It should be noted that her sample both included women who were married and unmarried, with and without children, and employed and unemployed in their career fields.

Very impressive is the fact that only 3 women (9 percent) in this study reported that they did not participate at all in volunteer activities. Astin did not report this percentage.

Ginzberg (1966) reported similar findings in his study of educated women. He found that 79 percent of the women in his study had some involvement in community activities. In addition, he also found that women living in suburbs and small towns were twice as likely as those living in large metropolitan areas to participate in voluntary activities (p. 66f.). This might account for the surprisingly large percentage (91 percent) of the women in this study who indicated some involvement in community activities, even if small.

Information about community activities was not specifically requested in the interview, however some feelings about the importance of the activities were mentioned by a few of the respondents when they reported on other topics.

> There is usually some activity every week-day night for one of us to attend. . . . I have a meeting at church once a month, a social club meeting two or three times a month, and there are often at least one or two other meetings each month that I want to attend in town or on campus (Case #32).

> At night on Tuesdays and Thursdays I have some student organizations that I sponsor, so I have to come back to school for those meetings. . . . But, I live close to the campus and I am not gone long (Case #18).

> I am an advisor to a college social sorority and I really enjoy that. It takes some time, but I like working with the young women (Case #31).

Summary

Surprisingly, 91 percent (all but three of the sample) of the women reported that they participated to some extent in voluntary community activities. The most popular types of organizations reported were religious groups and groups involving their children's welfare and development.

Spouse (Wife) Position-Set

Of all the position-sets, spouse (wife) position-set was found to be the most sensitive and, not surprisingly, felt to be the most important. As Roland and Harris (1979) stated in the concluding chapter of their compilation of essays on the dual-role of motherhood and career,

> Perhaps the most crucial support for dual-role identity is the husband-father. On the one hand, his support

> and satisfaction in his wife's career is of paramount importance, while increased help with the household and child-rearing is also of major significance (p. 189).

Only selected aspects of the roles involved in this position-set are examined. As stated in Chapter II, the function of sexual partner is not reported. Discussion of the role of household organization manager/decision-maker was reported in part in the homemaker/housekeeper position-set and is also included in the parent (mother) position-set. Unfortunately, not enough data were gathered on the relative/friend function, which includes maintenance of kinship and friendship ties, so that this function can be reported.

The roles on which data were gathered were 1) companion/confidant, 2) social representative, and 3) the leisure and recreation aspects of household organization manager/decision-maker.

Companion/Confidant Role

All of the women in the study expressed appreciation for the help, support, and encouragement of their husbands. As twenty-two women in the study have husbands who are also employed in academe, it is not unusual to believe that many would feel that they have a sympathetic and understanding ear for professional matters.

Confidant for Professional Concerns. Ten women (31 percent) of the women in the study stated that they would first discuss a work-related project or problem with their spouse. Two of these women seemed to feel it especially desirable to get their husband's opinion and expressed confidence in his ability to give them good advice.

> If there were a personnel problem in the office, I would check it over with my husband because he is very good in

> that way. He is very savvy politically, too. If I talked with him, then that way I would not have to talk it over within the work situation (Case #6).
>
> I sound a lot of ideas off of him. I would talk over any research project with my husband initially, because he is very well versed in research design (Case #4).

However, not all the women thought it was best to discuss work-related activities with their spouse. Four women in the sample, for diverse reasons, felt strongly that professional concerns should not spill over very often into the spouse (wife) role-set.

> I do very little discussion of my work with my husband. He is a very busy person and we must have our time together (Case #25).
>
> I do not talk over my research with my husband. I think most often it is an individual thing, and I make the decisions on what I want to do (Case #30).
>
> You need to leave work at work. You can bring it home sometimes and that is fine, but what happens is that it steals time from your family. Also, it steals time away from yourself (Case #12).
>
> We really don't talk about work at home. We decided when we got married that it was not a good thing to take work home. We have been pretty good about that (Case #7).

Lunch Companion. In response to Item #17 of the interview schedule (See Appendix A), which was asked originally to examine networking by women faculty, it was found that six of the respondents always eat lunch with their husbands. Three additional women in the sample sometimes, or often, eat lunch with their husbands. One of these women also reported that

> We drive together to school and then go to the Student Union each morning for coffee before we go to the office (Case #2).

Most of these nine women also noted that when they have lunch with their husband, it is usually a packed lunch from home which either one

of them had put together that morning. Also they usually share lunch in one or the other's campus office. It seems reasonable to suggest that in the work setting some sharing of professional concerns, as well as personal or home-related concerns, takes place.

Support of Wife's Professional Career. One way in which the husband gives validation to the wife's choice of a career outside the home is by showing positive outward support by actively sharing the household and child-rearing activities. This was discussed in both the homemaker/housekeeper position-set and the parent (mother) position-set.

When asked about the support of their husband concerning their career aspirations in Item #24a in the interview schedule, 27 respondents, or 84 percent, answered in the affirmative, 1 in the negative, and 4 stated that their husband had mixed feelings. Of the 27 women who stated that their spouse is supportive of their career aspirations, 22 said that he had always been so, while 5 allowed that this had not always been the case.

From their initial traditional roles at the time of their marriage, some women indicated that both they and their husband had made radical changes in their ways of thinking about sex roles. Rice (1979) mentions this possible occurrence.

> Much of the stress in dual-career marriage . . . comes from violating the couple's initial relationship contract, as formulated at the time of the marriage. Since much of this contract is implicit or subconscious, violation is inevitable. In healthy marriages, the couple is able to renegotiate their contract as the marriage grows and changes . . . (p. 10).

The main reason given by the respondents who reported that their husband had negative and/or mixed feelings about their career was the resentment of the demands of time that the career imposed on the wife.

Social Representative Role

The literature contains many references to the restricted social lives lead by professional dual-career couples, often because of the conflicting demands of time put on both partners (Rice, 1979; Harris, 1979b; Graham, 1970; Rapoport and others, 1977). Graham (1970) mentions that in small towns it is the social custom to entertain in the home, often with dinner parties. For the professional woman with little time and inadequate household help, "an obvious solution is simply to reduce one's social life to the barest minimum . . ." (Graham, 1970, p. 730).

The respondents were queried about the number of times per month they entertained in their home. It was found that 19 (59 percent) of the respondents entertain in their home approximately once a month, 8 (25 percent) entertain twice a month, 2 (6 percent) entertain about three times a month, and 1 respondent stated that she entertained more then twice a week, on the average. Two respondents noted that they average less than once a month for home entertaining, but both stated that they held parties in their home several times during the year.

The results of this inquiry do not indicate that faculty women in the sample reduce their social life "to the barest minimum." Also, further indication of participation in social activities by the respondents is discussed above in the section on the social citizen role.

