A NARRATIVE ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENTAL PROCESSES IN MOTHERS WITH PROFESSIONAL CAREER TRAINING AS DEPICTED IN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITING

By

ADA RUTH MIESNER

Bachelor of Science
Arkansas State University
Jonesboro, Arkansas
1990

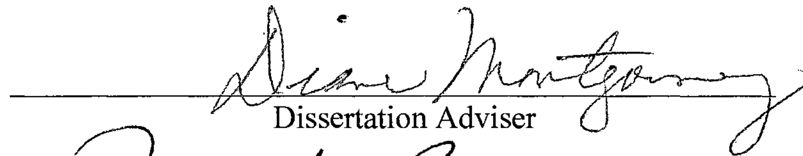
Master of Arts
University of Tulsa
Tulsa, Oklahoma
1992

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
May, 2000

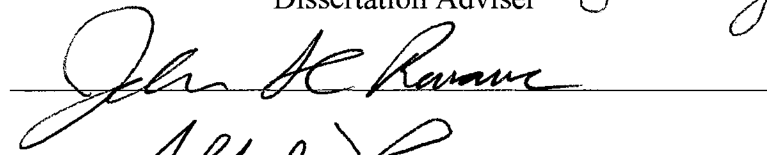
Thesis
2000D
M632n

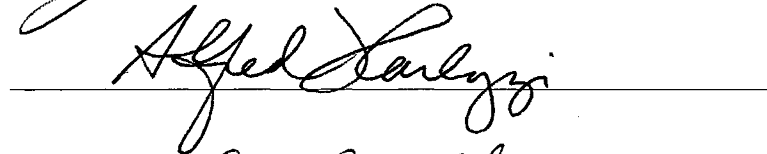
A NARRATIVE ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENTAL PROCESSES IN MOTHERS WITH PROFESSIONAL CAREER TRAINING AS DEPICTED IN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITING

Dissertation Approved:



Dissertation Adviser





Dean of the Graduate College

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project is not complete without a sincere word of thanks to the women autobiographers who chose to present their lives for public examination. I also give sincere thanks to the multitude of researchers who have sought to understand women's lives and have shared their findings with the academic community.

My Dissertation Committee was composed of individuals chosen for their differences in perspective. I cherish each observation and suggestion that was given. Their questions and reflections helped me to focus and amplify a wide range of inputs. I especially thank Dr. Dianne Montgomery for her guidance and support.

Great thanks goes to those who provided much needed emotional support. My husband, Bill, was a source of constant reassurance. He daily lives his devotion to his family through his loving encouragement and care. I love him dearly. Others who deserve thanks include; my mother, for her willingness to listen and provide perspective; and my mother-in-law, for traveling with my family on this journey. It was through their presence that this project was completed. Sincere gratitude also goes to my children, Brandy and Jacob, whose presence enhanced my life during the years I pursued my formal education. They are my motivation.

I also acknowledge the source of my strength, Jesus Christ. In appreciation, I dedicate this project to the service and fulfillment of his great plan.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Background of the Problem	2
Statement of the Problem	4
Theoretical Framework	5
Purpose of the Study	10
Research Strategy	10
Research Questions	11
Assumptions and Limitations	12
Researcher's Background	17
II. LITERATURE REVIEW	20
Changing Patterns of Professional Women	20
Conflicts and Coping in Professional Women	22
Conflicts and Negative Mental Health	23
Coping and Positive Mental Health	24
Women's Definition of Achievement	31
Women's Development Theories	34
Women's Moral Development – Gilligan	36
Women's Identity Development – Josselson	39
Women's Ways of Knowing - Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule	44
Women's Career Development - Powell & Mainiero	49
Integration and Limitations of Research Findings	54
Areas in Need of Further Research	60
III. RESEARCH METHOD	65
Theoretical Research Perspective	65
Theoretical Research Design	68
Narrative Analysis and Interpretive Strategies	75
Subject Selection	76
Description of Autobiographical Subjects	79
Data Management	81
Narrative Interpretation	87
Summary of Data Analysis	89

IV. NARRATIVE INTERPRETATION 91

Relationship with Parents 94
Relationship with Mother 94
Reaction to Relationship with Mother 98
Relationship with Father 106
Reaction to Relationship with Father 108
Summary 111
Conflicts 112
Coping Strategies 129
Primary Recapitulation 132
Alternative Recapitulation 148
Simultaneous Recapitulation 156
Blended Capitulation 161
Summary 174
Development Processes 176
Iris Krasnow 177
Anne Roiphe 184
Joan Childs 188
Summary 192

V. DISCUSSION 194

Summary of Findings 195
Theoretical Implications 203
Implications for Practice 211
Suggestions for Further Research 213
Limitations of Study 214

REFERENCES 217

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

I. Relationships Between Self-Other Concerns and Development Theories......................57

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> *A big part of me wanted to surrender to the macaroni and cheese in the oven bubbling away in the Corning Ware. But I could not yet say no to uncharted frontiers in journalism. I made more money freelance writing Theo's first year than I ever made working for a company. Obviously, there was still a need to prove that my edge had not disappeared. (Krasnow, 1997, p. 88)*

> *I walked around feeling guilty most of the time because I was always neglecting someone. . . . I felt like prey in the middle of the wilderness, unprotected, confused, fragmented, angry, and worst of all, I wasn't having any fun. I was grinding my teeth at night, yelling at the kids, short with my parents, and hating sex. . . . I was miserable. (Childs, 1995, p. 69)*

> *Either I should not have had children and made my books the object of my affections or I should have paid more attention to my children, had a few more of them, and let my work wait. Either way I feel coerced, not happy. (Roiphe, 1996, p. 210)*

These statements reflect the tangle of emotions that women report experiencing as they attempt to manage both work and family responsibilities. These women's heartfelt displays echo a common theme. It is difficult to balance career aspirations with one's desires to marry and have children. Not surprising, these two expectations place women in an emotional double bind and have contributed to women's stress and burnout (Etzion & Bailyn, 1994; Freundenberger & North, 1985; Swiss & Walker, 1993). The seriousness of this issue is a daily manifestation for many women especially as the

number of women in the workforce has increased over recent decades. In response to the apparent difficulties, the National Institute of Mental Health has identified the effects of managing work and family responsibilities on women's mental health as an area in need of research (Eichler & Parron, 1987) and researchers have sought to address these and other concerns that are common to professional women (Lewis & Cooper, 1983; McBride, 1990).

Background of the Problem

Investigators have found that women continue to remain responsible for the majority of domestic chores even as their hours spent in the workforce have increased (Hochschild, 1989). Researchers initially proposed that the large number of hours spent in work and home duties led to the high levels of stress in women. However, this proposal did not find support in field research (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). The results suggested that it is not the occupation of multiple roles (i.e., work and family roles) that has negative mental health consequences; rather, it is the quality of these roles that mediates mental health outcomes (Valdez & Gutek, 1987; Wiersma & Van Den Berg, 1991). What became apparent to the research community was that women's experiences of role-conflict, or the feeling of being overwhelmed by competing demands, was more complicated than initially postulated (Barnett & Baruch, 1985; Wiersma & Van Den Berg, 1991).

More recent research has shifted from focusing on the number of roles occupied to looking at the patterns and characteristics of roles that may affect mental health outcomes (McBride, 1990; Piechowski, 1992). Several studies focusing on the conflicts that women face in combining family and career responsibilities suggest women suffer

negative mental health effects (Barnett & Baruch, 1985; Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Hochschild, 1989; Hughes & Galinsky, 1994; McBride, 1990; Piechowski, 1992; Reifman, Biernat, & Lang, 1991). Investigators have found that women in dual-earner households reported more psychological symptoms than their spouses regardless of the number of actual spent in paid employment (Hughes & Galinsky, 1994). Factors related to depressive and physical symptoms included: perceptions of lack of control, heavy workload, inflexible work schedule, low pay, sex discrimination, lack of time for relaxation, marital difficulties, and disproportionate home and child care duties (Piechowski, 1992; Reifman et al. 1991).

However, other researchers have published findings indicating that some women who combine multiple roles achieve superior health and happiness with life (Burke & McKeen, 1993; Crosby, 1991; Maynard, 1993). Investigators have identified a number of factors that are related to positive coping strategies. Women who reported the greatest happiness were found to perceive a supportive family climate (Wiersma & Van Den Berg, 1991) and high levels of personal control (Duxbury, Higgins, & Lee, 1994; Piechowski, 1992). Studies on women's attributions of meaning to work have suggested that a greater degree of happiness is found when a women is comfortable with her sex-role orientation and places high priority on her relationships (Napholz, 1994; Napholz, 1995; Simon, 1995). In addition, results have suggested that happiness and positive coping strategies for multiple-role women (i.e., women who combine career and family) is based on the fulfillment of relationship, nurturance, and connectedness needs (Maynard, 1993; Napholz, 1995; Simon, 1995; Wood, Rhodes, & Whelan, 1989).

Statement of the Problem

This study enters the academic discussion at the point of disagreement between researchers regarding the probable mental health outcomes for women who combine professional and family duties. Factors related to negative outcomes and well as positive outcomes have been uncovered. However, an exploration of the possible reasons for the differences has not been satisfactorily presented. Continued discussions on this topic require that an explanation of the seemingly incongruent findings be proposed.

The current state of research, characterized by opposing camps of evidence and opinions, suggests that a broadened perspective for viewing research results could prove useful in describing the nature of women's conflicts. This view could be instrumental in proposing an explanation as to why some women appear more vulnerable to negative mental health outcomes than others when they seek to fulfill both work and family responsibilities.

Having acknowledged the need for a more comprehensive view of research results, a paradigm for providing the needed description must be chosen. For the purpose of this study a developmental perspective for viewing professional women's conflicts in managing family and work responsibilities was chosen. By using a developmental lens for viewing, evaluating, and describing the events and responses that are common to women's lives, clarity is hoped to be gained regarding the nature of women's experiences in combining career and family duties. But choosing the developmental paradigm is only the first step. A research strategy must be chosen which allows for the developmental nature of women's lives to be described. This research methodology must do more than support that positive and negative mental health outcomes are possible. It must also

describe how particular coping strategies are associated with feelings of conflict and anguish.

In choosing a research strategy it is imperative that it compliment and enhance basic assumptions of developmental theory. In general, the developmental paradigm embraces a mechanistic philosophy as it assumes that earlier events have effects on later events. A research approach which supports this mechanistic view must be chosen in order to provide clarification as to why some coping strategies lead to conflicts while others lead to positive outcomes. Specifically, a strategy is needed which is longitudinal in nature so that the temporal aspect of development is captured. It is understood that development is more that the summation of external events. Development also occurs internally based on cognitive processes. For this reason, the strategy must also be able to capture changes in women's internal cognitive processes over time. The developmental theories used as a basis for argument in this study assume that the sentience of a woman's life events are based on complex interactions between external and internal forces. By becoming familiar with the forces at work in women's lives and discussing them as a series of events leading to a probable outcome, clarity and depth are gained in describing the nature of professional women's conflicts.

Theoretical Framework

Research in multiple-role women's conflicts and coping strategies appears to have been conducted largely in the absence of theoretical explanations. This study examines the conflicts that women face as the attempt to balance work and home responsibilities in light of developmental theory. The premise of this study is that adding a developmental perspective to understanding women's probable mental health outcomes can clarify

contradictory findings. Several areas of theoretical research are explored in the literature review in order to provide a framework for interpreting research on women's conflicts and understanding the cognitive and environmental forces that affect women's development. Research on women's definition of achievement is included to provide a re-formulation of the construct of conflict based on research with women. In addition, several contemporary approaches to the study of women's developmental processes are included. These include theories on women's moral development, identity development, ways of knowing, and career development.

Research on women's definition of achievement has shown that women define accomplishments in terms of emotional and relational life-spheres (Eccles, 1986; Farmer, 1985; Faver, 1984; Hollinger & Fleming, 1992; Reis, 1995; Silverman, 1995; Subotnik & Arnold, 1995). Studies have suggested that women are often caught in a bind between pursuing their talents and careers and maintaining personal relationships (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Carp, 1991; Crosby, 1991; Denmark & Paludi, 1993; Eckenrode & Gore, 1990; Freudenberger & North, 1985; Josselson, 1987; Keita & Hurrell, 1994; Swiss & Walker, 1993), but that women are often willing to sacrifice career and financial achievements in order to maximize relational achievements (i.e., family and children) (Crosby, 1991; Eckenrode & Gore, 1990; Faver, 1984; Hollinger & Fleming, 1992; Keita & Hurrell, 1994; Subotnik & Arnold, 1995; Swiss & Walker, 1993; Walsh, 1987). Reis (1995) reported that the choice to sacrifice personal dreams in pursuit of a happy family life could result in feelings of satisfaction, dissatisfaction, or ambivalence. Studies have indicated that some women were able to accept a happy

medium while others felt disappointment at not being able to pursue their own dreams (Poole & Langan-Fox, 1992; Reis, 1995; Swiss & Walker, 1993).

Four recent theories of women's development are presented in the literature review in order to assist in interpreting research on professional women's conflicts. These models are included to provide a lens for viewing and discussing the process of women's development. In general, these four explanatory models acknowledge that women's development is accomplished in association with their intimate relationships.

Carol Gilligan (1982) proposed a model of moral development for women. She theorized that women's moral development is founded in a decision making style which is based on consideration of responsibilities to care for self and others. She postulated that women's view of morality is based on a felt duty of care. Gilligan proposed conceptualizing women's moral development as a three-stage process. She concluded that moral reasoning for women is best described as a developmental process in which one moves from personal survival concerns, to awareness and response to her responsibilities to others, to an integration of personal and other's concerns.

Josselson (1987) conducted research on women's identity development. She described four categories of women based on Erikson's (1968) stage of identity development. The category of Foreclosure Identity contained women who seemed to accept parentally and societally dictated values without question. Identity Achievement included women who appeared to have chosen personally constructed life paths. Moratorium Identity women were described as explorers of atypical roles and were found to experience low self-esteem and high anxiety. Women classified in the Identity Diffusion category were found to be high in mental health distress as they presented as

drifters, incapable of learning from experience. Josselson conceptualized women's identity as a separation-individuation continuum. She suggested that Moratorium Identity and Diffusion Identity status women maintained separateness with others, while Foreclosure Identity status women were most attached to relationships. Identity Achievement status women were thought to evidence a balance between separateness and relatedness.

Belenky et al. (1986) proposed a theory of women's ways of knowing that sought to describe the ways women learn. These researchers arrived at five orientations that classified the women in their study. The first category described is one of Silence and contained women were unaware of their own voice and understood the world according to what authority figures told them. Belenky et al. described women who were classified in the Received Knowledge perspective as learning about the world through listening to others for what should or ought to occur. Women who were in the Subjective Knowledge category understood the world through intuition and moved away from connections with others to allow greater self-connection. Belenky et al. describe procedural Knowledge women as relying on skills and techniques to understand their world. Two systems of knowing were described to pertain to these women. Connected knowing was discussed as a system of knowing based on empathy for others as knowing was based on one's ability to deny personal voice to allow understanding of other's perspectives. Separate knowing was explained as objective, analytical understanding as these women relied on the authority of reason and denied their subjective opinions. Constructed knowledge was the final perspective that Belenky et al. examined. The women classified in this category

integrated subjective and objective knowledge in order to construct their own way of understanding their world.

Recent advances in the conceptualization of women's career development are also included in order to complete a comprehensive framework for analyzing the conflictual findings regarding the mental health outcomes for multiple-role women. The literature review organizes and examines factors that influence women's career development. In addition, Powell and Mainiero's (1992) model of women's career development is presented as it provides an integrated understanding of the complexity of women's careers. This model is significant as it accounts for the interplay between women's work and non-work concerns and successes by consideration of subjective measures of success (i.e., life-satisfaction and career satisfaction). This model is also significant as it makes departure from linear or stage developmental progression in favor of an interactive, dimensional approach by accounting for the effects of multiple influences, factors, and constraints that women face in making career and relationship decisions.

It appears that women's personal success, or achievements, can be conceptualized along a continuum of concern for self and concern for others. The literature on women's definition of achievement and women's developmental processes is unified in the description of advanced development as characterized by a sense of balance between concern for personal needs and concern for other's needs. The results of this study are described with respect to the literature on women's definition of achievement and women's development. Areas of conflict that can be clarified through the use of this model are highlighted. In addition, behaviors that are in exception to the predictions of the theoretical model are discussed.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to provide clarification of the reported differences in research findings on the mental health outcomes for women who combine work and family duties by adding a developmental component to the description and explanation of women's conflicts. This study seeks to go beyond a simple identification of elements related to experiences of conflicts by examining the effectiveness of women's coping strategies and how these coping strategies are related to developmental regression, progression, or stagnation. This study extends knowledge on the conflicts of working mothers by examining the links between coping strategies and positive or negative outcomes. In this way, the relationships between coping strategies that lead to advanced development, or positive mental health outcomes, become apparent. Additionally, a discussion regarding the prevalence of various types of conflicts at particular developmental stages may be forwarded.

By developing a categorical description of the types of conflicts that women report, a comparative analysis to the current literature regarding women's conflicts becomes possible. This analysis is significant as it allows for discussion of the theoretical comprehensiveness of the construct of multiple-role conflict. This examination enables this researcher to ascertain if current conceptions of factors related to conflicts are adequate or if there are other elements that need to be brought to attention.

Research Strategy

In order to attain the study's goals, a research approach is needed which is able to assess women's developmental processes over her lifetime. An accounting of the external events in her life is needed as well as a description of the cognitive changes that

these events elicited. Narrative analysis of women's autobiographies is especially suited to this purpose. Autobiographies, as a narrative form, are capable of presenting longitudinal data appropriate to addressing the conflicts of professional women with children. Autobiographies can simultaneously present an accounting of a woman's life events as well as her reactions to these events. In conducting narrative analysis of women's autobiographies an interpretation of the temporal relationships between conflicts, coping, and apparent development can be forwarded. These relationships can then be viewed and discussed in relation to theoretical understanding of women's moral, identity, cognitive processing, and career development processes. For these reasons, this study seeks to better explain possible mental health outcomes for women who face the task of managing both family and work roles by examining women's autobiographical writings about their lives.

Research Questions

This study is designed to provide a response to the following question: In what ways does a developmental explanation account for the differences in the mental health outcomes of women who combine work and family roles? This study seeks to answer this question by structuring several focused areas of inquiry of its data sources.

Initially, the women's autobiographies selected for this study were analyzed for descriptions of the areas of difficulty that they have faced in balancing work and family demands. This analysis resulted in a description of the area of conflict that these women report. Additionally, as autobiographical writing allows for the women's perceptions of the causal relationships between her life experiences and her areas of difficulty,

descriptions of her perceptions of the etiological aspects of her conflictual feelings become possible.

The second area of questioning is designed to describe the link between women's experiences of conflicts and the strategies they report to have utilized in managing these difficulties. The data is asked, what coping strategies do women report using when faced with conflicts? Additionally, the effectiveness of the coping strategy is explored based on the woman's subjective appraisal of it effectiveness. This allows for discussions regarding the association between particular coping strategies and positive or negative mental health outcomes.

Finally, this study examines the developmental processes of women who combine work and family responsibilities. The developmental progressions of the women in the study are described based on their self-reports and the developmental theories presented in the literature review. This developmental description is then combined with previously presented evidence on women's conflicts and coping strategies. At this point, a description of the probable relationships between the conflicts, coping strategies, and developmental progressions of women who manage both work and family roles becomes apparent. In addition, the impact of one's developmental "age" or perspective on how each woman described and presented her autobiographical narrative can be discussed.

Assumptions and Limitations

A basic assumption in conducting this research is that women are capable of reacting to external events with a wide range of reactions. Development is not viewed as a fixed process but rather a complicated interweaving of one's personal history and internal cognitive processes and motivations. This point is especially relevant to the

study of women's developmental processes. Let us consider, for example, research on the possible reactions that women may display as predicted by gender-role socialization. Numerous researchers have addressed the internalization of gender-role differences by women (Cook, 1993; Deaux & Kite, 1993; Eccles, 1987; Noble, 1989). Early popularized feminist arguments have pointed to gender-role socialization as an act done "to" women instead of an act done in conjunction "with" a woman's personal choice. Others have argued that personal choice mediates sex-role behavior (Eccles, 1987; Kaufman & Richardson, 1982). In consideration of women's reactions to the external forces of gender-role socialization, this study assumes the importance of personal choice. This study assumes that women have the capacity to make choices about whether they will adopt the dominant societal sex-role expectations. Research on women's development has suggested that women's choices are based on a value orientation towards issues of relationship and connectedness. An assumption is then made in this study that women make choices in adopting lifestyle orientations that are based on their personal (i.e., chosen) values. This assumption allows for the study of women's development as a cognitive process. Women's cognitive processes are viewed as affected by but not dictated by one's life experiences and socio-political environment. This study embraces the argument that the outcome of a woman's life is more than the necessary product of one's environment. Development is understood as an interaction between external events and internal cognitive processes.

Autobiographical materials have been critiqued as data sources based on the argument that they are the manifestations of one's social environment. This argument tends to lean toward the assumption that women are primarily acted upon by their

environment and tends to discount personally chosen and advocated values. Even as this belief has not been supported in some research publications (Eccles, 1987; Kaufman & Richardson, 1982), its caution to consider the impact of socio-historical context is particularly pertinent to this study. It is argued that one's social environment constructs what can be told as it dictates the types of materials that may be included in one's autobiographical writing (Ashley, Gilmore, & Peters, 1994; Brodzki & Schenck, 1988; Conway, Rubin, Spinnler, & Wagenaar, 1992; Smith & Watson, 1998). This point is especially relevant to published autobiographies as the author, or her publisher, may have chosen to delete information in an effort to protect her own or other's privacies. In addition, the socio-political environment might also support publishing works that are "politically correct" or palatable to the general reader. These factors could arguably render the data source to an incomplete or popularized presentation of women's life circumstances, conflicts, and coping strategies. In essence, the editorial process of author, publisher, and social context might dictate the nature of material included in the autobiographical text.

The veracity of autobiographical data has also been criticized based on the nature of autobiographical memory, particularly in regards to autobiographical truth (Brodzki & Schenck, 1988; Conway, 1998; Gilmore, 1994; McAdams, 1998; Rubin, 1986, 1996; Smith & Watson, 1998). These writers allow that that autobiographical works may be weak in internal validity as they can become fictionalized accounts of one's life events. An assumption is made in conducting this research that autobiographical books do not provide an accurate, or factual, account of women's life events. Rather, autobiographies,

as a narrative data source, present a construction of reality that can be changed, or re-narrated, to present a consistent "story" of one's life events (Sarbin, 1986).

As a research strategy, narrative analysis of autobiographical writing allows for the presentation of an individual's subjective interpretation of how the past is related to the present (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). The search for "truth" lies not within the actual events displayed; but, rather, in the women's interpretation of the processes at play during her life. Autobiographical writing allows for the examination of a woman's subjective appraisal of the genesis and evolution of her conflicts and the effectiveness of her coping strategies. This data source provides temporal evidence for examining developmental progressions as related to life experiences. Denzin (1989b) describes this phenomenon,

> A story . . . tells a sequence of events that are significant for the narrator and his or her audience. A narrative as a story has a plot, a beginning, a middle and an end. It has internal logic that makes sense to the narrator. A narrative relates events in a temporal, causal sequence. Every narrative describes a sequence of events that have happened. Hence narratives are temporal productions. (p. 37)

Although there are problems inherent to the use of autobiographical writings as data sources (i.e., accuracy of autobiographical memory (McAdams, 1998; Rubin, 1986, 1996); narrative as a self-constructed, or subjective, report of reality (Bruner, 1986; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Sarbin, 1986)), its ability to provide a descriptive accounting of the interplay between the women's life events and developmental processes merits study. By considering the unique, "lived" perspective, a broader understanding of the dynamic nature of women's lives becomes possible. Braham (1995) and Gilmore (1994) have examined this issue of "truth" in relation to women's autobiographical writing and

have concluded that, although autobiographical writing may not provide factual, historical truth, its ability to provide an accounting of subjective, psychological truth should be the basis of ultimate judgments of its merits. This study then assumes that women's autobiographical writing provides a unique and personal forum for examining the storied nature of the interplay between her life events, coping strategies, and developmental perspective.

In order to explore women's autobiographical discourse on the nature of professional women's experiences in managing work and family duties only three autobiographical texts were chosen. The choice to limit the number to three was based on a need to present depth and clarity to the discussion of the processes of these women's reports while keeping the data manageable. Readers should be aware that there is a lack of representation of many women's experiences in the sample of autobiographies selected as subjects. Autobiographical texts were identified based on selection criteria that limited the potential selection pool. Subjects were then chosen from this selection pool based on their descriptive ability to illuminate the processes under study. It is important to retain awareness that this study has been focused exclusively on the autobiographical representations of the lives of three professional women. The interpretations presented are consistent with these women's reports of their lives and previous work on women's development but should be taken as preliminary and educational in nature. Its intent is to provide a possible interpretation of the process of women's lives and is not intended to be prescriptive for all women. The theory is rich in descriptive ability but should be compared to other descriptive studies in order to access its true veracity.

Another limitation of this study is its reliance on autobiographies as its primary data source. Triangulation of data sources in order to verify objective authenticity has not been attempted in this study thereby leaving the results open to criticisms of external validity (Gay, 1992).

Researcher's Background

A problem common to interpretive, narrative research is making obvious how much the interpreter's bias contaminated the original meaning (Elms, 1994; Gay, 1992; Josselson, 1996). Gay (1992) noted that this type of research is open to questions of objectivity as it relies on summarization based on logical analysis rather than statistical analysis. He suggests that this analytical approach can be criticized for discarding or overlooking data that does not support the researcher's hypotheses and/or personal bias. In determining the level of interpretation that a study requires, the interpreter must remember to balance subjective interpretation and scientific theory (Elms, 1994). Subjectivity, although a hallmark of interpretive work, must not be confused with expressions of the investigator's autobiography.

In beginning exploration of this topic, it becomes clear that this author must unveil herself in order to reveal the reflective lens that was used to address this topic. This paper in many ways has been a metaphorical journey to finding my own voice. Initially, I relied on the words of previous researchers to attempt to discover answers to my own question, but finding these answers unfulfilling, I began to seek out new ways to address the questions that are central to my life. These questions were formed in late night discussions with my husband on how to manage our chaotic life, a life impacted by the birth of two children while I was in graduate training and working on my dissertation.

After the birth of my first child, I found myself adrift, confused by previously unexplored and seemingly contradictory messages. As the product of women's liberation, I felt unlimited freedom to pursue my career ambitions and was surprised to feel an equally strong pull toward domesticity. The hormonal changes that I found myself going through during these years of lactation and generation affected me profoundly. I went from unexplored acceptance of what I felt were contradictory messages to looking to outside experts for clarification. After the birth of my second child, I became more comfortable with accepting and surrendering to my choice for motherhood but found myself terrified, for the first time in my life, that I might fail in my career pursuits, as I could not give full attention to both demands.

In writing this dissertation, especially as I moved toward discussing the findings and weaving them with my own experiences, I began to glimpse a merging of two identities. As I discovered the impracticality of my perception that I must juggle demands, I learn to accept comfort in my ability to blend responsibilities. I have come to realize that the facets of my life as a mother and professional do not have to be perceived as contradictory or even conflictual. Rather, fulfillment of these roles results in a life enriched by a sense of purpose and accomplishment.

My purpose in sharing my experiences is to allow myself to use my subjective perspective to focus illuminating light on the lives of the women autobiographers in this study. It is not my intent to analyze my own life; rather, I use my understanding and reflections of the process of professional women's development to know where best to place the lighting for the framed and textured portraits these women have created. My

goal is to describe how each woman framed her life's development with particular illumination on her conflicts and coping strategies.

As I presented each woman's narrative in the results section, I became intimately familiar with the fibers of her life and discovered the framework that she found to be most descriptive of her development. The success that I was able to achieve in presenting their stories was based on my ability to empathetically enter into their narrative and understand their life though their personal lens. As I discuss their collective observations, my achievement depends of my ability to channel the women's perspectives through a vessel influenced by previous research findings as well as personal experiences and insights. The goal of my endeavor is to create a focused and clarified presentation of multiple-role women's developmental processes.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This review provides an overview of the current understanding of mental health outcomes for women who maintain multiple-roles. A brief history of the changing environment that women have encountered as a result of the women's movement is included to describe the sociopolitical environment in which research has been conducted. Research is then presented which outlines the factors related to positive or negative mental health outcomes for women who manage both work and family duties. Multiple-role conflicts may be conceived of as failure of women to meet their intended goal(s). As literature of women's definition of achievement provides a basis of understanding to the nature of women's goals, its inclusion supports a comprehensive conceptualization of the nature of multiple-role conflicts. Following this discussion, several women's development theories are described in order to provide understanding of the nature of women's developmental processes. Finally, mental health outcomes for women who maintain work and domestic roles are discussed through the integration of research of the factors related to positive or negative outcomes, women's definition of achievement, and women's developmental processes. An explanation of the nature of the differences in women's mental health outcomes is postulated and areas in need of further research are outlined.

Changing Patterns of Professional Women

The number of women entering the workforce has risen significantly in recent decades. In 1950's, 70% of families lived in a traditional home with a working father and a homemaker mother (Pleck, 1985). By 1985, fewer than 10% lived in a traditional

family environment (BNA, 1986). Women's share of the labor force has grown from 38% in 1970, to 42% in 1980, and 45% in 1990. Women are expected to compose 47% of the labor force by the year 2005 (US Department of Labor, 1992). As our society shifts from a manufacturing economy to a service economy, women's participation in the workforce has increased (Oppenheimer, 1982). The rise in employment rates for women reflects the growing participation of mothers in the labor force. Women's labor force participation has increased from 46% in 1975 to 59% in 1996 (Hayge, 1997). In 1960, two-earner families comprised less than 20% of married couples with children under six; by 1985, this number had increased to more than 50% (US Bureau of the Census, 1985).

Many women internalized the feminist movement to mean accepting the male definition of achievement that is based on attaining educational, career, and financial accomplishments (Mednick & Thomas, 1993; Swiss & Walker, 1993). Indeed countless females were influenced by Betty Friedan's 1963 book The Feminine Mystique in which she assured women that it was possible to have careers like men. By the 1980's, feminists began to reconsider the widespread assumption that success for women meant following the male career path. This new position was examined in Betty Friedan's 1981 book The Second Stage that softened her previous position by telling women that they should not forget the importance of family.

Swiss and Walker (1993) conducted a survey of professional women and found that women expressed anger towards the women's movement as it only addressed their desire to have a career and failed to recognize their desire to successfully combine career with family. Many of the women in the survey reported feeling disappointed that the women's movement had taught women how to have careers like men but did not provide

examples of how to have a careers like women - i.e., combining career and family. These women faced disappointments in trying to follow the male career model while struggling with guilt of leaving their children and not receiving support from home and work.

Swiss and Walker further described the first generation of multiple-role professional mothers as Traditionalists. These women approached family and career sequentially, starting careers late after their children were grown. These women experienced the liberation of the women's movement after having started their families. They taught their daughters to believe that they could have it all; and, consequently, the daughters faced the task of proving to the male establishment that they could succeed on the male's terms. The Traditionalist's daughters then became the generation of professional women known as the Trailblazers. Swiss and Walker commented that these women have been reluctant to talk about their conflicts in combining family and career responsibilities. The Trailblazers are described as not feeling that they had a choice but to sacrifice family for career. The newest generation of females, the Achievers, is reported to be addressing the tensions that they feel by the expectations placed on them to maintain maternal and professional roles. The Achievers are beginning to ask if the traditional career models are appropriate for women. Swiss and Walker commented, "These women have achieved professional and personal balance, fulfillment, and peace of mind by recognizing and accepting that they cannot have it all - at least, not all at once" (p. 20).

Conflicts and Coping in Professional Women

Research has shown that professional women experience conflict and negative mental health outcomes (McBride, 1990; Piechowski, 1992). At odds with research on

negative outcomes related to employment is a growing body of research that has suggested that women can derive positive mental health effects from work (Crosby, 1991; Simon, 1995; Swiss & Walker). This section presents an overview of the variables associated with negative and positive mental health outcomes.

Conflicts and Negative Mental Health

Working women have reported more responsibility for family chores and domestic chores than men (Duxbury et al., 1994; Hughes & Galinsky, 1994; Wiersma & Van Den Berg, 1991). This fact received widespread media attention with the publication of The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home (Hochschild, 1989) which pointed out that women remain responsible for the majority of household responsibilities regardless of salary, hours worked, or job position. In addition, research supports a qualitative difference in women's and men's social roles beyond the number and types they occupy (Barnett & Baruch, 1985; McBride, 1990; Piechowski, 1992).

Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) proposed that the number of hours spent performing work and family duties are positively associated with role-overload. Duxbury et al.'s (1994) research on work-family conflict failed to support the proposal that increased hours result in greater conflict. These researchers found that women had higher levels of interference than did men even though they worked fewer hours in paid employment. These results suggest that a simple consideration of hours worked is inadequate in explaining role-conflict. The connection between role-overload and role-conflict was investigated by Wiersma and Van Den Berg (1991). They found that for women, non-work time spent on domestic responsibilities (i.e., greater levels of role-overload) was associated with increases in role-conflict. Barnett and Baruch (1985)

concluded that not only do women experience more role-overload, from both domestic and employment duties, but they also have more role-conflict.

Women in dual-earner households are reported to have more psychological symptoms than men from dual-earner or single-earner households (Hughes & Galinsky, 1994). Reifman et al. (1991) investigated the types of occupational and role-conflict stressors that have been associated with depressive and physical symptoms. Six indices where found to be related to negative effects; perceptions of lack of authority and influence on the job, sex discrimination, a heavy work load, work imposing on relaxation, family imposing on relaxation, and overall suffering from role-conflict. Piechowski's (1992) review of research on the mental health of women who manage domestic and career concerns indicated that mental stability health is affected by role-demands. She found negative mental health outcomes to be linked to home variables of disproportionate household and child care responsibilities and marital difficulties. Work variables related to negative outcomes included job stress, pay dissatisfaction, high workload, and inflexible schedules.

Coping and Positive Mental Health

At odds with research on the negative effects of employment for women is a growing body of research that has suggested that women can derive positive mental health effects from work. This section reviews the current understanding of the basis of positive outcomes for professional women.

Cohen and Wills (1985) suggested that social support provides a stress buffering effect. Gray et al. (1990) found that the husband's emotional support of the working wives with infants in combination with his participation in family work was most

strongly associated with positive mental health for the wives. These researchers reported that women define support in emotional terms and that women continued to do the bulk of housework and childcare. Other researchers have failed to endorse the buffering effects of social support in protecting professional women from the negative effects of stress (Parasuraman et al., 1992; Reifman et al., 1991). Wiersma and Van Den Berg (1991) indicated that a positive family environment can mediate perceptions of role-conflict even though the number of hours worked (i.e., role-overload) remains constant. According to these researchers "how one works hard (the conditions under which one lives) may affect perceptions of role-conflict as much as how hard one works (the number of tasks one performs)" (p.1214).

Although professional women are looking for strategies of how to successfully combine family and career responsibilities (Swiss & Walker, 1993); research has been slow in developing which provides flesh and blood examples of effective balancing of roles. Only a small number of researchers have provided concrete suggestions on how to manage multiple-role conflicts (Crosby, 1991; Swiss & Walker, 1993); academics apparently choosing to leave this task to popular women's magazines. However, a large body of research on mentorship relationships for women exists, which has consistently concluded that, although the value of mentors in undisputed, a shortage of mentorship opportunities is apparent (Betz, 1989; Denmark & Paludi, 1993; Eccles, 1987; Gilbert & Evans, 1985; Gilbert & Rossman, 1992; McLure & Piel, 1978; O'Donnell & Anderson, 1978; Paludi & Fankell-Hauser, 1986; Tidball, 1980; Weishaar, Green, & Craighead, 1981).

Voydanoff and Kelly (1984) found that coping seems to be associated with high income and job satisfaction, marrying later, and being able to arrange time for family activities. Hiring in-home help has been cited as a coping mechanism as it helps maximize family time and decreases feelings of being overwhelmed by household responsibilities (Swiss & Walker, 1993).

Poole and Langan-Fox (1992) conducted interviews on a sample of 45 women at age 27 who had been part of a larger study of career development at age 17. This sub-sample was chosen based on admission of conflict about combining family and career in the earlier study. In this current study, results showed that most women remained conflicted in balancing role demands although some had found ways to resolve the conflict. One strategy was to compromise by accepting a happy personal medium, realizing that they could not achieve all of their goals. Another strategy was to sacrifice, but this strategy resulted in feelings of entrapment and resistance. Not all the participants in this study were married and most did not have children, which indicates that women's work-family conflict is an issue for all women who have or are planning to have a family.

Duxbury et. al. (1994) found that women who perceived greater levels of control had lower levels of overload and perceived less interference between roles. Piechowski's (1992) review of multiple-role women's mental health outcomes reported findings that negative effects can be mediated by perceptions of control. She suggested that decision latitude and control are related to positive mental health outcomes. She concluded,

> to the extent that women perceive the demands and stresses in their lives to be controllable and their role configurations to be of their own choosing, that the nature of their work and family roles allows them to exercise decision latitude,

and that they approach stresses and conflict with instrumental, problem-focused strategies, positive outcomes were predicted (p. 137).