Household Organization Manager/Decision-Maker Role

Most of the functions associated with this role(s) were discussed

above in the homemaker-housekeeper position-set or in the parent (mother) position-set. Two aspects of this role, however, have received little attention and will be examined here: leisure activities and recreation.

Rice (1979), Nye et al. (1976), Astin (1969), and others have pointed out that it is crucial for the successful coping with multiple roles that some time be set aside for oneself for leisure and recreation. Good health was also found to be a facilitating condition for the optimum performance of multiple roles. Twenty-seven women (75 percent) in the study rated their health as excellent; seven (22 percent) rated their health as good; while only one (3 percent) rated their physical condition as fair. There was found to be no correlation between good health and participation in leisure activities in this study, however.

Leisure

Respondents were asked to state their favorite leisure activity (See Item #27 of the interview schedule, Appendix A). Table XII illustrates the range of activities engaged in for leisure. As can be noted, 4 women reported that they really had no leisure time; their remarks follow:

> What is leisure? I'm lucky to get time to visit with friends (Case #16).
>
> There is not enough time left for leisure (Case #23).
>
> I don't really have any hobbies (Case #26).
>
> I don't have any leisure. . . . I do reading, but I don't have time to read for pleasure (Case #24).

TABLE XII

SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION BY FAVORITE LEISURE ACTIVITY

Favorite Leisure Activity	Sample	Sample Percent
Reading	11	34.4
Engage in a sport or exercise (swimming, tennis, jogging, etc.)	8	25.0
Handwork (sewing, crocheting, etc.)	3	9.4
Walking	2	6.3
Gardening	1	3.1
Bird watching	1	3.1
Cooking	1	3.1
Talking and visiting with a neighbor	1	3.1
No leisure activity	4	12.5
Totals	32	100.0

As the table just above illustrates, the favorite leisure activities for a majority of the respondents are reading and engaging in a sport or exercise. Eleven women (34 percent) reported that reading was relaxing and enjoyable for them. Some typical remarks were

> I love to read. I often like to lunch by myself so I can read (Case #29).

> I like reading for fun--which I just don't get enough of (Case #32).

> For leisure I like reading with absolutely no interruptions in a quiet house with no TV on (Case #21).
>
> I like to read, but I need to seek out some more active things like swimming, dance classes at the 'Y' . . . (Case #14).

Eight others in the study (25 percent) did seek out more active leisure activities and reported that they enjoyed swimming, tennis, jogging, and such sports. Two women also combined leisure with exercise by engaging in walking. Interestingly, of these ten women, only two also reported that they participated in sports more than twice a week. Table XIII below shows the number of times per month the respondents participate in sports activities.

TABLE XIII

FREQUENCY OF SPORTS PARTICIPATION BY SAMPLE

Frequency of Participation	Sample	Sample Percent
None, or very infrequently	13	40.5
Once a month	3	9.4
Twice a month	2	6.3
About once a week	3	9.4
About twice a week	3	9.4
More than twice a week - every day	8	25.0
Totals	32	100.0

As Table XIII shows, half of the women in the sample do not participate in a sports activity on a regular basis (once a month or less). Twenty-five percent (8 women), however, reported that they participate regularly, more than twice a week and sometimes every day in the summer (usually in swimming or tennis). Most of these eight women also reported that during the winter they were not as active as in the summer.

Recreation

During the interview, respondents were asked about a favorite family activity (Item #28) and about vacations (Items #26d, #29a and #29b).

Favorite Family Activity. Table XIV shows the favorite activity reported that each household enjoys doing as a family.

TABLE XIV

FAVORITE FAMILY ACTIVITY BY HOUSEHOLD

Family Activity	Number of Households	Percent of Households
Just being together	6	18.8
Walking	1	3.1
Engage in sport together	9	28.1
Play games (card, board, word)	4	12.5
Watch TV or movies together	4	12.5
Camping	5	15.6
Traveling together on family trip	3	9.4
Totals	32	100.0

The favorite family activities enjoyed by the sample households have wide variation, as the above table demonstrates. Six women were unable to name a particular favorite activity of their family, and they reported "just being together" as enjoyable.

Vacation Decision-making. When the respondents were asked about how decisions are made in their family about vacations, it was found that for more than half the sample (18 women, or 57 percent of the sample), there was little, or no, decision to be made. Four of these women (13 percent) stated that they did not take a vacation. Fourteen women (44 percent) said that any vacations are worked in around national professional meetings of theirs or their spouse, if possible, or are taken as a prearranged annual visit to a relative's home.

In one household, the respondent reported that she decides where and when family vacations are taken. In another household, the husband of the respondent fulfills the decision-maker role for vacation plans. In the remaining 12 households (38 percent), the decision is shared by all family members.

Ideal Vacation. Respondents were asked to state what, in their view, would be an ideal vacation to have, with whom would they go and where (See Item #29 in the interview schedule, Appendix A). Cross-tabulations between the answers to the above question and the age of the respondents' children produced no positive correlation.

Tables XV and XVI graphically show the desire of many of the women to have some time alone, or with their husband, to relax and either get away from other people or visit a foreign setting.

TABLE XV

SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION BY IDEAL VACATION COMPANION

Vacation Companion	Sample	Sample Percent
Go alone	7	21.9
With husband only	11	34.4
With children only	1	3.1
With husband and children	13	40.6
Totals	32	100.0

It is noteworthy that 18 women (56 percent) expressed the desire to vacation away from their children, either alone or with their husband. Thirteen women (41 percent), however, felt it was necessary to have their husband and children accompany them on an ideal vacation, and most of these women expressed a desire to tour either the east coast or west coast of the United States as an educational experience for the family.

Of those women who indicated that they would like to vacation alone, 5 of the 7 also indicated that they would seek a "hideaway," most likely a cabin in the mountains or at the beach for a few days so they could unwind, but it would not be a long separation from family.

Table XVI demonstrated the variety of locations named by the respondents as ideal (or "dream") vacation spots.

TABLE XVI

SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION BY IDEAL VACATION LOCATION

Vacation Location	Sample	Sample Percent
A "hideaway"	9	28.1
Nearby, or Oklahoma	1	3.1
Theme park in U. S. (Six Flags Over Texas, Disneyland, etc.)	2	6.3
East coast	5	15.6
West coast, including Alaska and Hawaii	4	12.5
Europe	5	15.6
Other*	6	18.8
Totals	32	100.0

* "Other" includes Central and South America, Fiji Islands and one unspecified location.

Summary

The spouse (wife) position-set was found to be the most sensitive and also the most crucial to performance in other role sets. Because of lack of data or reportage elsewhere in the study, only selected aspects of this position-set were examined: Companion/confidant, social representative, and the leisure and recreation aspects of household organization manager/decision-maker.

All respondents accepted their companion/confidant role as a great source of strength and support. Several women reported that they discussed professional concerns with their spouse and most stated that their husband was very supportive of their career aspirations.

Although the literature abounds with references to restricted social life for dual-career couples in academia, the findings of this study do not confirm this. Sixty percent of the women reported they entertain in their home once a month, on the average. An additional thirty percent entertain more often than once a month. No woman in the sample was found to be a social recluse or to be unwilling to fill her social representative role.

Most of the women in the study related that reading or engaging in a sport or exercise were favorite leisure activities. Four women (13 percent), however, reported that time allowed for leisure was not made. Surprisingly, nearly 60 percent of the sample reported that they engaged in a sports activity at least once a month, and 25 percent of the sample participated nearly every day, at least in the summer.

For recreation, there were a wide variety of activities mentioned by the respondents. More than half the sample stated that they did not have to make decisions about vacations as they were always taken at a relative's home, worked in around a national professional meeting, or not taken at all.

When queried about an "ideal" vacation, 56 percent of the sample expressed a desire for some time alone, or with their husband, to relax and either get away from other people or visit another country.

Professional Career Position-Set

Most of the women in the sample held faculty positions with primary emphasis on teaching responsibilities. The remainder were more specifically assigned to administrative, research, or library positions.

A prime objective of this research was to emphasize and examine effects of multiple role demands on the behavior of women faculty with children at home. Thus, a research strategy evolved which identified a number of roles (positions) associated with the home which are acquired by achievement (like wife and giving birth to children) and by ascription (such as housekeeping, child care, etc.). No major attempt was made, or intended, to distinguish between these different roles in terms of importance, value, or priority. In order to be consistent, salaried positions accepted for work outside the household should not necessarily, or logically, be evaluated as more or less important than those roles accepted within the household. Obviously, however, the most fundamental difference between domestic work and a job outside the household bears on the fact that role performance is directed toward different constituencies.

University faculty positions are achieved. Like other occupational positions, a demand is recognized that certain activities need to be performed and a person is hired with qualifications suggesting that she (or he) will be able to perform the demanded activities. However, academic positions differ from other occupations in some important ways. Perhaps foremost among differences is that although faculty positions are commonly expected to involve accomplishment of an assortment of tasks, expectations for role performance are not commonly

clearly stated nor are the rules which may be used for evaluating performance clearly understood. Therefore, expectations regarding role performance commonly exhibit considerable variation among colleagues, supervisors, and the individuals.

Under these conditions of professional participation, the woman faculty with children living at home is faced with a multiplicity of career roles as well as multiple domestic roles. Adding to the strains of attempting to perform multiple roles, women faculty are also subjected to proscriptive criticism by colleagues who tend to view them as women/wives/mothers first and professional career persons, at best, secondly.

> . . . there are men in this school who feel that women are inferior by the mere fact that they are women--of course. It is reflected in the paycheck and in attitudes (Case #10).

> . . . we have a little child and colleagues don't think women with preschool age children should work. One has said that you can't possibly have a family and work full-time (Case #16).

> Some older people have indicated to me that a mother ought to be home with her kids. They tend to be male (Case #7).

> There have been instances when it has been assumed that if you do have the responsibility for care of a family and have a career, too, surely you have to sacrifice one or the other. I resent that (Case #23).

Perceived prejudicial discrimination is readily apparent in these comments by respondents, but this will not be examined further. As stated earlier in this report, prejudicial discrimination in employment was not emphasized in the research design. The purpose of the above comments is to point out a gender-biased source of stress which, objectively viewed, has no relevance to an individual's professional performance but which career women may be subjected to constantly or

at any given time. The kind of professional strain which may result from the conditions discussed by the respondents is rarely, if ever, experienced by males.

Multiplicity of Professional Roles

In identifying five types of academic professional positions or roles in Chapter II, recognition was given to the fact that most faculty (female or male) do not engage actively in all of these roles. Most important to this discussion is the observation that opportunities do occur for engaging in these role types and choices must be made by faculty members with respect to these opportunities. Rarely does a given person become intensely involved in all five types of positions. Table XVII indicates what each woman in the study sample considered as her primary responsibility in her university employment.

TABLE XVII

PRINCIPAL FACULTY ROLE ACCORDING TO RESPONDENTS

Role or Position	Sample	Sample Percent
Teaching	13	40.6
Academic Services (Library and Extension)	5	15.6
Administration	7	21.9
Research	7	21.9
Totals	32	100.0

Most of these women faculty were also involved in direct individual work with students through advising, counseling, supervision of student assistants, or other. Many indicated some kind of activity which could be viewed as promoting specific disciplines or themselves within their academic discipline.

Some taught courses mainly at the undergraduate survey level, others mainly at the graduate or advanced level, and some taught both levels of courses. It should also be pointed out that all of the faculty shown as either administrative or research above were also involved in teaching one or more courses.

In a university with aspirations toward being recognized as a research institution there is usually pressure to conduct research and publish. Since a large proportion of the women in the study sample were devoting most of their efforts to teaching, either by choice or by assignment, it was not surprising that some were concerned about possible effects of neglect of other professional role alternatives such as research.

> My assignments have been pretty heavy in my teaching schedule, and I think sometimes that people who do not have three large sections do not have any idea of the time it takes to do that kind of teaching and interacting with students. Consequently, they wonder why you don't do more. My female colleagues have all been in the same position that I have and have had to work up into a professional role (Case #22).

> There are times at work when I realize that a lot of people in my profession are my age or younger, and their vitas are ten pages long--all these articles they have published, the consulting they have done--and I feel I have done nothing. Then, I think I ought to get with it careerwise. . . . (Case #16).

> When you have a grant, theoretically you have time off to do that. Theoretically, I hope you note (Case #10).

In academia, because of attitudes of administrators and the individuals themselves, there has been a tendency to place women faculty in positions of low visibility, low status work which male faculty tend to want to avoid. As a consequence, women are given heavy teaching loads in survey courses, staggering student advising schedules, large amounts of academic service type work, and numerous assignments on the less prestigious committees involving tedious but pedestrian tasks. Yet administrators, male faculty, and some female faculty with no children, subsequently suggest that the woman faculty member with children who fails to engage actively in research, publishing, and attendance at professional meetings is more devoted to her family than to her profession and thus should not be taken very seriously.

The potential multiple nature of professional academic roles may add substantially to the pressures felt by faculty women with children at home. If the wife/mother attempts to fully pursue all, or many, professional opportunities plus continue strong involvement in traditional family roles, she is subject to severe overextension of time and effort resulting in considerable stress. Should she alternatively make compromises with both family roles and career roles, the nature and focus of stress is less predictable, but perhaps has just as high probability of occurrence. The faculty woman facing these decisions must strive for a delicate balancing of adjustments to career expectations and aspirations and her perception of family responsibilities.