Simon (1995) went beyond structural explanations (e.g., gender inequalities at work and home) to investigate the psychological meaning that people place on their life roles. She promoted that distress levels of dual-earner couples can be explained in relation to the meaning they place on their roles. She interviewed couples and found that the majority of males viewed their economic contribution as the primary responsibility to the family. The women in contrast most often viewed employment as an added responsibility and felt that their primary obligations were in providing emotional support and nurturance to their families. Simon reasoned that women can be understood to have more psychological distress as they are combining two competing responsibilities - i.e., providing economic resources and providing nurturance. Men in contrast report less distress because work allows them to fulfill their primary responsibility to the family, that of economic security. Simon's study is significant because it provides an explanation as to why women suffer conflict in combining work and family, and it stresses that research on women's conflicts should consider personal perceptions of the meaning of work.

Napholz (1994) focused on women's perceptions and found that working women who perceive themselves as undifferentiated in sex-role orientation (i.e., are inconsistent in valuing own and opposite sex traits), as opposed to women who favor the traditional female, male, or androgynous roles, have higher levels of depression, lower self-esteem, and lower life satisfaction. Napholz (1995) also found that employed women who rated relationships higher than work had the lowest levels of depression and role conflict. Napholz's research suggests that happiness and satisfaction are associated with living a

lifestyle that is compatible with one's personal values or sex-role orientation. Women who were found to be happiest were those women who reported being at peace with their sex-role orientation (be that the traditional female, traditional male, or androgynous roles) and who placed highest priority on their relationships.

Maynard (1993) provided support for the premise that women find happiness and personal meaning from the nurturing roles they have in their families. She found that as the number of occupational roles increased there was a decrease in life satisfaction scores. However, when the number of family roles increased, scores on life satisfaction and occupational adjustment increased. Similarly, Wood et al. (1989) found women's feelings of well-being increased in relation to marital status. These researchers reviewed research on sex difference in experiences of well-being. They argued that most research on well-being has focused on negative affect and psychological symptomology without addressing differences in positive well-being. Using meta-analytic techniques, Wood et al. found that women reported higher levels of life satisfaction and happiness than men. In addition, marriage was found to have a positive effect on well-being for women. Wood et al. suggested that the benefit of marriage for women could be due to women being particularly skilled in emotional relationships and deriving satisfaction from the emotional experiences associated with marriage. They also addressed the societal expectations and reinforcements to be married that women experience.

Burke and McKeen (1993) found that women who combined career and family (i.e., women in multiple-roles) worked more hours in household tasks, worked fewer hours per week in paid employment, and were in lower management positions than career primary women. Women who maintained multiple-roles also reported lower job

satisfaction, job involvement, career satisfaction, and greater intention to quit than career primary women. However, women with multiple-roles reported higher life satisfaction than career-primary women. Burke and McKeen interpreted these findings to support the premise that combining multiple roles can serve an overall benefit by canceling out problems in any one area. They suggested that women who balance work and family responsibilities have greater access to relationships (i.e., family) than do career-primary women and are thereby able to more fully meet their connectedness needs.

Crosby (1991) attempted to explain the psychological benefits of maintaining multiple roles. She reviewed literature on women with work and family demands and provided a qualitative analysis of her research findings. Based on her studies she suggested the benefits of variety, amplification, and buffering protects women with multiple-roles from the obvious difficulties. According to Crosby, the variety that employment offers provides a healthy change from the tedious tasks of housework and childcare. She emphasized that variety is not the same as interruptions. Crosby wrote, "The critical distinctions lies in control. When one is in control of the schedule; variety feels like an escape from monotony . . . as the juggler is the one to control the shift in activity, variety feels fun and wholesome" (p. 99). Crosby also suggested that managing work and family demands benefits women due to amplification. She explained that as a woman comes in contact with more people, she is able to share her positive experiences and receive reinforcement from sharing happiness with more people. Crosby further indicated that not only do multiple roles augment the good but they also buffer the bad. She reported that, for some women, participation in multiple roles cancels out some of the negative events generated by a particular role, thereby improving her mental health.

Ryff (1989) explored the meaning of psychological well-being. She argued that most research on well-being has been guided by narrow conceptions of positive functioning. By analyzing various theories on psychological functioning, she developed a comprehensive conceptualization of well-being. Her study found that the various well-being theories hold a number of features in common when discussing positive functioning. Her comprehensive formulation of psychological well-being included the theory-guided dimensions of self acceptance, positive relations with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life, and personal growth. She proposed that persons with high levels of attainment in these six dimensions would be seen as having positive psychological well-being.

A new scale of psychological well-being was developed based on these six dimensions and compared with popular measures of well-being including; affect balance (Affect Balance Scale - Bradburn, 1969), life satisfaction (Life Satisfaction Index - Neugarten, Havighurst, & Tobin, 1961), self-esteem (Self-Esteem Scale - Rosenburg, 1965), morale (Revised Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale - Lawton, 1975), locus of control (subscales for internal, powerful others, and chance - Levenson, 1974), and depression (Zung Depression Scale - Zung, 1965). Factor analysis revealed that the new dimensions of self-acceptance and environmental mastery were strongly associated with life satisfaction, affect balance, morale, self-esteem and depression. She concluded that this finding indicated clear linkage of the new theory-guided definition of well-being to previous empirical studies. The dimensions of personal growth, positive relations with others, purpose in life, and autonomy were not as closely tied to previously developed

instruments revealing that key areas of psychological well-being are present in theories but have not been examined empirically.

The results from the prior indexes of well-being revealed that women scored lower than men on measures of internal locus of control and morale and higher on depression. On the newly constructed measures, women scored higher on positive relations with others. Thus, the old measures tended to portray a more dismal picture of women's mental health due to an incomplete assessment of the dimensions of psychological well-being. When the newer dimensions of well-being were added it became apparent that women possess strengths in interpersonal relationships. This finding suggests that women's relational skills may serve to mediate overall levels of emotional well-being and mental health.

Women's Definition of Achievement

Reis (1991) reviewed studies on the achievement of gifted women and reported that gifted women relate lower aspirations, lack of mentors, family responsibilities, and low self-esteem to fewer career achievements. Researchers have suggested that women's lack of achievement is due to women's tendencies to consciously and unconsciously inhibit her own success; i.e., women have a fear of success that explains their lack of achievement (Horner, 1972; Kreuger, 1984). According to these researchers, women do not hold the expectation that they will succeed in professional positions.

Eccles (1987) reviewed research on women's expectations for career success and concluded, "expectations for success may be a necessary but not sufficient condition for achievement choices" (p. 147). She offered that women tend to make career choices based on a value system that is different from males. She explains the difference as based

on gender-role socialization with the result that women make career choices based on interest in people while men tend to make choices based on interest in things. Eccles's focus on choice rather than avoidance provides a more positive understanding of women's achievement behavior.

Kaufman and Richardson (1982) explained the connection between social role expectations and choice in their writing,

> Often when analyzing women's achievements, we lose the important distinction between free choice, as in moral commitment, and forced choice, as in social powerlessness . . . . women's commitment, especially to gender roles, is located within a developmental model that stresses not only cognition (knowing what is expected) but also sentience (feeling what is expected is appropriate). (p. 136-137)

Eccles (1986, 1987) argued that the traditional definition of achievement is stereotypically masculine as it focuses on educational, career, and financial concerns and fails to account for women's development. She suggested that research should be focusing on why women make the choices that they do and move away from asking why their achievements are not the same as men. Hollinger and Fleming's (1992) research on achievement in gifted women concurred in their statement, "the focus would be on what gifted women do achieve, including nontraditional as well as traditional arenas of achievement, and what they themselves define as their own accomplishments" (p. 208).

Silverman (1995) reviewed studies on gifted women's definition of success and concluded that the definition of achievement for women is too narrow. She emphasized the necessity of including emotional/relational spheres to conceptualizations of women's

achievements, as women tend to devote their energies to these areas. Farmer (1985) has also emphasized considering women's careers and achievements in terms of the inter-relatedness of professional life with choices related to other areas of her life. Hollinger and Fleming (1992) observed,

> Women's orientation to the world is relational in nature, an orientation which influences academic, career, and all other life choices. For women, the impact of decisions or choices on significant others plays a central role in the decision-making process. Such a worldview further suggests that women may define "achievement" or "success" in ways substantially different from the traditional masculine definition. From a relational vantage-point, the growth and maturing of a significant relationship may well rival in importance and value a promotion to a corporate vice-presidency. (p. 207-208)

Hollinger and Fleming (1992) found that when gifted women were asked to list their three greatest achievements since high school, they reported personal and relational achievements as well as traditional achievements. These authors concluded, "Their responses indeed validated the need for an expanded definition of achievement that includes not only educational, career and financial accomplishments but also accomplishments that fall within other personal and interpersonal lifespheres" (p. 209).

Reis's (1995) research on gifted women similarly reported that most do not distinguish between professional and personal achievements. In addition, Reis looked at gifted women's struggles in combining professional and maternal responsibilities. She found that 47% reported being satisfied with their lives, 10% indicated dissatisfaction,

and 43% where unsure about whether or not they were satisfied. Reis observed of the ambivalent group,

> Many of these women were intensely emotional about not having the time to pursue their own gifts and the frustration that they felt in spite of personal happiness within their marriage or family life. Many cried during the interviews and discussed the guilt that they felt because they were not happy despite a happy family life. Others have given up their dreams and goals because they consider them to be selfish or because they believe they cannot pursue the dreams they had when they were young. (p. 167-168)

In a study of women scientist's experience in establishing careers, Subotnik and Arnold (1995) noted the genuine difficulties these women faced in balancing family and career affected their level of scientific achievement. It is observed that relationships serve as "either brakes or supports to continuing professional achievement" (p. 59). Life satisfaction for these women, all of whom were had achieved doctoral level education, was sought through their relationships with partners and children. The authors reported that these highly educated women "say they will not sacrifice relationships in the name of intellectual engagement, professional recognition, or service to society" (p. 60).

Women's Development Theories

Traditional theories of development have been criticized for failing to adequately explain women's developmental processes (Belenky et al., 1986; Enns, 1991; Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1987). These authors have argued that mainstream developmental theorists (e.g., Freud, Erikson, Piaget, and Kohlberg) focused on the experiences of male subjects to define "normal" development thereby devaluing women's unique experiences.

Gilligan provided a treatise of the failures of developmental theorists including Sigmond Freud and Erik Erickson in her 1982 book, In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development. She described Freud's developmental theory as stemming from the male child experiencing and resolving the Oedipus complex. Gilligan explained that Freud initially tried to fit women into his model but found that girls remained attached to their mothers instead of resolving the Oedipus complex by separating, as did males. Instead of considering this a developmental difference, Freud expounded the belief that this difference amounted to a developmental failure for girls. Gilligan argued that Freud promoted the view that successful development is based on separation but failed to recognize that continued connection is the hallmark of women's development.

Gilligan also argued against Erikson's stages of psychosocial development. She contended that Erikson followed Freud's masculine bias in his assumption that the goal of development is individuation. She expressed this view by pointing out that "identity continues to precede intimacy as male experience continues to define his life-cycle conception . . . . The rest is separateness, with the result that development itself comes to be identified with separation, and attachments appear to be developmental impediments" (p. 12-13).

This section focuses on recent advances in the understanding of the unique process of women's development. Included are Carol Gilligan's (1982) work on moral development, Ruthellen Josselson's (1987) examination of identity development, Belenky et al.'s (1986) studies on women's ways of knowing, and Powell and Mainiero's (1992) theory of women's career development.

Women's Moral Development - Carol Gilligan

Gilligan borrowed heavily from the work of Nancy Chodorow (1974, 1978) in offering an explanation as to why females have strong relationship needs. According to Chodorow, male and female development progresses differently based on the nature of maternal relationships. She postulated that mothers view their female children as similar whereas male children are viewed as opposites. Female development was then described as a process of remaining attached to the mother while male development depended on separating from the mother. Gilligan wrote,

> Consequently, relationships, and particularly issues of dependency, are experienced differently by women and men. For boys and men, separation and individuation are critically tied to gender identity since separation from the mother is essential for the development of masculinity. . . . Since masculinity is defined through separation while femininity is defined through attachment, male gender identity is threatened by intimacy while female gender identity is threatened by separation. Thus males tend to have difficulty with relationships, while females tend to have problems with individuation. (p. 8)

Gilligan argued that the moral development theories of Piaget and Kohlberg were based on the study of the evolution of male's moral reasoning. According to Gilligan, these traditional, male-oriented theories are centered on an assumption that justice and rights define morality. Piaget's and Kohlberg's morality models promoted that moral maturity is based on application of abstract laws and universal principles in order to solve dilemmas in an objective and just manner. Gilligan's theory of moral development provides an alternative to the concept of morality as justice by proposing the concept of

morality as care. She maintained that females tend to view moral problems based on "conflicting responsibilities rather than competing rights" (p. 19). She asserted, "this conception of morality as concerned with the activity of care centers moral development around the understanding of responsibility and relationships, just as the conception of morality as fairness ties moral development to the understanding of rights and rules" (p. 19).

Gilligan's theory of moral development is based on results obtained in a series of three studies. Each study included the same set of questions and relied on interview procedures. The first study explored identity and moral development of early adulthood and used college students as the subjects. Twenty-five students were randomly selected and interviewed as sophomores and five years later. The second study examined the experiences and thoughts of a group of twenty-nine women who were considering an abortion. The purpose of this study was to study how these women thought about resolving moral dilemmas. The final study involved a matched set of males and females to explore gender differences in moral reasoning.

In a Different Voice provides a detailed accounting of the results of these studies. Based on the outcomes of the three studies, Gilligan concluded that morality development based on care and responsibility describes more accurately women's development than do theories of morality based on justice and rights. She proposed, "women impose a distinctive construction on moral problems, seeing moral dilemmas in terms of conflicting responsibilities" (p. 105).

Gilligan outlined three stages of moral development based on the morality of care. In the first stage, the person is concerned with survival and self-interest. A transition

occurs when the person comes to view survival as a selfish perspective. At the second level, the person's focus is on goodness, which is construed as responsibility to others. The third and final stage comes after a period of transition in which the person recognizes the legitimacy of his or her own concerns. In this final stage, the person achieves "a reflective understanding of care as the most adequate guide to the resolution of conflicts in human relationships" (p. 105). Gilligan eloquently commented,

> The changes described in women's thinking about responsibility and relationships suggest that the capacity for responsibility and care evolves through a coherent sequence of feelings and thoughts. As the events of women's lives and of history intersect with their feelings and thought, a concern with individual survival comes to be branded as "selfish" and to be counterpoised to the "responsibility" of a life lived in relationships. And in turn, responsibility becomes, in its conventional interpretation, confused with a responsiveness to others that impedes a recognition of self. The truths of relationships, however, return in the rediscovery of connection, in the realization that self and other are interdependent and that life however valuable in itself, can only be sustained by care in relationships. (p. 126-127)

Gilligan concluded her book with an observation that morality development based on justice and care reach consensus in the final stage. Both developmental paths conclude with complimentary realizations about the destruction that inequality and lack of care can promote. Gilligan promoted in her book that women's moral reasoning developed from their relatedness to their mothers and is evidenced by a sense of responsibility to care for their relationships.

Recent studies have disputed Gilligan's claim that gender results in differential morality development paths. Colby and Damon (1987) addressed Gilligan's assumption that there is a clear distinction between the life orientations of men and women. These authors provided a review of literature on gender role orientation differences and concluded that although some authors have reported sex differences in social behavior, achievement orientation, and career choices, other authors have found only slight or nonexistent differences. Colby and Damon cautioned that Gilligan's promotion of gender differences as universal reinforces gender stereotypes and thereby maintains women's oppression. Donenberg and Hoffman (1988) supported Gilligan's findings that moral decision making styles based on justice and care exist as two distinct processes but failed to support findings of gender differences. These researchers found that men and women use both decision-making styles. Ford and Lowery (1986) further found that men and women consider morality based on justice and care to be equal. Lyons (1983) similarly reported that when men define themselves in terms of connection, they tend to use the ethic of care instead of the ethic of justice to frame moral judgments.

Women's Identity Development - Ruthellen Josselson

In the book, Finding Herself: Pathways to Identity Development in Women, Ruthellen Josselson (1987) developed a model of women's identity development based on Marcia's (1966) four potential outcomes of Erikson's (1968) identity stage of psychosocial development. Marcia (1966) proposed that in order for development to progress from child to adult identity, the person must face conflict or confusion. He went on to define four types of identity formation. A young person can bypass the identity stage by adopting parentally dictated standards and values. This person would be

considered to be an Identity Foreclosure type. A person who is continuing to grapple with identity questions and commitments is described as a Moratorium type. Identity Achievement is used to describe a person who has resolved questions of choice and has committed to a way of being. If a person avoids conflict, he remains in what Marcia calls the Identity Diffusion phase. This person has not made choices or commitments based on personal beliefs and could be considered a drifter.

Josselson conducted research on women's identity development in order to examine how women's identity status in early adulthood is related to later life choices. During the early 1970s, she interviewed 60 women age 20-21 who were completing their senior year in college. She then conducted a follow-up study 12 years later with 34 of the original subjects.

Eight women were classified as Foreclosure Identity in the first study and all eight remained Foreclosure Identity in the follow-up study. These women placed high value on the security found in family and their lives seemed to be devoted to efforts to reproduce family as they had experienced it as children. These women were described as hardworking and responsible and were most likely to have obtained higher degrees. Foreclosure Identity women reported few mental health problems. Josselson wrote, "They cling to others, but they are strivers. Their universe is somewhat narrow, yet they contribute to society . . . . Their lives are dominated by a strong sense of family, tradition, and moral values" (p. 62).

Seven of eight women remained Identity Achievement from the initial to follow-up study. These women evidenced identities that were examined and evaluated based on personal values and goals. These women had chosen life plans based on amalgamating

the parts that they were with parts that they choose to become. They were found to be equally as likely to primarily pursue career or family. Psychologically they were reported to be flexible, open to experiences, internally motivated, and evidenced few mental health difficulties. These women were realistic about what was out of their control but were confident to effect what could be controlled. Identity Achievement women placed high value on maintaining relationships. Josselson commented, "Their growth is best described as a process of ongoing rapprochement: moving forward, touching base, moving forward in a rhythm that continues into adulthood" (p. 187).

Moratorium Identity women gave up traditional, relational anchors to explore alternative identities and atypical roles. These women were deeply interested in philosophical issues and tended to be quite insightful. Moratorium Identity women were found to report greater mental health distress than Foreclosure Identity and Identity Achievements by evidencing lower self-esteem and higher anxiety. Josselson explained these findings as related to society's lack of tolerance for women experimenting with atypical identities and/or roles. Josselson suggested that these women experienced external pressures to conform and internal feelings of guilt from deviating from the norm. By the follow-up study, most women had attempted to resolve this conflict by returning to a more traditional lifestyle based on childhood values and appeared behaviorally similar to Foreclosure Identity women.

During college years, women who were classified as Identity Diffusion were consistently highest in mental distress. These women were described as adrift and lost and comprised a diverse group. Persons with severe psychopathology and previous developmental deficits fit within this category. These women lacked positive

identifications with paternal figures. Josselson concluded, "The absence of identity crisis in this group seemed to be attributable to their lack of any solid, workable psychic structure to reorganize" (p. 142). Others in this category drifted between Moratorium and Diffusion in that they vacillated between grappling with life issues and giving up. Still others appeared to function as drifters as this was the model that was presented by parental figures. Josselson remarked, "the researchers had the impression that they would have been Foreclosures if only their parents had provided them with something to foreclose on" (p. 142). Results of the follow-up interview suggested that members of the Identity Diffusion group did not to learn from experience and tended to maintain a reactionary approach to life. Women who had escaped the Diffusion identity typically used external influence to organize themselves internally. They tended not to trust themselves so they abdicated authority to external agents to provide structure. Two of the sixteen original members of this group had died before the follow-up study - one due to suicide. Josselson commented on the resolutions strategies of this group, "either they became overwhelmed by the options, lost in the sea of choice after having severed their moorings, or else they swam to a safe shore to avoid drowning" (p. 167).

Josselson proposed that women's identity formation may be conceptualized as falling on a separation-individuation continuum. She suggested that Foreclosure Identity women showed the greatest attachment to relationships while Moratorium Identity and Diffusion Identity status women evidenced the least attachment to relationships. Identity Achievements women were thought to demonstrate a healthy balance between relatedness and separateness.

Anchoring is a concept that Josselson used to describe the separation-individuation process. When a woman separates from the childhood identity and relationships, another anchor or relationship is found. She illustrated this concept by discussing how Moratorium Identity women cast off childhood relationship in favor of new relationships, causes, or career goals.

Josselson found four areas in which anchoring occurs: primary family, husband/children, career, and friends. Foreclosure Identity women are described as having anchors in the primary family while Identity Achievements tended to find anchors in husband and children. Josselson found career to be an anchor for only a few women in her study even though most worked. She interpreted this finding as suggesting that career identity is secondary to women's relational identity. The women who did find anchor in career reported a mentor relationship existed. Anchoring in work then depended on the availability of a personal relationship based in caring and encouragement. Due to a lack of mentors, most women relied on husbands to fulfill this role. Josselson observed, "For a women to anchor herself importantly in work, her work has to matter to someone who matters to her" (p. 177). Friendship was also an anchoring possibility, but it tended to be used only when others had been rendered unattainable.

Josselson concluded by stressing that relatedness is more central to identity development in women than career ambition. She promoted that work has meaning as far as it satisfies women's goals of helping and relating to others. Josselson contended, "Work is thus translated into relational terms and enjoyed on that basis. For these women, self-esteem is based primarily on how they are doing in the family; work identity

is tangential . . . . Contentment and happiness remain more important than ambition" (p. 190-191).

Women's Ways of Knowing - Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Turule

Belenky et al. (1986) conducted in-depth interviews with 135 women to "explore with the women their experience and problems as learners and knowers as well as to review their past histories for changing concepts of the self and relationships with others" (p. 11). The goal of their work was to discover what was important about learning and life from the women's perspective and voice.

Belenky et al. (1986) described five orientations to knowing in their book Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind. These perspectives reflect the various orientations that women reported using, but Belenky et al. stressed that they were not intended to represent a linear or hierarchical developmental process. These categories were descriptive of the women in their study and were not intended to suggest that women have different ways of knowing than men.

The first position described is one of Silence. Women categorized in this perspective did not see themselves as capable of learning. They tended to feel passive and dependent and saw authority figures as all-powerful and all-knowing. They clung to authority figures to tell them what to do and think, as they did not feel that they were capable of thinking and/or having a voice of their own. Moral judgments tended to be made based on what others told them to do. Belenky et al. described the women who were classified in the Silence perspective as "gazing outward from their own eyes. They find no vantage-point outside of the self that enables them to look backward, bringing the whole self into view" (p. 32).

The next perspective that Belenky et al. described was Received Knowledge. Women who fell into this classification learned by listening. They were open to input from others and thought of authorities as sources of truth but were afraid to give voice to their own thoughts. Their view of the world tended to be black and white with only one right answer. Moral decisions then were made based on what they thought they should and/or ought to do. These women's sense of self-worth was described in terms of helping others and denying self. They were reported to describe themselves in terms of how other people viewed them and the comments that others made about them.

The third perspective was named Subjective Knowledge. Women in this category appeared to have become aware of their inner voice and were seeking self-understanding. Knowing for these women tended to be intuitive and based on 'gut' experiences. Truth for these women resided inside the individual, which allowed the women to become their own authority. Dichotomous thinking was evident in this perspective in that the basis of right and wrong was the inner voice. Most of these women described experiences with failed male authority that resulted in a switch to a personal authority perspective. These women pointed to experiences of having had their opinions supported which allowed them to progress and continue the task of discovering self. As they grew many reported conflicts in maintaining relationships or continuing personal growth. This perspective involved a moving away from connections with others in order to develop a personal connection with self. Women who were classified in this perspective were typically making major lifestyle changes such as divorce, sexual-orientation, or career shifts. These women tended to be struggling to define themselves not only as what they were but also as what they were not, and therefore they reflected confusion in self-definitions.

Procedural Knowledge was the fourth perspective that Belenky et al. described. Women who were categorized in this perspective used a definite system or orientation to knowing and understanding their world. Belenky et al. presented two systems that women use: separate knowing based on reasoning and connected knowing based on empathy.

Separate knowers exemplified impersonal reasoners. They tended to be critical thinkers and assumed that everyone may be wrong, including herself. They developed dexterity in using analytic and evaluative arguments, as they were unable to express their positions unless couched in method. Authority to these women was based on one's ability to communicate with objective reason and retain freedom from personal feelings. These women attempted to extinguish self in order that reason could flourish.

Connected knowers were similar to Subjective knowers in that they considered wisdom and truth to be the products of personal experiences. But unlike Subjective knowers who considered truth to found in self, Connected knowers considered truth to be found in others. Connected knowers were motivated to understand others and developed skill in seeing the perspectives of others. They sought to remain objective and free from personal bias in their use of empathy as a tool to understand others. These women retained a non-judgmental stance in order to refrain from asserting superiority or losing connection with others. Authority for these women was based on commonality of experiences. These women attempted to extinguish self so that others could flourish.

Separate knowers and Connected knowers both fell within the Procedural perspective because these women emphasized procedures, skills, and techniques to describe the process of knowing. Separate knowers relied on reason thereby denying their

own subjective opinions. Connected knowers relied on empathy to "understand other people's ideas in the other people's terms rather than in their own terms" (p. 1240). Both relied on the authority of form to express their ideas. To them, "Form predominates over content" (p. 95). They often doubted themselves, as they did not feel personal authority. Received Knowledge women relied on the authority of others while Subjective Knowledge women held to their personal authority. Procedural Knowledge women depended on the authority of the techniques of their system and mastery of skills in order to speak. Both Separate knowers and Connected knowers relied on systems of knowing that take years of practice to master. Therefore, Procedural Knowledge women often remained silent and when they did speak they were careful to speak in the voice of the "system". The result was women who spoke in a measured tone and were estranged from personal feelings and input. Belenky et al. wrote, "There is a chillingly academic quality to this position" (p. 95). They further added,

> Women who rely on procedural knowledge are systematic thinkers in more than one sense of the term. Their thinking is encapsulated within systems. They can criticize a system, but only in the system's terms, only according to the system's standards. Women at this position may be liberals or conservatives, but they cannot be radicals. (p. 127)

Constructed Knowledge was the final perspective examined. Belenky et al. provided the following description of the women in this category;

> These women were all articulate and reflective people. They noticed what was going on with others and cared about the lives of people about them. They were intensely self-conscious, in the best sense of the word - aware of their own

> thought, their judgments, their mood and desires. Each concerned herself with issues of inclusion and exclusion, separation and connection; each struggled to find a balance of extremes in her life. Each was ambitious and fighting to find her own voice – her own way of expressing what she knew and cared about. Each wanted her voice and actions to make a difference to other people in the world . . . . (they) had learned the profound lesson that even the most ordinary human being is engaged in the construction of knowledge. (p. 133)

Women who utilized the Constructed Knowledge perspective were seeking to integrate objective and subjective knowledge by using their personal feelings, opinions, and observations to raise questions and create new ways of thinking. These women cherished the objectivity of analytic thought as well as the subjectivity of personal experience and strove for a balance of the two perspectives. They tended to embrace ambiguity and complexity and were motivated to "develop a voice of their own to communicate to other their understanding of life's complexity" (p. 137). Constructed Knowledge women were not trapped in systems bound thought but were able to move freely between various epistemological perspectives for their own use.

Belenky et al. suggested that Constructed Knowledge evolved most easily from the Procedural Knowledge - Connected Knowing perspective. Constructed Knowledge allowed for passionate knowing - "knowers who enter into a union with that which is to be known" (p. 141). Connected knowers were open to others ideas but required an awakening of openness to self to become passionate knowers (i.e., a person who is able make a connection between the object she is trying to understand and herself).

Many women classified as in the Constructed Knowledge perspective described frustrations related to finding their own voice while realizing that society was resistant to their message. Belenky et al. reported that most felt "a special responsibility to try to communicate to both men and women how they view things and why they value what they do, even though they feel that their works may fall on deaf ears" (p. 147). The authors further reported that these women, "learn to live with compromise and to soften ideals that they find unworkable. Nevertheless, they set an example of a refreshing mixture of idealism and realism" (p. 152).

Women's Career Development – Powell and Mainiero

Researchers maintain that the complicity of women's career development has not been fully addressed in most career development literature (Astin, 1984; Gilligan, 1982; Powell & Mainiero, 1992; Rossi, 1980). Newer theories are becoming available which have identified key elements that should be considered when discoursing on women's career development patterns. This section provides a brief overview of key factors that are thought to influence women's careers. In addition, Powell and Mainiero's (1992) theory of women's career development is presented as a conceptual framework for understanding the fluid nature of women's career development.

Factors Influencing Women's Career Development

Powell and Mainiero (1992) provided a framework for organizing the factors that influence women's career development. They suggested that these factors could be categorized as personal, organizational, and societal.

Personal factors.

The cognitive component of women's career development has been considered an important construct by Weitzman (1994). She examined multiple-role realism as a construct for describing young women's plans for combining career and family responsibilities. Weitzman's review of the literature concluded that studies have consistently found that young women are anticipating involvement in both career and family roles but there is little known about how these young women are planning for the combination. She proposed a model of multiple-role realism which contained three components: Attitude Toward Multiple-Role Planning (certainty of ability to combine multiple roles, commitment to multiple roles, independence, involvement, flexibility), Multiple-Role Knowledge (awareness of consequences of career interruption, employer leave policies, negotiation and communication techniques, cost and availability of childcare, and anticipated multiple-role conflict), and Multiple-Role Planning (plans for career involvement, plans for career interruption, plans for partner assistance and support, timing of family, and size of family). Weitzman writes, "A better understanding of realism . . . can provide the basis for a satisfying and workable multiple-role life-style, as opposed to one where unrealistic attempts to fulfill role obligation result in unwanted personal sacrifice" (p. 23).

Another personal factor investigated regards women's work motivation. This concept is closely linked to achievement and involves work on gender differences and career choice (Powell & Mainiero, 1992). These researchers concluded, "women do not seem to have less work or career motivation than men as much as a different perspective concerning what a career means" (p. 225).

Rossi (1980) emphasized the importance of biological factors in determining women's career patterns. She posited that because of the unique capacity for pregnancy and lactation, women have instinctive, hormonal responses toward caretaking that affects her development patterns. As such, parenting demands are understood to effect women to a greater degree than men. How a woman deals with career interruptions, the timing of parenthood, partner's supportiveness, and management of work-family conflicts are factors that should be considered in conceptualizing women's career patterns (Powell & Mainiero, 1992).

Organizational factors.

Powell and Mainiero (1992) divide organizational factors into four types: "(a) practices regarding alternative work schedules and family supports; (b) initial staffing decisions; (c) career pathing and promotion decisions; and (d) mentoring, networking, and feedback practices" (p. 225). They suggested that these external influences create positive or negative impacts on women's career development. Work organizations that are flexible in allowing career-family women flexible work schedules, but do not place constraints on career-primary women or career-family women who wish to re-establish as career-primary, are most beneficial to promoting positive development. A review of the literature on initial staffing decisions concluded that women often find their prospects for career advancement limited due to lower level entry jobs that allow little room for upward mobility. Powell and Mainiero also indicated that women are not typically drawn to careers driven by hierarchy concerns and consequently are often found following lower-status career ladders. These researchers also reviewed research on mentoring and networking opportunities and concluded that when women are restricted in their efforts to

find career support due to a lack of mentorship opportunities, the result is a lack of inside information and feedback that is needed for advancement.

Societal factors.

The impact of the societal factors of gender differences and socialization experiences has been addressed as areas of concern when conceptualizing women's career development patterns (Astin, 1984; Cook, 1993; Larwood & Gutek, 1987). Cook (1993) summarizes,

> Gender-socialized differences in achievement and relationship domains reflect the internalization of broader sociocultural notions concerning what the sexes are supposed to be like, notions that people around the individual also are likely to share to some extent. On a daily basis, women and men face different environmental opportunities, demands, and rewards, constituting the gendered context of their lives. (p. 230)

Integrated Career Development Theory - Powell and Mainiero

Brennan and Rosenzweig (1990) reviewed research on women's adult development and concluded that two avenues of development have been explored; women's achievement-oriented behavior and women's affiliation-oriented behavior. These researchers proposed that this clear delineation does not exist and maintained that development of career and relationships occur in parallel. They suggested that both must be considered to understand the complexities of women's development. Similarly, Cook (1993) stated, "Any models failing to address how women blend the two domains in their lives do not represent women's reality accurately" (p. 243).

Powell and Mainiero (1992) developed a new approach to conceptualizing women's career development that considers the personal, organizational, and societal factors that effect women. These researchers have identified four dimensions in their approach to women's careers: 1) career versus relationship emphasis, 2) success in career, 3) success in relationships, and 4) time. Powell and Mainiero present these dimensions as contributing to "Cross-Currents in the River of Time" (p. 221). They make analogy to a river by explaining that the opposite banks represent emphasis on career and emphasis on relationships with others. Success in career and success in relationships are explained as dimensions that rise from the banks of the river (i.e. the depth of the water on the bank). Time is viewed as the forward flow of the river. The inclusion of time as a dimension is explained,

> time exists in women's lives in the past, present, and future. Successes in career and in relationships with others experienced in the past influence satisfaction levels in the present. Also, present satisfaction incorporates satisfaction with what the future is expected to look like. Individual women may choose to defer present satisfaction in one realm (e.g., relationships with others) and focus on the other realm at present (e.g., career) in anticipation of greater satisfaction in the first realm at a later date. (p. 221)

As a woman experiences concern for career she is pushed toward one bank and as she experiences concern for relationships with others she is pushed toward the opposite bank. These two types of concerns comprise the "cross-currents in the river of time" (p. 222). In addition to these cross-currents, the influence of personal, organizational, and

societal factors as reviewed earlier force women to "navigate straight upstream against a number of strong currents" (p. 230).

Integration and Limitations of Research Findings

Two possible mental health outcomes are apparent in the literature on mental health outcomes for women who manage work and family roles. Some researchers reported that women in multiple roles expect negative outcomes. These findings attributed women's experiences of difficulties to being overloaded with home and work duties (Duxbury et al., 1994; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Hochschild, 1989; Hughes & Galinsky, 1994, Wiersma & Van Den Berg, 1991) and suffering emotionally from trying to comply with competing expectations from self and others (Barnett & Baruch, 1985; Duxbury et al., 1994; Wiersma & Van Den Berg, 1991). Additionally, research has found several specific areas of difficulty including: perceived lack of control, sex discrimination, work and family imposing on relaxation, job stress, marital difficulties, pay dissatisfaction, inflexible schedules, discomfort with sex-role orientation, and a felt need to sacrifice personal goals (Napholz, 1994; Piechowski, 1992; Poole & Langan-Fox, 1992; Reifman et al., 1991).

Other researchers have advanced that women who maintain careers and families can achieve positive mental health outcomes. These researchers have addressed issues related to positive results. Supporting evidence includes social support (i.e., being married, having husband's and families emotional support, mentor relationships) (Betz, 1989; Cohen & Wills, 1995; Denmark & Paludi, 1993; Eccles, 1987; Gilbert & Evans, 1985; Gilbert & Rossman, 1992; Gray et al., 1990; Maynard, 1993; McLure & Piel, 1978; O'Donnell & Anderson, 1978; Paludi & Fankell-Hauser, 1986; Tidball, 1980; Weishaar,

Green, & Craighead, 1981; Wiersma & Van Den Berg, 1991; Wood et al., 1989), in-home help (Swiss & Walker, 1993), comfort in sex-role choice (Napholz, 1994, 1995), and perception of personal control (Crosby, 1991; Duxbury et al., 1994; Piechowski, 1992). Further, Voydanoff and Kelly (1984) found allowing time for family activities, high income, job satisfaction, and marrying later to be related to positive outcomes.

Research on women's perceptions of role meaning has indicated that women report stress when they perceive work to conflict with their desire to maintain nurturing, relational bonds with their families (Maynard, 1993; Napholz, 1995; Simon, 1995; Wood et. al., 1989). Simon (1995) found women's sense of balance to be related to having a clear perception of the meaning of their work. She advanced that women felt psychological stress as they were simultaneously trying to fulfill the family's need for economic resources as well as providing emotional nurturance. Ryff's (1989) work on psychological well-being indicated that women's strengths in relational skills may help to mediate overall emotional well-being.

After collecting and summarizing research results on professional women's mental health outcomes, two possible outcomes for women who choose to combine career and family duties are clear. This type of dichotomous thinking appears simplified and over-generalized, suggesting that a more comprehensive explanation is needed. Thus an examination of women's achievement and development processes was necessitated. Inclusion of these two areas of thought were beneficial in allowing for understanding to the nature of women's goals and the paths that she may take to reach those goals.

Literature on women's definition of achievement allows that conceptualization of women's goals is marred by the tendency of researchers to expect women to fit the same

standards for achievement as men (Eccles, 1986; Farmer, 1985; Hollinger & Fleming, 1992; Reis, 1995; Silverman, 1995; Subotnik & Arnold, 1995). Research on women's definition of achievement began by asking why women did not achieve as did males but has now begun to recognize that women have a different definition of achievement, e.g. women have a different goal in mind. The research reviewed has shown that women's definition of achievement is based on obtaining satisfaction in all life domains by maintaining a balance in family and professional responsibilities. Women's relational priorities were found to shape definitions of success. Achievement for women was found to be primarily affected by issues of interrelatedness (Farmer, 1985: Hollinger & Fleming, 1992; Reis, 1995; Subotnik & Arnold, 1995). Success was understood to be defined by relational as well status spheres (Silverman, 1995).

Women's achievement in professional careers and family relations appears to be best explained in terms of women's tendencies to view success in terms of balance. Achievement for women may be conceptualized as holding career concerns in one hand and family concerns in another. The woman then serves as the fulcrum, maintaining her sense of balance through consideration of her responsibility to support two opposing forces. Her goal is understood as maintaining a sense of balance, successfully holding up two responsibilities without becoming overwhelmed by the weight. A woman struggles to hold onto her two responsibilities without losing her grip. She appears to judge her success by how well she manages to care for professional and family demands.