Support of Students, Colleagues, and Administrators

Support of those with whom you work may importantly alleviate

some of the stress associated with multiple role pressures and strains. Conversely, lack of support or even negativism may heighten stress and precipitate unproductive attitudes and behavior. The felt need for such support was well expressed by one respondent who, in answering the interview question "What is the least desirable part of your job?", said

> The feeling that everyone does not appreciate what you do. Other people notice, few comment about it, and it probably goes with the job. You do your job and you do it real well, yet there does not seem to be any reward for this except whatever you could get out of it personally. I have felt that for years. . . . I know it is not just me. There are other people who feel this way, too. And, I don't know why, if that is the reason, I should expect anyone to say "Oh, you're doing a good job." They just don't do that (Case #22).

More than 60 percent (20) of the women surveyed indicated good to strong support from colleagues, students, and administrators. Many suggested that this support was important to them.

> In this department, I really like my colleagues--sincerely. We are very supportive of each other. We are not divisive at all. We have good leadership. I have few complaints (Case #17).

> Yes, I have the support of <u>all</u> my colleagues. This department is extremely supportive of women working who have children at home (Case #9).

> I am the token female. I do advising and nobody else wants to do advising, so I get supported up one side and down the other (Case #2).

> Yes, I am supported by my colleagues. There are only two men I would consider MCPs [pause] male chauvinist pigs (Case #6).

In contrast to the preceding, many of the responses from the 12 faculty indicating lack of, or unsatisfactory, support by colleagues suggest significant strains on relationships which in turn may induce stress both in professional and family roles. Five different types of problems associated with collegial support were identifiable:

1) The "men's club syndrome" (segregation by sex). Several women mentioned this problem but they are well represented by the following comment by a respondent who began by stating that she had support from both male and female colleagues:

> There is, however, that good ole boy network. It takes women many years, and I am not sure that they ever do, to get into it. Used to have one male faculty who kept me informed about what was going on, but he moved. Now I don't know very much about what is going on with male faculty colleagues. I protest, and they look at me like I am crazy (Case #8).

2) Perceived differentials in the rules and expectations of women vs. men:

> The pressure to perform to the standards of the administration and not having the confidence of the administration is difficult. They tend to assume that having a job is something you do on the side and that more than likely you do not take your job that seriously. That certainly is not the case with me. . . . In order to keep on the same level with men, you have to perform better than they do. It is not fair, but that is the way it is (Case #23).

3) Failure of colleagues to be willing to make accommodations for a faculty member who has different familial circumstances:

> No, I don't have adequate support from my colleagues. I don't think they have any concept of the time a family takes. Nobody really says you can't do something (like take care of a sick child at home which they know is sick) but they still keep you busy all day saying "Will you take care of this, take care of that" so that you are tied up until 5:00 P. M. I don't think there is a difference in how male and female colleagues demand my time. Most of the female colleagues just don't have any children so they are not aware of problems that can come up in a household with children (Case #28).

4) Differential attitudes toward marital status of colleagues:

> I applied for a permanent position and didn't get it and a male colleague said, "Well, at least you won't starve." He thought he was being amusing. It is just indicative of an attitude that because a woman has a husband with a job that could possibly support a family, the wife's job is not really necessary or serious. Therefore, having a full-time job is not as important to that woman as it would be if she were single (Case #29).

5) Differential attitudes and treatment with respect to rewards for professional performance:

> There is hardly a man or woman who feels that I should be paid commensurate with them. There is no difference if male or female on this. They all feel that because I have a husband and because he . . . gets a lot more money than they do, therefore, why should I get anything more than a token salary. They just can't see paying me since my husband can support us. In every other way, though, they do support me (Case #1).

As a perceived result of this discriminatory treatment, this faculty member believed that her family viewed her work as an avocation rather than as professional. Thus, closed circular causation creates a situation conducive to both professional and familial stress.

Many studies of academic women have found that faculty, student, and administrative support is commonly greater (or at least perceived to be better by the individual) in fields traditionally staffed by a large proportion of female faculty, such as home economics, social work, librarianship, and several specialties in education. In order to evaluate the responses of the women included in this study, the following cross-tabulation was compiled based on responses relating perceived support of associates and the traditions of female employment described in the preceding sentence.

The findings shown in Table XVIII lend strong support to the conclusion that Oklahoma State University is highly traditional with respect to both patterns of hiring women faculty and support of those hired--or, at least this seems to be the case for married women with children at home. Not only do the findings indicate that 21 of the 32 women in the sample hold positions that are in academic fields traditionally associated with high female participation, but also 81 percent of these

women perceive support of colleagues to be satisfactory. In contrast, 73 percent of the 11 women in traditionally male-dominated fields consider support by their colleagues to be less than satisfactory.

TABLE XVIII

SUPPORT OF ASSOCIATES BY EMPLOYMENT TRADITIONS

	Traditions of Female Employment		Row
Support Given by Associates	Traditional	Non-Traditional	Totals
Satisfactory Support	17 (85%) (81%)	3 (15%) (27%)	20
Unsatisfactory Support	4 (33%) (19%)	8 (67%) (73%)	12
Column Totals	21	11	32

Professional and Geographic Mobility

Professional mobility (which also usually means geographic mobility) has long been prized as recognition of high professional achievement. It is perhaps even more highly esteemed in the present conditions of generally low mobility, at least for many academic

disciplines. Furthermore, the ability to move to another university may entail a significant advancement in an academic professional's career, or, at least, provide opportunity to escape unsatisfactory conditions in present employment.

Married women faculty are especially handicapped because they are commonly a partner in a dual-career family. And, in many cases, both they and their husband view them as junior partners careerwise.

> One way of ensuring that the academic husband's status will be higher than his academic wife's is to let the husband's job determine where the family lives. When that is the case . . . the wife is left to find whatever job she can in the area of her husband's teaching institution. . . . For many universities, proximity and availability of a married woman academic whose husband they have hired are almost handicaps for consideration for first-rate appointments. The dean or chairman's attitude often seems to be that the best candidate is the one who must be lured with difficulty from a distant institution. The Ph.D. wife, who lives in town, may be useful for pinch-hitting . . . but she is usually not regarded as a full-fledged professional (Graham, 1974, p. 242).

Thus, the female academic without geographic mobility is often forced into marginal, uncertain, impermanent, and untenured faculty positions.

Interview question #25 asked: "Let's suppose that you were offered a position with increased rank, salary, and/or opportunities at another institution, would you consider it seriously?" In response, 20 of the 32 women interviewed said "yes." However, almost all women placed some restrictive contingencies on the conditions conducive to mobility. Overall, the conclusion must be reached that the individuals in the study sample are not really very mobile, despite their willingness and even strong interest in moving.

One case illustrates the frustrations which may result from decisions which have created a condition of immobility. In answer to

interview question #30: "If you had it to do all over again, what career decisions would you change?" one respondent replied

> I would have been more honest with my husband when we left . . . for Oklahoma. I felt that the good wife would say, 'Go anywhere you want, honey. It's your career.' But . . . moving here was the hardest thing I have ever done in my life . . . It was an adjustment I would not want to have to live through again (Case # suppressed).

Another respondent echoed similar sentiments:

> I really feel like I am trapped here . . . but I have to make the best of the situation. If I were free, no husband and no children, I would look for the best possible job I could get, salary-wise and title-wise and supportive of me, but I have my husband to consider (Case #11).

This last comment was from a respondent who answered "no" to question #25 on mobility. Some of the other nine persons who indicated they probably would not consider moving suggested other reasons.

> No, I doubt it. You could not pay me enough to move. . . . To make it worthwhile for me to move, I would almost have to make twice what I am getting and I don't see that. To get that kind of salary, I would have to move completely into administration, and I don't want to do that. I am perfectly content (Case #12).

> Marriage is first. I would rather suffer the frustrations of being treated second-hand than go off on my own (Case #20).

> I would not leave because I am keeping my young children in school. I think my husband would like to stay here . . . we are all set. Why change? (Case #21).

> I would absolutely not consider it. To me my husband's career is more important than mine. I like the occupation and I like to teach, but it is not all that burning an issue to me (Case #2).

> I would not consider leaving. My husband has had five opportunities to move which would have been a promotion, but he turned them down. We are really happy . . . and live only about an hour from our parents in different parts of Oklahoma. We just moved into a new house three years ago, and

> we don't want to leave it. . . . I don't think there is any amount of money that could move us (Case #5).

The last of the preceding quotations suggests a situation in which both spouses may be sacrificing professional advancement and higher income in order to retain a location and life style both perceive to be pleasing and satisfactory. Recent literature on dual-career marriages indicate that compromises of this type may be increasing, made easier by combined incomes yielding a satisfactory life style.

Among those individuals who indicated that they would seriously consider a job offer elsewhere, a variety of contingencies and conditions were raised.

> I am sitting here right now with that decision. It came to me; I did not seek it. The prime thing, would it be best all around for the family. I will not make the decision. I did not make the decision to come here. Husband will make the decision. We talk about it a lot, but in the end, my husband will make the decision (Case #14).

> If I went someplace else, it would have to be in academia now because our child wants to live at home while in college. It would mean that my husband would have to start from scratch again, but he is willing to do that (Case # suppressed).

> I would have to say honestly that my husband is here at this university because of me and my job. He was ready to leave . . . but I had just gotten the doctorate and had the position offered to me . . . . My children would move in a minute. They have had good experiences here and it had been positive, but people move on (Case #17).

The overall effects of problems of mobility on women faculty's career aspirations and role performance are difficult to evaluate based on the interview/questionnaire information obtained. It was apparent that this was a potential source of frustration and role stress, the intensity and severity of which depended upon the individual circumstances and characteristics of the faculty involved.

Spillovers Between Roles

Considering the complexity of role demands upon faculty women with children in the home, it is not surprising that some role activities and tasks spill over into other role situations. This is partially because of the time flexibility of many academic responsibilities. If academic positions were standard 8 to 5 jobs in terms of time requirements, and, if families could contain their demands to avoid disruption of the work day hours, spillovers from one role performance into another might be minimized.

In the section on parenting, the spilling over of family demands into periods of professional responsibility was examined through a discussion of the problems of emergencies with children and children's demands for transportation and other such services. Similarly, academic work may intrude into non-regular working hours with potential for conflict with domestic demands.

Interview topic #5 included the question: Do you find it necessary to bring home work from your university office? The response was overwhelmingly "yes" (25 of 32 respondents). The women interviewed told of some of the problems and conflicts associated with bringing work home from the office:

> Yes, I do bring home work--every night. I usually do about 1-2 hours of reading. Sometimes . . . I do statistical record-keeping associated with my work. . . . The children do resent my doing work at home, I think, even though they have homework to do in the afternoons and evenings (Case #32).

> Yes, every night. I don't start until 9:15, after the children are asleep. I don't have any time for me (Case #11).

> Yes, but I find that although I have a room with a desk in it, when I am at home I cannot get away from the children because they want to be with me and I need to keep up with them. I cannot go in and shut the door. It is frustrating. . . . Very often you get those frustrated knots in your stomach from the tension. I am not always successful, but I have learned not to feel guilty anymore (Case #20).

> Yes, I do bring home work. If it is not excessive, my husband does not resent it, but if it is, it ticks him off and it also annoys my son. . . . It is not every night. When I do have to work, I say 'Look, I need to get this done tonight.' There was a time when it was getting to be every night and I decided that I was not going to do that anymore. It simply is not a good idea (Case #12).

Other respondents found it difficult to work on professional tasks at home during regular evening hours, and they made adjustments. For example, one adjusts to the family's hours.

> Yes, I do bring home office work. I get up early (before 5:00 A. M.) to do that. That is one of the reasons I go to bed soon after the children go to bed. At night they want to be with us (Case #25).

Still others find it necessary to do academic work in the evenings but do not do this work at home:

> Occasionally I bring home work, but . . . I am better off, if I have extra work to do, to go back to the office to do it (Case #6).

> Unfortunately, yes, I bring home lots of work. On the weekends, I will work when the children are up, but it is difficult to do unless my husband keeps the children occupied. . . . When things are really tight and I have much to do, I might put in . . . hours at home or back at the office if it is really necessary, at night or on the weekends (Case #30).

> Yes, I have lots of work to do after the normal working day, but I do not bring it home, however. I just come back to work in my office in the evenings (Case #31).

Part-time Work Status

One alternative for women under the pressure of multiple role demands is to work professionally at less than full-time. Almost 70

percent (22) of the women in the study had at some time worked part-time in higher education. Six had been working at less than full-time when this study's survey was made.

There are a number of problems associated with working in a professional setting at less than full-time. Just as it was suggested earlier, women (or men, or children) who refuse to do, or reallocate, larger and larger amounts of domestic tasks risk being viewed as a marginal participant in the household or family. Similarly, persons who ask, or are willing, to work part-time suffer the risk of being viewed as marginal participants in their job or profession. In the point of view of many persons, an individual who seeks or accepts part-time employment displays low levels of commitment and professional motivation.