In seeking to understand possible mental health outcomes of women who find themselves trying to fulfill the demands of multiple roles, it is necessary to learn about women's development processes. A comparison of the four development theories

presented earlier in this literature review is presented in Table I. This table provides a conceptualization of the similarities between the women's development models previously reviewed in this chapter by demonstrating the overlapping relational themes.

Table I

Relationships Between Self-Other Concerns and Development Theories

Concern	Development Theories			
	Moral Devlp Gilligan (1982)	Identity Devlp Josselson (1987)	Forms of Knowing Belenky et al. (1986)	Career Devlp Powell & Mainiero (1992)
Self	Individual Survival	Moratorium	Silence Subjective Knowing	Career Concern
	Morality of Care	Achievement	Constructed Knowing	
Other	Concern for Others	Foreclosure	Received Knowing Procedural Knowing	Relational Concern

Table I will be discussed by expanding the Powell and Mainiero "Cross-Currents in the River of Time" conceptualization of women's developmental processes. For the sake of discussion, the "riverbanks" can be thought of as the two orientations of concern (i.e., self or others). The cross-currents then become described as the life circumstances which impact and shape a woman's life. A woman's developmental progressions becomes the path that she follows in the river while her developmental perspective is her position in the river at a specific point in time.

Individual concerns were evident in the four developmental theories that were examined. Gilligan's morality stage of Individual Survival exemplifies women whose worldview is impacted by personal survival concerns. Josselson's category of Moratorium identity typifies women who are too immobilized by personal anxieties to achieve a sense of personal balance. Belenky et al.'s (1986) descriptions of self-concerns were evident in the perspectives of Silence and Subjective knowing. Women in the Silence category were unaware of their own voice and appeared to be primarily motivated toward self-survival. Subjective Knowledge women were described as enamored with their own voice and unconcerned with the input of others. Powell and Maineiro's discussion of Career Concerns are recognized as the life events and decisions that advance traditional achievement goals; i.e., self-concerns.

Women's development theories also provide descriptions of women who are primarily motivated by concern for others. Gilligan's stage of Concern for Others is manifest by women's felt responsibilities to the well-being of others. Women who fell into the Foreclosure Identity category appeared to accept the standards and values of others; e.g., family and society. The categories of Received Knowledge and Procedural Knowledge depict women who look to outside authority to provide mechanism, timber, and tempo to their voices. Powell and Mainiero's riverbank of Relational Concerns is viewed as a woman's interactions with and responsibilities to the demands of others.

Women's development theories are unified by the assertion that continued connection is the hallmark of development. Positive outcome studies have forthrightly commented that the benefits obtained from multiple-roles are related to maintenance of relational bonds (Burke & McKeen, 1993; Crosby, 1991; Gray et al, 1990; Maynard,

1993; Napholz, 1995; Simon, 1995; Voydanoff & Kelly, 1984; Wood et al., 1989; Wiersma & Van Den Berg, 1991) and a sense of clarity regarding her sex-role choice (Napholz, 1994, 1995; Simon, 1995). It follows that previous research which supports negative outcomes could be viewed as a result of failure to remain connected to relationships and/or confusion regarding the meaning of her roles. Negative mental health may be attributable to losing contact with relationships and a sense of personal meaning.

A woman's goal, or achievement, depends on the woman's subjective appraisal of how well she maintains balance. Research suggests that the mechanism of retaining balance is to remain connected. This means that a woman grasps the importance of focusing on personal concerns as well as the concerns of others. Her goal, typically thought of in terms of a place, is to remain in the middle, having access to both self and others, but living her life in the by floating in the water between the contradictions. If the goal of achievement is to retain a sense of balance while remaining connected to self (i.e., career) and other (i.e., family) concerns, then a position between the extremes would most likely depict advanced development; i.e., morality of care, constructed knowing, and achievement identity.

Gilligan's work in moral development has hypothesized that women's development follows a path from concern for self to concern for others to integration of self/other concerns. If this assumption is correct, it follows that the other developmental models would follow similar developmental progressions. Specifically, a person might progress from the identity perspective of Moratorium to Foreclosure to Achievement. Or

a person's approach to understanding and knowing about her world might progress from the perspective of Silence to Received Knowledge to Constructed Knowledge.

Literature on women's achievement and development suggests that there are two "riverbanks" (i.e., orientations of concern), with women displaying specific developmental behaviors on each. One "bank" seems to be traveled by women who are concerned with self, the other with women focused on the needs of others. What remains unknown is how women can travel between orientations, how they maneuver through the currents, and what navigational tools are most effective. Women's development theories suggest various positions that women may find themselves passing through, but they have been quiet on discussions of the sequence and process of developmental movement. These theories have provided descriptions of specific developmental categories, or perspectives, but they have not been able to describe how a woman reacts to the crosscurrents that she experiences in river of life (Powell & Mainiero, 1992).

Areas in Need of Further Research

Currently, the construct of multiple-role conflict is defined by the factors which have been found to be related to it. However, these relationships do little in providing a clear definition of the construct. Research is needed which can address the types of conflicts that women face and the strategies that they employ to manage areas of difficulty. Questions that remain to be answered include; What is the etiology and evolution of multiple-role conflicts? Are there different types of conflicts or are do all women experience similar feelings? What types of coping strategies are more or less effective in managing feelings of conflict?

In addition to construct clarification, there appears to have been little attempt by researchers to provide a developmental explanation for women's experiences of conflicts. Addition of a developmental component might enable clarification of how the relationships between feelings of conflict and the strategies that women enlist to manage these feelings are related to developmental movement. It has been suggested that as women progress to advanced developmental perspectives, they are able to find coping strategies which allow for a sense of balance between needs of self and others. Balance, achieved by exploration of the ambiguous territory between the two contradictory demands, has been hypothesized to reduce multiple-role conflicts and promote positive mental health outcomes for women who manage work and family duties. If the experiences of conflicts or coping are associated with a woman's ability to successfully maintain balance, or a sense of connection to the demands of self and the demands of others, what remains unclear is how a woman manages to maintain these connections. Research studies are needed that can directly assess the connection between the sense of balance, which is found through priority valuation of relationships, and improved ability to manage multiple-role conflicts. Specifically, studies are needed which have a mechanism to assess if there are reductions in conflicts and/or changes in coping strategies as a woman reaches advanced developmental perspectives.

Women's development theories have been instrumental in describing possible developmental perspectives, however, understanding of snapshot, a static picture of development, is not enough. The passage of time in a life must be depicted in order to understand the moments of motion and periods of quiet contemplation. This perspective allows for the entirety of a woman's life to be described. By bringing into focus the

context of a woman's life, a context which includes the passage of time as well as life experiences, it becomes possible to address the effectiveness of personal coping strategies in her attempts to manage work and family duties. In this manner, women's developmental paths can be described. This description would go beyond describing a woman's achievements, or goals. Description of the temporal dimension of women's lives is needed in order to provide discussion regarding how women make choices in directing their life's destination.

Current understandings of women's experiences have been impacted by the research methodologies that have been employed. Discussions on this topic appear to have rushed to identification of elements related to experiences of conflicts, perhaps through methodological ease, without proper exploration of the developmental nature of the construct. In considering research on women's conflicts, it is interesting to note that none of the studies that cited negative mental health outcomes used qualitative approaches. This finding indicates that quantitative methods are not fully adequate for the study of women's lives. Quantitative methods provide an incomplete picture of women's lives, as they cannot fully account for the interplay between forces. Conversely, qualitative methodologies are appropriate to the identification and description of process variables related to the construct of multiple-role conflicts. In addition, the developmental nature of women's lives can best be described by using qualitative techniques which seek to explain the probable relationships between women's life experiences, feelings of conflicts, attempts to manage these feelings and subsequent developmental progression, regression, or stagnation. Regarding the ability of qualitative discourse to suggest causal explanations, Miles and Huberman (1994) write,

> We consider qualitative analysis to be a very powerful method for assessing causality. . . . Qualitative analysis, with its close-up look, can identify mechanisms, going beyond sheer association. It is unrelentingly local, and deals wells with the complex network of events and processes in a situation. It can sort out the temporal dimension, showing clearly what preceded what, either through direct observation or retrospection. It is well equipped to cycle back and forth between variables and processes - showing that "stories" are not capricious, but include underlying variables, and that variables are not disembodied, but have connection over time. (p. 147).

In order to understand women's choices, the individual voice becomes necessary. Only the individual can speak with authority about how her life developed in relation to her personal experiences. Perhaps the greatest need is to provide a flesh and blood example of how to manage and make meaning out of life's countless demands. The woman who lived the life is the only source that can provide information on how she managed her life and how she created a sense of meaning along her life path. She was the one who could provide the context and sense of movement to her developmental journey. Research methodologies are needed which can survey and describe individual lives, hearing from a woman's subjective perspective how multiple-role conflicts came to be and how they were handled over a lifetime. The individual is called upon to provide a causal explanation to the temporal bound components of her life. By listening to and amplifying individual voices, it becomes possible to test the validity and clarity of the hypothesis that there are, as developmental theories seem to predict, reductions in conflicts as a woman reaches advanced development. Additionally, one would be able to assess if the goal of

women's life achievement can be recognized and described with any sense of common destination.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter provides a description of and rationale for the research method utilized in this study. The methodological strategy described in this chapter enables a descriptive investigation of the nature of conflicts that women who maintain family and career duties experience. In addition, the research strategies provide a means to explore the effectiveness of various types of coping strategies and how they are related to developmental processes. The chapter begins with a review of the literature on the study's theoretical research design and follows with a description of the research methodology utilized in this study. The rationale and purpose of the particular research strategies and protocols that were utilized in this study are reviewed in detail.

Theoretical Research Perspective

In studying gifted women's issues and development, Hollinger and Fleming (1993) pointed out that the complexities of women's lives render even the most advanced multivariate analyses insufficient. They concluded, "more naturalistic methodologies may provide a necessary complement to traditional research method in pursuing the many unanswered questions about the lifespan development of gifted women" (p. 160). Similarly, Josselson (1995) concluded, "To study whole persons, we cannot rely on logical positivist methods that isolate simple factors and trace their effects through statistical analysis. Such analysis aims for elucidating universals but effaces the intending individual" (p. 29).

Studying women's lives benefit from subjective, qualitative techniques that are able to portray the holistic context of a woman's life. These techniques are needed in

order to access women's subjective perceptions, her interpretations of the interplay between the forces that make up her life. This interpretation is at the heart of understanding women's experiences.

Hermeneutics is an interpretative strategy that allows for the analysis of texts in their contexts (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998). Simply put, hermeneutics refers to the art and science of interpretation. The approach maintains that the context in which a text was written must be considered in producing an interpretation of its meaning. Josselson (1995) shares, "The essential message of hermeneutics is that to be human is to mean, and only by investigating the multifaceted nature of human meaning can we approach the understanding of people" (p. 43). Bentz and Shapiro (1998) explain that hermeneutics is an approach that gives description and meaning to the fabric of data, and is not intended to predict or control some event. Findings provide a sense of contextual awareness and perspective. They write, "Hermeneutics is a reverse epistemology from research processes devoted to the prediction and control of the behavior of others. The hermeneutic inquirer is the object of change" (p. 107). They continue by explaining,

> Hermeneutics is fundamentally nonobjective (in the standard "scientific" sense of studying independent "objects") in that it assumes the observer is part of the stream of understanding within which the phenomenon is to be understood. Observer and observed are both embedded in historical contexts through which any interpretations must be conducted. (p. 110)

Descriptions of reality are arrived at through the process of mutual interpretive agreement. An interpretive approach allows the questions of how women manage work and family responsibilities to be answered by giving examples of individual coping

strategies and an appraisal of their effectiveness. In understanding multiple perspectives, it is imperative to understand that each person has her own interpretation of the events. By following a hermeneutic perspective instead of an empirical perspective, one comes to hear many descriptions. Hermeneutics, or interpretive strategies, rely on blending many perspectives. It requires looking at a subject from many views, including from the view of the subject. Subjectivity is then embraced and respected as a viable mechanism for understanding and knowing.

But, hermeneutics is more than subjectivity. It is the ability to move to-and-fro, thinking in objective ways, reflecting in subjective ways. It relies on not being caught in one mode, but rather moving back and forth, checking and rechecking for understanding. This dialogical character of returning back to the object for further study, forming interpretations, checking back with object, checking with self, and forming new interpretations is how meaning is achieved. Bentz and Shapiro (1998) describe, "We "dialogue" with the phenomenon to be understood, asking what it means to those who create it, and attempt to integrate that with its meaning to us . . . . Then, using the phenomenon, we improve the model, reflecting back and forth to create the most powerful understanding" (p. 111).

By using a hermeneutic approach, it becomes possible to understand how an individual woman makes meaning of her world. However, hermeneutics is interested in more that just presenting one's persons view. That approach is only trading the perspective of objectivity (e.g., empiricism) for subjectivity. Hermeneutics seeks to blend the subjective view with the findings of previous research, looking for areas of agreement and areas that need further investigation. Josselson (1998) describes this process as

related to psychological inquiry. She writes, "We take whatever observations we have made of the external world and, making them part of ourselves, interpret them and tell a story about what we believe we know" (p. 29).

Bentz and Shapiro (1998) submit "that the closer you are to the object, the better you are able to interpret the meanings accurately" (p. 107-108). The starting point of a hermeneutic study begins with the researcher's subjective questions. The study is the process of searching for answers. The point of validity for a hermeneutic study comes in the validity of the process, not the product. A hermeneutic study is "validated by its ability to make sense of the two contexts - subject and interpreter" (p. 112). Reality is judged by the "strength of the web." (p. 112).

Theoretical Research Design

Having discussed the research perspective that this study embraces, the discussion of the method of hermeneutic inquiry follows. Bentz and Shapiro (1998) opened the door of possibility. They write,

> There is a lot of recent hermeneutical work that comes under the rubric of narrative analysis. Narrative analysis is not in itself a culture of inquiry but rather a range of techniques for interpreting the meaning of texts with the structure of stories. (p. 115)

Narrative analysis is a widely used research technique (Amsel & Renninger, 1997; Bamburg, 1997; Bentz & Shapiro, 1998; Birran, Kenyon, Ruth, Schroots, & Svensson, 1996; Bruner, 1986; Cortazzi, 1993; Hinchman & Hinchman, 1997; Josselson & Lieblich, 1995; Lieblich & Josselson, 1994, 1997; Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, Zilber, 1998; Magai & McFadden, 1996; McAdams & Ochberg, 1988; Rabin, Zucker, Emmons, Frank, 1990;

Sarbin, 1986). The Journal of Narrative and Life History has been published since 1991 as a forum for narrative research. Narrative analysis has been accepted under several other names including; life history analysis (Erikson, 1975), narrative study of lives (Josselson & Lieblich, 1993, 1995; Lieblich & Josselson, 1994, 1997), interpretive biography (Denzin, 1989a, 1989b), psychobiography (Elms, 1994), psychohistorical analysis (Kren & Rappoport, 1976), life-story analysis (McAdams & Ochberg, 1988; Plummer, 1995), and case study (Colby, 1994).

Interest in contextualism and narrative approaches has lead to the study of individual women's lives (Bateson, 1989; Brodzki & Schenck, 1988; Personal Narrative Group, 1989) and several theories have been advance regarding ways to study women's lives (Franz & Stewart, 1994; Josselson, 1995; Gilligan, Brown, & Rogers, 1990; Josselson & Lieblich, 1995; Lieblich & Josselson, 1994, 1997; Smith & Watson, 1998). These investigators cite autobiographical writing as a valuable narrative resource for studying contextualism.

Coffey and Atkinson (1996) conceptualize autobiography as a form of narrative that relates how the past is related to the present. Time is personalized within the past and given meaning in the present. They state, "The narrative reveals the actor's own "story" of why he is where he is today" (p. 70). Birren and Birren (1996) define autobiography as,

> the history or story of a life written by the person who has experienced it. Since autobiographies contain descriptions of events as they have impacted on individuals, they provide readers with information about how lives have been

experienced and how events have been interpreted at different stages of life and in different historical eras. (p. 283)

It follows that "when researchers want to study how people understand and make sense of their lives, it is most appropriate to use data in the narrative format" (Polkinghorne, 1996, p. 92). Similarly, studying the temporal dimension of lives requires narrative data.

Numerous theories of the autobiographical format have been advanced, addressing both merits and limitations. However, as autobiography represents a specific form of narrative, it is bound to the strengths and weaknesses that are common to all forms of narrative data and interpretative research in general. These topics have been sorted into five groups in order to enhance understanding of the breadth of theoretical discourse on autobiographical writing as narrative sources.

One group of literature depicts the dialectical character of autobiographical writing. A dialogue occurs within the writer and can transform her experience, but it also has parallels in the relationship between the writer and her audience. (Ashley, Gilmore, & Peters, 1994; Folkenflik, 1993; Franz & Stewart, 1994; Josselson, 1995; Lieblich & Josselson, 1994; Smith & Watson, 1998). This literature can be conceptualized as focused discussions on the dialectical processes of hermeneutic inquiry that were previously discussed. In summary, narratives are created by a dialectical process in which memory re-creates past events to produce a sense of coherence to one's personal identity. Important events are drawn to the foreground in order to develop a narrative gestalt, a representation of the plot and meaning of one's life (Polkinghorne, 1996). This dialectical process is referred to as narrative smoothing, or changing one's story to fit one's context (Sarbin, 1986).

Another group of discussions on the autobiographical format promotes issues of connectivity. By expressing her subjective impressions, the writer forms a relationship with her reader. The reader, through empathetic connection, comes to understand the writer from the material the writer presents. Objectivity in describing life is considered subordinate to promoting subjective understanding. Issues related to women's connection to a larger community have also been examined (Ashley et al., 1994; Birren et al., 1996; Hinchman & Hinchman, 1997; Josselson & Lieblich, 1995; Lieblich & Josselson, 1994; Smith & Watson, 1998). Of particular appropriateness to the study of women's lives is the issue of connection between the autobiographer and her audience. Braham (1995) wrote,

> Since women's identity is not only defined but, more significantly, experienced in connection, women's autobiography lays particular weight on the resonant reader as validator. . . . If the story of one woman's life provides a script the reader enters, resignifies, and in some collaborative sense makes her own, then contemporary women's personal narrative chart rich new possibilities for the ways women may want to live their lives. They present forms at once fragmentary and "contextual" enough to satisfy poststructuralist ideas about the "self" and powerful enough to link a reader's consciousness to the author's testimony. Their special strength lies in their implied or directly stated invitation to enter the text both imaginatively and analytically. (p. 4)

These writings echo the warnings common to hermeneutic inquiry by stressing that subjectivity in interpretation is unavoidable and should be embraced and integrated into a more informed understanding of the relationships between objects. Narrative

approaches contend that reality is made not only of objective "objects" but that reality also relies on a person's subjective appraisal of the "object" (Bruner, 1986). This perspective acknowledges that human's actively construct reality and that all knowing is contextualized (Sarbin, 1986). The goal is to understand the fluid relationships between objects and look for temporal connections between events, thereby providing a sense of movement to the study of lives.

Another group of writings addresses the sociopolitical context of autobiographies. Social construction of personal narratives/autobiographies dictates the stories and plot themes that are told in autobiographical writing. In particular, the context dictates not only how gender is experienced, but also how it is expressed. Similarly, experiences of marginality and power differentials as expressed in autobiographical writing have been examined. (Ashley et al., 1994; Birren et al., 1996; Brodzki & Schenck, 1988; Conway, 1998; Folkenflik, 1993; Franz & Stewart, 1994; Gilmore, 1994; Lieblich & Josselson, 1994; Lieblich & Josselson, 1997; Smith & Watson, 1998). The ethnopoetics, or the manner in which the author communicates with the reader, can be individualized or culturally bound. Autobiographies, as a form of narrative, are conventionalized performances, patterned for understanding within a social structure. These performances are "situated social accomplishments of people engaged in the practice of social life." (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 77). They continue,

> Analyzing oral performances requires consideration of the structure of the performance event and how the situational factors feed into the event. These include the performer and the performed to (or audience), the expressive skills employed by the social actor in creating a performance, the norms and strategies

> used in performing, how performances are interpreted and evaluated by the audience, and how performance sequenced to create a complete performance. By considering all of these, in the context of looking at the telling of the narrative we are able to recognize that oral data have form as well as content, art as well as science, creative structure as well as means. We are also reminded that qualitative analysis is as much about "how things are said" as about what is said. What we are concerned with here is a recognition that storytelling is culturally situated and relies for its success on culturally shared conventions about language and the hearing of stories. (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 77)

A fourth group of writing addresses the nature of autobiographical memory (Conway, Rubin, Spinnler, & Wagenaar, 1992; Hinchman & Hinchman, 1997; Neisser & Fivush, 1994; Rubin, 1986; Rubin, 1996; Smith & Watson, 1998). Particular attention has been given to the topic of autobiographical authenticity and/or truth (Ashley et al., 1994; Brodzki & Schenck, 1988; Folkenflik, 1993; Gilmore, 1994; McAdams, 1993; Smith & Watson, 1998). Fundamental to narrative research is the understanding that "narrative" is not reality; rather, "narrative" is an interpretation of reality (Josselson, 1995; Polkinghorne, 1996; Sarbin, 1986). One's life events are the raw ingredients of a personal narrative. However, development and identity is the product derived from the process of self-interpretation. McAdams (1993) contends that a person comes to know "self" through the interpretive process. Similarly, Josselson (1995) writes,

> Narrative is the representation of process, of a self in conversations with itself and with its world over time. Narratives are not records of facts, of how things

actually were, but of a meaning-making system that makes sense out of the chaotic mass of perceptions and experiences of a life. (p. 33).

Finally, autobiographical writing has been examined as representing and depicting the process of identity formation (Ashley et al., 1994; Birren et al., 1996; Brodzki & Schenck, 1988; Franz & Stewart, 1994; Gilmore, 1994; Hinchman & Hinchman, 1997; Magai & McFadden, 1996; Pascal, 1960; Smith & Watson, 1998). Narrative accounts provide rich data for the study of lives and are particularly useful when seeking to understand how one arrives at a sense of meaning or personal identity. This form of data consists of the stories that a person tells about her life. The data show how a person understands the significance of things they have occurred in their lives and their reactions to those events. Polkinghorne (1996) shares,

> Narrative knowing is a fundamental mode of understanding by which people make sense of their own and other's actions and life events . . . . People can relate their narrative knowledge of an event by including, in a storied account of the larger episode, a description of the contribution the event made to that episode. (p. 77)

Ruth and Kenyon (1996) discuss a person's narrative as a depiction of their attempts to make sense of the process of development. According to these researchers, narrative analysis demonstrates the overall developmental nature of life. They write, "Development is time-bound and future-bound. As we grow, mature, and age in time we gradually form and reform ourselves and the stories we tell about ourselves" (p. 7). It follows then that changes in one's narrative, or the descriptive metaphors that one uses, signal developmental transition points. These changes are the result of narrative

smoothing, or the process of changing one's story to fit one's context. The metaphors person uses ties together the events in her life.

Regarding the appropriateness of utilizing autobiographies to examine women's development, Braham (1995) explicitly wrote,

> Contemporary female autobiographies can be used as valuable repositories of female development . . . . If, for women, the primary experience of "self" is relational, that is, the self is organized and developed in the context of important relationships . . . , then women's life stories - particularly those kept by authors of public achievement who see as part of their artistic mandate sharing their story with a particular readership - provide keen insights on how self-inscription evolves and what it chooses to signify. Unlike Erikson's (1963) "stages" describing male development - autonomy, self-reliance, independence, integrity, "closure of identity" - women's personal narratives describe how identity emerges when embedded within relationships. (p. 98-99)

In summary, the use of women's autobiographies as data sources is recognized as a narrative sources that is capable of providing insights into woman's developmental processes. Hermeneutics was developed as a way to study texts and the context of writing (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998; Tappan, 1997) and several interpretive strategies are available for the study of narrative data (Alexander, 1988; Denzin, 1989a, 1989b; Elms, 1994; Gilligan et al, 1990; Lieblich et al, 1998).

Narrative Analysis and Interpretive Strategies

This study uses the hermeneutic strategy of narrative analysis to display women's personal interpretations of the relationships between various life circumstances.

Specifically, narrative analysis techniques are used to provide a contextual understanding and interpretation of the relationships between women's developmental processes and the coping strategies that professional women report utilizing in managing the conflicts they experience as they seek to blend work and family roles.

Subject Selection

The initial tasks in conducting narrative analysis of professional women's autobiographical texts was to decide how many texts or lives would be examined and which to include in the study. A decision was made to limit the number to three in order to allow for depth of interpretation of women's lives. Selection of these three texts depicts the initial stage of data analysis. The texts were selected based on a number of selection criteria. The subjects of the study, or the sources of data, are autobiographical texts written by professional women who have experienced combining work and family roles. Several selection criteria are outlined which assisted in narrowing the number of potential subjects.

A primary consideration in the selection of potential data sources is the definition of autobiography. For the purposes of this study, autobiographical sources are narrowly defined as journals or memoirs. Journal writings are considered significant and are included as they show the meanings that were attributed to life circumstances within the context of living. Memoirs were included as they reflect current conceptualizations of life meaning. Texts which combined journal writing and memoirs were sought as the inclusion of both criteria enhance the integrity of memories and interpretation. However, inclusion into the study did not require both journal and memoir writings. It was also

decided that increased homogeneity of autobiographical format would afford greater ease in integrating results.

The autobiographical writing of professional women who have concurrently maintained work and family responsibilities is the subject matter of this investigation. Life events and strategies for dealing with them are the focus of this study. Therefore, inclusion of texts that provided sufficient introspective detail to answer research questions was paramount to understanding woman's personal experiences and interpretations. The writings chosen for inclusion reflected an examination of the writer's private life and illustrated her search for personal meaning. At least one autobiographical text must be available, but limits were not placed on the maximum number of autobiographical materials that may be included from any one subject. Assisted autobiographies were not included as they may represent the ghostwriter's interpretation of the life instead of the woman's subjective appraisal.

The cultural context in which the stories were written was an important selection consideration. As a person's subjective interpretations are bound to the culture in which she evolved (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996), efforts were made to ensure that the women were describing similar socio-political climates. Therefore, a decision was made to include only autobiographies that focused on the experiences of American women who have benefited from women's liberation and described current women's issues. This criterion helped to assure homogeneity of experiences from a socio-historical perspective. As a result of this criterion, autobiographies published within the last ten years from women who grew up in the era of feminist reform were sought.

Another selection criterion centered on the family life of the woman. The research questions are related to determining how women manage work and family responsibilities. For this reason, the writing of women who have raised at least one child was sought. This criterion was included to assure that the woman experienced the demands of child rearing. It makes the assumption that multiple-role conflicts are based on management of child responsibilities and not simply marital responsibilities. Women who have not been married, married one time, or who have multiple marriages were included only if they have dealt with management of child and work responsibilities. Raising a child is defined as being an active parent from child's birth to age 18.

A final consideration is that the woman must have been engaged in a professional career. A professional career is defined as one that requires advanced study and training in a specialized field. This criterion narrows the focus of the study, thereby creating greater opportunity to investigate possible coping strategies of women who have achieved and are committed to maintaining a career identity.

Remembering the restraints of the general selection guidelines, the process of culling texts was begun. Numerous archives of women's autobiographical writings were explored through electronic database searches at several university libraries, public libraries, Internet bookstores, and local bookstores. In addition, manual searches of several smaller bookstores were conducted. Texts were located and quickly scanned to determine if they met the selection criteria. Texts that were found to fit the inclusion criteria were taken home for more in-depth reading. At this point, the level of reading was to judge the books illustrative capacity to describe multiple-role conflicts and strategies. Seven authors were tentatively selected.

Another comprehensive review of available databases was conducted six months after the first. Once again, texts were first scanned for appropriateness. Those that met selection requirements were read closer to determine their focus. Three texts that provided examination of work-family dynamics were included in the selection pool. Three that had been previously considered were removed. Seven texts remained in consideration.

A third data source review was conducted six months later. Texts were scanned and two were read for closer detail. After this review, the nine texts were considered in order to select those that held the best illustrative capacity to describe professional women's experience with career and family obligations. This final review narrowed the number of subjects to the three that were felt to provide the broadest range of career choice and family dynamics, descriptive strength, and topical focus.

Description of Autobiographical Subjects

Iris Krasnow

Iris Krasnow published her autobiography, Surrendering to Motherhood: Losing Your Mind, Finding Your Soul (1997), at the age of 41. She received her professional training in journalism and photography at Stanford University in the early 1970s. Iris is an accomplished journalist and has worked in positions ranging from fashion writer to celebrity profiler. In 1988 she married Chuck Krasnow and they produced four children within five years. This burgeoning family profoundly effected Iris's desire to continue full-time employment. Iris found that as she maintained both the roles as mother and professional, conflict and confusion were her reward. Iris's book chronicles the struggles that she went through in arriving at her final decision to stay at home with her children

while working on writing a book about her experiences. Her book is a reflective journey over past journal writings and current musings on meaning.

Anne Roiphe

Anne Roiphe was in her early sixties when her autobiography, Fruitful - Living the Contradictions: A Memoir of Modern Motherhood, was published in 1996. Anne received her graduate training in the sixties and has proven herself an accomplished writer, having published seven novels and numerous articles as well as co-writing a text on child development with her husband. In her memoir she writes about her attempts to merge her identities as a "feminist mother and a mother feminist" (p. 258). Anne explores the struggles she faced as she raised her three daughters and two stepdaughters in a sociopolitical culture that supported women's freedom. She found, however, that feminist politics did not translate into personal politics, as they did not address the conflicts between feminism and motherhood.

Joan Childs

Joan Childs was 55 years old when she published her autobiography, The Myth of the Maiden: On Being a Woman, in 1995. Joan works as a clinical social worker and director of a counseling center in South Florida. In her Preface, she describes her book as a "journey of discovery of myself, the discovery of my being in this life, my being as a woman." Her story is one of a woman raised in the innocence of the 1950s, placidly accepting that her brave knight would save her if only she played her role as damsel. After four marriages, one live-in lover, and five children, Joan came to accept this story as a myth. Her book explores her struggle to develop self-awareness and self-acceptance.

By becoming aware and appreciative of her full personhood, she was able to create "a community of selves living together to build a more integrated self" (p. 220).

Data Management

The three texts were closely reread to gain a holistic understanding of the life story. According to Polkinghorne (1996),

> analyzers of narrative data need to draw on their own cognitive narrative operations to comprehend the data. Before narrative data can be coded or organized into paradigmatic categories, the stories need to be understood as stories. Understanding stories cannot be reduced to an algorithmic or technical procedure. To grasp the significance of the information expressed in narrative form, the researcher is called upon to undertake the to-and-fro movement from part to whole and whole to part that produces the understanding of systematically organized expressions. This type of hermeneutic process differs from approaches that seek understanding by dividing the object of inquiry into its parts and then examining each part individually. After the stories that make up the data are themselves narratively known by the researcher, then the search for patterns and themes across and within the stories proceeds. (p. 98)

At this point, the reading process was characterized by highlighting passages in the text that appeared to have relation to the woman's experience with managing work and family responsibilities. Initial reactions to the associations between various events revealed in the texts were recorded in margins and covers. Unstructured summary and reflective notes were compiled in a word processing file.

Gilligan, Brown, and Rogers (1990) suggest that researchers, or interpreters, read the story a number of times for possible interpretations. Elms (1994) has written extensively using this approach. He explains the process as "largely a postdictive enterprise. It looks backward over the course of a person's life and tries to sort out why things happened as they did" (p. 187). Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber (1998) discuss ways to read and interpret narrative material from a holistic-content perspective. These researchers suggest reading the text several times, allowing it to speak to you, and looking for patterns to emerge. The interpreter then writes a global impression of the narrative story and purpose. The product of the holistic-content analysis provides awareness of the woman's life circumstances. This step in the analytic process depicts the initial steps in formulation of analytic memos and thoughts. It provided the raw material for further topical analysis and interpretation.

In consideration of the need for holistic-content analysis, a brief chronological outline was made which summarized the life story narrative as presented by each woman. The purpose of this writing was to provide a sense of the overall flow of the women's life. This outline was developed by combining and structuring the margin notes with the contents of the word processing file of unstructured observations.

Texts were then inspected for content related to the research questions of this study. Alexander (1988) discusses narrative analysis that is based on asking the data a question. According to Alexander, material from the text that is pertinent to the research questions asked is selected, coded, and organized in order to formulate informed answers. In this study, the research was directed by the examination of the types of conflicts that women who seek to combine career and family roles experience. Another research

question was to describe the coping strategies that women employed to manage areas of conflict and their appraisals of its relative effectiveness. The frequency that a strategy is employed was considered as an indicator of its power. However, close attention was given to coping attempts that promoted change, both positive and negative. In addition, coping was assessed for its effects on continued development (e.g., moral, identity, cognitive perspective, career), both progressive and regressive.

Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber (1998) describe this type of topical analysis as categorical-content analysis. It is a subjective, hermeneutic approach that can lead to profound understanding of lives and experiences. The technique holds similarity to the process of the qualitative, grounded-theory method. These researchers support Alexander's (1988) recommendation to mark and assemble all relevant sections that answer the research questions. This process of coding provides new contexts for viewing and analyzing data. It decontextualizes the text and recontextualizes it in a manner that allows for analytic thinking about and with the data in order to address research concerns (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Coding allows for data to be sorted into relevant categories. The data material is then reviewed and described in order to form a picture of the contents of the category.

In this study, coding categories were developed which would serve to answer research questions and standardize data collection from the three autobiographical texts. Board preliminary categories were used to obtain data which would allow for answers to research questions regarding the conflicts, coping strategies, and developmental processes of professional women who maintain both career and family roles to become manifest. Additionally, data was collected which depicted the women's life circumstances in order

to contextualize the women's reports of conflicts and coping strategies. Specifically, datum was coded according to reference to 1) early life, 2) marriage, 3) career, 4) experiences of conflict, 5) coping strategies, and 6) development. In this process, supporting quotes were gathered and compiled on a word processor. Use of word processing allowed for ease in gathering and sorting coded data. In addition, use of the computer assisted in the assignment or filing of supporting evidence into the most appropriate category.

The result of the initial coding and compiling of data depicted a crude process of data organization. As the data coding categories were very broad, a large amount of data was collected from each text. Inclusion decisions for data was relaxed at this stage which allowed for the data to speak of its relative importance and helped guard against collection of data which might support some preconceived ideas of the researcher. The compiled data was next subjected to a process of winnowing in order to edit and delete repetitious and non-essential data. Once again, this step was completed using a word processing program to assist in the process of data management.

At this point, data was regrouped into four general categories. These included 1) Life Circumstances, 2) Conflicts, 3) Coping, and 4) Development. The general category of Life Circumstance was further subdivided into a) Early life experiences, b) marriage, and c) career in order to aid in discovery of specific effects of these areas on later experiences of conflict and accompanying coping strategies.

The next step was the writing of comprehensive individual narratives in order to organize and present supporting evidence from the categorical data files. In essence, a narrative regarding women's experiences of multiple-role conflicts was extracted from

the comprehensive autobiographical narrative through the process of gathering supporting quotes, as was described previously, and reorganizing them to produce a more focused narrative. These narratives then became the data source from which further interpretations were made. The purpose of these individual narratives is to provide a description, in the women's own words, of her life circumstances, experiences with multiple-role conflict, coping attempts, and developmental processes.

Guidance on how to present the individual narratives was gained by consulting the literature on how to write narrative descriptions. Denzin (1989b) defines narrative as a story with a beginning, middle, and end. Coffey and Adkinson (1996) provide further discussion on the storied structure of narratives. They cite Cortazzi's (1993) discussion of the structures which people use in presenting their life stories or personal narratives. According to these researchers, narratives have a common structure for organizing and presenting descriptions of life processes. Often these narratives, be they oral or written, will begin with a short abstract, which provides a general statement of the narrative's purpose. Although the abstract may be missing in some presentations, all narratives tend to begin by giving an orientation to the main characters, events, time, and place. Orientation tends to be followed by descriptions of complications. These complications depict an accounting of the story's action. It provides the reader with an understanding of what happened in the person's life. Narratives then move toward evaluation of the effects of one's life events. During the evaluation, the person will tell the reader their interpretation of the interplay between their life circumstances and their personal actions. This section tends to depict the process of meaning making. Narratives tend to conclude

with a discussion of the final result, or a description of personal resolution. Some may also include a coda that wraps up or summarizes the story.

Toward the goal of writing an interpretive narrative on the relationships between reported life circumstances, conflicts, coping strategies, and development, data was organized by writing individual comprehensive narratives. Cortazzi's structure was used in writing the individual narrative. However, the names of the sections have been modified in this study. The first section, entitled Life Circumstances, reflects the orientation of the narrative. This section presents a chronological depiction of the women's life events including early life experiences, college and career, and marriage and family. Its purpose is to provide a description of the principle characters and events in each life. It provides answers to the questions of Who, What, When, and Where.

The next section, Conflicts and Coping Strategies, depicts the subjective recollection of experiences of complications and the woman's evaluation of how she coped with these difficulties. It tells what happened to the women by highlighting her experiences of critical incidents and turning points. Additionally, it presents the woman's subjective interpretation of the effectiveness of her various coping strategies. The intent of this section is to evoke the personal experience by conveying the rich detail of lived experience. Numerous textual quotes are included in order to convey the woman's perceptions of the relationships between conflicts and coping.

The third section, Development, depicts the women's developmental processes. This section relies of women's development theories to describe and illustrate each woman's developmental process. In other words, the women's lives are interpreted as informed by the lens of women's development theories.

The final section, Integration, seeks to describe the relationships between women's conflicts, coping, and development. The purpose is to allow the researcher to interpret the women's lives by informing the individual's subjective interpretation with a discussion of her developmental processes as illuminated by theories of women's development. It describes the process of women's lives by proposing an explanation of each woman's development in terms of the relationships between her life circumstances, experiences of conflict, and coping strategies.

The comprehensive individual narratives which detail the women life circumstance, conflicts and coping strategies, and development are not included in the text of this study as they represent an intermediary step in the process toward interpretive narrative analysis. These sections comprise the data sources on which further interpretive results was drawn.

Narrative Interpretation

The structure of the individual narratives roughly follow that of a success story in that they focus on key turning points, both difficulties and successes. According to Coffey and Adkinson (1996), "These success stories . . . are useful starting point for a more thorough analysis. They provide a mechanism for exploring how social actors frame and make sense of particular sets of experiences" (p. 67). Accordingly, the individual narrative can be used as a springboard for a more comprehensive interpretation. The purpose of this collective interpretation is to address the research questions of this study. Specifically, the interpretations presented in Chapter 4, Narrative Interpretation, seek to provide an understanding of nature of conflicts which women who manage both career and family duties experience. Additionally, it discusses the

effectiveness of various types of coping strategies and how they are related to developmental processes.

The interpretation of the process of the three women's lives follows a similar structure as the individual narrative analyses. In review, the four required parts of a narrative analysis include 1) Orientation, 2) Complication, 3) Evaluation, and 4) Resolution. (Cortazzi, 1993).

The four sections are designed to address the research questions. However, the names of the required parts have been modified to reflect the areas of the women's autobiographical displays that appeared most significant in shaping their personal narratives. Although data was collected and complied in the individual narratives regarding self-reports of career, marriage, and family experiences, their significance was not interpreted Chapter 4, Narrative Interpretation, as they did not appear significant to the clarification of the original research questions. The Relationships with Parents section, or the orientation, discusses similarities and differences in the relationships that these women describe having had with their parents. It discusses how the women's life experiences set the stage for future conflicts and/or coping strategies. The purpose of this section is to situate the problem (i.e., experiences of multiple-role conflicts) within the context of life.

The section entitled Conflicts depicts the problems or complication that the three women report to have faced during their lives. The conflicts experienced by the three women are discussed in relationship to early life experiences and adult life experiences. The intent of this section is to provide detailed descriptions of recurrent patterns of conflicts that the women experienced.

The narrative's evaluation section is divided into two parts. The section entitled Coping Strategies addresses the themes that emerged as the women's written reflections and remembrances were analyzed. These themes were discovered in the process of organizing supporting quotes from the texts. The categories resulted in unified and global descriptions of the types of coping strategies that these women appear to have utilized in managing life's conflicts. Interpretations are also provided of category linkages and relationships to particular types of conflict. The next section of Chapter 4, considered a subsection of the narrative's evaluation, discusses the three women's developmental processes. The developmental frame presented in the literature review is called upon to clarify the women's life processes.

Finally, the interpretation turns to a description of the apparent relationships between the sections presented in Chapter 4, Narrative Interpretation. This discussion is presented in Chapter 5, Discussion. The purpose of this final chapter is to highlight and examine the causal relationships between the women's life experiences, areas of conflicts, strategies for coping with these conflicts, and their developmental processes.

Summary of Data Analysis

The narrative analysis process of this study began with the selection of subjects. Subject selection was based on a number of selection criteria. Data collection began with an analysis of suitability for potential texts based on agreement with selection criteria. Three texts were selected which met all selection criteria and which were judged to hold the most illustrative capacity for addressing research questions. Data management began with in-depth reading and narrative outlining of each text. Next, textual material was coded and supporting quotes gathered, sorted, and filed into appropriate categories.

Organizational categories included Life Circumstances (subdivided into Early Life, Marriage, and Career), Conflicts, Coping, and Development. Comprehensive individual narratives were then compiled which provided a description of each woman's reports of her life circumstance, experiences with conflicts and coping, developmental processes. Additionally, an integrated discussion of the interplay between life circumstances, conflicts and coping, and developmental processes was written for each study participant. Chapter 4, Narrative Interpretation, provides a collective interpretation of the written remembrances and displays of the three women's lives by focusing on similarities and differences in their relationships with parents, experiences of conflicts, coping strategies, and developmental processes. Chapter 5, Discussion, provides an overview of the apparent relationships between the data presented in Chapter 4. This discussion is included in order to provide an integrated overview of the recollected and written processes of the Iris, Anne, and Joan's lives.

CHAPTER 4

NARRATIVE INTERPRETATION

This chapter displays an interpretive analysis of the autobiographical reflections from three women - Iris Krasnow, Anne Roiphe, and Joan Childs. Iris is a journalist and mother of four sons. Her autobiography was written during her late thirties and published in 1997. Anne's autobiography depicts her life as a professional writer and mother of three daughters and two stepdaughters. Her text was published in 1996 when she was in her early sixties. Joan is a clinical social worker and mother of five children. Her autobiography, published in 1995, was written during her early fifties.

Iris, Anne, and Joan produced their autobiographical texts in the middle 1990s, a time when some American women are afforded the right to consider a personal destination. Although at decidedly different developmental ages, (i.e., thirties, fifties, and sixties), these women all experienced the changing climate of women's freedom as they struggled through the process of sorting out a personal meaning. The stories of these women are the stories of their time. They depict individual women's attempts to understand a changing sociopolitical culture. As they found their previous experiences and ways of understanding did not prepare them for the task, these women found confusion. They struggled to find a sense of balance, realizing that they were responsible for making their own life, and accepting the consequences of their choice of lifestyle.

The purpose of this narrative interpretation of the autobiographies of Iris, Anne, and Joan is to provide insights to the research questions that are outlined in Chapter 1 of this study. In review, this study was initiated as the literature on the mental health

outcomes of working women yielded conflicting results. This study explores the ways in which a developmental explanation can clarify the nature of the discrepancies.

In order to address the developmental processes involved in the lives of mothers with professional training, the issues of the nature of women's conflicts and coping strategies were discussed in Chapter 1 as areas in need of examination. One area that remains obscure after having consulted the academic literature on these topics involves the genesis of women's conflicts. This study seeks to address this concern by presenting a discussion of the original source of conflicts as described in the writing of Iris, Anne, and Joan. This examination allows for an understanding of how these women related their early life experiences to later development.

It is important to underscore that a large amount of data relating to the women's revelations of her early life experiences were collected from each autobiographical text. However, as the data were analyzed it became apparent that the women tended to write about their relationships with their parents, especially their fathers, as having affected them to the greatest degree. With respect to the women's apparent conception of the importance of the parental relationship, only these early life experiences were interpreted in this chapter. The first section of this chapter, Relationship With Parents, is included as it portrays similarities and differences that Iris, Anne, and Joan reported in their texts as having had with their parents. This material is included as it serves to provide a background for conceptualizing the significance of Iris, Anne, and Joan's autobiographical reports of conflict and subsequent coping strategies.

A discussion follows in the Conflicts section on how these early relationships appear to have affected the women's adult behavior. The women's description of her

initial problem is conceptualized as finding a viable model to maximize their survival chances. This issue is detailed with supporting evidence from the autobiographical texts in this chapter. The process of how this primary problem, or conflict, sets the stage for women's adult experiences with multiple-role conflicts is examined through a discussion of the initial models these women followed. The purpose of this section is to situate the problem (i.e., experiences of multiple-role conflicts) within the context of life by providing detailed descriptions of the genesis and development of the recurrent patterns of conflicts that the women appear to have experienced. The section ends with a discussion of the conflicts that the women portray as their adult experiences. Conflicts are explained in terms of recapitulation of their primary model of survival as learned through interactions with their parents.

Another area of questioning that this study seeks to address involves the nature of professionally trained mother's coping strategies. In specific, this study asks the texts portrayed by Iris, Anne, and Joan to describe the strategies that they enlisted with a discussion of their relative effectiveness. The women's coping strategies are the focus of the section entitled Coping Strategies. For the purpose of clarification, the types of coping strategies that these three women portray themselves as using in an attempt to resolve their original conflict (i.e., maximizing survival) are discussed in detail. Discussion of the relationships between the coping strategies and experiences of conflict are included so as to highlight their relative effectiveness in managing multiple-role conflicts.

Finally, this chapter ends with a discussion of the developmental movements that are apparent in the descriptions of the lives of Iris, Anne, and Joan in the final section of

this chapter, Developmental Processes. The development theories presented in Chapter 2 of this study are called upon to illuminate the women's self-described processes. In addition, incidences in the women's lives that are not fully explained by the developmental theories are highlighted.

Relationship with Parents

This purpose of this section is to provide a description of how the relationships that Iris, Anne, and Joan report to have had with their parents appear to have shaped their experiences of conflicts throughout their life. The women's relationship with and reaction to her mother are detailed as the women's writing stressed the importance of this relationship. Another theme that emerged during the analysis of these women's writing of their early life experiences was the impact of their relationship with their fathers. The dynamics of the women's relationships are explored with respect to the women's interpretations of why they perceived their father's to have been so influential in shaping their perceptions of their reactions to life's challenges.

Relationship with Mother

Iris and Anne depict their mothers as having lived the life of a traditional stay-at-home mother. Joan's mother is reported to have been a full-time homemaker during her daughter's early years; but she worked outside of the home during Joan's adolescent years. All three women dedicated space in their autobiographies to descriptions of their memories of their mothers.

Iris speaks of her remembrances of her mother,

> The sharpest memory I have of my mother as she shuffled my brother, my sister, and me off to Horace Mann elementary school was as I looked over my shoulder,

she would sigh deeply and sit down at the kitchen table where her place was marked with a black ashtray studded with fake turquoise, a book of crossword puzzles, and her knitting. And there she would remain for most of the morning, wearing black stretch pants, a flowered apron, and a striped kitchen towel over one shoulder, solving crosswords, making sweaters, and smoking Kent cigarettes. She did go out, grocery shopping, to her book club, to PTA meetings, to Hadassah functions, to play Scrabble with Shirley down the street. But when we came home she was always there and lunch was always on the table. School got out at 3 P.M., and after we walked the five minutes it took to get to the house, my mother would be waiting for us at the door. I knew she loved us but she rarely looked happy. (p. 18).

Joan reflects on her remembered relationship with her mother,

My mother and I had never really been close. I felt no real kindred spirit with her. I was everything she disowned and she was what I disowned. Our generation gap felt like two. The early injunctions not heard but felt were "don't feel." As a child, feelings were minimized and often ridiculed, but rarely validated. . . . It was difficult being the daughter of a mother who had never learned to express her needs or emotions. Making her happy was easy. It required little effort. Hang up the wash. Take it down. Fold it. Keep the apartment clean. Don't leave dishes in the sink. Don't be who you really are. Don't be honest with your feelings. I never experienced the bonding with my mother that I feel with my daughters. I guess the missing ingredient was truth. It was never safe to be honest with her. Sharing myself would have highlighted our differences. Differences that she

> feared and abhorred. Honesty elicited punishment. Punishment meant guilt or silence. Therefore, I learned to withhold or delete information. Consequently, intimacy was sacrificed. (p. 25)

Anne displays in her text, "the person with whom I had the most intense relationship, whom I needed to please, whom I needed to break free from, who had the most ideas about what I should do (Marry well) was my mother" (p. 18). Her writing reveals her perceptions of her mother,

> My own mother read mystery stories, romance novels, and smoked three packs of Camels a day. She had no work life other that the beauty parlor, the shopping list, the decorating of the house. She played a high-stakes game of canasta, two, three afternoons a week. She blew smoke rings across the card table. She lay for hours soaking in the bathtub, a glass of scotch balanced on the rim. She had servants for the real work of the home. She cried herself to sleep most nights. She yearned and did not know what she yearned for. She wanted me to be different and the same. She wanted me to be safe, protected. She believed in princes and witches and diet doctors. She wouldn't open the umbrella in the house for fear of supernatural repercussions. She spit if she saw a nun on the street. She was afraid the disappointment was catching. . . . I started writing my first novel with the picture of a child waiting outside a closed door. The child was me. I would lie on the carpet outside her room, my face pressed to the crack under the door through which I could see the blankets on her bed rising and falling. I didn't play. I didn't move. I waited, my back pressed to the wall so nothing could grab me. She was there but I couldn't reach her. My legs would go numb and with my hands I

> would rub them again and again. I learned patience. I learned how to sit in the center of a pool of time and float without flailing about, without shouting out loud, with the calmness of a lizard on a rock. In the dark corridor a child was learning that all love is not requited, at least not in equal quantities. (p. 5-6)

These statements show how Iris, Anne and Joan recall and recount their mothers as being emotionally distant. These women perceived that they shared only the superficialities of day-to-day life with their mothers. It is interesting that none of these women's reflections include remembrances of ever having discussions of feelings or conceptions of personal purpose with their mothers. According to the daughter's descriptions, Joan and Iris's mothers appear not to have had time to talk as they were totally consumed with the care of their children and husband. The memories that these women share of their mothers suggest that the daughters believed that their mothers found their sense of purpose in caring for the family. This purpose, however, was never openly discussed with their daughters. The autobiographical writing of Iris and Joan supports that they deduced their mother's purpose as they watched her daily behaviors.

Based on the daughter's reflections of their mothers, the mothers seem to have in common an identity that, according to Josselson's (1987) work, can be described as Foreclosure. The mothers appeared to have accepted the societal model, for better or worse, as the only viable role for women. Their orientation for understanding their world appears to have been constricted to what other's, mainly the husbands, told them. This orientation is consistent with Belenky et al.'s (1986) description of women in the Received knowledge category. In their written remembrances, Iris and Joan interpreted their mother's sense of self-worth to be related to her ability to help others. Their

descriptions coincide with Gilligan's (1982) description of moral development based on concern for the needs of others. Anne's writing, however, indicates that she recalls her mother as being too overwhelmed with her own problems to attend to her daughter's need. Anne's descriptions resonate with Gilligan's moral development stage of concern for self-survival.

Reaction to Relationship with Mother

Iris, Anne, and Joan spend considerable space in their autobiographies detailing their reaction to their mother's model. These reactions will be presented and discussed separately. Following this presentation, a collective interpretation of the how the relationship with the mothers appears to have affected daughters is offered.

In her text, Iris reports that her Mother had fled the Nazis in Warsaw and lived in Paris in a sympathetic Catholic home, leaving behind her immediate family to be killed in the Holocaust. Iris interprets her mother's loss as resulting in a life of filled with grief and tearfulness; however, she was perceived by Iris to be steely to the minor crises that her children would cry over. Iris displays her memory that she keenly felt her mother's loss, and resolved that she would have children to replenish the family's bloodline. She writes,

> As the teenage daughter of a perpetually grieving mother, I vowed to someday have children, lots of them, to replace the life in our family that was lost. . . . But replenishing the bloodline was not a pressing priority. In the now, I wanted to have fun and explore and break free from a home where an ever present sadness made me feel old when I was young. (p. 13)

Even as Iris indicates in her text that she intensely felt her mother's loss and vowed to right the injustices that her mother suffered by rebuilding the family lineage, she admits that she disagreed with the selfless caring that she perceived her mother's model to represent. The women's movement was in full force when Iris came into her early adult years. Consequently, Iris portrays that her academic and social relationships made her aware of injustices that women of her mother's generation had silently suffered. She recalls that her anger and youthful idealism were stirred. Iris comments in her autobiography that, in her youth and early adult years, she saw her mother as a "nobody". She depicts that she did not choose to model her life after her mother's example. Iris admits in her writing that her reaction to her mother's model was to turn from it, using it as a guide for what she did not want to become.

During her early years, Iris's behaviors are described in her text as similar to that of a Trailblazer (Swiss & Walker, 1993). She did not believe that sacrificing a career for the sake of family was an option. In response, she reacted to her desires to replenish her family's roots by pushing them away from conscious awareness. But, after having her own children, Iris's writing shows that she found herself unable to cope by listening to the model of feminist womanhood. She portrays that she felt that this model required focus on personal fulfillment and achievement of personal goals. But Iris perceived that her children's needs were greater than her own. As she searched for a model of motherhood, Iris recalls looking back to her mother's example and writes that she came to appreciate that it was her mother's consistency that had provided her with the self-assurance to explore and create a life of her own. She displays that her perceptions of her mother changed as she realized that her mother had done a great service in her life, one that she

dearly wanted to recapitulate for her boys. So, in the end, Iris's behaviors appear very similar to those of her mother.

Joan's writing contains descriptions of her unconscious reactions to her mother's model. Joan, like Iris, portrays a distant relationship with her mother. Her writing does not reveal depth of detail of the relationship she had with her mother. But, even in distance, Joan's indicates by her words that her behavior was influenced by the lessons that her mother taught. Joan recalls that her mother considered the highest accomplishment that Joan could achieve was to marry a rich, Jewish doctor. Joan writes of her remembrances of the message she received from her mother to have children,

> I wanted a baby almost as soon as I was married. Why the rush? I suspect the lonely nights, my culture and my mother were the reasons. My mother said, "Have five children. Four for you, and one for me. Your father only wanted two. Have five." So I did. Then she had the nerve to tell me that one mother can take care of five children, but five children can't take care of one mother. Looking back, not only was she wrong, but I think my five children did a much better job of taking care of me than I did of them. (p. 32)

Joan indicates in her writing that she came from a legacy of working women. She portrays, "The rite of work came to me without any ceremony. I inherited a collective-unconscious work ethic from all the women in my family. Working was never an option. We did it because it had to be done" (p. 55).

Despite following her mother's model of working and having a family, Joan presents, "for whatever reason, I chose not to use my mother as a role model for femininity . . . . I chose to emulate Rita Hayworth, Yvonne DeCarlo, and Vivian Leigh.

This collage included quite a mixed bag: A sex goddess, alcoholic, nymphomaniac and psychotic. Mother would have been a much better choice" (p. 11).

Joan's mother, wishing for a better life for her daughter, reportedly held out the goal for Joan's life's achievement as marriage to a Jewish doctor and five children. Joan, being a good daughter, recalls in her text that she attempted to follow her mother's expressed dream. But she also followed her mother's model, using work as a way to achieve a better life. Joan's mother appears to have provided two contradictory seeds. Her life model planted the seed of paid employment in order to support, through selfless giving, her husband's ambitions. However, Joan's reflections of her mother indicated that her mother's true desire for her daughter's, and her own, happiness was for Joan to be a mother and reap a harvest of five Jewish grandchildren, a crop to be planted by a rich doctor.

Joan's written reflections support that, even as her mother expressed two contradictory messages, her mother provided a consistent model of care taking and nurturance. Joan internalized and attempted to follow her mother's contradictory message; but, according to Joan's comments, without the consistency that her mother had achieved. The result was turmoil. Had she followed only one message she might have had better outcomes. But her mother had given her two messages. Joan would be the one to bear the consequences of the tangled vine that was seeded and nourished within her by her mother. Her mother's model of working in order to succeed in life was contradictory to her expressed desire that Joan find a man to take care of her. The effects of pursuing tandem goals crept, undetected, into a twisted mass, slowing infiltrating Joan's being, suffocating her life force. All of this occurring in the hidden parts of Joan's conscious.

Swiss and Walker (1993) describe women similar to Joan's mother as Traditionalists. These women entered careers in later life. They often tried to instill in their daughter's an awareness that they could be more than a housewife. Joan's shared recollections do not support that her mother advocated for Joan to pursue a career. On the contrary, Joan writes that her mother's verbalized desire was for Joan to find a wealthy man to support her. However, her mother's model of work allowed Joan to see an alternative lifestyle for women. Swiss and Walker (1993) maintain that Traditionalist mothers produced a generation of women known as the Trailblazers. These were a group of women who felt that they had no choice but to sacrifice their families in pursuit of a successful career. Joan's life agrees with Swiss and Walker's observations. Joan's admissions support that she sacrificed her children's welfare in order to follow her felt mandate to financially provide for her family.

It is interesting that, although Joan and Iris perceived distance from their mothers, their adult lives, once fully realized, are described as being very similar to their mothers. Iris and Joan, in surrendering themselves to the process of motherhood, depict themselves as living day to day lives that were, except for the year, almost identical to their remembrances of the mother's lives. Iris describes that she was home with her children, attending to their needs, poised for service. Joan, like her mother before her, reports through her written words that she worked outside the home, aware of her children's needs but not continuously available.

Anne's relationship with her mother is reported to have been very distant. In Anne's autobiography, her mother is recalled and presented as being self-absorbed, suffering through her circumstances without awareness of her child's needs. Anne

depicts her as attempting to survive in a world in which she had no control. Her writing reveals that she perceived her mother as a woman trapped by the superficiality of beauty, resolutely accepting the pain that came with beauty. She pens her perception of her mother as worried about her appearance as the only power that she might amass came from her expressions of sexuality. Even as she spent hours on makeup and hair dyes, Anne recalls that her mother always appeared slightly disheveled. Anne's writing suggests that, for all her mother's efforts to gain power through sexuality and beauty, Anne continued to perceive that she was unable to attain a sense of personal power. Her mother is portrayed as a woman tormented by a bad marriage and lack of freedom to explore her own desires. Anne interprets that her mother drank hard liquor to numb her emotional pain and resorted to screaming fights with her husband in an impotent attempt to assert control over his behaviors. Anne's comments paint her mother as a victim of the superficial trappings of her time. She is remembered as a woman devoid of a voice beyond the screams of unexplored and unrecognized rage.

Anne admits to having had contempt for her mother for living a life consumed by tears and screaming fights with her husband, Anne's father. She writes, "Feminism showed me that the fault was not hers alone. Timing is everything" (p. 6). However, feminism arrived too late to save her mother. In her text, Anne admits that she saw her mother as a coward who was afraid of most everything, especially trying anything new.

Anne's writes about the messages that she received to be like her mother yet wanting to do something different. She presents,

> It got under our skin, we didn't want to be those kinds of women, each of us wanted to be something other than a mother. At the same time, most of us also

wanted to be mothers. It was one of those contradictions that was lived our by women: womb by womb, period by period." (p. 8).

Anne recalls that her mother provided her with several negative messages about being female. Anne writes that she was told that girls can't do math, Hebrew is for boys, and women who were successful in the business world wanted to be men. Anne pens that she recalls that she was slapped by her mother when she began to menstruate, and told that she was "used goods" (p. 16) when she went through her divorce. Reportedly, her mother also told her that she had educated herself out of marriage market. Anne writes, "The only status most girls could attain was through beauty and beauty was only the surface of the soul" (p. 118). She continues, "My own adolescence in the nineteen fifties was one blighted by sexual terror. . . . My own purity was always in question. The result was confusion, early marriage" (p. 128)

Anne's writing indicates that her perceptions of the distant relationship with her mother ignited an internal reaction within her being. She relates that her choice to have children was the result of not having had a good relationship with her mother. Anne admits in her autobiography that in her young adult years that she found herself propelled toward having children, unaware of her true desire to gain the love of her distant mother. She interprets her early adult behaviors by indicating that she gave breath to this need for mother-love by forging herself into the type of mother that her heart mourned for, unconsciously viewing her birth-child as her abandoned inner-child. Despite the negative model of motherhood that Anne perceived that she received from her mother, she writes, "I stuck to my original plan. I would be unlike my mother by doing my mothering myself with my own two clumsy hands" (p. 22).

Anne's descriptions support that she reacted to her mother's example by refusing to be like her. Anne appeared to accept society's stereotype of the selfless mother out of desperation, as she had not been offered a viable model in her home. Anne reflects that she came to understand motherhood based on what she had not received as a child. She represents herself as committed to being a hands-on mother, the kind that she had wished for as a child. Anne's sense of abandonment set off a lifetime of searching for her lost mother, resulting in her discovering and shaping her own form of motherhood. Her longing for an absent mother appears to have propelled her towards her own experiences with motherhood. Her writing reveals that she was to find her identity forming from her unconscious need to be physically and emotionally present for her children. Her development of a motherhood identity seemed to be a way to find what she had missed, a way to complete herself. The experience of motherhood appears to have been the vehicle of her search for self.

Joan, Anne, and Iris wrote about their perceptions of their mothers, devoting space to highlighting their understandings of the importance of these relationships. They indicate by their words that they felt well aware of the model that their mother's presented, but each, for their own reasons, felt unsatisfied with the implied messages. They spoke of a need to break away from the implied powerlessness of their mothers, feeling hurt because they interpreted their mothers as having led unexplored lives and consequently having not adequately prepared their daughters to face the harsh realities of life. Based on these descriptions, the mother's of Iris, Anne, and Joan appear to have not been able to satisfactorily resolve the developmental task of integrating their own concerns with the concerns of others (Gilligan, 1982). In fact, according to the

remembrances of Iris, Anne, and Joan, the mothers did not appear to be aware that these two concerns needed to be integrated. Based on their reflections and admissions, it is evident that the relationships that Iris, Anne, and Joan women experienced with their mothers were significant in shaping their development.

Relationship with Father

What was not expected in reviewing these women's writings on their early life experiences is the amount of time these women discuss their relationships with their fathers. According to their portrayals of their relationships with their fathers, these women's fathers served as influential models that shaped their future reactions to life. All three women describe fathers who had careers away from the family. The father, by not being involved in their children's day-to-day life, appears to have provided their daughter's with their first experiences of the world outside the home. The fathers seem to represent the childhood understanding of "the way" of the world at large.

In her autobiography, Iris reports that her father was the founder and owner of Marvel Metals, a successful manufacturer of office and computer furniture. Iris writes that her father was sensitive to the stereotype of Jewish opulence and chose for the family to live a middle-class lifestyle. She recalls her father's humility and reluctance to expose his financial status due to his negative experiences with discrimination based on stereotypes of Jewish prosperity.

Anne's writing is silent on descriptions of her father until midway through the book. She pens her remembrances of her father,

> My own father was an athlete who stayed hours at his club playing squash. My father was a man with a love of good clothes. Conservative clothes, silk ties,

well-fitting suits, and tennis whites. He was a lawyer who often lost his temper; he had punched out a client on more that one occasion. He despised anyone who expressed an opinion that he deemed pink. Pink in the nineteen fifties was the color of political shame. It remains the color for girls. He ground his teeth in his sleep. He had migraines. . . . When I was a child I thought he had snake eyes. He did. My mother would beg him to take my brother and me for a walk in the park. When he did he strode far ahead of us. He stopped to make phone calls from every corner. He had his own schemes: rendezvous with ladies, get-rich-quick plans that died on the vine. He was disappointed in his son who was not an athlete, given to asthma and classical music. He was disappointed in me because I was an athlete and could never learn to be quiet. He did not enjoy our company. He did not fix our broken toys or read us his favorite books. He did not teach us to ride bikes or throw balls. He was not typical because the moat that surrounded his castle was particularly deep and the walls could not be breached, but his style of fathering was common enough. . . . He was a creature of his culture and I was lucky to come of age at the time of the transition. I was told the old things but was given the new in the nick of time. (p. 136-137)

Joan's written memories of her father are in relation to the demands for performance he placed upon her. Joan writes her reflections of her father in relation to their Sunday afternoons together. On this day, Joan's mother worked at the hotel that the family owned, and Joan was left in the care of her father. Joan pens in her text that her father, having unfulfilled dreams of being a musician, taught Joan to play the accordion in

order to live out his ambition. Their days together were recalled as being spent in musical studies.

Reaction to Relationship with Father

It is significant, that even as these women do not write volumes in description of their fathers, their reactions to their fathers is evident in later reflection and writing about their life's influences. The women's reactions to their relationships with their fathers fill a relatively large space in the women's autobiographies. The dynamics of the presented relationships are detailed in the following pages

Iris writes her perceptions that her father's support and encouragement were the foundation that fueled her ambitious spirit. She displays, "He was the person who had been the biggest influence on me; I had gauged my life in terms of his evaluations, my victories had been fuller because of the glory I saw reflected in his eyes" (p. 64). Iris recalls often in her text the messages that she father left with her. She writes, "Throughout my life, when things got rough my dad would tell me, 'You gotta swing with it, Iris,' Swing with life's thrashes and you'll always, inevitably, land on your feet" (p. 65). Iris interprets that she learned from her father's model that she should work hard to obtain her goals, being willing to delay gratification in order to strive toward larger conquests. She admits that her ambition was developed through years of working for and attaining goals in order to please her father and receive his support and encouragement.

Anne, reeling from a distant mother, did not perceive a sense of reinforcement from her father as had Iris. Anne's writing indicates that she surmised from hearing the battles played out in her parent's relationship, that her father was the person with the power in the family. She perceived that he displayed this sense of power through success

in his career and extramarital relationships. In her text, Anne recalls that her father was able to leave the home to experience his fast paced lifestyle, whereas her mother was left to drown her misery in her drinks.

The following story eloquently displays Anne's reaction to her father's absent presence,

> I am going for a walk with my father. I heard my parents fighting. She said he had to take me. He said he didn't want to. She won. I am walking along the street with my tall father. He walks fast. I fall behind. I stop to look at a dog. The owner lets me pet the dog. I look up and I don't see my father anymore. I run ahead and I see a tall man with legs encased in blue trousers just like my father's a few step in front of me. I reach him and put my hand up for him to hold it. The man takes my hand. We walk together for half a block. "Who are you, little girl?" the strange man says. I drop his hand. Shame grips me, fear also. The streets seem very long. I am not allowed to cross the street without an adult. I am near home but not so very near. My father is two blocks ahead. I point out his back to the stranger. He calls to my father and runs after him. I am found, but I know I was lost and possibly forgotten.
>
> There is nothing in that story that needs to be repeated generation after generation. (p. 158-159)

Joan's writing contains numerous reflections of the impact of her relationship with her father on her life's choices. As a youth, Joan reports that she learned to play the accordion because this made her father happy. She writes that her musical skills and sexuality blossomed during her adolescence. Her father, wishing to capitalize on her

talents (or so she felt), is represented as encouraging her to become a club-performer. She writes,

> This, I was to discover 30 years later, was nonphysical sexual abuse. My father unwittingly used me to get his needs met. . . . I subjugated my will in order to please him. I learned how to say yes when I wanted to say no. My father's happiness was more important than my own. This setup breeds codependency and when you perform to the beat of someone else's drum over the years, you learn to abandon yourself. (p. 177-178)

Denial of self-will in order to please a man became a theme that ran though out Joan's writings about her life. She perceived that her father taught her that his way was the only way, couching his demands in consistent, loving behavior, sweetly teaching her about men's manipulative use of power. She represents that she learned that she had to do what men requested in order to get their attention. Her writing reveals that she reasoned that she had to deny her desires, or manipulate herself, to receive men's love. Joan's autobiographical reflections indicate that she became so adept at this form of self-denial that she freely gave her personal power and desires away to controlling men, in four marriages and one live-in relationship.

In writing her autobiography, Joan displays her perception that all of her marital relationships served as attempts to finish her relationship with her father. These relationships, like the one with her father, are depicted as being unable to satisfy Joan's need for acceptance as a person in her own right. Joan portrays that whenever she went to her father for support, he was consistent in reminding her that she should rely on a man or she would be nothing. When her grades fell in college, he told her that the only reason

girls went to college was to get their MRS. degree. Later, her father reportedly told her that she was nothing without a man to discourage her from divorcing her first husband, Jack.

Joan's writing reveals her perception that her father taught her to doubt herself, trusting that men would provide the keys to happiness. She presents, "The conditioning of self-doubt in women by their fathers, husbands and even sons has impaired the growth in selfhood for women probably more than any one single factor" (p. 98).

Summary

The writings of these three women place significant credit on their relationships with parents as being directly associated with their later life choices. For this reason, this section has detailed and explored what the women shared about these relationships. In summary, Iris, Anne, and Joan depict having had emotionally distant relationships with their mothers. Iris represents that she rejected the model of selflessness that she perceived her mother to model. Anne and Joan's writing depicts them as displaying behaviors similar to their mothers during their early years. They both describe themselves as having followed the traditional model of motherhood, caring for the needs of others and being unaware of any personal needs.

The impact of the relationships that these women describe having had with their fathers was an unexpected finding based on the reviewed theories of women's development as presented in Chapter 2 of this study. Iris's words reveal that her father's constant love fueled her ambitions and her sense of self-worth. She readily acknowledges her father as the most influential person in her life. In her text, Anne portrays that she recognized that her father held the position of power within the family. Her search for a

sense of personal power can be understood as a reaction to her father's absence. She appears to have searched for power as power was connected to her father. Anne summarizes her reactions and feelings about her father, "If you don't have a good father you mourn for him always" (p. 137). Joan portrays her father as insisting that she follow his dream for her to become a musician. She depicts him as exploiting her talents for financial gain and his vicarious accomplishment. Her father is credited with giving Joan her first instruction in the performing arts, both in music and in the art of self-denial. Joan, wanting only to please her father and retain his attention, reasons in her text that she learned to perform for his love. The lesson learned, that love requires self-denial, was so well internalized that it would take years of therapy, four marriages and one live-in relationship to discover.

Conflicts

The purpose of this sect ion is to address the nature of professional women's conflicts. This section explores the descriptions of Iris, Anne, and Joan as related to their perceptions of conflict in an effort to uncover what they reveal regarding the etiology of women's conflicts. In particular, the ways Iris, Anne, and Joan's depict their relationships with parents as affecting their experiences of conflicts are discussed. In the previous section, Iris, Anne, and Joan texts were found to support the impact of the maternal relationship on their perceptions of their lives development. However, Iris, Anne, and Joan depict their perceptions of and reactions to their relationship with their fathers as having had an equally, if not larger, influence on the direction of their lives.

According to the integrated presentation of women's developmental theories (see Chapter 2, Integration and Limitation of Research Findings), women's development

theories support that the women's development is characterized as falling along a continuum of concern for self versus concern for others. The literature on women's definition of achievement as well as women's development support that advanced development is characterized by a sense of balance between one's personal concerns and the concerns of others (Eccles, 1986; Enns, 1991; Farmer, 1985; Reis, 1995; Silverman, 1995; Subotnick & Arnold, 1995). Accordingly, it is supposed that women's conflicts arise as they struggle to attain balance.

The question that remains unanswered in the developmental literature is what influences how one chooses her orientation of concern. According to the texts of Iris, Anne, and Joan, it appears that the orientation of concern for self was the result of reaction to their father's model. The orientation for concern for others appears to have resulted from reaction to their mother's model. In support of these statements, let us revisit the impact of these women's relationships with parents.

In the previous section, it was shown that Iris perceived that the attention and acceptance of her father was freely given in response to her overt accomplishments. She learned that striving for goals, as was his model, allowed her to win her father's favor. Iris's goal-oriented, ambitious spirit can be conceptualized as equivalent to the concern for self. Iris's mother was portrayed as a nurturing caretaker. Iris's writing depicts her as totally subsumed with the care of her family, giving herself to the needs of others without any evidence of personal needs or desires. Her mother then can be understood to have given Iris an obvious model of how to care for the needs of others.

Even as Iris was exposed to two models, her writing supports that she appeared to emulate her father as she saw her mother's model as ineffectual. Her written comments

indicate that she viewed her mother as a powerless victim of her social times. Iris, hearing the feminist cry against powerlessness, apparently found following her father's model to be the most useful coping strategy. To Iris, her mother's model of caring for others before one's self could only lead to death of self. Iris wanted self to live. Her writing supports that she reasoned (perhaps unconsciously in her early adult years) that patterning her life after that of her homemaker mother would decrease her chances for optimal survival. Her father's model showed her how to use her ambition to maximize self-survival.

Anne's writing provides evidence that she was not drawn to the lifestyle of her father, but she was drawn to his power. He was perceived to present a model of pursuing personal concerns primary to any awareness of other's needs. Throughout her text, Anne's writing reflects that finding a sense of peace and personal power was a driving force in her life. Without a mother to teach her how women could obtain power, Anne was left to internalize the popular stereotype of femininity. This model of womanhood taught her how to cater to the needs of her others, denying that she had any personal concerns or desires. Anne had observed that women were attracted to and submitted to her father's power. Consequently, Anne found support for accepting the traditional image of the male-pleasing female as a viable path to acquisition of power. Anne's orientation of concern for others can then be understood to be a reactionary mechanism in her search for a source of personal power or a sense of personal identity. According to her writing, Anne did not feel that following self-concerns, as was related as descriptive of Anne's father's behaviors, was an option during the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Joan's father, similar to Anne's, was depicted as the holding the seat of power in the family. His model of fulfilling his own desires provided Joan with an example of how one might seek to follow self-concerns. In her father's world, providing for the desires of the male was credited as being women's purpose. Joan's mother is recalled as reinforcing this view by her continuous giving nature. Joan depicts her mother as primarily motivated to consider other's needs above her own. She provided Joan with a model of concern for others.

During her youth, Joan represents that, to gain her father's attention and good will, she had to perform. As her talents and sexuality bloomed in her adolescence, Joan writes that her father began booking her in club performances, capitalizing on her skills and sex appeal. Although not interested in being a professional accordionist, Joan knew that this was the path to her father's affections. She reasoned in her text that she learned to submit her sexuality to males in order to merit their favor. Through his demands, Joan's father was felt to have taught her that her desires were secondary to meeting the needs of the male. For Joan, orienting toward the needs and concerns of others was the only option she felt allowed to follow.

Previous discussions of women's conflicts in the developmental literature discuss two possible orientations of concerns; self-concern and concern for others (Enns, 1991). This contention found support in this study. It appears that the model of self-concerns was viewed from their father's behaviors whereas the model of concerns for others was viewed from the image of the traditional, self-sacrificing woman. What is interesting is that even as all three women were exposed to two orientations of concern, neither Iris, Anne, nor Joan describe themselves as displaying a balance in orientation of concern to

self or other's needs. Similar to the findings of previous research on women's conflicts (Eccles, 1986; Enns, 1991; Farmer, 1985; Reis, 1995; Silverman, 1995; Subotnick & Arnold, 1995), each woman was "unbalanced" and therefore vulnerable to conflictual feelings.