The frequently disparaging attitudes toward, and treatment of, part-time faculty does not necessarily have any logical basis as an indicator of professional commitment and probably is mainly associated with male-dominated rules of the workplace. There is considerable evidence that this situation may be changing for both women and men. One respondent expressed some of the frustrations of this situation and suggested some of the changes that may be needed.

> Society is going to have to begin to accept the kinds of job arrangements like two people sharing one job, or the husband and wife both 3/4 time, so that the husband and father can be home part of the time and the wife and mother can be home part of the time. It does not have to be only the mother's time that is shared. We need to broaden our options as to what that mother can do. In other words, why does the mother have to be locked into an 8 to 5 job? Why does that have to be the only option? . . . She ought to be able to get some kind of arrangement so she still has a satisfying career, no matter what it is, if she chooses to do that (Case #15).

Despite evidence that such changes may be occurring, the rate of change is likely to be rather slow because of the fundamental social and economic issues involved. Meanwhile, women faculty with children will need to continue to make adjustments and accommodations with their time and energy in the face of some of these societal inflexibilities.

Summary

Most of the women in the sample held faculty positions with primary emphasis on teaching responsibilities. The remainder were more specifically assigned to administrative, research, or library positions. Twenty-six of the women worked full-time and six worked at less than full-time when the survey was made for this study.

Besides teaching, most of the women were found to be heavily involved with advising and counseling students, supervising student assistants, and committee work. These multiple professional roles were found to add substantially to the pressures felt by the women with children at home.

The findings of the survey lend support to the conclusion that Oklahoma State University is highly traditional with respect to both patterns of hiring women faculty and support of those hired. More women in academic fields traditionally associated with high female participation perceived satisfactory support of their colleagues, by percentage, than did the percentage of those women in traditionally male-dominated fields. It was also found that the respondents are not really very mobile, despite the willingness and strong interest of some of the subjects to relocate if it meant a job advancement.

Many of the professional roles were found to spill over into other roles for the women in the study. One alternative for women under the pressure of multiple role demand is to work professionally at less than full-time for part of her work-life.

Despite evidence that some societal changes may be occurring to accommodate different work patterns, the rate of change is likely to be slow because of the social and economic issues involved.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Multiple role-taking is a common characteristic of social interaction. In terms of social structure and organization the incidence of multiple role-taking is reflected in the holding, or occupying, of several positions (multiple positions). Frequently, multiple role-taking is subsumed and disguised under a broad aggregate set of roles (or set of positions) identified only by broad status titles, such as worker, mother, friend, doctor, academic, etc.

A basic premise of this study has been that many of the difficulties of married women faculty with children living at home is that they are overloaded with role performance demands partly because of the institutionalized (socialized) view of what a wife, mother, and university faculty member is, or should be, does, or should do. Traditional socialization tends to ascribe the nature of a wife or a mother and proscribe negative sanctions on those who deviate from the traditional. Scrutinized carefully, the traditional ascriptive processes look like logic gone awry. A housecleaner is not a wife, but a wife is a housecleaner.

Thus, a second premise of the study: the various roles traditionally ascribed to wife and mother can be disaggregated into a number of functional tasks or roles, most of which lack gender-exclusive functional imperatives in their performance. Many of these roles are not

functionally for women only, but, traditionally, have been viewed as for wives and mothers only (or, at least, mainly). A similar logic can be applied to the gender-based nature of academic professional roles.

But traditional socialization did not evolve from logic alone but from emotions and beliefs. Considerable change in socio-cultural attitudes must occur before prevalent conceptualizations of wife and mother are modified. Meanwhile, women faced with heavy demands to conform to role performance demands associated with reluctant, slow changing socio-cultural attitudes must get on with their lives. Quite frankly, those who choose alternative life styles must also meet with some success or otherwise, the weight of conservative inertia will force these "deviants" back into the traditional mold.

Through the use of an interview and questionnaire methodology, a sample of 32 faculty women with children at home served as a resource for learning about how such women cope with their alternate or changing life styles. With highly cooperative participation by the respondents, a large amount of information was obtained revealing a rich assortment of behavioral alternatives selected by these women to contend with obstacles in and obstinance toward their determination to function effectively as wives, mothers, and academic professionals.

Summary and Implications of the Findings

In Chapter III a disaggregated list of positions or roles was introduced. These roles (positions) reflect functional tasks or activities which are frequently demanded by members of families, either individually or as a group. Among the roles so identified, only two could be

viewed as functionally assignable to women alone (wife as sexual partner and biological mother). All of these roles may be viewed as important to the family (desired, demanded, and, in most cases, essential) and also reassignable and generally separable (although in practice, overlapping in role performance).

Comments and other responses of the women included in the sample indicate that most were aware of, and generally in agreement with, this view of family roles and role allocation. But the degree to which they individually subscribe to, or practice, this point of view varied considerably among respondents. For example, most did not believe that housecleaning was their exclusive responsibility or duty, even in the cases in which the woman did, in practice, accept the responsibility for performing these tasks. In contrast, when expressing their views on child care, they ranged from the highly traditional ("child care is my responsibility") to the strongly "liberated" view of child care as a shared role only.

But, no matter what the degree of "liberation" from self-imposed strictures of sex-role traditions, the wife/mother/professional woman still must contend with the attitudes and expectations of significant others. At most, a few of the families could reasonably be described as based on marriages approaching the egalitarian with respect to role performance sharing (See Poloma and Garland, 1971c).

All of the respondents indicated that some degree of sharing of the tasks of domestic roles occurs in their households. Many, however, appeared to feel that the sharing was very lopsided, token, and perhaps more pretentious than sincerely cooperative. Yet, most expressed

gratitude for any relief from these responsibilities although it may be touched with a tinge of resignation such as: "If you can't get 50/50 support and cooperation, 60/40 is still better than 80/20" (Case #suppressed).

Greater success in role reallocation or sharing was evidenced in some types of housekeeping, particularly housecleaning. A considerable amount of sharing of child care appeared to occur by the husband's participation or by paying for child care help. Yet the role demands associated with mothering seemed to be especially critical to most of these women, at least in some stage of the family life cycle. So it is not surprising to find a higher incidence of stress and role conflict associated with "guilt feelings" about the performance of parental roles.

With respect to their professional careers, most of the respondents thought their husbands were very supportive. Many suggested that they perceived their husband to be gratified and proud of their professional accomplishments. However, many also indicated that their husband might hold some underlying resentment toward their role-sharing activities and the fact that the wife's career deprived them of some companionship and other attentiveness.

One rather common source of concern and stress was the respondents' feelings of lack of professional mobility associated with being locked into a dual-career family. The most frequent evidence of stress associated with this situation were women who felt that they were being exploited by administrators and colleagues who interpreted their lack of geographic mobility as a sign of powerlessness.