Before examining the ways in which these women describe have dealt with this feeling of being "unbalanced", it is important to consider further how one's orientation of concern initially develops. It has been discussed that these women's initial orientation of concern resulted from their reactions to the fathers. But the question that remains to be answered is why these women were so reactionary to their father's influence. The piece of the puzzle that explains "why" the father's model was thought to be best is missing.

In order to address this question, let us return to the written reflections of Iris, Anne, and Joan for clarification. These women's orientation of concern in their early adult years appears to be a response to interactions with their fathers. For clarity, the dynamics of the women's relationships with their father are briefly reviewed. An interpretation of the apparent reason for the primary effects of these relationships will then be explored. Iris's written words support that she openly embraced her father's model of personal achievement. Anne and Joan, however, did not appear able to overtly imitate the father's behaviors. Their writings reveal that they felt societal and family restrictions on the proper behaviors for women to display and did not perceive that overtly imitating the father's behaviors was an option.

Iris was the only one of the three who reports overtly following the model her father presented. She displays that she perceived freedom to actively pursue her personal concerns. Iris credits her father's encouragement and her political climate with allowing

her the freedom to pursue her own interests. She relates in her text that she arrived on the scenes of the women's movement after the revolutionary changes had already occurred. She presents, "Never did I doubt that I could be anything I wanted to be . . .. In fact, being a woman was about the coolest thing you could be" (p. 17-18). Her experiences as a woman free from societal expectations made her "inflamed . . . over the oppression of wives as a whole, and especially over my own mother, who was sharp and organized and could have been somebody big" (p. 19). She began to "equate marriage with the death of dreams, a societally imposed force that snuffs the creative fires out of the female species" (p. 19-20). She writes that she imagined herself to be "a master in business, not a slave to my home" (p. 20) and to be "different from every generation of women that came before us, smarter, stronger, better" (p. 20).

Iris's ambition is understood to be the result of her father's reinforcement of her achievement-oriented behaviors. As an adult riding the wave of the women's movement, Iris found her ambitions continued to be rewarded in the newly available career world. Believing she was living the feminist dream of finding a self-fulfilling career, Iris did not realize that her adult behavior was actually a perpetuation of the same attention seeking behaviors that her father had reinforced. It is true that, as an adult, these behaviors had found other sources of reinforcement (i.e., feminism and career), but their beginnings were found in the relationship Iris had had with her father.

Although Anne admits in her autobiography to having ambitions of attaining power, she relates that she did not feel able to accomplish these herself in her younger years. She presented that she "had only vicarious accomplishment" (p. 8) through the success of a husband or child. She describes,

> My only power depended on my body leaning forward, bending back, moving across the room, leaving a burning trace like a falling star, holding the eye, sparking a wish. I didn't know if I had that power, was I pretty, pretty enough? I laughed, patted, cajoled, comforted, supported, listened, served. I typed my husband's manuscripts late at night after a full day's work as a receptionist. I was grateful to be my husband's muse, I had chosen the position, auditioned for it. (p. 8)

Anne's reveals that her private ambition allowed her to go to college. However, she portrays, "It seemed in those preliberation days as if we lived parallel lives. One was public in which you do math homework as if it mattered and the other private where . . . your destiny as a mother waited" (p. 18).

In her autobiography, Anne represents that she followed the dictates set before her, disguising her own ambition by playing the parts of college student and wife. She felt she had no other option. She perceived that she was supported in going to college, not so much for the education, but for the exposure to bright young men on whom she could hitch her ambitions. She married in the early sixties to a writer, sublimating her desires to become a writer by assisting him. She had her first child with him but displays that she was unaware of the magnitude of responsibility this choice would carry. She writes that she simply followed the path that seemed obvious for women of her time.

Even as Joan describes herself as a descendant of a legacy of workingwomen, she stresses that she was groomed to nurture the men in her family. Work was a means to provide financial support to the male's dreams and aspirations. For Joan, desires for

personal accomplishment apart from the family were inconceivable. In her text, she reports feeling that her only option was to focus on the needs of others.

Joan recalls in her autobiography that, as a young women, marriage was her destiny, the expectation passed on to her by her society and family. She records, "For me there was never any other option. Not to have done it would have been a nightmare, disappointment and a failure of my womanhood. This was an unwritten injunction of my time and culture" (p. 210).

Joan pens,

> I don't know if these are the injunctions of the fathers, or modeling of the little girls on their powerless mothers many of us grow up with . . . that awe of the men. I observe in therapy everyday, that despite all the empowerment of the women's movement it is still so hard for women to feel themselves equals of men. Logically, the point of independence has been made, but at the emotional level we have that need to be sanctified by a man. I many times define it as the "father wound," which pathologically expresses itself in the form of a compulsive need to please and win the father. (p. 168)

Joan's father, vocal in his beliefs, is remembered to often tell her that she would be nothing without a man. Joan's father's attention, which he told her she needed in order to survive, was gained only if the women in his life reinforced his beliefs. As her father was represented as holding the financial power in the family, the women had to submit in order to survive. Self-denial appears to have been a way of life for both Joan and her mother. Joan learned by her father's demands and her mother's model that attention could only be gained by attending to the needs of the more powerful male. In

effect, the only orientation of concern that Joan perceived that she was able to display in her early years was that of attending to other's needs. For Joan, securing the support of her father, and later her male companions, was an apparent issue of survival.

What is common of all these women in their remembered and publicly shared relationships with their parents is the lesson learned that one must act in accordance with the male's wishes in order to gain his attentions. The fathers can be seen as representing the women's first exposure to a world outside of the home. They appeared to hold the connection to, or the power with, a community outside the family home. In these women's eyes, power appeared to be granted by external forces. Power, or attention, was something that was bestowed by others. The other, in these women's early years, appears to have been the father.

The care of the male, modeled by the mothers, was the behavior sanctioned and reinforced by society during the time period that these women's mothers were raising Iris, Anne, and Joan. All three of these women had mothers who, being dependent on the male's ability to economically succeed, attempted to nurture and cater to the father, hoping to make his life, and in turn their own, as comfortable as possible. The mothers, perhaps unaware of their subtle manipulation of males for their own vicarious accomplishment and sense of security, presented a model to their daughters. This model taught self-deception as the path to acceptance.

What becomes obvious in the writings of Iris, Anne, and Joan is that they felt that their chosen orientation of concern was the only viable option. Supported by her culture of women's liberation, Iris writes that she did not feel she could recapitulate her mother's model of concern for others as she viewed her mother as weak. Anne and Joan perceived

that caring for others was their only option as they made their way in a preliberation culture. All three women's behaviors can be understood as adaptations to the specifics of their life circumstances. Iris entered her early adult years in the seventies, perceiving that her future was unlimited. Anne and Joan, however, arrived to their early adult years during a time when women's liberation was just beginning. It appears that for each of these women followed the path that they perceived to be most conducive to personal survival.

An issue that was not written about in the autobiographical texts may have had a profound impact on the content of the written recollections. This issue concerns the time period in which these text were written. These women stress that their behaviors were the result of following the only path that they felt was available to them at the time. This form to "blaming" their choices on cultural factors may be a derivative of the zeitgeist of an era in which these books were written. The social and historical context of the early 1990s is popularly acknowledged to be an era of social victimization. It is hard to determine if these women's reflections and interpretations of meaning are accurate or if they are reflective of what was politically correct or current in the time period these books were published.

It is important for the reader to retain awareness that this chapter focuses on what Iris, Joan, and display as their perceptions in their autobiographical texts. As this study is searching for the women's subjective interpretation, the factual "truth" of their interpretations may come into question. The impact of this issue will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5. With this caution in mind, this study continues with an

analysis of what it was that Iris, Anne, and Joan represent as important factors at play during their lifetimes.

It appears, based on the writing of these three women, that the model for attending to self-concerns was received from the father. The model for attending to other-concerns appears to have been received from the mother. Both models, however, can be conceptualized as routes to maximizing their survival chances. Let us entertain that the father's model taught that attending to self-concerns was the best route to survival. Meanwhile, the mother's model appears to have taught that the best route to survival was to support and enhance the male's ability to protect the family. For support of these statements let us return to the women's written remembrances and interpretations.

Iris's writing represents her as believing that she was able to pursue her self-concerns as she had the support of her father and the benefits of the women's movement. Anne and Joan did not report experiencing the same freedom. They had as their only method for enhancing their own survival to assert the male's dominance. The concern for others then does not appear to have developed from some pure altruistic motivation specific to the female gender. Rather, the orientation of concern for others appears to be a reactionary coping strategy. Anne and Joan, hoping to find a way to survive in their culture, found that caring for others afforded their most likely chance of personal survival. They appear to have learned that they had to care for others in order to have their own needs met.

Iris, Anne, and Joan's interactions with their parents and their socio-political culture appears to have taught them that they must be responsive and adaptive in order maximize their survival chances. Each woman has been shown to receive two models of

how to improve one's survival potential. From reaction to the mother's model these women internalized concern for others as the path to personal survival; howbeit, this is a convoluted, self-deceiving path. What appears to be concern for others may in actuality be a disguised attempt to improve one's own chances for survival. From watching their father's behavior they were exposed to a model of pursuit of one's personal interest as a path to personal survival. However, only Iris describes feeling the freedom to pursue this model.

What appears to be the primary conflict that Iris, Anne, and Joan faced was how to most effectively enhance their chances for personal survival. These women's parents presented two models of how to best assure one's survival potential. As youth, these women choose the path that they felt was most adaptive. Iris's words support that she found the freedom to openly follow her father's model. Anne and Joan's writings do not support that they perceived the option to blatantly pursue personal concerns. Their writing reveals their perceptions that they had to attend to the needs of others in order to assure their usefulness. Public opinion holds that males in the American society have the least constraints in pursuing their personal desires. The male gender is widely considered to have the greatest freedom to openly maintain an orientation of self-concerns. It appears that Iris, Anne, and Joan's writings support that they assumed, therefore, that their father's held the greatest connection to personal survival. In response, all three women appear to have internalized the model of womanhood that was reinforced by their fathers. It appears that the primary conflict (i.e., how to survive in the culture of their family and social groups) was resolved by accepting the father's teachings on the proper role for women.

These women found that following the model, or fitting the role, that the father reinforced was effective during childhood and early adulthood. Unfortunately, the presentations of these three women depict that the behaviors that had worked as children ceased to function in adulthood. The adult conflicts of Iris, Anne, and Joan can be conceptualized as having their etiology in the parent's contradictory models. In order to understand this assertion more fully, let us examine the descriptions of the areas of adult conflict that Iris, Anne, and Joan report.

Iris often wrote of her troubled awareness of a sense of self-dualism. She portrays her dilemma,

> I had one strong and recurrent realization: I am not this person. . . . What I could never have imagined back then at fifteen was just how long it would take to discover the wholeness and harmony I was looking for. I was to experience a duality of self again and again as I fumbled through high school, college, and beyond, often from being in relationships that were clearly wrong, or hanging around a group of camaraderie only to be hit by a profound loneliness. (p. 10)

Unbeknownst to Iris, this confusion may have been the result of internalization of two contradictory parental models. From her father she received a model for fulfillment of self-concerns. His encouragement to find a personal path to power fueled her ambitions. Iris's mother provided a model of concern for others. Her nurturing, care taking behaviors provided a model for improving one's own survival chances by supporting the male to increase his power so as to better protect his family. Iris's father reinforced her concern for self-ambition while her mother's example planted a model in Iris of how to enhance the survival of the family. Iris's conflicts would appear as she

began her family. She would find that following her father's model was insufficient to meet the needs of her family. She could not focus on her own desires and be effective as a mother. Mothering required attendance to the concerns of others. Mothering required that she acknowledge the viability of the model that her mother had presented, a model that Iris had previously rejected.

After her failed first marriage, Anne's comments indicate that she began to understand that placing her needs secondary to males was not a viable path to personal power. With the rise in feminist discussions, Anne describes that her search for power was supported in the voices of other women. It is important to consider how the zeitgeist of this early feminist period affected Anne's display of her early adult years. This political movement supported women's anger at male figures and may have had a profound affect on what she recalls to have perceived about her life during these years, especially as related to her father. It is difficult to determine if in fact she felt her own need for power and found encouragement from fellow feminists or if the feminist discourse quicken an awareness in her that had previously been dormant, or perhaps nonexistent.

Regardless of the how her awareness surfaced, Anne writing is consistent in sharing a deep feeling of discontent over her relationship with her father. Anne's father, portrayed as a bigoted, chauvinist, was not a model that Anne wished to perpetuate. However, her reaction to his model is seen as a theme that runs throughout her life. She perceived that she held in common with her father a desire power. They both actively desired the ability to command other's attentions. Anne, writing with the benefit of lived

wisdom, illustrates that the attention she craved was that of the warm, loving mother she had so desired as a child.

According to her autobiographical writing, Anne, searching for a connection to the personal power that would maximize her survival chances, found herself living in the contradictions between the ideals of feminism and motherhood. According to her recorded words, feminism taught Anne that the path to self-awareness and personal power required attending to self-concerns. In essence, feminism gave Anne the permission to overtly follow her father's model. Motherhood, which was her connection to the mother-nurturance that she had craved as a child, required that she prioritize the needs of her children. Anne's words support that she found herself in conflict as she attempted to simultaneously follow both models. The result was that she had to acknowledge that the models were incongruent. She writes of her struggle in accepting that she could not be totally concerned with her own desires nor could she be totally focused on the needs of others. According to her text, her reality was played out in the contradictions between the ideals.

Joan's mother and father appear to have provided dictates that taught her that a woman's duty was to prioritize other's needs and deny the existence of self-needs. Joan's adult conflicts came as she became aware that she had personal needs. According to her written reflections, years of training as a caretaker caused Joan to have difficulty in acknowledging and respecting her own needs. She allows in her text that her self-desires had to become known through overt, oftentimes self-destructive, behaviors.

In review of the theoretical literature on woman's conflicts, it has been suggested that women's development can be conceptualized along a continuum of self-concerns and

concerns for others (Belenky et al., 1985; Enns, 1991; Gilligan; 1982; Josselson, 1987; Powell & Mainiero, 1992). Women's conflicts are proposed to be the result of an inability to balance self and other concerns (Eccles, 1986; Silverman, 1995; Subotnik & Arnold, 1995).

It has been demonstrated that the experience of conflicts for Iris, Anne, and Joan came as they found themselves attempting to respect their self-concerns while seeking to fulfill the desires of others. This finding is consistent with the literature, presented in Chapter 2, on women's definition of achievement and developmental processes. This literature suggests that a woman conflicts arise as she seeks to balance self-concerns with the needs of others (Hollinger & Fleming, 1992; Reis, 1995; Silverman, 1995; Subotnik & Arnold, 1995).

What was not explained by the developmental framework was why the lives of Iris, Anne, and Joan appeared to be so profoundly affected by the influence of their fathers. This section on women's conflicts has searched the writings of Iris, Anne, and Joan looking for clarification on this issue. Based on these women's descriptions, it appears that all three women reacted to their father in response to cultural demands. These women appear to have followed the path to personal survival that was socially reinforced. For Anne and Joan, raised in a preliberation culture, this required that they care for other's needs. Iris, benefiting from women's liberation, found freedom to pursue her own desires.

An important factor that should be considered in the interpretation of Iris, Anne, and Joan's written remembrances is the social context in which the narrative was recalled. The three women wrote their texts during the early 1990s and discuss a time period in

which women's liberation became a common experience to American women. Having experienced this time period and having been taught that American women have a right to personal fulfillment and a life directed by one's personal desires, it could be argued that the women's remembrances of the ways in which her relationships with parents affected her adult life are as much a result of the popularized "victim" mentality of the time period as what may have in reality occurred. It may be that the social environment in which these women lived and wrote supported them in what may amount to "blaming" the parents, especially the father, for her subsequent problems.

By recalling the model that was socially reinforced, it is important to notice that the writings of Iris, Anne, and Joan demonstrate that they were reacting to the model of womanhood that was reinforced by their fathers. Iris portrays that she experienced the freedom to overtly attend to her self-concerns and she credits her father's encouragement with fueling her ambitions. He offered his model of ambitious career pursuit as a viable model for attaining personal power. Anne and Joan's written reflections support that they felt forced, out of desperation, to prioritize their own needs below those of others. Survival for these women meant submitting to the male's desires in order to endear his affections. Anne and Joan writings support that they felt, during their early years, that they were allowed to only vicariously attain a sense of power from the male. For these women, self-denied expressions of sexuality became the means to access the male's attention. Having gained his attention, they could gather a sense of power, or increase their chances of survival, by claiming as their own the male's accomplishments and successes.

These arguments support that women's areas of conflict in their adult lives can be conceptualized as having their basis in the contradictory models the parents presented regarding how to cope with the child's original conflict of how to best attain the attention and acceptance necessary for creation of a sense of personal identity. Therefore, the adult's conflict remains the same as the child's conflict. The adult woman is still trying to learn how a person can attain the attention that maximizes her survival chances. The modes for coping with this conflict may change but the original conflict appears to remain the same.

It follows that women's adult conflicts are descriptive of her struggle to attain a sense of balance between her two parental models. The findings of this study agree with the literature on women's achievement and development processes that women's conflicts are based on her attempts to achieve balance (Eccles, 1986; Enns, 1991; Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1987). However, women's development theory conceptualizes this struggle along a continuum of self-concern and other-concerns (Enns, 1991). This study does not support that women's conflicts are best depicted in terms of this continuum. In fact, it appears that self-concerns and other-concerns are in actuality coping strategies designed to attain the same goal, that of self-survival. In essence, the developmental explanation, as theorized in Chapter 2, appears inadequate to fully explain the processes at work in the autobiographically represented lives of Iris, Anne, and Joan.

Coping Strategies

As Iris, Anne, and Joan made the transition from childhood to adulthood, they were called upon to cope with a reality that was often unfamiliar. In facing adult responsibilities, the women would learn if their chosen models would prove viable.

Based on Iris's discourse in the text, it appears that she followed her father's model of ambition. By being like him, her words support that he accepted her. The writing of Anne and Joan supports the argument that they followed the model presented by their mother but reinforced by their father. For Anne, this meant becoming a mother. This role, in her day, required marriage. By becoming her picture of the ideal mother, it appears, based on her penned remembrances of the time, that she hoped to provide herself with the nurturance that she had missed as a child. Joan's written reflections support that she learned the art of self-denial through her mother's model and her father's reinforcement. As a teen, she described that she found that using her self-denied sexuality was not only the ticket to her father's affections, but it also provided her with the other male's protective graces. Now, as adults, the writing of these women indicates that they were faced with putting these learned responses to service. They were to learn if the plot of their childhood stories would remain intact as new characters and events entered the scene.

This section seeks to provide clarification regarding possible types of coping strategies that some women might utilize in managing conflicts. According to the literature, it is suggested that women cope with conflicts by balancing self-concerns and the concerns of others (Eccles, 1986, Enns, 1992; Farmer, 1985; Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1987; Reis, 1995; Silverman, 1995; Subotnik & Arnold, 1995). This section displays the coping strategies, based on the autobiographical reports of Iris, Anne, and Joan, which they appear to have utilized in managing areas of conflict. In addition, the relative effectiveness of the various coping strategies is examined.

The themes, or coping strategies, emerged during the process of data analysis and were not explicitly discussed in the women's autobiography. The categories appeared as the writing was first analyzed holistically for overall meaning then broken down into categories in a search for common descriptive themes. Supporting quotes were drawn from the texts and organized and re-organized until categories were discovered which allowed all data, which included supporting quotes from the text and personal summarization notes, to be easily fit into one category. This process was an ongoing process over the course of interpretation analysis and resulted in the current categorization system.

Based on their self-reports in their autobiographical texts, four coping strategies are evident in the lives of the Iris, Anne, and Joan. The first strategy that these women's writing appears to support is labeled Primary Recapitulation in this study. This coping strategy depicts the women simply repeating the model that they had found reinforced by their fathers and their sociopolitical culture. If this strategy proved ineffective in managing life's conflicts, these women's text support that they tried it's opposite. This coping strategy is named Alternative Recapitulation in this study. It describes behaviors in which the women attempted to use a model for coping that was diametrical to their initial coping strategy. Iris, Anne, and Joan's discussions in their texts also support that they attempted to cope by a strategy conceptualized in this study as Simultaneous Recapitulation. During these times, the women present evidence of simultaneously using the parental models (i.e., means to survival) of self-concern and other-concerns. If these three coping strategies were not effective in resolving their feelings of conflict (i.e., confusion over the best method to increase their personal survival chances), the women

represent that they were forced, out of sheer necessity to utilize another coping strategy. This strategy is conceptualized as Blended Capitulation. Behaviors reported to be associated with use of this strategy demonstrate a process of creation and surrender to a self-selected life course that blended or modified the contradictory coping models of self-concerns and other-concerns.

The remainder of this section provides detailed descriptions of the four coping strategies that were described in the writings of Iris, Anne, and Joan. Behaviors associated with each of the coping strategies are presented as described in the women's texts. The effectiveness of the various coping strategies to attain attention, which was recognized in earlier discussion as forming the basis of women's adult conflicts, is evaluated by tracing the course of the various coping strategies through the women's life writing. Issues related to transitions between coping strategies are also discussed.

For the sake of clarity in describing the four coping strategies, each woman's story is presented separately with supporting textual evidence. After these descriptions, a collective interpretation of the common themes of the self-reported behaviors is presented.

Primary Recapitulation

When the writings of Iris, Anne, and Joan depict their early adult years, a coping strategy that appears common in the reports of all three women is that they simply followed a model that had been presented to them by their parents. This strategy, named Primary Recapitulation in this study, entails a repetition of the primary model, or the model that the woman had internalized as the most viable path to maximizing their personal survival and achieving a sense of personal identity.

Previously, it was discussed that Iris, Anne, and Joan appear to be have been drawn to their father's model as the more effective mode of dealing with life's demands. Iris writes that she viewed her father as the warmer, more loving parent. She was willing to follow his goal-oriented lead in order to maintain a sense of attachment to him. Based on her written remembrances, she appears to have modeled herself in his image, benefiting from the attention and love he freely shared. Her words support that she defined herself based on the reinforcements that he provided. Anne presented in her writing that, although she was not impressed with her father's personality, she was aware that he held a sense of personal power. Her father is remembered in her text as having had an ability to command attention. Anne was drawn toward this power, as she understood that power drew attention. Anne indicated in her text that she craved attention; howbeit, she desired that of her ineffective mother. Anne writes that she desired the power to secure other's notice. She wanted to be a person in her own right. Similar to Anne's family, Joan's father in presented as holding the position of power in the family structure. In order to access this power, Joan relates in her text that she learned that her father's attention came at the price of a good performance. She writes of her awareness that it was her father's selective encouragement that taught her to be an actress, playing the part of the Maiden. She goes on to describe that she came to understand that women were to access power only by pleasing the male.

As was discussed in the previous section, the father's model and societal reinforcements are understood to have shaped the women's recollections and descriptions of her early coping attempts. As they faced difficulties in their lives, this model was called into service. In other words, one strategy for dealing with life's conflicts was to

recapitulate the primary model taught through interactions with the father and reinforced in their culture. Let us now explore the women's writing for support of these statements.

In her autobiographical text, Iris's father is remembered as consistently reinforcing her ambitious spirit through his emotional support and encouragement to pursue her personal desires. Iris describes that she understood that her father's attention and acceptance were to be gained by allowing her ambitions to blossom, bringing home to him the tangible rewards of success.

Iris's relates that her ambitions for personal success were later reinforced in her career. She began work in public relations and describes, "the dream job at Margie Korshak with my head in the stars and packed social life enveloped me safely in a cushion of frivolity" (p. 30). Later, she writes that her career ambition was given another boost when she was recruited to the Dallas Times Herald as a fashion writer. She represents the time period, "My career was igniting and that overshadowed all else . . . I felt exactly like the earliest days of Margie Korshak Associates. Hot. Happening. Alive!" (p. 35). In her early thirties, Iris began working for UPI as a celebrity psychojournalist. She portrays, "Meeting nearly everybody I wanted made me feel important . . Here I was on the front row of life" (p. 44). Her writing demonstrates that the pursuit of her career ambitions promoted a sense of personal power and tangible reward, especially as she came to work at the UPI. Her orientation to self-concerns, first reported as reinforced by her father during her childhood, now found reinforcement in the job market.

Iris written words support that she had become accustomed to her father's reinforcement of her personal ambitions as a child. And as an adult she writes that her

career supported her strivings for personal recognition. However, Iris's shared remembrances do not indicate that she was happy. She represents that during her early years as a publicist, she found herself with an active social life running around with the stars, but struggling with a feeling of discontent. She describes thinking, "What was I doing? Who was I? The onetime spiritual voyager on a quest for Cosmic Consciousness and God was turning into a celebrity sponge"(p. 31). Still, she maintained her career pursuits. And she continued to be plagued with her unrequited search for meaning. She represents, "the surface rhythm of my life kept me distracted. . . But the truth about a frenzied life that is built on being Out There is that on those rare moments when you stop and focus In There, you crash" (p. 33). She reveals that she continued to intensely feel her duality and asserts, "I wanted to be Grounded in Truth, not to be feeling like that high school cheerleader grinning hugely and acting out a life that wasn't really hers" (p. 33).

Even as her career was igniting, Iris depicts remembering that she found herself hoping for a relationship. She describes her hopes, "Everyone wanted it – A Relationship – but no one seemed to have it, because we worked all the time and we expected our men to be as flawless as our wines" (p. 47). She reports her realization,

> Although we looked to books like Janice Harayda's The Joy of Being Single for reassurance and support, with its advice to "stop putting your life on hold and start living," it struck me that the only way that I might be able to start living was if I put this life on hold. Skinny, Single, and Successful was not a path to the Golden Light. So much for our claims of how wonderfully free we felt to have postponed the chains of marriage to Find Ourselves. (p. 47)

After beginning her job at the UPI, Iris indicates in her text that her desire for grounding from her relentless ambitions intensified. She writes,

> Here I was with press clearance to the White House and a great resume, when all I wanted was the marrow of life, . . . Instead of sucking the marrow of life, we were grazing on cilantro and playing Trivial Pursuit. One-upping each other with superficial TV trivia kept us from having to reveal any of our raw innards, the pain deep inside. This Having It All stuff was a hoax; having everything was exactly like having nothing. Anyone who was honest would admit they were starving for emotional intimacy, for meaning beyond jaunts to Corfu, that we were desperate for babies to love. (p. 49)

Iris's writing demonstrates that, after a few years of playing the career-girl role, she felt unsatisfied. Iris was finding that her father's model was not effective in maintaining her quest for meaning. Iris began to question the viability of this model by searching for other paths to fulfillment. She indicates by her words that she attempted to search for a relationship, but, with nothing available, the only thing she had to help her define herself was her job. Her career took her from Chicago, to Dallas, to Washington D.C. Iris recalls that each move appeased her ambition for a while, but then the old feeling returned. Something was missing.

In her autobiography, she portrays that she continued to search, looking for something to make her feel complete. She depicts that she was beginning to understand that ambition wasn't enough. She also wanted intimacy. But, she describes that her ambitious nature was stronger than her desire for security. Even as she became aware that she was missing a part of herself, a part that wanted an intimate relationship with a

man and babies, she displays that she continued to pursue her self-concerns. Iris wanted to feel connected to a relationship, but she did not perceive that there was anyone to connect to in her early years. Iris was left to follow her ambition, as she saw this as her only available coping strategy. Her ambition, being self-concerned, is credited with forcing her to make choices based on self-promotion. It is not that Iris was not concerned with others; but, more accurately, no one was there to be concerned with. Her relationships were not remembered as based on intimacy. Iris recalls that they tended to be with like-minded ambitious types, sharing selfish identities. Because they were all similarly self-concerned, deeper connection was not possible.

When Iris's father died, she represents that the force that had driven her ambition was taken away. Her father, her source of attention and acceptance, her definition of success, was gone. She portrays a period of time in which she felt that she had to turn to herself to find a definition of self. For Iris, self was defined in terms of her achievements. The only reinforcement for achievement, other than her father, was her career. She depicts that she turned to her work for help in creating a sense of personal meaning. By listening to the persons that she interviewed, Iris's words support that she came to understand that there were other models of success beyond that which her father had taught her.

Chuck, Iris's future husband, was depicted as stable and consistent, providing a welcome anchor for Iris through her coming time of transition. It appears that she traded her father's acceptance for Chuck's acceptance, finding in him the type of unconditional support her father had given. Iris can then still be seen pursuing her primary coping

strategy. Even as she was beginning to be aware of her need for connection, she had not so much changed her coping style, as she changed the supporting actors.

Anne's writing suggests that she did not perceive that her parents provide her with a viable model for managing life's demands. According to her comments, Anne did not experience role models in her home that she wished to emulate. So, as a young adult, she depicts herself as a woman open to receiving society's messages. She recalls that she looked to the outside world for guidance out of necessity. She reflects in her text that she silently followed the accepted path for women in the 1950s with one exception. She went to college. However, she was careful not to acknowledge that she had ambitions other than finding a husband. She writes that her ambitions were hidden during these early years, even to her.

Viewing marriage as her only option, and needing someone to support her, Anne represents that she made the obvious choice. She married. By being the all-loving wife, Anne portrays that she hoped to ride the wave of respect that her husband's artistry attained. His talent she coveted but could not admit. She represents,

> I wasn't able yet to understand my marriage to a writer as my own thinly disguised attempt to be a writer. . . . Later I understood that. . . I was more like a vampire, a brain sucker, trying to attach myself to, hide myself behind, ride to vicarious success through the gifts of a male. It wasn't so uncommon in those days. It was culturally logical and a lot of women, with their ambitions in the closet, were borrowing men to fulfill their dreams. It was not nice, not entirely decent. . . . if men were abusing women for their own sexual need, so were women using men to vicariously conquer the world" (p. 16).

Soon, Anne had a child. Anne's reflections indicate that this child served as a connection to the mother spirit inside of her. She shares in her text that this spirit, born from her lonely childhood, turned to the baby as a way to fill a wanting void. She writes of seeing her child for the first time,

> Temporarily I was blissed. So blissed I hardly noticed that I had lost my place on Huck's raft, would soon lose my indifferent husband, my time for myself, my ambition, my freedom to go wherever the mood took me and stay as long as I liked. I was no longer the subject of my own days. Now I was the soil, damp, dank, wormy, from which someone else might grow. . . . I had given up my boundary, the wall of self, and in return had received obligation and love, a love mingled with its opposite, a love that grabbed me by the throat and has still not let me go. (p. 4)

Anne entered the adult world apparently aware of only one coping strategy. She was going to experience motherhood. Anne apparently expected that the price of a successful life as a mother would be marriage and dependency on a male. By following the model of motherhood presented to her by the 1950s society, Anne depicts that she was temporarily content. But soon the story changed. Anne's written remembrances of her first marriage indicate that the man that she had married and believed to be filled with creative genius revealed himself as an alcoholic who suffered from mental illness. Anne writes of the end of her first marriage,

> Divorce was not exactly an option. I did not do it to find myself or make myself happy although that was the result. I did it because my first marriage was so egregiously a mockery, the stage fell down, the scenery collapsed. . . . For many of

us it was true: we had no choice but to leave, to stay would also have been a betrayal of the children. (p. 168-169)

Anne's shared recollections of the period after her divorce indicates that she found herself confused. She displays that she was unsure what direction to take her life. Unquestioning acceptance of the traditional definition of a woman (i.e., wife and mother) had not worked. Anne's words support that she was forced to find another way to survive. For Anne, the transition away from use of her primary coping strategy was forced out of necessity. The choice to end her marriage was obvious. For Anne, there was no marriage and to continue would have been a recapitulation of her parent's horrific relationship. Anne recalls in her text that she had to give up the belief that she would have all of her needs met within the confines of marriage and motherhood. Stripped of her innocence, Anne relates that she was forced to find other means to cope with her life.

Even without a husband, Anne perceived that her experiences with motherhood uniquely able to fill a void in her spirit. The message of motherhood was beneficial for Anne in that it provided her with a path to awareness of her unmet needs. Motherhood produced a deep awakening of her primal nature. Anne writes that she was determined to be a hands-on mother in reaction to her distant relationship with her mother. She wanted to be involved in her child's daily life, to keep her at her side. She admits her motivation, "Maybe that way the longing for the Mama kiss (Proust wasn't the only one) would stop" (p. 8).

Anne writes often of her love for her child. She indicates in her shared remembrances that she gave up her identity to her child, responding to her innate draw towards her child. Anne reflects,

> I was in love with my child, not sanely, not calmly, not rationally, but wholly and completely. . . . Deep embedded in this love was the story of my life, both the past and the future, my handprint on the universe, so to speak. My love so ordinary, so commonplace, so usual was not romantic. I might have known it was bad for my mind, fatal for my freedom, but I didn't. . . I took refuge in the moment, not thinking ahead or behind. (p. 4-5)

Anne admits that she was hopelessly and happily enamored with her child. Hur words support that by being available to her child's physical and emotional needs, she was able to live, through her daughter, the experiences she had missed in her childhood. Her ability to be present and attentive to her children soothed the lonely cry of what she depicts as her abandoned inner child.

Anne was now divorced, feeling marked by society as a woman no longer eligible for a caring relationship. Worse yet, Anne writes that she came to understand the great personal loss her daughter suffered from not having had a father relationship. Consequently, Anne reports guilt for not protecting her daughter. She pens, "My erratic choice of mate was a temporary calamity for me, brushed off in the breeziness of time, but for her it effects rippled on and on" (p. 15). Anne indicates in her text that she felt extreme guilt for not having been able to live up to her ideal of motherhood. Try as she might, Anne was not able to live up to her expectations of perfect motherhood. She writes of her angst,

> Responsibility weighed on me. Was I a good enough mother? Would I drive my child neurotic, psychotic, phobic? Would I make her creative, bold, or obsessive and timid? How she would grow would be the mirror of my faults, the mirror of

my soul. My patience varied, my own flaws beyond count and most of them beyond cure. (p. 10)

Joan's parents are described as having taught her that the proper role for a woman was to be a caretaker for their family's needs. As discussed previously, Joan appeared to accept the traditional role of womanhood (i.e., caring for others), as she perceived it to be the only path open to her. Joan's initial coping strategy was then to simply repeat the model her parents and her sociopolitical environment dictated.

If Joan felt a pull away from her prescribed role, she depicts that she knew that she did not have the freedom to express it. She indicates with her words that she learned well that decisions were to be left to the director of the action, the leading male. She perceived that the female's purpose in this production was to play a supporting role. Joan, attempting to play the part she had been assigned, reports having put on a brave front. She writes that she blithely accepted her role as the Maiden awaiting her Prince Charming. She comments that she performed on the stage of her life as was expected of her, playing the part that her mother and father taught.

In her autobiography, Joan's recalls that her father taught her well to respect the authority of the male lead, and her mother taught her the behaviors that respect required. Joan admits that she accepted her father's message that she was nothing without a male. The maiden role required a knightly male. Without him, the maiden role would not exist. Joan admits in her text that she felt that she was the Maiden. Therefore, without a man, she would not exist. Joan writes that she felt that she had to act in accordance to the male's lead in order to earn a position on stage. Her allotment of attention was granted based on how well she supported and complemented the leading male. She represents

that she learned that she had to rely on men in order to survive. Throughout four marriages and one live-in relationship she writes that she believed this to be true.

In her text, Joan admits that she attempted to follow the model of the Maiden. She describes that she attended college, securing a degree in teaching, all the while looking for the rich man that her parents had programmed her to find. Her first marriage lasted for two unconsummated years. She returned to teaching for one year, waiting to meet her next husband. She and Jack married within a year of her first divorce. Joan depicts that she was looking for a reason to stop work and motherhood provided her with a way out. She summarizes her position, "I was Mommy and somehow we managed." (p. 46).

Joan produced five children within eight years. She portrays that she tried to hold together a marital relationship for thirteen years. Joan admits in her autobiography that she turned to other men for comfort during those years, having five affairs while married to Jack. Joan, for all of her effort, represents that she was not able to recapitulate the model of dedicated nurturer that her parent had attempted to instill in her.

Joan's words reflect that she was aware that her primary duty was to attend to the need of others. Joan attempted to comply with this mandate by taking her place as wife and mother. She pens, "My ability to conceive, deliver and raise children was a gift I graciously accepted without conscious thought or consideration . . . . I married a Jewish doctor for my father and had five children for my mother, without ever giving a thought to the implications of parenting" (p. 143).