Another source of pressure referred to by many women, either directly or subtly, was associated with the fact that they felt the need to expend extra effort and special care in their work because it was evaluated by different and uncertain standards compared with that of men faculty. It was not surprising, therefore, that most of these women either frequently took academic work home with them or returned to their office on nights and weekends. Yet, despite their felt need to do this, many recognized that it either caused, or had potential to cause, strained relations with other family members. Some of the more liberated suggested they had no guilt feelings about this as their husbands also often brought work home from the office. This established their right to do so as well.

The survey findings, overall, provided evidence of highly motivated professional women, proud of their accomplishments, both as academic professionals and as wives and mothers. Despite the frustrations and conflicts amply demonstrated by some of the quoted comments submitted in the above chapter on findings, the respondents were generally satisfied with their current career status and/or their perceived prospects for future career development. All but a very few indicated desirable changes in both career and domestic relations which could make their lives less stressful and more satisfying.

Limitations of the Study

This research was conceived and placed within the theoretical context of sociological role theory. The attempt was made to combine some of the methodological principles and ideas of two conceptual

approaches to sociological research that are sometimes viewed as antithetical: symbolic interactionism and structural/functionalism. Specifically, the approaches to field work (survey instrument design and administration) were viewed as more in the framework of symbolic interactionism. However, the structural scheme developed for presentation of findings had a strong functional orientation.

The study was largely descriptive in nature. Presentation of findings depended heavily upon descriptive summaries of information supplied by the respondents and many direct quotations. No formal hypotheses were proposed. Occasional attempts to provide some analysis and interpretation were made through the use of quantitative data summaries, cross-tabulations, and comparisons drawn with the findings of other studies.

A stratified random sampling procedure was employed for identifying the study subjects. It probably would have been desirable, or at least reassuring, to have been able to interview a larger sample of subjects. However, the limitations of time and other factors made it impossible to interview more than the 32 persons selected.

Some Directions for Future Research

Although the literature now records quite a large number of studies of problems of professional career women (including those of different marital status), this study apparently is one of only a few focusing on a small urban area. A city of Stillwater's size and relative geographic isolation poses severe obstacles to the efficient and satisfactory employment of dual-career households composed of two highly educated persons.

If prevalent attitudes or even university policy obstruct the effective employment of one of a married pair of highly educated individuals, the resultant losses for both individuals and society may be significant. If such is the case, as some of the respondents alleged, then a relevant research problem would be to attempt to measure the magnitude and distribution of losses occasioned by the unemployment or underemployment of highly developed human capital resources.

One procedure for avoidance of this problem is for the university to follow a policy of refusal to consider hiring individuals who have highly educated, career-oriented spouses. Of course, this type of policy would be blatantly discriminatory on the basis of marital status and, probably, illegal. Therefore, universities such as Oklahoma State University will probably continue to attract dual-career households for which one spouse is satisfactorily situated and the other may have only marginal opportunities. Some useful research might explore possible ways for alleviating and accommodating such situations.

Also, as more professional women receive higher salaries, the possibility becomes much more prevalent that they will have incomes at least as high as their husband's. Further research might examine this possible source of stress from role conflict.

Reflections

Interviewing was found to be an ideal methodology for this type of study, both from the standpoint of the wealth of data gathered and from the ease with which the information was acquired. The researcher has spent many hours in her profession as a librarian perfecting interview techniques which she uses daily in her public service job. The

techniques are used in order to find out exactly what information is required by the library patron (client). Not unlike the client-librarian relationship, the researcher-interviewee relationship also involves mutual trust and the assurance of confidentiality. Most of the respondents remarked that the interview had been extremely satisfying to them and almost a catharsis to some. In a very few cases, however, answers given during the interview were found to be revealing to the researcher, and she felt the burden of this confidential information rather intensely. This was made more extreme because of the cordial relations and friendships with these respondents. For this reason, it may be preferable, and less stressful to the researcher, to interview strangers, especially about sensitive matters.

One respondent's comments were so memorable, that they deserve to sum up this study.

> I really think that these men who hide behind professions and refuse to take the responsibility of rearing children are doing just that. I, too, have a profession, and it does not relieve me of the responsibility of a child. Society for so long has felt that a woman's place is in the home. Sombody started that. I don't know why. I think that a woman should never feel guilty or anything else because there is something that she wants to do, and she cannot be home all the time. It is not how much time you give your child or husband, anyway. It is what you do when you are with them (Case #10).

This quote is a good example of the depth of feeling expressed by some of the respondents which was brought out in the interview.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Typical Day

1. Would you describe your typical day? A week-day. Before work. After work also.

Household Duties

2. I'd like to get some idea of how the household duties are apportioned in your home.

   What household duties does each member of your family perform?

   What do you view as the ideal division of duties in a household where the mother works? How do you think your family reflects this ideal? In what areas is your family farthest from this ideal?

3. Do you think your children take on more or less responsibility at home than children of mothers who do not work outside the home? Why? Examples?

4. Do you make lists of things to do each day? Each week?

   If so, do you accomplish all, or most of the things to do on the list?

   (If no: Why do you suppose that you do not?)

Home and Children

5. Do you find it necessary to bring home work from your university office? Can you describe how you manage to get some privacy at home? Do you have a home office? A place where you can close the door?

   (If yes: How do you think your family feels about your doing work at home that pertains to your work at the university?)

6. Have you ever taught in the summer?

   (If yes: Did you have to make special arrangements for child care for your school age children? How did this work out?)

7. What would you view as the ideal situation for the care of young children while the mother works full-time?

8. What do (or would) you do in case of an emergency, or sudden illness of a child?

8. continued

Do you have relatives in town, or a special friend, that you could call upon for help? Have you ever had an experience like that which stands out in your mind?

9. Can you give me an example of just one activity that you like to do with your child(ren) alone? Just you and that one child.

Household Help

10. How do you feel about employing household help? How does your husband feel about it? Your child(ren) feel about it?

What job around the house would you most like to be done if you had household help?

Work and Networks

11. I'd like to ask you some questions about your work.

First, have you always worked? Since you have been married? (If not, what changes have taken place since you began work?)

What do you view as your major activity at work? Can you describe how you go about setting your time priorities to take care of this major activity?

12. What is the most satisfying aspect of your job?

13. What is the least desirable part of your job?

14. Do you have the opportunity to attend professional meetings out of town? Out of the state? Out of the country? How do you arrange your home schedule when you are away at a meeting?

(If does not have the opportunity: Would you like to attend such meetings if your home schedule could be arranged?)

15. On the whole, do you feel that you have the support of your male colleagues? Your female colleagues? In relation to time demands?

With whom do you discuss a possible research project? Or talk over a problem that occurs in the department?