Even as she allowed herself to occupy the roles of wife and mother, she perceived that she was not successful in filling these roles. Joan reflects on her mothering skills,

> I don't think I was a good mother. Certainly not the kind of mother I would have like to have been. I abandoned my children. Not intentionally or even consciously, but intentions aren't relevant when you are in search for truth. I wasn't present for them. I emotionally abused them, neglected them and there were times I even hit them. I lacked the maturity to understand and be responsive to their needs. I lacked the insight to be responsive to my own. I expected too much from them. I became enraged when the house was messy. I made them responsible for my feelings. I often lost my temper. I didn't get up early enough to prepare them for school adequately, and many times arrived late or left them stranded at places that I had forgotten about.
>
> Contrary to popular belief, motherhood doesn't come naturally to all women. . . .
>
> I knew nothing about parenting, my most important role in life. . . . I was dead inside. My marriage was dead. The only life I could produce was in my uterus. Then I felt alive, worthy and productive. Not a reason to have children. Mothers are to meet the need of their children. A child's purpose is not to fill the empty life of its mother. (p. 31)

After the birth of her fifth child, Joan began group therapy. She writes that this helped her come to understand the makeup of her personality. Her remembrances of the time indicate that she was coming to realize that she must acknowledge that she had personal needs. The role of Maiden was revealed to be a myth. She came to understand that her ineffectiveness in attending to her families needs was based in her denial of her own needs. She describes,

> The very roles we learn to become as an act of adaptation to help us survive, become double-edged blades for the rest of our lives. The intention of my cloak must never be forgotten or tossed away. It saved my life. I will always honor it. But if I never had taken it off for fear I wouldn't make it without it, I would never have become real. (p. 21)

Joan displays her remembrances of an epiphany experience that she credits with helping her realize that she could not continue to be unaware of her self-survival needs. She and her third husband were vacationing in Cancun. Joan was learning the basics of scuba diving. They planned on going diving but the weather was turning bad. Joan knew they didn't need to go out and mentioned it. She recalls, "I was castigated for my suggestions. I acquiesced and abandoned my thoughts, needs, desires, self and common sense" (p. 13). Joan dove for a while and came up to ten-foot swells. Having only 20 minutes of air left, she listened to her guide, Gerado, who wanted to float on top in case the boat were looking for them. She paddled for an hour then decided to swim back alone. She presents,

> I was fighting for my life - a metaphor of my marriage. It was getting dark. I could see the Cancun shore. Still no boat. No motor or engine. No Henri, no Tom. I cursed myself over and over. "You asshole. How the hell did you get here in the middle of the Gulf of Mexico? Mother of five children. Goddamn therapist. Idiot! Shit!" . . . . I swam hard, turning over on my back from time to time, trying to catch my breath and conserve my energy. Along with the waves, terror and anger swept over me. The sun was setting. Still so far to go. Then the sound of an engine . . .

"Are you alright?" Henri shouted in his defined German accent.

The anger tore through me like a blade. I felt my rage. I felt my power. "You goddamn Nazi! You fucking abandoned me."

Suddenly I realized I had a voice. I reclaimed my fear. I reclaimed my anger. Now I could protect myself. I had my power. What a price to pay for being a nice girl. Co-dependency can kill. Never again. (p. 14-15)

Joan credits this life-threatening experience with helping her acknowledge her need to take responsibility for her self-survival. Still, Joan reveals the tenacity that the myth of the maiden held for her. She displays her reflections,

After nine years in psychotherapy, six that included group, three years of graduate school, and a psychotherapy practice, I did it again.

When was I going to get it? I didn't need a man to feel worthy as a woman. . . . I always had someone to go with me, but I never knew where the hell I was going. I only knew I didn't feel safe going alone. Even when it wasn't safe to be with a man, I made it feel safe. When I had major evidence to prove otherwise, I rejected it. When I was alone, I was frantic. By 40 I had achieved professional success, loved my work and maintained a reasonable level of motherhood, but felt lost without a man. I still had the notion that only a man could take care of me. I went to great lengths to reinforce this myth. (p. 99)

In summary, the first coping strategy that Iris, Anne, and Joan appear to have used when faced with adult problems was the one that they had internalized from interactions with their fathers and reinforced in their culture. For Iris, this meant that she coped by focusing on self-concerns. Anne and Joan describe having been trained to consider

other's needs without awareness that they might have needs of their own. What was common to all of these women was that they appeared unaware, during the time that they were using it, that they were following a model that had been provided to them through the authority of their fathers. However, their later remembrances of the time period suggest that they were indeed following the mandates of their fathers and their cultures.

The coping model of Primary Recapitulation describes Iris, Anne, and Joan's recollections and displays of their early adult years. Initially, this model was described as effective to handle life's difficulties. However, these women soon began to question its viability.

Iris writes that, even as her career was taking off, she missed having an intimate relationship with another. She displays that the years of pursuing her own goals were in direct opposition to securing a sense of connection with another. Iris's written recollections indicate that she came to understand that her ambitious pursuits were not effective. There was another part of her that wanted to be known.

Anne's portrays that her transition away from reliance on her care taking strategy was initiated as the result of her failed marriage. She would not get her needs met by following the traditional roles of wife and mother. This path was no longer available to her. She comments that she felt forced, out of sheer necessity, to find another strategy for managing her life's demands.

Joan writes that she was a well-trained actress in her role of Maiden. Had it not been for the persistent upstaging that her sensuality produced, Joan may well have been able to continue in her use of this coping strategy. But her sexuality loudly called attention to itself, forcing Joan to realize that she had needs of her own. Her words

support that she was not effective in unselfishly caring for the concerns of others. In her text, Joan writes that she had to acknowledge that she had personal desires and that these must be attended to least they destroy her.

Based on the self-reports of Iris, Anne, and Joan, recapitulation of the primary coping strategy proved effective during the early adult years. However, all three women describe experiencing a transition to other models for coping as they came to understand that something was missing. The coping strategy of Primary Recapitulation as described by Iris, Anne, and Joan appeared inadequate to satisfactorily resolve their adult conflicts.

Alternative Recapitulation

Perceiving the model taught by the fathers to be ineffective when tested by the realities of adult life, Iris, Anne, and Joan words support and describe searching for another model to follow. One obvious strategy was to pursue a course of action that was directly opposite that of the failed strategy. These women portray themselves as discouraged that the behaviors that the fathers sanctioned had not worked. They portray that they had previously believed that they knew the proper response to living their lives. Now they were no longer sure. However, their writing suggest that they were not ready to give up hope that someone did have the answer on how to best manage one's life. It appears that these women, in utilizing the opposite coping strategy, hoped that some external source would provide them with a viable model to recapitulate.

Iris indicates in her written remembrances that she had come to recognize that a part of her wished to be connected to a life other than her own. She hoped to access this dimension of herself through her roles as wife and mother. Iris's mother is depicted as modeling the same spirit, but Iris had rejected this model in her younger years. During

that time, caring for others did not fulfill her self-obsessed needs. It did not give her "self" the attention it desired. With time and experience, however, Iris's text supports that she came to a new understanding of herself. She relates that she realized that, in all the years spent climbing for goals, she had never taken time to know herself.

As a young child, Iris reveals that she had vowed to replenish the family bloodlines. Her children's presence is credited in her text with helping her feel a tangible connection to her Jewish roots. She relates with her words that her sons were able to bring her closer to her the true desires of her heart than all of her previous career pursuits. By responding to the daily domestic demands of her family, Iris's attentions were turned to her inner longings. She was coming to recognize the part of herself that she had denied, finally giving attention to her need for connection.

After Iris and Chuck married, they quickly began to have children. Now, as a mother, Iris writes of her awareness that, more than anything else, the things that her heart had always craved were intimate connections with others. Iris expected to easily give up her ambition and submit to primal maternal instincts. She writes,

> I was now everything I had ever wanted to be – Mother and Wife, Wife and Mother. I couldn't believe it! I had done it; I had achieved the Crowning Achievement for women who worked too much, loved too much, lived too much, had too much – I had married and given birth. Viola! So There! . . . Mother and Wife, that was me. Permanence, at last! The elation broke as we left the hospital. (p. 76)

Iris's last sentence reveals that she was unable to easily submit to her mother's model of womanhood. Iris writes that she found, instead, that she missed the tangible

rewards that her ambition had so consistently provided. And the new identity, which allowed for a sense of connectedness to child and husband, was not well enough developed to compensate for the loss.

Anne reports that she was unsure of her future direction following her divorce. She had tried to follow the traditional path of wife and mother but they had not worked. So she looked for another alternative. During this time period, feminism was becoming a motivating force in the lives of many women. Anne perceived that her previously unspoken desires for a better life resonated with feminist tenets. She portrays in her text that she discovered that other women shared her fascination with power, each trying to understand how personal power could be attained. The call to know oneself and claim one's anger is credited with helping Anne gain a sense of personal power. For Anne and other early feminists, power was equated with a sense of self. Anything that threatened one's self-fulfillment was viewed as a threat. Anne coveted a sense of self-power. By becoming aware of and striving for her own needs, Anne believed she would attain power. She would give herself attention. And attention is the thing that she portrays that she had most missed as a child. For her, attention and power were the result of one another. Attention gave power. Power rendered attention. To have one was to have both. Anne admits that she very much desired a sense of personal power, as she recalls that she perceived herself to be inadequate in her role of motherhood.

Anne related to the resentment toward mothers that early feminist writers espoused. She presents her feelings, "What we resented most about our mothers was that they wanted us to be like them when they were so unhappy. We ground them up in our long conversations and spit them out" (p. 19). Anne relates that her experiences with her

own mother made feminism's enflamed and angry writing resonate the voice of her tortured inner child. In her autobiography, Anne spends a large amount of space focusing on the woman's movement. The politics of feminism were personal. She displays that it illuminated the damage she had suffered from a mother who she recalled having moved in a dazed trance, a mother who was unaware of and unaccepting of her true self.

With the support of other feminists, Anne returned to school, this time with awareness of her ambitions to be a writer. She portrays that writing her first novel helped her come to terms with her anger over the injustices of power. The writing life introduced Anne to her a new part of her identity; the self that was aware of self-needs, the self that was dedicated to living a better life by being attuned to one's own needs. , The power that Anne came to feel was broadcast in her writing. In this way, her career as a writer became the mechanism of knowing and sharing her self-concerns. Being a published writer gave her public attention and a sense of personal accomplishment.

Anne writes that she felt conflict as she realized that her pursuit of self-fulfillment was often obtained at the expense of her children. She represents in her text that she struggled with the awareness that if she, as a mother, were concerned with her own needs, her child's needs would go unmet. For Anne, having suffered from unmet needs as a child, this behavior was unconscionable. Although Anne could relate to the anger of motherhood when reflecting on her relationship with her distant mother, she represents that she did not feel that she was an object to be scorned in loving her own child. Anne depicts in her text, "to be free of one's children is too high a price to pay for freedom" (p. 40).

Anne's perceived that motherhood offered her a route to heal from her distant relationship with her mother. Motherhood allowed her to connect with her need for nurturance as she gave herself to the needs of her children. Feminism had also given her a route to awareness of her personal need for a sense of power. Anne perceived motherhood and feminism as viable routes to knowing her true self. She could not give up one at the expense of the other. Anne's written reflections support that, even as her initial coping strategy (i.e., playing the role of mother and wife) had not been fully effective, neither was its opposite. Feminism did provide a path to awareness of her personal desire for attention and power; however, Anne did not feel that dogmatic following of this path was a viable option for her. She admits that she continued to feel a part of herself drawn to the care of and concern for her children.

In her autobiographical text, Joan's recollections indicate that she had discovered that playing the role of the Maiden was inadequate to prepare her to take responsibility for her own survival. She had learned that survival of the self required recognition that a self existed. Joan's describes that her introduction to her personal needs was felt in her expressions of sensuality. She responded to media's portrayal of female sexuality by internalizing the larger than life images she saw on the movie screen. She admits, at age 12, "Scarlett was my mentor" (p. 21).

Joan's words support that her sensual nature took as its model the image of womanhood depicted on the movie screen. Through therapy, she depicts that she came to understand that she must accept her own needs least they turn on her and demand to be known in self-destructive ways. Joan presents,

> Thinking for so long that it was the penis and vagina that would bring us back to Eden, I cultivated Delores, my shadow, like a prized package. Only, I pretended not to even know her. Believing that my vagina was my passport to happiness, I kept her in the basement of my soul, unlocking the exitway only when I needed another conquest. I learned very early in life what mattered and how to win. I would bring her out when she served my purpose. But because I disowned her and used her only for my own aggrandizement, she turned against me. She haunted me when I was most vulnerable. Her choices were poor, but her influence was powerful. Her consequences destructive, I needed to befriend her, embrace her, make her part of me so she would never have to go underground and deceive me again. This was the part I had severed. The part I needed so desperately to reconnect with. But to own her was my shame. I learned that my shame was also the source of my spirituality. To name her was also to accept her. To accept her was to love myself. All of myself. And to love myself was to heal my wounds. p. 192

Joan's written reports support that her struggle came as she found herself confused between the messages that were given to her by two external sources. One source had been from her parents. Another source had been the media's portrayal of feminine sexuality.

Joan discusses how Delores, "my shadow side or dark side: a hidden and powerful part of my personality" (p. 16) was responsible for many of her behaviors during her early adult years. She displays,

When Delores ruled my world, she was ruthless. Her energy caused havoc and destruction, reinforcing the alienation with my authenticity and power. She assumed I was worthless without her - an airhead, a "mental midget" as Jack called me. She believed my father's words, "You are nothing without him." Words that he used to discourage me from divorcing Jack. Delores declared war on my spirit. She became insatiable, forging her way triumphantly through male conquests. Each conquest fueled my thirsty ego, but the more it drank, the emptier my spirit became. She tricked me into thinking I was powerful, worthwhile and desirable. She possessed me, distorted my judgment, interrupted my logic, manipulated my relationships and wove a blanket of denial so large that it took nearly 20 years in recovery to peel it off. And I didn't even know she was there.

Delores had a mission, only I wasn't aware of it. You see, behind her lived a maiden who grew up believing the myth that she was nothing without a man. . . . It was perfectly natural for me to create Delores. She was every man's desire and would see to it that Joan's needs were met. I created what I thought would be a "perfect ten." What I didn't realize was that inside me there already was a "perfect ten" before she arrived.

The crazy thing was that in spite of the havoc she wrought, I had to learn to love her. . . . She became my life force. (p. 17)

Joan writes that Delores chose to expose herself only through her actions. Through therapy, Joan began to understand her sensual nature. With time, Joan displays, "I had accepted her. Delores was OK. I even liked her. She had stick-to-itiveness,

conviction, perspicuity, and tenacity. I decided to keep her around and cultivate this hidden treasure. I would turn her into Elza Doolittle. Add a little class, education and humility" (p. 19). She represents that meeting Delores was possible only as she allowed herself to let go of the myth of the maiden.

What was common to Iris, Anne, and Joan when they found themselves attempting to cope with their lives by embracing an alternative model is that they were still listening for external voices of authority to tell them her to best structure their lives. External forces were sought to tell them the most appropriate way to cope with their life circumstances. Iris suggests by her words that she came to recognize that her mother's model of care taking was a viable strategy for managing her daily demands. She had begun her adult life by following her father's model of pursuing self-concerns as the best route to achieving attention. However, she was finding that her mother's model of concern for others had particular merit, especially as she began her family. Anne's words support that her divorce shook her foundation, forcing her to look for a route other than motherhood as the path to attaining self-fulfillment. Feminism was perceived to be a teacher of the behaviors her that would give her the attention and power. She portrays that feminism caused her to acknowledge and respect for her personal desires. Joan's surrender to the movie-screen model of female sexuality was described in her book in relation to her awareness of her Delores character. Delores attempted to convince Joan that the path to happiness and personal power was to be attained through sexual conquests.

These women, however, describe finding that acting in a manner opposite their initial strategy was not effective in attaining and maintaining a sense of self. They found

that this model left out needed parts of their identities. Iris's maternal role was described as inexperienced. Iris reports that she did not feel fully capable of selfless caring of her family. She continued to crave the tangible rewards she had achieved from her career pursuits. Anne writes that she enjoyed her newfound awareness of the sense of personal power, but she did not perceive that she could pay full attention to her own needs when she supposed that her child still needed her. She writes that she did not want to lose her connection with her children in her search to know and fulfill her own desires. According to her words, Anne found that total reliance on the feminist mandate to follow one's own desires to be inadequate to explain her need to be closely connected to her family. Joan describes her Delores nature as destructive to her desire to be connected to others in a meaningful way. Delores was only after personal fulfillment. Joan, however, perceived that she was more than a slave to her personal desires. She represents that she also desired to be a caretaker of other's desires.

Simultaneous Recapitulation

When neither following the primary model nor its opposite were perceived to be effective, it appears that Iris, Anne, and Joan attempted to combine the models that they had previously accepted as viable routes to happiness and personal survival. Their reported behaviors suggest that they reasoned that if they could only get half of their needs met through adherence to the primary model and half through following the alternative model, then it is logical to conclude that they could get all of their needs met by following both.

An important point to observe in the lives of Iris, Anne, and Joan is that both the primary model and the alternative model are based on reliance on external authority to

provide a structure to their lives. This perspective is similar to Belenky et al.'s (1986) description of women in the Received Knowledge category. These women found that they could only come to understand their worlds by relying on the voice of external authority figures. These external models were consulted instead of the women looking to themselves for answers.

Following simultaneous models is the first time that these women appear to have consulted their own logic for a viable strategy. However, even as they used their own reasoning skills, they could not give up the models. They simply tried to follow the dictates of two authority sources. The problem came as they realized that these external sources were advising them to follow incongruent messages.

Iris's reflections indicate that she came to realize that neither following her father's model nor her mother's model were adequate to fully meet her desire for a viable model after which to pattern her life. In response, Iris writing reflects that she compromised by seeking to simultaneously fulfill her maternal and career desires. She writes that she assumed that her career would reinforce her self-concerns and her family would support her relational needs. Iris presents her response to an offer to write an article,

> I felt that familiar pound in the chest, that surge of adrenaline, as I gave a quick 'Yes!'. . . I was the old me, a me that was thrilled to be off the living room couch. . . Baby at night, luminaries by day, this career woman-mother combo gig was great! . . . And as 'Lunching with D.C.'s Powerful' began to unfold, I remember gazing at sweet Theo and at the names of celebrities on my screen and thinking,

> 'Oh, God, I love my life.' . . . . The Cosmo Girl was making a comeback, stringing together power sentences just like Before Babe. (p. 83)

In her text, Iris reports that she attempted for a number of years to play both roles, however, she simply became tired and confused, engulfed in guilt from working and from not working, from being available but not being available. She still had self-concerns but she was beginning to understand her children's needs for support. She describes watching herself on television as she worked as a panelist on "Around Town", a weekly PBS television show. She presents that her son would cry inconsolably when the show was over. Iris portrays, "His shrieks gave me such guilt, accusing me of something I knew I was doing – being there but not being there, making his life fit my life, not the other way around" (p. 86).

Iris writing supports that she perceived herself to be in a quandary. Coping through her ambition would take her away from her children. Her heart could not bear this option. However, staying home was not fulfilling her need for accomplishment. She indicates by her shared perceptions that neither coping strategy was working. Her writing supports that she realized that she would have to let go of her old stories in order to hear a new one.

In her text, Anne's admits that her experiences had taught her that motherhood and feminism provided her with two paths to awareness of her identity. According to her prose, when Anne attempted to simultaneously attend to her ideals of feminism and motherhood, the result of this impasse was that Anne found herself juggling guilt and anger. If she caught the ball of mother-guilt in one hand, the other feminist hand caught the anger of betrayal. As a mother, she reports that she constantly felt guilty for not being

totally giving. But, as a feminist, she writes that she knew this was an unrealistic expectation. She felt anger that she would give into her guilt. And if feminist awareness opened her eyes to potential anger she might have toward her child, the mother came to bear great guilt.

Anne's written observations indicate that her conflict came at the intersection between feminism (concern for self) and motherhood (concern for others). She writes, "motherhood by definition requires tending of the other, a sacrifice of self-wishes for the needs of a helpless, hapless human being, and feminism by definition insists on attention being paid to the self, to the full humanity, wished, desires, capacities of the self" (p. 29). Anne supposed that feminism helped her to become aware that achievement of a sense of personal power came through turning one's attention to the self. According to her written reflections, motherhood was also found to be a path to understanding her identity. Through being a mother, Anne was able to heal the wounded spirit of her childhood, allowing her unconscious forces to integrate into with an adult identity. So, for Anne, the sense of a complete identity could only be achieved by forming herself into the mother she had so desired. She writes that motherhood gave her the sense of personal power that came from inner connectedness and integration.

Through repetitive life lessons, Anne reports in her text that she began to realize that she was not the self-sacrificing ideal of a mother that she had coveted in her youth. In addition to having an ulterior motive for being a mother (i.e., to find her own mother), Anne perceived that she did have personal ambitions and needs. She was also not the ideal feminist who achieved her fullest possible personal potential. Anne's care for her

children refused to allow her to demand time for personal projects. There was simply not enough left after serving her family's needs.

In her text, Joan writes that her struggle came as she attempted to simultaneously respect two very different definitions of womanhood. Her parents had taught one definition, that of the traditional, conservative, self-sacrificing mother. But she had also learned one from the movie screen, that of the sexual goddess, Delores. Her Delores nature demanded that she attend to her personal desires. However, the external authority of her parents and 1950s culture demanded that she consider the desires of others.

Joan relates with her words that she was coming to see that her skills as a maiden were not helpful in all situations. She describes choosing a new avenue. Therapy. Through therapy, she reports that she faced her confusion, becoming aware of its nature. She represents that she began to recognize various parts of her identity, understanding their special functions. The most obvious part, her maiden nature, was well known. Joan's Delores nature now intended to be known. Joan writes that she came to understand and accept Delores. She saw that Delores had served to protect her, helping her hold onto the Maiden myth by taking on her sexual desires. Delores also held the power to attract the male knight that Joan felt she so desperately needed.

Joan, having had too many experiences to continue her denial, describes that she was recognizing that there was more to her identity than that of the Maiden. She represents that she had to learn to be more. Joan knew she had to leave the stage. It was time to say good-bye to the authority of external models. She had to leave her security.

Iris, Anne, and Joan describe coming to a point in which they perceived themselves to be forced to recognize that external authority could no longer provide them

with viable models on how to best live their lives. These three women, seeking to appease the dictates of the model of pursuit of self-concerns and the model of pursuit of other-concerns, report that they found themselves overwhelmed and ineffective to meet either their needs or the needs of their family. They describe that they were coming to understand, through their daily struggles, that no one could best tell them how to live their lives. They would have to figure it out for themselves. Their words support a perception that their subjective voices had to be amplified and blended with the voices of external authority.

Blended Capitulation

These women describe themselves to have gone through a period of transition as they attempted to discover their own modes of coping. In their texts they relate how they were learning, through life experiences, that the scripts they relied on were no longer viable. Iris, Anne, and Joan describe feeling that they were forced, out of necessity, to find new ways to cope with life's demands. These women's remembrances and displays support that they were coming to see that they could no longer follow someone else's path. Their descriptions share an awareness of a need to create their own path to personal fulfillment. By forging their own path, they report that they found someone they were to enjoy meeting. They write that they came to know themselves.

After having acknowledged that they were not handling their lives effectively, Iris, Anne, and Joan assert that they actively sought a better way to survive. Iris describes herself as fatigued and frustrated, unable to simultaneously manage a career and her family's needs. Anne represents that she was trying to live two ideals. As a result, she describes that she was overwhelmed, feeling guilty no matter what she tried. Joan writes

that she had become aware of her need to acknowledge her hidden parts. She indicates in her text that she became aware that she had to find a way to integrate these parts into a coherent whole.

According to their self-reports, these women held in common a need to create a new way of coping with life. The strategies that they described using in their earlier years were no longer working. They perceived that life demanded that they discover their own solutions. In their writings, they indicate that they hoped to find ways to address life that would be flexible enough to withstand life's ambiguities. A new way of coping was needed that would help them address both their own needs and the needs of their family. The coping strategy of Blended Capitulation entails the description of the behaviors that these women report having attempted as they arrived at their own model. They represent that they took what was viable in the other two models and balanced the result in a way that was most suited to them. Iris, Anne, and Joan describe capitulating, or surrendering, to personally chosen and shaped identities.

Iris's writing indicates that she had discovered that following her father's model did not leave room for connection to others. Following her mother's model did not leave time for personal pursuits. Following both models simply left her feeling overwhelmed and inadequate to meet her needs or the needs of her family. Out of desperation, Iris represents that she turned to herself her guidance. She portrays, "I was rapidly learning that my gut was the most valuable guide to follow" (p. 106). In her text, Iris recalls that she was clear in her mind and heart that she was a woman driven to achieve. And she further recalls that she was growing to trust her own instincts as she "heard something else from that voice within: 'There are huge achievements to be had at home, let your

ambitions and creativity fly with those boys' " (p. 109). Her writing indicates that she became convinced that achieving a sense of balance meant letting go.

According to her written reflections, Iris was beginning to realize that she had been living a lifestyle that had not allowed her to really know herself and live her own life. She describes her agony by admitting, "it's hard to suddenly make all the superficial trappings of success disappear, even if they leave you spiritually empty. . . . For me, motherhood was the state in which I would have that revelation" (p. 114). She continues,

> All I had ever wanted was to connect with people, to have intimate relationships that came from Truth. And here, the opportunity was mine, Right Here, Right Now, I Had It All. With Theo and Isaac, I was given the chance to move mountains, to shape two people, to give them a foundation, to teach them how to love . . . I had experienced success on the job; now I had wonder from children that were mine, connective tissue to the future of Being Touched in My Deepest Self, a link to my Jewish roots. (p. 115)

Iris reminisces in her text that she questioned her strength to "make the necessary shift of the psyche to The Home from The World" (p. 116). She represents that she had hoped that she could continue to be a writer first but was coming to understand that her children's needs were her priority. Still she struggled with taming her "textbook Type A into a domesticated animal" (p. 116). Iris writes that she began to make the transition by realizing "that the next step forward for a Type A tiger could be as a focused Fierce Mama" (p. 116).

In making her transition to the home, she presents her behavior and attitudes,

> I started baking zucchini bread again, something I had not done since 1975 at Synergy House. I started making spaghetti sauce from scratch. I started saying "Hi, honey" to Chuck when he came home from work, and giving him a little rub on the back. I became a subscriber to Welcome Home, a magazine for the "smart woman who has actively chosen to devote her exceptional skills and good mind to the nurturing of her family, or so reads its mission statement. And just as domesticity was beginning to feel right, that damn issue of Time came out with Susan Faludi and Gloria Steinem on the cover, sounding "The Call to Arms" to fight the backlash against feminism. (p. 117)

Iris writes that the identified herself as a feminist, but was feeling that surrendering to the care of others branded her as a traitor to feminist ideals. With reflection, Iris represents that she was able to recognize that her feminist ideals were not threatened by her care for her family. She writes that she realized that feminism was about each woman having the freedom to follow her own desires. Iris was coming to accept that her desire was for the well being of her family. Her words support that she was coming to hear and respect the wisdom of her personal judgments. It appears that her judgments were informed by external authority but no longer dictated by the opinions of others. Iris's text indicates that she was coming to appreciate the pure joy that she found from caring for her children. She represents that she was coming to know who she really was by accepting what it was that made her happiest and served to ground her in the present. She admits, however, that she was still not ready to totally surrender to life in the home.

Iris describes going through a period of depression as she struggled with her adjustments to the demands of her four children and the loss of her professional identity. Coupled with these losses, Iris and Chuck began having serious marital difficulty. Iris displays her interpretation of their difficulties, "we were drained by four of life's top stress inducers: birth, death, moving, and construction" (p. 134). Iris describes that she found that she loved her life of surrendering to the children but found it hard to include Chuck. She and Chuck were fighting often which culminated with his leaving.

Feeling like the reigning Queen in her home, Iris portrays that her fantasy unraveled when Chuck, her appointed King, was unable to play the part. Chuck had been a source of constant encouragement for Iris. After suffering the death of his father and shouldering the economic responsibility of four children, Chuck could not continue to provide Iris with the unconditional attention that she was so accustomed to receiving.

Iris writes that she had leaned on Chuck for attention and support. He had been awarded this role after the death of Iris's father. However, Chuck now needed Iris for support. Iris's words indicate, however, that she gave all of her support to the children. Nothing was left for Chuck. In the past, Iris had been able to affirm herself through her career accomplishments. Her journalistic successes had provided the tangible rewards that helped her identify herself. Now there was nothing and nobody to tell her who she was. No career. No father. No Chuck. Iris, still needing support, but not having Chuck on which to rely, perceived that she had to learn to rely on self.

She and Chuck began to go to marital counseling as an attempt to work through their issues. In her text, Iris reports that she felt as if she needed to surrender to the fate

that pulled she and Chuck together in the first place. She summarizes her learning by writing,

> As a person hooked on change and pushing through today to get to something better, living with someone, steadily, for the long haul, would be a lifelong struggle, perhaps it's the ultimate struggle for a generation that has had a taste of everything. Coming off conquest after conquest, it's a slap to realize that where you are now just may be your landing spot. . . . The outpouring of Self into my sons came naturally in a way I did not have to ponder and could not control. What I needed to figure out was how the I that is mine could give the Him that is Chuck that piece of me he wanted and complained he wasn't getting. (p. 143-144)

Iris presents herself as finding an ability to be present centered finally found a lasting space as she focused caring for the needs of her sons and spouse, a place that she describes to be freeing and blissful. She describes her perception of meeting her true self as she made lunch for her four boys and found herself in the midst of scraping egg off of the carpet,

> On that gray carpet with egg under my nails and egg in my hair, I realized that for the first time in my life I was exactly where I was supposed to be. On my knees, scraping my babies' lunch off the carpet, bowing to the Great Buddha, humbled, mercifully beaten down by children but exalted, glory God, This Was It! . . . The journey was over, I was where I belonged. (p. 157-158)

As she came to perceive finding her balance by giving in to the needs of the children, Iris represents that she came to understand her past career ambitions as attempts to retain a self-centered personal identity. She describes feeling a profound sense of relief

in letting go of what she perceived to be an illusory search for personal meaning. Iris's writing stresses that she focused her ambitions into her family and raising secure children. By listening to the wisdom of her own heart, Iris reports that she discovered a woman who found her "deepest satisfaction from sticking close to home" (p. 191). Iris, however, still retained too much self-concern to give herself totally to the demands of her family. She describes that she found ways to retain a sense of self by writing about her experiences. She reveals that writing about her transition to the home helped her reinforce her uniqueness as a woman living in a house of boys.

Following Iris's discourse on how she learned to resolve her personal conflicts, her writing shifts to long discussions on her thoughts regarding how other women might find a similar place of peace and personal happiness. Her writing indicates that she felt an awareness of the plight of other women and was motivated to help others by providing them with the model (i.e., surrendering to her family) that she perceived was descriptive of positive resolution.

Anne's words reveal that her dilemma came as she experienced the contradictions of her roles as a mother and a feminist. Even as Anne was aware that she had needs beyond the family circle, she also knew that she was a mother. Anne represents that she felt guilty to express her self-needs because they, in the form of her career, took her away from her mother role. For Anne, this was cause for great anxiety. Both career and motherhood were paths to personal power. She perceived that both led her to awareness of her needs. Both required attention. Anne was trying to give equal attention to both roles. She portrays that the result was overwhelming guilt.

Anne writes in the first paragraph of her memoir, "It is clear to me that feminism, despite its vast accomplishments, has not cured me of motherhood." She further recalls her personal initiation to feminism,

> I didn't believe that motherhood would lead me to freedom or wisdom, but I knew that the urgency of my life was my child. This was the beginning of my feminism and I don't care that that was an odd way to find it, a weird way to express it. I think many women know that their motherhood was the beginning of their determination to stand strong against the currents that would carry them away. (p. 11)

Anne underscores her thoughts by presenting,

> Despite the flight from hearth by some women most of us would never under any circumstances leave our children. We have a hard enough time leaving them to go to work, leaving them with a cold in the head or a baby sitter they don't know. It's not a matter of social shame. Our mothering is daily, constant, urgent, necessary. (p. 65)

Anne's words assert that she distanced herself from the feminist political movement "while absorbing the more practical feminist lessons of self-worth, economic independence, and aspiration" (p. 66) and continued to have children because of her personal choice to be a mother.

Anne's writing reveals her struggle with blending her perceptions of the ideals of feminism with the ideals of motherhood. Based on her grounding in feminism, Anne portrays that she often wondered if mothering was bad for art because it required the woman to turn her thoughts outward, depleting her creative energies. Anne represents

that she was able to find time to write but she often wondered if her books could have been better with more attention. She summarizes her thoughts and her reconciliation of the seemingly contradictory stances,

> Perhaps the trouble with female genius is not that it is diverted to the womb but that is overlooked when it appears. I prefer to think of women's creativity as a continuum. It starts with biology, it can result in a child, it can result in a book, or both . . . . The only thing I know for sure is that I would rather have a child than a book. . . I do not think this makes me antifeminist or opposed to female achievement, it is just a statement of priorities, one that I have found rings true in every corner of my being. (p. 216-217)

Although Anne credits feminism for helping her acknowledge her internal rage and teaching her about her need to test her own strength, she observes with her words that it was in the daily rhythm of motherhood that her spirit found integration. Anne displays her thoughts on integration,

> Some days it seems to me that I might have been more that I am if I had not become a self divided among others . . . . Other days . . . I think that without my children, whatever I might be, I would be less, diminished, reduced, imprisoned inside my own skin, a person who will not leave a forward trace, the trail would only wind back. Some days I think if I had not had my children I would surely have gone mad, paced the inside of my mind till I knew every cranny and crack and, like a flower plucked by it roots, thirst for the ground, dream of the soil, wilt in the sun. Sometimes I think that if I had not had children I would never have grown up, that I would always be watching my own bubbles as if I were a goldfish

> swimming in a pool. It is true that having children is a sanding of the ego, a rubbing down of pride, a kind of placing in proportion one's ambitions, defusing the grandiose, cutting back the unreal. However, it may not always be a positive thing to grow up, to regard oneself as light on the way to being extinguished rather than as a comet shooting across the applauding night sky. Just because psychiatrists make such a fuss about maturity that does not mean that immaturity might not be, after all, the preferable condition. The truth is that I am no sure if having children is good or bad for one's happiness, good or bad for one's creativity, all I know is that conception brought to term or not is never forgotten, and congratulations to a new mother is something of an oversimplification. (p. 207-208)

A significant change occurred in Anne's writing as she came to discuss how she blended her self-conception to be that of a "feminist mother and a mother-feminist" (p. 258) instead of splitting herself into a feminist and a mother. As she depicts that she resolved her inner conflict, her writing turns to discussions of larger issues that affect the greater human community. Anne summarizes her years of learning, "I have my own politics now forged out of those years, a feminist family politics" (p. 234). In her final pages she represents that she came to see the conflict that women face to be a result of not considering that most women want both family and work. She pens her position, "In all the emphasis on self fulfillment perhaps the feminist have not asked enough of women. We should be caring for others. It should be part of the feminist vision that we do extend or tenderness toward our own mates and partners, children, relatives" (p. 241)

Joan's choice to let go of the Maiden myth is presented in her text as the consequence of repeated life lessons that it could not, it would not, and it must not continue. She describes that her lifetime of learning lead her to the certain conclusion she was more than the Maiden part. Her written reflections reveal that she perceived that she must face the task of integrating her parts into a viable whole.

Joan presents that she came to realize that she couldn't have both career and family and do them both well. She writes, "I had to learn to balance men and money, motherhood and career, power and femininity, and simultaneously maintain my sanity" (p. 68). As she came to understand that she needed help in achieving balance, she admits, "The men in my life were my support system" (p. 74). Joan had never been long without a mate. However, at this point she perceived that she was beginning to understand that this desire was no longer a forced choice. At this juncture, she represents that she simply wanted to be meaningfully connected to another person. Joan was married to Mervyn in 1987. This was a relationship in which Joan depicts herself as finally learning to own her feelings and communicate them to her husband. She represents that she became conscious that her unrealistic expectations had been a major contributor the failure of her previous relationships. By letting go of her myths, Joan portrays that she found honesty and intimacy in her marital relationship with Mervyn.

Joan writes of her recollections of this time period by portraying that she did not consciously make a choice to begin the process of integration. She represents that it is more accurate to assert that the circumstances of her life converged to allow the process to bubble to conscious awareness. She presents the angst she felt ignited as a result of living a life of confusion and reacting to events as they presented themselves. Joan

portrays that these types of behaviors are descriptive of her passion for living. She writes, "Passion is my motivation for change and salvation. It's germane to my existence. If you want change, look for truth and passion within" (p. 11). With passion as her guide, Joan portrays that she began the search for reconnection to the various parts of her being.

Joan's writing reveals that her perceptions changed as she realized that her previous form of control was not effective. In her text, she portrays that she was a woman who believed in the synchronicity of coincidences but had never fully explored her spiritual nature. As she searched for a viable means to connect to the various parts of her identity, her writing reveals the lessons that she credits having been taught to her through her spiritual being,

> I've come to believe however, that it is in our darkest moments, when the soul deeply grieves and seeks within to find answers that we find our God, inside ourselves. It is when we are ready to surrender our egos, and genuinely ask for what we need that our answer comes in ways that somehow find meaning to our needs and restore our soul. (p. 149)

Joan shared reflections indicate that she discovered a sense of personal strength by becoming familiar with her limitations. She represents that, in her earlier years, she perceived herself to sacrifice her children's security for her own happiness. She portrays that she had thought of her own needs before her children's needs, exposing them to emotional pain through her abandonment.

With her words, Joan acknowledges that, 'the trouble with me, and perhaps many women, is that we give our power away as if we never owned it" (p. 168). She records that she was conditioned to fear taking a stand for the power that rightfully belonged to

her. She reflects of her perceived weakness, "This semi-conscious fear was the mortar which held me hostage to my own limitations and fostered my dependency. It kept me a prisoner to my belief system, feelings and behaviors" (p. 170).

According to her self-reports, Joan accepted her limitations and welcomed them into her being by converting her fears into a motivation for solutions. Joan's writing toward the end of her story displays her as an integrated person. As Joan reports that she felt her wholeness, her writing reveals that her concerns moved beyond the confines of her character and were reflective of a growing concern for societal concerns. She displays her thoughts on how others might also achieve a sense of resolution in writing, "The goal of recovery is to separate, but stay connected" (p. 213). She freely admits that she does not have all the answers, but she feels secure in stating, "before we can heal the world, we must heal ourselves" (p. 221).

In the end, Iris, Anne, and Joan's reflections describe how they had learned to capitulate, or surrender, to what they perceived to be self-fashioned models. They indicate in their writing that they were able to integrate what was good and helpful from the models of their youth by blending their subjective authority with sources of external authority. According to their descriptions, Iris, Anne, and Joan discovered their sense of purpose and meaning as they traveled on their own course toward a final destination of resolution of their conflicts. These women reveal that they found, through life experiences, that they were ultimately responsible for directing the course of their lives. But they were able to accept that external support was sometimes needed. They depict themselves in a process of learning that success was best attained through awareness that they had a personal responsibility to secure a viable model for living their lives. Iris,

Anne, and Joan's writings indicate that they had finally found a coping strategy that was effective in resolving their primary conflict (i.e., discovering a way to maximize their survival chances). And they realized that they had to create their own destiny, not simply follow someone else's model.

Summary

Iris, Anne, and Joan held in common a number of strategies in the development of their personal narrative. Initially, all describe accepting the dictates of some external voice as a way to structure a viable identity. Their stories suggest that they learned that to receive attention, that thing which was vital to survival, they had to submit to the demands of external authority. These external voices shaped the structure of these women's initial coping responses. For Iris, Anne, and Joan the external authority was embodied in their parents but reinforced by their cultures. These women appear to have looked to their parents, especially the father, for a definition of womanhood. Accordingly, these women's parents are credited with being significant forces in forming their daughter's early identity structure.

It appears that each of these women internalized two main coping strategies. One strategy provided attention to their self-oriented concerns. It reinforced a desire to be a separate person. The other strategy provided attention to their desires for connection. These needs were displayed in their nurturing and care taking behaviors. Each strategy was purposeful in its intent. Iris describes that she had ambition to connect her with her personal accomplishment, and maternal instincts to draw her toward attainment of her connection desires. Anne desires for personal power appear to have found reinforcement in both her career role and her mothering nature. Joan's behaviors suggest that she used

her career and her sexual persona, Delores, as ways to reinforce of sense of individuality, and motherhood to draw her toward connection with her spiritual identity.

As they reached adulthood, each of these women, for their own reasons, report that they found themselves feeling strained and disconnected. Life events occurred which lead them to the awareness that their coping attempts were no longer viable. They relate that they perceived themselves to be striving in opposite directions. In giving up the dichotomous strategies, they represent that they discovered their own approaches. These women words support that these self-chosen identities held in common a balance between need for connection and need for individuality. Towards that end of their texts, these women write that they had learned flexibility and self-confidence. Their self-concerns were most often revealed through career ambitions. But they also realized that a part of themselves, the part shown in their mothering behaviors, needed to feel connected to a larger community.

According to their self-reports, Iris, Anne, and Joan found that fulfillment of their needs could best be achieved by letting go of the security found in following parentally and culturally taught models by living out the contradictions and ambiguities between concern for self and concern for others. Feeling free to remain in the middle, their writings indicate that they were able to see others in similar predicaments and offer words of encouragement and wisdom.

These findings support the theoretical contention that women manage conflicts by seeking a balance between self-concerns and other concerns (Enns, 1991; Josselson, 1987). But they also reveal the process that Iris, Anne, and Joan represent themselves to have lived as they struggled toward a sense of balance. In summary, balancing self-

concerns with the concerns of others is a viable coping strategy. However, there appears to be other coping strategies that these women attempted to utilize before they were able to report that they were successful in balancing the concerns of others with their own desires.

Development Processes

In discussing Iris, Anne, and Joan's developmental processes, this section begins with a brief summary of the developmental literature presented previously in this study. Women's development has been described as falling along a continuum of self-concerns and other concerns (Enns, 1991; Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1987; Powell & Mainiero, 1992). Literature on women's definition of achievement has shown that women define success in terms of their ability to maintain a sense of balance between self-concerns and other-concerns (Farmer, 1985; Hollinger & Fleming, 1992; Reis, 1995; Silverman, 1995; Subotnik & Arnold, 1995). Gilligan's (1982) research on women's moral development suggests that a woman's development progresses sequentially from consideration of personal concerns, to consideration of other's concerns, to an integrated consideration of self and other's needs. The work of Josselson (1987), Belenky et al. (1986), and Powell and Mainiero (1992) also agree that women pass through various perspectives. However, these researchers are silent regarding the sequence or process of this movement.

The purpose of this section is to provide a detailed description of the developmental sequences that are reflective of Iris, Anne, and Joan's self-representations. These sequence descriptions, or developmental progressions, are enhanced by an illumination of the women's life circumstances that underlie their movement in terms of the women's development theories. In addition, incidents that are reported by the women

which appear to be contradictory to the expected sequence (as predicted by Gilligan's (19882) moral development, Belenky et al's (1986) cognitive perceptual framework, Josselson's (1987) identity development, and Powell and Mainiero's (1992) career development theories) are highlighted in order to gain an understanding of the areas in which the theoretical lens are not fully capable of explaining the women's developmental processes. Each life is described separately and chronologically in order to depict the temporal component of their development.

Iris Krasnow

Iris Krasnow's autobiography depicts one woman's efforts to conquer the existential angst that accompanies the anxiety of identity development. The lifetime of learning that Iris describes echoes Marcia's (1966) contention that a person must experience conflict in order to have the motivation to move from a child to an adult identity. Accordingly, Iris's conflicts appear to depict her battle to overcome identity anxiety. Her writing displays a sense of self-dualism that came from wanting to be independent yet also wanting to have intimate relationships.

According to her reported descriptions, Iris's moral development during her college years coincides with Gilligan's (1982) and Powell and Mainiero's (1992) descriptions of concern for self-interests. Her obsession with discovering and understanding her personal make-up resulted in high levels of mental distress as she found herself caught in a never-ending personality dress rehearsal. Her identity appears similar to Josselson's description of Identity Diffusion (1987). Iris's writing indicates the she found herself floating, unanchored except for the chance moorings of her life circumstances. Personal choice did not appear to play a large part in defining Iris's

identity during these years. This is not to say that she was not mindful of the effects of her diffuse identity. In fact, it appears that her tendency to be painfully introspective often fueled the flame of her anxiety. Knowing about her world (Belenky et al., 1986) came through the process of introspection as she came to understand herself and her experiences by relying on her subjective interpretations. Her awareness of her conflicts, or identity anxiety, came as she struggled to define herself by what she was and what she was not.

As Iris embarked on her career as a celebrity publicist, she portrays herself as continuing to struggle with identity anxieties. She represents in her text that her career did not fill her with a sense of meaning. Even still, she writes that she found herself seduced by her ambitions to pursue the tangible reinforcements that her work provided. She indicates in her text that her attempts to find a meaningful relationship were not successful during these years. As predicted by Josselson (1987), Iris tried to find her anchor, or her sense of purpose, in her job as connection with others was not perceived to be an option available to her at the time.

Iris writes that her journalistic endeavors began to inform her understanding by providing her with a sense of connection with, or forum for, learning about the struggles of others. Even as her words report that she learned that journalism could fill some of her need for connection, she describes that this type of connection was insufficient to fully appease her desire for an intimate relationship. Josselson (1987) describes this process in terms of Iris's search for an anchor. Iris can be understood to be looking for something to which she could connect.

Iris's awareness of her need for connection parallels a transition in her way of knowing and understanding her world. Prior to this time, her writing reveals that she had relied on her subjective appraisals to inform her understanding. Belenky et al. (1986) describe this perspective as Subjective Knowledge. As Iris reports that she came to understand her world through the process of empathy for and connection with her journalistic subjects, her way of viewing and understanding her world appears to have changed. Iris's reported behaviors and thoughts are descriptive of women that Belenky et al. (1986) portray as fitting the category of Connected Knowing. By allowing the story of another to be told, Iris describes that she came to hear the echoes of her own struggles. Apparently, she needed the words of others in order to give voice to her identity. In hearing the stories of others, Iris writes that she began to recognize aspects of her true self. She represents that during this time period she was beginning the process of knowing her internal motivations and making personal choices to become the person she felt she was instead of the person she perceived that she was trying to be.

Iris portrays that her sense of stability was threatened when her father died. Josselson's (1987) work suggests that the phenomenon can be explained by discussing it in terms of loss of her anchor. According to Josselson, women anchor themselves in relationships, defining their very identities in relational terms. Therefore, it can be understood that when Iris lost her father, her very identity was threatened. Iris describes that it was in the process of releasing her grief that she came to understand that her life was truly hers to figure out. Her father's encouragement, the fuel that fired her ambitions, was no longer hers. She perceived that she had to turn to herself for strength.

Iris's written words report that she was learning to rely on herself. However, her words contradict themselves as she describes that she turned to her journalistic subjects to inform her of their conclusions about life's meaning. It appears that her career, which had been the object of her father's encouragement, became her anchor as it served as the vehicle to connect her to a relationship with her personal strength and wisdom. Iris's self-represented process in consistent with Josselson's (1987) conceptulization of anchoring as descriptive of women's search for meaningful connections. Iris's words describe her as achieving an appreciation for the benefits of becoming passionately connected with life apart from her own. Iris credits this transition with giving her the courage to wed and begin a family of her own. However, this desire to be connected to a family came in conflict with her desire to maintain her connection to the self-gratification that she had long enjoyed as a result of her journalistic successes. In terms of Josselson's theory, Iris's struggle appears to have come as she found herself attempting to anchor to, or be connected with, both her family and career.

Previously, Iris had received her sense of purpose from her career pursuits. In relation to Powell and Mainiero's (1992) developmental model, Iris can be thought of as floating close to bank of career concerns in her twenties and early thirties. But finding this position lonely, she became aware of her need to be connected with others in meaningful relationships. So, she began to drift toward the bank of concern for relationships. Soon, however, she found herself in truly unfamiliar waters. Her identity anxieties returned as she paddled in deep water, debating if she should return to the more familiar waters or continue to drift toward an unexplored shore.

In her attempt to resolve her conflict, Iris's writing displays her as simultaneously maintaining career and family roles. She represents that she was happy in this position. However, she perceived that her children were not. As Iris gained experience in the role of mother, she portrays that she came to recognize that this role, or aspect of her identity, provided her with rewards that, although different from the ones she had achieved in journalism, gave her the same sense of self-satisfaction that she had felt in her career. After having her second child, Iris describes finding that her moments of happiness were greater as she yielded herself to the demands of the children.

Yet, this awareness is reported to have caused even more conflict. She felt as if she were a traitor to the self that she had previously known. She had defined herself through her career. According to Josselson's (1987) conceptualization of women's identity development, Iris is seen to be struggling in a period of transition as she sought to redefine herself as connecting to, or anchoring in, her family roles.

Gilligan's (1982) work on moral development also illuminates Iris's developmental process. According to the work on moral development, Iris had previously made her decisions based on her personal desires. By her mid thirties, Iris depicts herself as perceiving that her decision to continue her career pursuits, or personal concerns, was detrimental to her children. Her stage of moral development transitioned as she began to prioritize the needs of others above her own.

Iris writes that she attempted to give herself totally to the needs of the children by allowing herself to be subsumed by her maternal identity. But Iris perceived that she was unable to squelch her ambitious spirit, the spirit that had been so well fueled in her career. In her final chapters, Iris writes that she was able to combine the two identities by

merging them under the metaphor of surrender. She portrays herself as realizing that she could lose her ambitions to the service of her family, thereby blending parts of her career-oriented identity with her maternal identity.

Josselson (1987) might conceive that Iris has created an identity that allowed her to remain connected, or anchored, to her the ambitions, depicts Iris's self-concerns, as well as her familial relationships, which appear to be reflective of her concern for others. According to Iris, her role as mother nourished her ambitious spirit as well as feed her desire to feel connected to others. Iris's reported behaviors were similar to those described by Josselson (1987) as Identity Achievement.

Iris portrays herself as aware of the needs of others but making her decisions based on what she felt would produce the best outcome for herself as well as her family. This type of moral reasoning is discussed in Gilligan's (1982) work on moral development as being integrated and descriptive of an advanced developmental stage.

Similarly, Belenky et al. (1986) describe women who are able to consider the needs of other as well as their own as having achieved advanced development. Their descriptions of women in the category of Constructed Knowledge appear similar to Iris's self-reports of her own behavior. Iris writes that she had come to understand that knowing about the world meant exploring her own wisdom as well as the authority of others. It is significant that as her writing reveals her accepting this new position, Iris turns away from describing her personal struggles to discussing social and political issues. Her writing displays her growing awareness of the struggles of others and concerns with issue of inclusion and exclusion. These types of concerns are described in

Belenky et al. (1986) study as hallmarks of women who were categorized in the Constructed Knowledge category.

Powell and Mainiero's (1992) work on women's career development describes the process that women find themselves in as they seek to find a sense balance and integration between their career goals and family responsibilities. According to their work, women's development is affected by factors of time, perceptions of career and relational success, and choice of career versus relational emphasis. Based on Iris's depiction of herself in the final chapters of her book, it appears that she felt that she was successful in her personally chosen role as a primary mother. Earlier in her life she describes herself as having enjoyed career success; but, during the late thirties, her emphasis appears to have changed to greater awareness of her children's needs.

Powell and Mainiero's (1992) depictions of women's career development agrees with the conceptualizations from Gilligan's (1982) work on moral development, Josselson's (1987) work on identity development, and Belenky et al.'s (1986) work on women's cognitive perceptual frames in supporting that developmental transitions appear to have occurred based on Iris's self-reports. All agree that this change reflects a moving away from self-concerns to greater awareness of the needs of others. As Iris transitioned from making moral decisions based on her personal desires, Iris's identity structure shows evidence of broadening to include a maternal dimension. Simultaneously, Iris reports experiencing a change in the ways she viewed and understood her world to culminate in what she describes as respectful of her subjective voice as well as the opinions and beliefs of others.

Anne Roiphe

In her autobiography, Anne Roiphe depicts herself as attempting to develop a personal identity by grappling with her contradictory, but equally romanticized, ideals of traditional motherhood and feminism. Anne's cites her dilemma as being the result of viewing both motherhood and feminism as equally essential parts of the person she perceived herself to be. Her writing describes how she attempted to simultaneously follow the ideals of both. She perceived that this pursuit did not foster happiness. She describes in her text her struggles to achieve a personal "ideal".

What Anne portrays as a search for a personal "ideal" appears to be synonymous with a search for a personal identity. Anne represents that in her early years she adopted the societal model of femininity (i.e., nurturing mother, homemaker, and wife), as she did not perceive that her mother had been a viable role model. Based on Anne's descriptions, her early identity structure is similar to Josselson's (1987) category of Foreclosure Identity. In her study, Josselson describes the women who were classified under this category to have accepted their identities from the model of motherhood that society presented.

Belenky et al.'s (1986) work on the ways women learn about and understand their worlds yielded a category that was named Received Knowledge. Anne describes herself in her writing in terms similar to those that Belenky et al. use to describe women classified in the Received Knowledge category. These women, and Anne in her early adult years, appear to have learned about her world, small as it was, through listening to authority figures as their source of truth. Anne describes that this was a time period that was filled with numerous "ought to" mandates. She portrays that she assumed that her

life's purpose would be found in her roles as wife and mother. She represents that she abdicated her own desires to better serve her husband and children.

Anne's writing indicates that during her early years, she perceived that her moral reasoning and decisions were motivated by concern for the welfare of others. Gilligan (1982) found that women typically consider other's perspective in making moral decisions in the second stage of moral development. According to Gilligan, women tend to first be concerned with issues of self-survival and only after realizing the selfishness of this perspective do they begin to consider other's welfare in their moral decisions. Anne's writing, however, suggests that during the years that she was rearing her children, she supposed that she made decisions based upon her children's welfare.

After being confronted with the reality of a failed marriage, Anne's depicts that she no longer felt as if she knew who she was. According to her reports of her behavior during the years after her divorce, Josselson (1987) might describe Anne as similar to the women who were classified as Identity Diffusion in her study. Anne remembers in her writing that she drifted between the 60's late night sexual freedoms and her daytime childcare duties, allowing these external forces to guide her behaviors and thoughts. During this time, Anne's words support that she was hoping that some outside authority might tell her how to live her life. It appears that Anne remained behaviorally similar to women in Belenky et al.'s (1986) category of Received Knowledge during the years after her divorce as she continued to search for some external authority to tell her how to best structure her life.

The years in which Anne found herself floating, continuing to search for a guiding light, coincided with the beginnings of feminism. Anne perceived that she found herself

embracing the authority of feminism, which she heard to command women to create and live a life of their own choosing. However, she writes, she found it difficult to abandon her role as mother in order to pursue her personal ambitions. Belenky et al. (1986) might conceptualize Anne as being a Separate Knower during her middle to late twenties. Similar to women who were classified in the category, Anne used her analytical perspective (i.e., feminism) for knowing about her world and herself. However, even as Anne learned to use the feminist perspective as an instrument for viewing and giving voice to her personal identity, she was also beginning to recognize her inner voice. Belenky et al. (1986) refer to women who rely on their own intuition to understand their world as Subjective Knowers.

Josselson's (1987) discussion of women's identity processes conceptualizes development in terms of who or what the women is anchored or connected to. She suggests that women who are connected to self-concerns tend to define themselves in relation to their career-oriented pursuits. Women who anchor in the concerns for others tend to define themselves in relation to their family roles. Anne's reflections indicate that she held her role as a mother to be an essential part of her identity. She wrote often in her text of her sense of connection to her children and family. However, she also viewed her career as a writer to be a fundamental part of the woman she claimed to be in her text. She appears to have anchored her identity in both her career and family roles.

Powell and Mainiero's (1992) work on career development discusses the apparent split between pursuit of family concerns and career concerns. Anne's comments suggest that she simultaneously and intensely felt pulled toward both "banks" of concern. Anne

represents that she often felt guilt and anger as she found herself caught in the contradictions of her roles of mother and feminist.

As Anne began to explore the contradictions during her middle-age period, she describes coming to understand that her pursuit of motherhood was not characterized by pure motivation to care for and nurture her child. Indeed, she portrays herself as coming to see that the guilt that she had so often felt as a mother was not based on an inability to totally submit to her child's need, but was rather compensating and disguising her anger over her own issue of childhood abandonment. Her moral development (Gilligan, 1982), which she had previously perceived to be motivated by concern for others revealed itself to actually have been, in part, the disguised pursuit of her own needs.

Gilligan (1982) might suggest that Anne's moral development made the transition to an integrated concern for other and self in her later years. In her text, Anne portrays on her awareness of the effects that her early identity foreclosure and quick acceptance of the traditional role of wife and mother had had on her daughter. Anne represents that she slowly came to realize that she had used her daughter in fulfillment of her self-needs. Anne had considered motherhood to be an expression of pure love for another being. She presents, however, that she discovered during her mid-life years that this concern for the desires of another was tainted by her unconscious self-obsession. Anne also describes herself as unable to join in the feminist chorus of self-maximization. She describes herself as coming to realize that she was more than a self; she was also a mother, a person tied by her loving connection to a life beyond her own.

Anne represents her later years as a period in which she learned to recognize and construct her own view of reality and personally chosen identity. Belenky et al. (1986)

describe this perspective as Constructed Knowledge. Josselson (1987) describe this as Identity Achievement. Anne reflects in her text that the wisdom of her years in conjunction with a number of supportive relationships converged to allow the process of identity integration to become manifest. She presents herself as accepting her weaknesses, even using them to define the boundaries of her identity.

Anne's definition of achievement appears to agree with the findings of Silverman (1995) and Subotnik & Arnold (1995) that success for women is attained through balancing career and family responsibilities. According to Powell and Mainiero's (1992) descriptions of women's career development processes, Anne appears to have found a position of comfort living in the area between care for self and care for others. According to Anne's words, this is the position that is most descriptive of the person she truly perceived herself to be toward the end of writing her autobiography. In her final chapters, Anne depicts herself as fully accepting and reveling in her place in river between self-concerns and other-concerns. Anne represents herself as perceiving that her personal happiness demanded compromising her ideals for the sake of obtaining balance. With respect to Josselson's (1987) description of the women's identity development process and Powell and Mainiero's (1992) work on career development, Anne can be recognized as having found familiar anchor to both "banks" of concern.

Joan Childs

In her autobiography, Joan Childs portrays herself to be in a process of struggling to recognize the structure of the myth that she perceived that her life was built on, letting go of this myth, and beginning the process of creating and accepting her own story. In her text Joan writes that, during her early years, she internalized the myth of the maiden,

blissfully awaiting the mighty warrior who would came to save her, the fair maiden. She represents herself as accepting the unspoken dictates of her parents and the 1950s societal mandates as her identity. Josselson (1987) describes women in her study with similar identity structures as Foreclosure Identity. These women, similar to Joan descriptions, followed the path laid before them, allowing authority figures to tell them what to do and think, and not feeling a need to think for themselves. Belenky at al. (1987) categorized women in their study who described similar experiences as understanding their world by Silence. In effect, these women, similar to Joan, admit that they understood that they could not understand.

Joan credits her early training in her family of origin with teaching her that the proper role for women was to take care of and nurture the husband so that he would take care of her. Joan describes that she came from a legacy of workingwomen but portrays that the purpose of work was to take care of someone else's needs. Personal desires were to be denied. Joan often writes that she felt that the only identity available to her was that of a caretaker of other's concerns. However, Joan portrays that her life experiences taught her that there was another dimension of her identity that held connection to her personal desires and sexual nature. Joan awareness of this aspect of her identity signals a period of developmental transition. Previously, she had only known her world through what others told her, choosing to focus on the needs of others, as she was not aware of any personal desires. But during her twenties and thirties she reports that she came to perceive that she did have desires of her own and that reality could best be discovered through personal experience and understanding. Women who reported similar

perspectives on learning about their worlds were classified by Belenky et al. (1986) in the category of as Subjective Knowledge.

Josselson (1987) describes women's identity development in relation to anchoring, or seeking connection, to self versus other concerns. Joan depicts herself as having anchored her identity in her roles of wife and mother during her early adult years as she felt that motherhood was the only identity structure available to women. However, as she came to see the viability of her own perceptions, Joan appears to have connected to her personal needs and desires. As her awareness of this new dimension of her identity increased, Joan portrays that she chose to pursue her self-concerns, often, she perceived, at the expense of her families needs.

Joan's depicts that as she came to accept and respect her personal authority and self-concerns, she experienced conflict in her relationships. Previously, she had felt that it was her duty to take care of others. Accordingly, Gilligan (1982) might conceptualize that her moral decision-making was based on concern for the need of others during her early adult years. Joan describes that her awareness of her personal desires triggered a period of making decisions based on her personal needs and desires. However, by her forties, Joan depicts herself as attempting to make her decisions based on her own needs and well as the concerns of others. Gilligan's work supports that this change is reflective of a developmental transition. She describes women who combine awareness of self and other-concerns as having achieved advanced moral development. According to Joan's written reports, her moral development appears to have sequenced through concern for others, to concern for self, to an integrated concern for self and others. This process appears to be in contradiction to Gilligan's (1982) contention of women's moral

development progressing from decision-making based on self-concerns, to other-concerns, to an integration of self and other concerns.

Powell and Mainiero (1992) describe women's career development processes. They conceptualize development as descriptive of a woman's place in time with consideration to her concern for and success in career pursuits and relationships. During her early adult years, Joan appears to have traveled close to the bank of concern for others as she felt this was the only position available to her. As she became aware of the personal needs and desires, she drifted toward the other bank. However, her training in caretaking behaviors appears to have not allowed her to entirely follow her own desires independent of the needs she perceived of her family and therapy clients.

In her later chapters, Joan portrays herself as accepting that she could neither fully attend to the needs of others nor her own needs. She writes that she came to admit that she desired a man to help her feel complete, but not in the needy, helpless manner that was descriptive of her earlier relationships. Josselson (1987) might suggest that Joan's identity appears to have reached Identity Achievement based on Joan's reports that she had integrated her desires to care for others and well as herself into a coherent identity structure.

Joan represents that she had succeeded in creating her own story by attending to self-desires for career success and sexual acceptance as well as her need to nurture others (i.e., clients, children, and husband). Josselson (1987) might conceptualize Joan's statements to be reflective of the process of anchoring. Accordingly, Joan descriptions can be understood to be descriptive of anchoring in both work and her relationships. Powell and Mainiero's (1992) discussions on women's career development might frame

Joan's statements as expressing her position in the "cross-currents of the river of time" (p. 221). From this view, Joan can be seen positioned in the middle of the river, having equal access to her desires for personal recognition as well as nurturance of others. Gilligan's (1992) descriptions of advanced moral development portray women balancing their own desires with those of others. Accordingly, Joan's self-reported behaviors are reflective of advanced moral development. Finally, Belenky et al.'s (1986) study of women's cognitive development processes report that women who have achieved a self-styled perceptual frame balance the needs of self and others. In their study these women were classified in the Constructed Knowledge category. Joan's portrayals suggest that she perceived herself to be behaviorally similar to women described in the Constructed Knowledge category by the time her book was written.

Summary

When interpreted from the perspective of women's development theories (Gilligan's (19882) moral development, Belenky et al's (1986) cognitive perceptual framework, Josselson's (1987) identity development, and Powell and Mainiero's (1992) career development theories), the reports of Iris, Anne, and Joan appear to be descriptive of a process of developmental transition along a continuum of self-concerns and other concerns. According to her self-reports, Iris's developmental process appears to have begun with pursuit of self-concerns. Conversely, Anne and Joan describe their early years as reflecting caretaking concern for the needs of others.

Each woman describes, according to women's development theorists, experiencing a developmental transition as they came to recognize the importance of the opposite orientation of concern. Iris displays that she came to view caring for others as

equally important to pursuit of her self-concerns. Anne and Joan report an awareness that they must attend to their own needs as well as the needs of others. Awareness of the viability of the other orientation of concern, when attempted to be behaviorally translated, is reported by all women to have caused conflict. Iris, Anne, and Joan report resolution of their conflicts as they learned to accept a compromise, or balance, in following their own pursuits versus attending to the desires of others. This finding is supportive of literature that suggests that women's conflicts arise as they seek to balance self and other responsibilities (Farmer, 1985; Hollinger & Fleming, 1992; Reis, 1995; Subotnik & Arnold, 1995).

This study failed to support Gilligan's (1982) work on women's moral development stages. Gilligan describes women as making moral decisions first based on pursuit of self-concerns, then, in realizing the selfishness of this perspective, transitioning to a period of making decisions based what they perceive to be the good of others. Anne and Joan described their decision-making in their early years to be based on concern for the welfare of others. It was not until they became aware of the existence of their own desires that they report having made decisions based on the their own needs and desires. Based on Anne and Joan's reflections, it appears that, before they were able to recognize and attend to their own needs, displays of concern for others were not motivated by an altruistic spirit. Rather, concern for others came as a mandate, not a choice. However, as the women report achieving a sense of comfort or resolution regarding their identity structure, they report that they were able to, out of genuine concern, attend to the needs of others.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This study was initiated in order to gain an understanding of the ways in which a developmental explanation might explain the apparent contradictions in working women's mental health outcomes. In order to address this question, the autobiographical texts of three professional women, Iris Krasnow, Anne Roiphe, and Joan Childs, were consulted with the intent of gaining an understanding of how they portrayed the conflicts on which their mental health outcomes were perceived to hinge. The etiology of these conflicts was traced through the women's reflections and discussed in relation to their apparent genesis and evolution. In addition, the women's texts were analyzed for descriptions of the effectiveness of the various types of coping strategies Iris, Anne, and Joan report to have utilized in handling their conflicts.

By design, the areas of inspection, or research questions, were general and without tight constraint of the content of supporting data that was gathered. This effectively allowed for "surprises" to emerge from the women's subjective perspective as they wished for them to be heard and understood. Even as the literature was initially consulted for theoretical grounding on the discussion of working women's mental health outcomes and developmental processes, the goal of this study was to gain the women's subjective perspective as it was experienced in the social and historical context in which their texts were written. This perspective can then be compared to the theoretical frame that was developed during the process of the literature review. This study's interpretive procedures can be seen as reflective of a research design that embraces the open-mindedness of qualitative techniques by forming interpretations that summarize the

wisdom of individual lives. This subjective perspective can then be supplemented with what other scholars have written on the topic in order to gain a perspective that benefits from has depth, as gained from individual reflections, as well as breadth, as supplied in examples of empirical research.

This chapter begins with a summary of the findings reported in Chapter 4. The relationships between the conflicts of professionally trained women with children and their chosen coping strategies are discussed with respect to the life contexts presented in the self-writing of Iris, Anne, and Joan. The chronological emergence of the women's apparent developmental processes are then described with respect to the women's development theories presented in Chapter 2 of this study.

The section entitled Theoretical Implications outlines the literature on professional women's mental health outcomes, achievement, and women's development theories. The apparent associations between the reported relationships with parents, conflicts, and coping strategies are conceptualized as they relate to the developmental processes apparent in the described lives of Iris, Anne, and Joan. The theoretical framework that was constructed during the process of the literature review is expanded and modified in accordance with the findings of this study.

A brief discussion of therapeutic implications to counselors is included. In addition, suggestions for further research are presented. This study concludes with a discussion of its apparent limitations.

Summary of Findings

After conducting the literature review, an area that remained obscure regarded the etiological basis of professional women's conflicts. The autobiographical texts of Iris,

Anne, and Joan were consulted in order to provide an understanding of potential etiological basis of women's conflicts. Initially, data were collected that were descriptive of the women's life circumstances. At this point, life circumstances was a broad category that allowed collection and coding of data in terms of early life experience, marriage and family, and college and career. However, on inspection of the data, it was found that Iris, Anne, and Joan wrote about their lives with a tendency to attribute meaning primarily to their parental relationship. For this reason, only these relationships were inspected and interpreted in Chapter 4, Narrative Interpretations. Based on the analysis of the original material that served as data, it appears that the relationships with parents of Iris, Anne, and Joan hold explanative power in describing the ways in which these women perceived their conflicts to have formed and become manifest later in the women's lives.

In inspecting the quality of the relationships that these women had with their parents, several themes emerged. The writings of Iris, Anne, and Joan are consistent in reporting that their interactions with their mothers had a profound impact on how they approached and dealt with life's problems. Iris and Anne's texts indicate that they chose to reject their mother's models, as they did not see them as effective. Joan, however, depicts herself as embracing her mother's model, as she did not feel that any other model of womanhood was open to her. She reflects that she perceived that the traditional roles of mother and wife were the only patterns available from which to shape her self-identity.

Another theme that was manifest in the exploration the affects of relationships with parents was the large impact that the fathers appear to have had in shaping their daughter's approaches to life. According to the remembrances and reflections of Iris,

Anne, and Joan, their fathers appear to have had an equal, if not larger, affect on their daughter's identity development than did the mothers.

According to the literature presented in Chapter 2 of this study, women are thought to experience conflicts when they are unsuccessful in balancing self-concerns and concerns for others (Hollinger & Fleming, 1992; Josselson, 1987; Reis, 1995; Silverman, 1995; Subotnik & Arnold, 1995). However, discussion was not found in the literature as regarding the reasons that women might choose to orient to self-concerns versus concern for others. The literature addresses this issue by simply allowing that a continuum of concerns is apparent (Enns, 1992; Powell & Mainiero, 1992).

Evidence is described in Chapter 4 that provides a description of the nature of women's conflicts that is apparent in the writings of Iris, Anne, and Joan. These women's texts were consulted in order to inform the discussion on the nature of women's conflicts. These women's writing presented discussion that served to provide clarification regarding the continuum of concerns that was postulated by theorists of women's development. In conducting analysis of these three women's autobiographies, it appears that the women's descriptions of relationships with parents provide an explanation of how their orientation of concern developed. Based on their reports, Iris, Anne, and Joan can be conceptualized as internalizing the model of concern for others in response to their interactions with their mothers. In contrast, their fathers reportedly modeled an orientation of self-concerns. Even as Iris, Anne, and Joan's writing supports that they were exposed to two models, or orientations of concern, none of these women describe themselves as displaying a balanced presentation in caring for self-needs and the

needs of others. In fact, it appears that the initial model that the women emulated was based on reactions to interactions with the fathers.

The literature presented in Chapter 2 did little to provide an explanation regarding possible reasons that Iris, Anne, and Joan might report having had such affinity to their father's influence. In consulting the writing of these three women, however, an explanation of this process became apparent. The women's words stress that following the model that their fathers reinforced as the proper definition of womanhood was viewed as their only viable option. Accordingly, the words of Iris, Anne, and Joan are interpreted to mean that the behaviors that they recall having displayed in their early adult years were based on issues of personal survival. Iris writes that she did not feel that following her mother's self-sacrificing model was appropriate for survival in a 1970's culture. She appears to have chosen, with her father's encouragement, to pursue her career ambitions as a means to survival. Anne and Joan represent being taught by their fathers that a woman's survival was based on her ability to nurture and protect the more powerful male. These women appear to perceive that personal survival was to be achieved through dependency on the skills of men. Based on their interpretations of the events of their lives, abdication to their father's desires becomes understood as the result of the process of socialization and acceptance of the premise that a male's chance of survival is inherently superior to the female's survival potential.

It is important to consider how the social context of the early 1990s might have affected what was expressed in the texts of Iris, Anne, and Joan. All of these women discuss having been affected by benefiting from a culture of women's liberation. As the women wrote their autobiographies with the intent of publication, it becomes possible

that these women's displays were tempered to what would be accepted by the general public. It then become impossible to ascertain if the writings are truly reflective of the women's life processes or whether they reflect as era of social victimization which supports blaming one's current condition on relationships with parents. Having acknowledged this difficulty, the perspective gained by examining the individual interpretation remains a goal of this study as it provides depth of understanding to the dynamics involved in professional women's mental health outcomes.

Now let us return to a discussion of how the two models of survival, (i.e., self-concern and other-concern) appear to be related to the experiences of conflict as described by Iris, Anne, and Joan. The original conflict that was faced by these women appears to have been related to a search for a strategy to maximize their personal survival chances. Through interactions with their parents, these women can be seen as having been exposed to two paths to personal survival. One path was to promote one's own survival. The other was to promote other's survival in order to assure support and personal protection. The adult conflicts of Iris, Anne, and Joan are conceptualized as appearing as they attempted to resolve the inconsistencies between the implied messages of the two models. The conflict (i.e. how to most effectively promote survival) appears to be the same throughout the women's lives, however, the strategies for coping with this problem change in relation to the context of their lives.

The findings of this study regarding the nature of women's conflicts suggest that the existing conceptualization of women's development as based on a continuum of self-concerns versus other-concerns (Enns, 1991; Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1987; Powell & Mainiero, 1992) does not fully describe the underlying etiological processes. Rather, in

telling their stories, it appears that the orientation of concern, be that to self or others, is more adequately presented and described as a potential coping strategy that might be used to enhance one's personal survival.

Chapter 4, Narrative Interpretation, also addressed the ways in which these women recall and report having dealt with their conflicts during their lifecourse. In examining reflections and interpretations of Iris, Anne, and Joan, four strategies emerged that were reportedly utilized in understanding and resolving the tensions that appear to have been the result of following two contradictory survival models.

The coping strategy that is named Primary Recapitulation in this study is descriptive of a repetition of the coping model that Iris, Anne, and Joan represent as reflecting the behaviors that their father endorsed as most appropriate for women. This model, according to the appraisals of Iris, Anne, and Joan, was ineffective to provide a viable means of coping with life. These women's words suggest that this model failed to recognize that the women had other needs, be those needs personal or relational, which were not being fulfilled. The strategy that was reportedly used when Primary Recapitulation was deemed ineffective was to rely on the model of survival presented by the other parent. This strategy, Alternative Recapitulation, was also described as ineffective as it, like Primary Recapitulation, did not fully address the known parts of the women's identity structure. What emerges as common to the coping strategies of Primary Recapitulation and Alternative Recapitulation is that they rely on external authority to dictate the structure of a viable identity. These external sources, once internalized, appear have structured the women's identities.

According to their life descriptions, as Iris, Anne, and Joan became aware that following parental models was insufficient to resolve their conflicted feelings they attempted to cope through the process of Simultaneous Recapitulation. Apparently, these women hoped to find balance by attending to the dictates of both of the models that they had internalized in reaction to their relationships with parents. However, these models required diametric behaviors. According to these women's representations, the result of using this coping strategy was that they felt overwhelmed and ineffectual at meeting either their own needs or the needs of others. Failure to achieve balance by using this coping strategy is thought to have forced Iris, Anne, and Joan to realize that external authority could not effectively teach them how to best manage their lives. They describe life experiences that are credited with teaching them that balance required listening to their own wisdom for guidance in discovering a viable method to increase their personal happiness.

Apparently having realized that they could not follow their parent's scripts, Iris, Anne, and Joan depict themselves as searching for a personally chosen path. They all write of their perception that achieving a sense of personal happiness and resolution of conflict demanded that they come to view and accept their personal desires and weaknesses. When using the coping strategy that is called Blended Capitulation in this study, Iris, Anne, and Joan represent themselves as taking what was viable from the models that they had previously followed and modifying them to achieve what they perceived as a position of balance between their personal desires and the desires of others. They portray that, as they learned to surrender, or capitulate, to a personally chosen models, they experienced a reduction in conflicts.

In appears that the women's original conflict, or how to maximize personal survival, had become disguised and confused, as two contradictory models for potential resolution had been internalized. Iris, Anne, and Joan's descriptions suggest that they attempted to follow the mandates of these models, however, neither model proved effective in resolving their conflictual feelings. As the women depict themselves as embracing their own solutions, resolution of the task of finding a viable path to personal survival was represented as achieved.

Chapter 4 describes the chronological nature of development processes that are supported by the displays of the lives of Iris, Anne, and Joan and illuminated by the theories of women's development presented in the literature review. According to theoretical framework proposed in Chapter 2, women's moral development (Gilligan, 1982) is expected to progress from self-concerns to concern for others to an integration or balance of self and other's concerns. This developmental path, however, was not descriptive of the process of Iris, Anne, and Joan's lives. Their process is more adequately described, based on the women's written reports, as moving from their original orientation of concern, be that to self or other, to the opposite orientation of concern. According to their reflections, these women then began the process of choosing a personally created model that balanced concern for others and concern for self. The comments and reflections of Iris, Anne, and Joan indicate that, after a sense of balance was achieved, they felt and expressed an awareness of the plight of other women in similar circumstances.