16. Have you ever attended meetings of the O. S. U. Women's Council?

Do you feel such an organization could open up avenues of support for you? Do you perceive a need for a network among women faculty?

17. With whom do you usually eat lunch?

Career Decisions

18. I am going to ask you some short questions about career decisions you have made.

    Have you always wanted to be a teacher (researcher, librarian, etc.)? Can you tell me about your decision to have a career in higher education?

19. Was there anyone influential in your choice of a major? How did they influence you?

20. Did you receive career counseling in high school? In college?

21. What do you view as the primary obstacles you encountered in getting your education?

22. Do you see yourself as a role model for your female students? How do you feel about that?

23 ASK ONLY OF THOSE WHO HAVE DAUGHTERS:

    Do you feel that you do (or did, or possibly will) influence your daughter to make a career choice?

Support of Spouse

24. How does your husband view your career aspirations? Has he always felt the way he does now?

25. Let's suppose that you were offered a position with increased rank, salary, and/or opportunities at another institution, would you consider it seriously? What might be some of the contingencies?

    How do you feel your husband would react to such an offer?

Family Decision-Making

26. Can you tell me how your family makes decisions about how money is spent on:

    Major items: Buying land, home, car, furniture

    Minor items: Food, clothing

    Vacations: Who decides? Where? With whom?

Leisure Activities

27. What kind of leisure activities do you enjoy the most?

28. Are there activities that your family enjoys to do together? Can you describe them?

29. Can you tell me about what you would view as the best (or ideal) vacation you could think of?

Advice to Others

30. If you had it to do all over again, what career decisions would you change?

31. What advice would you give a high school girl who was contemplating a career such as yours?

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Year of birth _____

2. Rank in high school graduating class:

   _____ of _____; or, top _____%
   (Your Rank) (# in Your Class)

3. How many years have you been employed in higher education? _____ years.

   a. How many of those years full-time? _____ years.

   b. How many of those years part-time? _____ years.

4. How many years have you been employed at Oklahoma State University?

   _____ years.

5. What is your present rank? _____

6. During the 1979-80 fall and spring semesters, did you work: (Circle one).

Full-time?	1
3/4 time?	2
1/2 time?	3
Other?	4 _____ (Please specify)

7. What degree(s) do you hold beyond the bachelor's degree? Please list below.

Degree	Where Granted	When Received
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

8. How did you fund your graduate work? (Check all which apply).

   _____ Fellowship or scholarship
   _____ Research assistantship
   _____ Teaching assistantship
   _____ Own money
   _____ G.I. Bill
   _____ Student loan
   _____ Other (Specify):_____

(Please continue on back).

9. When did you first marry? (Please check one)

_____ Before college
_____ During undergraduate college
_____ After undergraduate college but before graduate school
_____ During graduate school
_____ After graduate school

10. Please list all of your children living at home with you:

Sex of child	Age	Year just completed in school (if school age)

11. Husband's occupation: _____

12. Highest level of education completed by your present husband: (Circle one)

Less than high school	1
High school graduate	2
Some college	3
College graduate	4
Some graduate school	5
Graduate degree or professional degree	6 _____ (Specify)

13. Total family income before taxes in previous year: (Check one)

_____ Less than $10,000
_____ $10,000 - $15,000
_____ $15,001 - $20,000
_____ $20,001 - $25,000
_____ $25,001 - $30,000
_____ $30,001 - $35,000
_____ $35,001 - $40,000
_____ Over $40,000

14. Your health: (Check one)

_____ Excellent
_____ Good
_____ Fair
_____ Poor

15. What was your father's principal occupation while you were growing up?

_____

16. Was your mother employed outside the home while you were growing up?

_____ No
_____ Yes, part-time
_____ Yes, full-time

If yes, what was her principal occupation? _____

17. Are you? (Circle one)

First born	1
Second born	2
Third born	3
Fourth or later born	4

18. How many brothers and sisters did you have while growing up? _____

19. Entertainment and recreation: How many times per MONTH do you

# of times

_____ Entertain in your home?
_____ Go out to dinner?
_____ Go to a movie, theatre, or concert?
_____ Participate in sports (golf, tennis, swimming, etc.)

20. What current help do you have with your children and housekeeping: (Circle "Yes" or "No" for each)

	YES	NO
Day baby sitter (unrelated)	1	2
Relative babysits during day	1	2
Day care center or nursery school	1	2
Full-time housekeeper (live in)	1	2
Full-time housekeeper (live out)	1	2
Cleaning woman once or twice a week	1	2

(Please continue with LAST questions on back of this page)

21. Participation in clubs and activities in the community:
(Circle one in each row)

	Regularly	Occasionally	Not At All
P.T.A.	1	2	3
League of Women Voters	1	2	3
Garden Club	1	2	3
Lahoma Club	1	2	3
Church or religious group	1	2	3
Den mother or scout leader	1	2	3
Women's social club	1	2	3
Country Club	1	2	3
Music group	1	2	3
Other _____ (Specify, if you wish)	1	2	3

22. Feelings about the interview:

Overall, would you say you enjoyed the interview:

_____ Very much

_____ Somewhat

_____ Not at all

23. Were any of the questions unclear or hard to understand? _____
If YES, which ones?

24. Did you feel any of the questions were too personal? _____
If YES, which ones?

THANK YOU FOR FILLING OUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. Please be assured that all the information given will remain confidential.

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VITA

Claudette Schroeder Hagle

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: FACULTY WOMEN WITH CHILDREN AT HOME: A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF ROLE ATTITUDES HELD BY FEMALE ACADEMICS AND THEIR METHODS OF COPING WITH ROLE MULTIPLICITY

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in New Orleans, Louisiana, August 5, 1932; married January 23, 1954, to Paul Hagle in Ruston, Louisiana; two children, Paula and Harlan.

Education: Graduated from Ouachita Parish High School, Monroe, Louisiana, in June, 1950; received the Bachelor of Science degree in Botany with honors from Louisiana Tech University, Ruston, Louisiana, in January, 1954; received the Master of Arts degree in Library Science from the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, in August, 1970; completed requirements for the Master of Science degree at Oklahoma State University in December, 1980.

Honor Societies: Phi Kappa Phi.

Professional Experience: Reference Librarian, Stillwater Public Library, Stillwater, Oklahoma, February, 1971, to March, 1974; Indexer, Fire Protection Publications, Oklahoma State University, September, 1972, to April, 1974; Instructor, Assistant Reference Librarian/Microforms and Interlibrary Loan, April, 1974-September, 1977; Assistant Professor, Assistant Reference Librarian/Microforms and Library Instruction, September, 1977- .

Professional Organizations: American Library Association, Southwestern Library Association, Oklahoma Library Association, Friends of Libraries in Oklahoma, and Oklahoma Sociological Association.