Theoretical Implications

Alexander (1988) writes, "The individual case can be understood only if the observer is flexible enough to deal with 'people who don't exactly fit' by using theory as a springboard rather than a restrictive binder" (p. 288). With this caution in mind, this chapter now turns to a discussion of the theoretical implications of the findings of this study.

In conducting this research project, the literature base on the experiences of conflicts in women who combine work and family roles was consulted. According to reviews of this research, there appear to be contradictory views regarding the probable mental health outcomes for women who maintain career and family responsibilities (McBride, 1990; Piechowski, 1992). This study was initiated in hopes that an explanation based on the developmental assumption (i.e., behaviors can be understood by examining the sequential interplay between external events and internal cognitive processes) could clarify the dynamics of professional women's mental health outcomes. In order to access the associations between external events and cognitive changes, women's subjective explanations of their struggles as depicted in autobiographical writing was consulted. The methodological design of this study allows for an exploration of the autobiographical texts in order to gain insights into the nature of women's conflicts and how these conflicts are reported as coped with.

The discussion regarding the theoretical implications of the study first addresses the assumptions and understandings that the reviewed literature brings to the topic. Next, the discussion moves to an overview of the insights that the representations of Iris, Anne, and Joan revealed. Areas in which the processes of the women's lives are not fully

described by the developmental theories reviewed in Chapter 2 are highlighted and needs for alternative explanations are advanced.

In conceptualizing the current understanding of the process that professional women go through in attempting to balance career and family roles, literature from studies on the mental health outcomes for women who manage work and family, theories on women's definition of achievement, as well as four theories of women's development were integrated in order to construct a theoretical framework from which to view the results of this study. The resulting lens enables a viewing of the autobiographical reports of Iris, Anne, and Joan with an assortment of explanative narratives, allowing the ones that best explain particular aspects of the woman's life to illuminate her process.

The literature on the mental health outcomes for working women indicates that there are contradictory views regarding possible outcomes. During the process of literature review, a number of variables were discovered that researchers report to be related to professional women's mental health outcomes. These include: 1) family environment - i.e., attitude and degree of spousal support (Coven & Wills, 1985; Gray et al, 1990; McBride, 1990; Wiersma & Van Den Berg; 1991), 2) work environment (Piechowski, 1992; Reifman et al., 1991), 3) woman's perception of control (Duxbury et al, 1994; Piechowski, 1992), 4) attribution of meaning to work (Crosby, 1991; Eccles, 1986, 1987; Ryff, 1989; Silverman, 1995; Simon, 1995), 5) sex-role comfort (Napholz, 1994, 1995; Simon, 1995), and 5) priority on relationships (Burke & McKeen, 1993; Crosby, 1991; Farmer, 1985; Gray et al, 1990; Hollinger & Fleming, 1992; Maynard, 1993; Reis, 1991; Simon, 1995; Subotnik & Arnold, 1995; Voydanoff & Kelly, 1984; Wood et al., 1989; Wiersma & Van Den Berg; 1991).

Contradictory outcomes seem apparent in the literature regarding the factors related to working women's mental health. However, it remains unclear what the basis of these differences are. The purpose of this study was to examine the autobiographical displays of the lives of three mothers with professional training in terms of developmental processes for possible clarification of the issue. This examination was conducted with respect to the theoretical understandings of the nature of women's definition of achievement and developmental processes reviewed in Chapter 2 of this study.

To briefly review this literature, research on women's achievement indicates that appraisals of accomplishments are subjective in nature (Silverman, 1995). Women tend to view achievement terms of balance, trying to hold up career and family demands (Farmer, 1985; Hollinger & Fleming, 1992). Success in assessed by how well the two demands are balanced. The goal is to withstand under competing pressures. Women's development theories and research on women's mental health outcomes support that development is related to maintenance of relational bonds and having a clear sense of her sex-role choice (Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1987: Napholz, 1995; Simon, 1995). Connection to others is a theme that unifies women's development theories (Enns, 1991). Failures to maintain satisfactory relationships are thought to attribute to negative mental health outcomes for women while positive outcomes are expected if relational bonds are maintained (Burke & McKeen, 1993; Crosby, 1991; Gray et al, 1990; Maynard, 1993; Napholz, 1995; Simon, 1995; Voydanoff & Kelly, 1984; Wood et al., 1989; Wiersma & Van Den Berg, 1991). Positive outcomes are also expected if woman is clear on the types of sex-role behaviors she chooses to emulate (Napholz, 1994, 1995; Simon, 1995).

By integrating the research, a hypothesis was developed regarding the nature of women's development process. It was proposed, based on the review of relevant literature, that a woman's goal, or sense of achievement is contingent on her subjective appraisal of how well she maintains balance. Table I, Relationships Between Self-Other Concerns and Development Theories, located on page 57 of this text, highlights the similarities between development theories as related to a continuum of concerns to self or others. According to this conceptualization, a woman's ultimate developmental destination would place her in the middle of the extremes of caring for self-concerns and caring for other's concerns. It is hypothesized that by using balance as a coping strategy there would be a reduction in conflicts.

By adding this developmental conceptualization of the nature of working women's conflicts and mental health outcomes, new insights are gained. The theoretical frame presented in Chapter 2 suggests that women's achievement is defined by a sense of balance of personal concerns and other's concern. In addition, it is suggested that women's reports of conflicts are decreased in later stage of development as they use "balance" as a coping strategy.

The findings of this study, as presented earlier in this chapter, give support to the hypothesis that the later stages of development are characterized by a sense of balance and resolution of conflicts. By supplying results that are consistent with previous work on women's development processes, the validity of this current work in enhanced.

This study agrees with the hypotheses outlined in Chapter 2, but not for the reasons that are described in the theoretical literature on women's development processes. In order to adequately describe the nature of women's conflicts and developmental

processes, the impact of the relationships with parents that Iris, Anne, and Joan describe was found to provide needed insights into the etiology of women's conflicts.

In seeking to understand the ways in which relationships with parents affected later experiences of conflict, the relationships that Iris, Anne, and Joan describe to have had with their mothers were examined. Although these maternal relationships were presented as impacting later development, Iris, Anne, and Joan also attribute their reactions to their relationships with their fathers as having a significant impact on their developmental processes. Iris, Anne, and Joan's reflections insinuate that their behaviors during their early years were based on their reactions to their relationships to their fathers. Their writings were found to support that the father, holding the image of power and effectiveness, presented the coveted model of optimal personal survival. This finding may seem to provide rather alarming support to Sigmond Freud's popularized theory of described "penis envy". The findings of this study suggest, however, that a girl's reaction to her father's model is not related to issues of sexuality as Freud suggests. Based on these women's interpretations, it appears that the child's decision regarding effectiveness was made based on issues of survival.

In consulting the interpretations that these women provide of the reasons that they reacted so strongly to their relationships with their father's were so strong, or why the father represented the coveted model, clarification and support for the concept of survival motivation was gained. According to the discourse these women provide in regards to their fathers, it becomes apparent that socialization factors were a primary consideration in explaining the amount of influence that the father's had on their daughter's lives. The mothers of these women are portrayed as perpetuating the societal model of selfless

nurturance. As such, Iris, Anne, and Joan represent that they received, rather blatantly, the message that the father was the one in the family with the most power. He was the one who received the attention. Therefore, his survival potential was increased. The father, as the collector of attention, became the obvious model of effectiveness. This phenomenon was especially strong in the recalled and shared portrayals of Iris, Anne, and Joan as their mothers were depicted as having been dependent on the their fathers to supply their material survival needs.

This study interprets the reports of Iris, Anne, and Joan to mean that the task of finding a viable model for personal survival was their original conflict. This original conflict of how to maximize one's survival potential is a recurrent theme in later life difficulties. In other words, there appears to be one primary conflict. The conflict is depicted to remain the same throughout the women's autobiographies. However, her strategy for coping with the conflict appears to differ at various points in her life.

It appears that Iris, Anne, and Joan internalized two coping strategies as avenues to self-survival. One strategy was to attend to other's needs, vicariously fulfilling their personal desire for attention. The other alternative, attending to self-concerns, was used if the external sources of attention reinforced self-advancement behaviors. Iris's displayed life experiences demonstrate a probable outcome if a girl gets her attention from her parents in response to displays of individuality. Iris's representations suggest that she came to learn that her personal desires were of primary importance. In comparison, her ability to get attention by displaying nurturing behaviors was underdeveloped due to lack of practice. Anne and Joan display a probable outcome for

girls who are taught care taking skills, or concern for others, at the expense of pursuit of self-concerns.

Even as Iris began with a different primary coping strategy or model, she, Anne, and Joan report discovering that their original avenue to power (i.e. orientation to self-concerns or other-concerns) was insufficient to provide them with a viable means to personal survival. The problem came as these women attempted to resolve the contradictions of following two paths to the same goal (i.e., self-survival). One path called for attention to personal concerns and the other demanded consideration of other's needs.

These women did not appear to have conflict under the following condition. They were able to get all of their survival needs met from external sources. If, however, there was a breakdown in the availability of attention and reinforcement from these external sources, the women reported experiencing conflict. Sometimes, relying on the alternate coping strategy was found effective in reducing this tension. However, the effectiveness was not long lasting or substantial, as it could not address both the concerns for self and others. Iris, Anne, and Joan represent themselves as having tried to simultaneously follow both models. This strategy was reported to be ineffective as it resulted in them feeling overwhelmed and incapable of adequately meeting their own needs or the needs of their family.

When the coping strategies of Primary Recapitulation, Alternative Recapitulation, or Simultaneous Recapitulation proved ineffective in resolving the tensions, then and only then did Iris, Anne, or Joan describe attempting to develop a personally chosen identity. Once achieved, these self-styled identities were portrayed as effective to handle

life's demands. By taking personal responsibility for assuring that their survival needs were met, Iris, Anne, and Joan indicate in their texts that they discovered an effective way to resolve their original conflict (i.e., how to get the attention and acceptance that is necessary for survival).

It is interesting that these women descriptions of their selves appear to be primarily self-focused until they depict themselves as making a personal choice for what they felt would be the best method for coping with the contradictions of balancing personal and other's concerns. Then the person, indicating a feeling of confidence that she had the strength to meet her own needs, depicts herself as able to be present and supportive to another.

The sequence of developmental transitions in the lives of the women in this study can be described in relation to their descriptions of their coping strategies. The women's transitions between the various coping strategies appears to parallels their personal development. In other words, the relationship between the women's coping strategies and their developmental process is that they are equivocal. The women's attempts to attain and maintain a viable model for self-survival (i.e., her coping strategies) appear to be the motivation behind her development.

An interesting issue to consider is why these women wrote about their resolution of conflicts as if their life's development were finished. Let us consider how the narrative form affects the outcome of the women's story. The narrative form in which these women chose to display their lives is that of a success story. The women also share in common being white, educated, American women of economic privilege. It can be supposed the women of this background have been culturally inundated with the

American philosophy of success and achievement as the result of hard work. If this is true, the choice of the narrative form of the success story can be conceptualized as resulting from cultural influences. By definition, a success story ends with a happy resolution. So, it can be argued that the American culture supported the narrative form that they chose which, in turn, dictates the types of results that they could display. However, it is also possible that the developmental stage that these women were at when they wrote resulted in the success story format. Meaning, because they had achieved an advanced developmental perspective, they had in fact succeeded and their story by necessity had to reveal this.

Implications for Practice

If one accepts at face value the autobiographical memoirs of Iris, Anne, and Joan, their interpretation imply that the task for a child might be to learn what coping strategies are available to them that will increase their survival potential. The child internalizes the survival models presented through their interactions with and reactions to their parents. These models form the skeletal framework of the child's self-identity. As the child grows, they test and retest these skills. If their coping strategies work, they are retained. A person will continue to have her need for attention met by external reflections for as long as possible. It is only when there is an obvious breakdown of these strategies that one will broach the task of forming a personally chosen identity structure.

A key point in the study of the strategies that these women describe using is how they appear to be based on maximizing personal survival. Previous theories promote that women's development can be conceptualized along a continuum of concern for self or others (Enns, 1991; Gilligan, 1982; Josselson; 1987). This study, however, suggests that

one's orientation of concern develops as a coping strategy toward the goal of maximizing one's survival potential. If attention is achieved by displaying evidence of individuality, then an orientation toward self-concerns develops as one's primary coping strategy. If attention is achieved by care taking behaviors, one is expected to orient her coping efforts in that direction. This conclusion breaks from Gilligan's (1982) stance that one's orientation of concern is the result of gender difference. Previous researchers have also failed to support Gilligan's conceptualization of gender difference as a viable explanation for one's orientation of concern (Donenberg & Hoffman, 1988; Ford & Lowery, 1986; Lyons, 1983). The results obtained in this study imply that one's orientation of concern appears to be attributable to issues of survival.

The findings of this study imply that a counselor working with a woman who describes experiences of conflict or mental distress in balancing their professional career roles with their family roles should consider her compensatory coping behavior as evidence of her developmental maturity. In assessing the types of coping strategies that she typically uses, it may become possible to discover her developmental stage and guide her towards a more advance developmental perspective.

In order to assess for developmental maturity, the counselor might ask the woman to describe when she first began to experience conflict. The woman might be asked to consider what was different in her life circumstances and how she coped with problems before she began experiencing conflicts and how she is attempting to cope in the present. She might also be asked to consider if her current coping strategies are reducing or increasing her subjective feelings of distress.

Based on the interpretations that the women in this study presented, it might prove beneficial to discuss the woman's perceptions of her relationships with parents. She could be invited to explore her conceptions and interpretations of the influence of parental and cultural expectations on her adult behavior and coping strategies. It could also prove useful to discuss her coping behaviors as a survival response to parental and societal pressures.

Suggestions for Further Research

Further research is needed in order to adequately explain the relationships between the specific coping factors (i.e., family and work environments, perception of control, meaning of work, sex-role comfort, and priority on maintaining relationships) that researchers have found to be associated with mental health outcomes and the more general coping strategies that were described in this study. It is proposed that the specific variables are descriptive of process components or behaviors associated with the general coping strategies advanced in this work. Further research is needed in order to address and clarify this issue. It is hypothesized that research which cites negative mental health outcomes for professionally trained women who have family responsibilities might be descriptive of women who are transitioning between coping strategies. Positive mental health outcomes would be expected if the woman's coping strategy was perceived as sufficient to fulfill her survival needs.

The results obtained in this study need to be combined with other theoretical perspectives in order better explain findings that did not fully "fit" with a developmental explanation. In particular, the issue of survival as a motivation for later development might be better explained in relation to attachment or motivational literature. In addition,

it is suggested that the developmental perspective on women's mental health outcomes might be enhanced by including a greater diversity of developmental theories in illuminating the underlying processes of women's development.

Limitations of Study

The results of this study are based on the reports of three professional women that were chosen based on a number of selection criteria which limited the potential subjects. As such, the study is open to criticism based on its limited potential for generalizability.

An important limitation to consider when working with autobiographical data sources is that they are narrative forms that depict subjective interpretations of reality (Sarbin, 1986). Discussions regarding the issue of autobiographical truth have been widely debated (Conway et al., 1992; Gilmore, 1994; McAdams, 1993; Polkinghorne, 1996). These discussions agree that autobiographical memory is not a process of recalling objective reality (Rubin, 1996) but is more appropriately described as a product of "narrative smoothing" (Sarbin, 1986) in which one's history is re-created and recalled in accordance with one's perceptions of her current identity structure.

The social construction of narratives has been widely discussed as a potential limitation of autobiographical accounts (Ashley et al., 1994; Brodzki & Schenck, 1988; Conway, 1998; Gilmore, 1994; Smith & Watson, 1998). The ethnopoetics, or the manner in which an author portrays herself, is understood to be a conventionalized performance set in motion within a specific culture or social structure (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). The form in which one structures or represents her story can be conceptualized as a product of one's cultural norms. This is to say that the form (e.g., success story or chronology) that the story takes dictates the nature of one's disclosures

(Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Narrative research then is understood to be a reactive representation of one's social reality.

The issue of social construction of the form of one's narrative is especially relevant to this work. By definition a narrative is a story with beginning, middle, and end (Denzin, 1989b). As such, a narrative, by its very nature, depicts a resolution to a story. Changes in resolution of one' s personal narrative is understood to depict developmental transition points (Ruth & Kenyon, 1996). This means that narratives, by their nature, are subject to change.

Coffey & Atkinson (1996) discuss narrative form as a product of socialization. As stated previously, the form with a narrative takes dictates its potential disclosures and resolutions. This issue is descriptive of a limitation of generalizability that is inherent in this work. Based on selection criteria that limit inclusion of subjects to women from one social era, it may be argued that the women's reported outcomes are dictated by the use of a "success story" form that is commonly depicted in popular press texts. This form effectively assures that a happy "resolution" will be disclosed.

In the context of this study, it could be argued that the effects of ethnopoetics, or the performance of cultured norms, may account for the appearance of what was presented as the coping strategy of Blended Capitualization. In others words, the women's writing, which is based on representation of their lives within the form of a success story, will by definition end in a happy resolution.

Iris, Anne, and Joan depict their happy resolution as a function of personal choice. However, it could be effectively argued that this perception of "choice" is the expected result of selection criteria which limits the potential subjects to an American,

postliberation, democratic culture. In effect, ethnopoetics may attribute to the perception of resolution of conflicts based on Blended Capitulization. This type of self-description may be unique to the current era of American women. In essence, the conflicts described may be the expected outcome in autobiographies of white women of a privileged class who portray their narratives in the form of success stories.

In addition to limitations to the study's internal validity that are founded related to subject selection, this study may also be critiqued in regards to subjective bias in interpretation (Elms, 1994; Gay, 1992; Josselson, 1996). Efforts have been made to describe the analysis process in detail, however, it remains that much of the analytical process depended on the ability of this researcher to discover and describe underlying processes.

Questions related to authenticity of the autobiographical sources may be offered in relation to the unaccounted effects of editorial revision on the women's final product. It remains possible that the work's depicted as autobiographical may have been edited and revised by person's other than the author. Gay (1992) suggests that data sources be triangulated to verify authenticity. However, this process was not followed in the current study.

REFERENCES

Alexander, I. E. (1988). Personality, psychological assessment, and psychobiography. In D. P. McAdams & R. L. Ochberg (Eds.), Psychobiography and Life Narratives (pp. 265-294). Durham: Duke University Press.

Alexander, I. E. (1990). Personology: Method and content in personality assessment and psychobiography. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Amsel, E., & Renninger, K. A. (1997). Change and development: Issues of theory, method, and application. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Ashley, K., Gilmore, L., & Peters, G. (1994). Autobiography & postmodernism. Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press.

Astin, H. S. (1984). The meaning of work in women's lives: A sociopolitical model of career choice and work behavior. The Counseling Psychologist, 12, 117-126.

Bamberg, M. (1997). Narrative development: Six approaches. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Barnett, R. C., & Baruch, G. K. (1985). Women's involvement in multiple roles and psychological distress. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 49, 135-145.

Barnett, R. C., & Baruch, G. K. (1987). Social roles, gender, and psychological distress. In R. C. Barnett, L. Biener, & G. K. Baruch (Eds.), Gender and stress (pp. 122-143). New York, NY: Free Press.

Bateson, C. (1989). Composing a life. New York, NY: Plume.

Belenky, M., Clinchy, B., Goldberger, N., & Tarule, J. (1986). Women's ways of knowing: The development of self, voice, and mind. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Bentz, V. M., & Shapiro, J. J. (1998). Mindful inquiry in social research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Betz, N. E. (1989). The null environment and women's career development. The Counseling Psychologist, 17, 136-144.

Birren, J. E., & Birren, B. A. (1996). Autobiography: Exploring the self and encouraging development. In J. E. Birren, G. M. Kenyon, J. E. Ruth, J. Schroots, & T. Svensson (Eds.), Aging and development: Explorations in adult development (pp. 283-299). New York, NY: Springer.

Birren, J. E., Kenyon, G. M., Ruth, J. E., Schroots, J., & Svensson, T. (1996). Aging and development: Explorations in adult development. New York, NY: Springer.

Bloom, R. (1998). Under the sign of hope: Feminist methodology and narrative interpretation. Albany; NY: State University of New York Press.

BNA Special Report. (1986). Work and family: A changing dynamic. Washington, DC: The Bureau of National Affairs.

Bradburn, N. M. (1969). The structure of psychological well-being. Chicago, IL: Aldine.

Braham, J. (1995). Crucial conversations: Interpreting contemporary American literary autobiographies by women. New York, NY: Teacher College Press.

Brennan, E. M., & Rosenzweig, J. M. (1990). Women and work: Toward a new developmental model. Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services, 71, 524-533.

Brodzki, B., & Schenck, C. (1988). Life/lines: Theorizing women's autobiography. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Bromley, D. B. (1977). Personality description in ordinary language. New York, NY: Wiley.

Bruner, J. (1986). Actual minds, possible worlds. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Burke, R. J., & McKeen, C. A. (1993). Career priority patterns among managerial and professional women. Applied Psychology: An International Review, 42, 341-352.

Childs, J. E. (1995). The myth of the maiden: On being a woman. Deerfield Beach, FL: Health Communications.

Chodorow, N. (1974). Family structure and feminine personality. In M. Z. Rosaldo & L. Lamphere (Eds.), Women, Culture, and Society (pp. 43-66). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Chodorow, N. 1978. The reproduction of mothering. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Coffey, A., & Atkinson, P. (1996). Making sense of qualitative data. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cohen. S., & Wills, T. A. (1985). Stress, social support, and the buffering hypothesis. Psychological Bulletin, 98, 310-357.

Colby, A. (1994). Case studies of exceptional people: What can they teach us? Journal of Narrative and Life History, 4, 353-365.

Colby, A., & Damon, W. (1987). Listening to a different voice: A review of Gilligan's In a Different Voice. In M. R. Walsh (Ed.), The psychology of women: Ongoing debates (pp. 321-329). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Conway, J. K. (1998). When memory speaks: Reflections on autobiography. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.

Conway, M. A., Rubin, D. C., Spinnler, H., & Wagenaar, W. A. (1992). Theoretical perspectives on autobiographical memory. Boston, MA: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Cook. E. P. (1993). The gendered context of life: Implications for women's and men's career-life plans. The Career Development Quarterly, 41, 227-237.

Cortazzi, M. (1993). Narrative analysis. Washington, D.C.: Falmer Press.

Crosby, F. J. (1991). Juggling: The unexpected advantages of balancing career and home for women and their families. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Denmark, F. L., & Paludi, M. A. (Eds.). (1993). Psychology of women: A handbook of issues and theories. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Denzin, N. K. (1989a). Interpretive biography. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N. K. (1989b). Interpretive interactionism. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Donenberg, G. R., & Hoffman, L. W. (1988). Gender differences in moral development Sex Roles, 18, 701-717.

Duxbury, L., & Higgins, C. (1991). Gender differences in work-family conflict. Journal of Applied Psychology, 76, 60-74.

Duxbury, L., Higgins, C., & Lee, C. (1994). Work-family conflict: A comparison by gender, family type, and perceived control. Journal of Family Issues, 15, 449-466.

Eccles, J. S. (1986). Gender roles and women's achievement-related decisions. Educational Researcher, 15, 15-19.

Eccles, J. (1987). Gender roles and women's achievement-related decisions. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 11, 135-172.

Eckenrode, J., & Gore, S. (Eds.). (1990). Stress between work and family. New York, NY: Plenum Press.

Eichler, A., & Parron, D. L. (1987). Women's mental health: Agenda for research. Rockville, MD: National Institute of Mental Health.

Elms. A. C. 1994. Uncovering lives: An uneasy alliance of biography and psychology. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Enns, C. Z. (1991). The "new" relationship models of women's identity: A review and critique for counselors. Journal of Counseling and Development, 69, 209-217.

Erikson, E. H. (1958). Young man Luther. New York, NY: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1963). Childhood and society (2cd ed.). New York, NY: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). Identity: Youth and crisis. New York, NY: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1969). Gandhi's truth. New York, NY: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1975). Life history and the historical moment. New York, NY: Norton.

Etzion, D., & Bailyn, L. (1994). Patterns of adjustment to the career/family conflict of technically trained women in the United States and Israel. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 24, 1520-1549.

Farmer, H. S. (1985). Model of career and achievement motivation for women and men. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 32, 363-390.

Faver, C. A. (1984). Women in transition: Career, family, and life satisfaction in three cohorts. New York, NY: Praeger.

Folkenflik, R. (1993). The culture of autobiography: Constructions of self-representation. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Ford, M. R., & Lowery, C. R. (1986). Gender differences in moral reasoning: A comparison of the use of justice and care orientations. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50, 777-783.

Franz, C. E., & Stewart, A. J. (1994). Women creating lives: Identities, resilience, and resistance. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Freundenberger, H. J., & North, G. (1985). Women's burnout. New York, NY: Doubleday.

Friedan, B. (1963). The feminine mystique. New York, NY: Norton.

Friedan, B. (1981). The second stage. New York, NY: Summit Books.

Gay, L. R. (1992). Educational research: Competencies for analysis and application. New York, NY: Macmillan.

Gilbert, L.A., & Evans, S. (1985). Dimensions of same-gender student-faculty role-model relationships. Sex Roles, 12, 111-123.

Gilbert, L. A., & Rossman, K. M. (1992). Gender and mentoring process for women: Implications for professional development. Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 23, 233-238.

Gilligan, C. (1982). In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gilligan, C., Brown, L. M., Rogers, A. G. (1990). Psyche embedded: A place for body, relationships, and culture in personality theory. In A.I. Rabin, R. A. Zucker, R. A. Emmons, & S. Frank (Eds.), Studying persons and lives (pp. 86-147). New York, NY: Springer.

Gilmore, L. (1994). Autobiographics: A feminist theory of women's self-representation. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Gray, E. B., Lovejoy, M. C., Piotrkowski, C. S., & Bond, J. T. (1990). Husband supportiveness and the well-being of employed mothers of infants. Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services, 71, 332-341.

Greenhaus, J. H., & Beutell, N. J. (1985). Sources of conflict between work and family roles. Academy of Management Press, 10, 76-88.

Hayghe, H. V. (1997). Development in women's labor force participation. Monthly Labor Review, Sept, 41-46.

Heilburn, C. G. (1988). Writing a woman's life. New York, NY: Norton.

Hinchman, L. P., & Hinchman, S. K. (1997). Memory, identity, community: The idea of narrative in the human sciences. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Hochschild, A. (1989). The second shift: Working parents and the revolution at home. New York, NY: Penguin.

Hollinger, C. L., & Fleming, E. S. (1992). A longitudinal examination of life choices of gifted and talented young women. Gifted Child Quarterly, 36, 207-212.

Hollinger, C. L., & Fleming, E. S. (1993). Project CHOICE: The emerging roles and careers of gifted women. Roeper Review, 15, 156-160.

Horner, M. S. (1972). An understanding of achievement-related conflicts in women. Journal of Social Issues, 28, 157-176.

Hughes, D. L., & Galinsky, E. (1994). Gender, job and family conditions, and psychological symptoms.Psychology of Women Quarterly, 18, 251-270.

Josselson, R. (1987). Finding herself: Pathways to identity development in women. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Josselson. R. (1995). Imagining the real: Empathy, narrative, and the dialogic self, In R, Josselson & A. Lieblich (Eds.),). The narrative study of lives: Volume 3. Interpreting experience (pp. ??-??). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Josselson, R. & Lieblich, A. (1993). The narrative study of lives, Volume 1. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Josselson, R,. & Lieblich, A. (1995). The narrative study of lives: Volume 3. Interpreting experience. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kaufman, D. R., & Richardson, B. L. (1982). Achievement and women: Challenging the assumptions. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Keita, G. P., & Hurrell, J. J. (Eds.). (1994). Job stress in a changing workforce: Investigating gender, diversity, and family issues. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Krasnow, I. (1997). Surrendering to motherhood: Losing your mind, finding your soul. New York: Hyperion.

Kren, G. M., & Rappoport, L. H. (1976). Varieties of psychohistory. New York, NY: Springer.

Krueger, D. W. (1984). Success and the fear of success in women. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Larwood, L., & Gutek, B. (1987). Working towards a theory of women's career development. In B. A. Gutek & L. Larwood (Eds.), Women's Career Development (pp. 170-183), Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lawton, M. P. (1975). The Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale: A revision. Journal of Gerontology, 30, 85-89.

Levenson, H. (1974). Activism and powerful others: Distinctions within the concept of internal-external control. Journal of Personality Assessment, 38, 377-383.

Lewis, S., & Cooper, C. L. (1983). The stress of combining occupational and parental roles: A review of the literature. Bulletin of the British Psychological Society, 36, 341-345.

Lieblich, A., & Josselson, R. (1994).). The narrative study of lives: Volume 2. Exploring identity and gender. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lieblich, A., & Josselson, R. (1997). The narrative study of lives: Volume 5. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lieblich, A., Tuval-Mashiach, R., & Zilber, T. (1998), Narrative research: Reading, analysis, and interpretation. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lyons, N. (1983). Two perspectives on self, relationships and morality. Harvard Educational Review, 53, 125-145.

Magai, C., & McFadden, S. H. (1996). Handbook of emotion, adult development, and aging. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego identity status. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3, 551-558.

Maynard, M. (1993). A comparison of female professional's role profiles with occupational adjustment and life satisfaction. Journal of Employment Counseling, 30, 133-142.

McAdams, D. P. (1993). The stories we live by: Personal myths and the making of the self. New York, NY: William Morrow.

McAdams, D. P., & Ochberg, R. L. (1988). Psychobiography and life narratives. Durham: Duke University Press.

McBride, A. B. (1990). Mental health effects on women's multiple roles. American Psychologist, 45, 381-384.

McLure, G. T., & Piel, E. (1978). Career-bound girls and science careers: Perceptions of barriers and facilitating factors. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 12, 172-183.

Mednick, M. T., & Thomas, V. G. (1993). Women and the psychology of achievement: A view from the eighties. In F. L. Denmark & M. A. Paludi (Eds.), Psychology of women: A handbook of issues and theories (pp. 585-626). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994) Qualitative data analysis: An expanded scourcebook (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Napholz, L. (1994). Indices of psychological well-being and sex role orientation among working women. Health Care for Women International, 15, 307-316.

Napholz, L. (1995). Indices of psychological well-being and role commitment among working women. Journal of Employment Counseling, 32, 22-31.

Neisser, U., & Fivush, R. (1994). The remembering self: Construction and accuracy in the self-narrative. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Neugarten, B. L., Havighurst, R., & Tubin, S. (1961). The measurement of life satisfaction. Journal of Gerontology, 16, 134-143.

Noble, K. D. (1989). Counseling gifted women: Becoming the heroes of their own stories. Journal for the Education of the Gifted, 12, 131-141.

O'Donnell, J. A., & Anderson, D. G. (1978). Factors influencing choice of major and career in capable women. Vocational Guidance Quarterly, 26, 214-221.

Oppenheimer, V. K. (1982). Work and family: A study in social demography. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Paludi, M. A., & Fankell-Hauser, J. (1986). An idiographic approach to the study of women's achievement strivings. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 10, 89-100.

Parasuraman, S., Greenhaus, J. H., & Granrose, C. S. (1992). Role stressors, social support, and well-being among two-career couples. Journal of Organizational Behavior, 13, 339-356.

Pascal, R. (1960). Design and truth in autobiography. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Personal Narratives Group. (1989). Interpreting women's lives: Feminist theory and personal narratives. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Piechowski, L. D. (1992). Mental health and women's multiple roles. Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services, 73, 131-139.

Pleck, J. (1985). Working wives/working husbands. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Plummer, K. (1995). Life story research. In J. A. Smith, R. Harre, & L.V. Langenhove (Eds.), Rethinking methods in psychology (pp. 50-63). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1996). Narrative knowing and the study of lives. In J. E. Birren, G. M. Kenyon, J. E. Ruth, J. Schroots, & T. Svensson (Eds), Aging and development: Explorations in adult development (pp. 77-99). New York, NY: Springer.

Poole, M. E., & Langan-Fox, J. (1992). Conflict in women's decision-making about multiple roles. Australian Journal of Marriage and Family, 13, 2-18.

Powell, G. N., & Mainiero, L. A. (1992). Cross-currents in the river of time: Conceptualizing the complexities of women's careers. Journal of Management, 18, 215-237.

Rabin, A. I., Zucker, R. A., Emmons, R. A., & Frank, S. (1990) Studying persons and lives. New York, NY: Springer.

Reifman, A., Biernat, M., & Lang, E. L. (1991). Stress, social support, and health in married professional women with small children. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 15, 431-445.

Reinharz, S. (1984). On becoming a social scientist: From survey research and participant observation to experiential analysis. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

Reinharz, S. (1992). Feminist methods in social research. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Reis, S. (1991). The need for clarification in research designed to examine gender differences in achievement and accomplishment. Roeper Review, 13, 193-198.

Reis, S. M. (1995). Talent ignored, talent diverted: The cultural context underlying giftedness in females. Gifted Child Quarterly, 39, 162-170.

Roiphe, A. (1996). Fruitful - Living the contradictions: A memoir of modern motherhood. NewYork, NY: Penguin Books.

Rosenburg, M. (1965). Society and the adolescent self-image. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rosenwald, G. C., & Wiersma, S. (1983). Women, career changes and the new self: An analysis of rhetoric. Psychiatry, 46, 213-229.

Rossi, A. (1980). Life span theories and women's lives. Signs, 6, 4-32.

Rubin, D. C. (1986). Autobiographical memory. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Rubin, D. C. (1996). Remembering our past: Studies in autobiographical memory. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Runyan, W. M. 1982. Life histories and psychobiography: Explorations in theory and method. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Ruth, J. E., & Kenyon, G. (1996). Biography in adult develoment and aging. In J. E. Birren, G. M. Kenyon, J. E. Ruth, J. Schroots, & T. Svensson (Eds.), Aging and development: Explorations in adult development (pp. 1-20). New York, NY: Springer.

Ryff, C. D. (1989). Happiness is everything, or is it? Explorations on the meaning of psychological well-being. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57, 1069-1081.

Sarbin, T. R. (1986). Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct. New York, NY: Praeger.

Scholes, R. (1989). Protocols of reading. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Spence, D. P. (1986). Narrative smoothing and clinical wisdom. In T. R. Sarbin (Ed.). Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct (pp. 211-232). New York, NY: Praeger.

Silverman, L. (1995). Why are there as few eminent women? Roeper Review, 18, 5-13.

Simon, R. W. (1995). Gender, multiple roles, role meaning, and mental health. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 36, 182-194.

Smith, S., & Watson, J. (1998). Women, autobiography, theory: A reader. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Subotnik, R. F., & Arnold, K. D. (1995). Passing through the gates: Career establishment of talented women scientists. Roeper Review, 18, 55-61.

Swiss, D. P., & Walker, J. P. (1993). Women and the work/family dilemma: How today's professional women are finding solutions. New York, NY: Wiley.

Tappan, M. B. (1997). Interpretive psychology: Stories, circles, and understanding lived experience. Journal of Social Issues, 53, 645-656.

Tidball, M. E. (1980). Women's colleges and women achievers revisited. Signs, 5, 504-517.

US Bureau of the Census. (1985). Statistical abstract of the United States:1986. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

US Department of Labor, Women's Bureau. (1992). Women workers outlook to 2005. Washington DC: Author.

Valdez, R. L., & Gutek, B. (1987). Family roles: A help or hindrance for working women? In Gutek, B. & Larwood, L. (eds.), Women's career development (pp. 1 57-169). Newbury Park, CT: Sage.

Voydanoff, P., & Kelly, R. F. (1984). Determinants of work-related problems among employed parents. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 46, 881-892.

Weishaar, M. E., Green, B. J., & Craighead, L. W. (1981). Primary influences of initial vocational choices for college women. Journal of Applied Psychology, 63, 67-78.

Weitzman, L. M. (1994). Multiple-role realism: A theoretical framework for the process of planning to combine career and family roles. Applied & Preventive Psychology, 3, 15-25.

Wiersma, U. J., & Van Den Berg, P. (1991). Work-home role conflict, family climate, and domestic responsibilities among men and women in dual-earner families. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 21, 1207-1217.

Wood, W., Rhodes, N., & Whelan, M. (1989). Sex differences in positive well-being: A consideration of emotional style and marital status. Psychological Bulletin, 106, 249-264.

Zung, W. K. (1965). A self-rating depression scale. Archives of General Psychiatry, 12, 63-70.

VITA

Ada Ruth Miesner

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: A NARRATIVE ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENTAL PROCESSES IN MOTHERS WITH PROFESSIONAL CAREER TRAINING AS DEPICTED IN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITING

Major Field: Applied Behavioral Studies

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Walnut Ridge, Arkansas on July 25, 1998. Married to William Miesner on April 3, 1993. Mother of two children, Brandy and Jacob.

Education: Graduated from Walnut Ridge High School, Walnut Ridge, Arkansas in May 1986; received Bachelor of Science degree in Psychology from Arkansas State University, Jonesboro, Arkansas in May 1990; received Master of Arts degree in Industrial/Organizational Psychology from the University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma in May 1992. Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Applied Behavioral Studies in the Counseling Psychology program at Oklahoma State University in May 2000.

Experience: Mental Health Specialist at various facilities, 1989 to 1993; Psychology Trainee/Counselor, Tulsa Boys Home, Stillwater Domestic Violence Services, Century Center of Stillwater, Oklahoma State University Marriage and Family Clinic, L. E. Rader Center, Family Mental Health Center, August 1991 to August 1997; Psychology Intern, Arkansas State Hospital, August 1998 to August 1999.

Professional Memberships: American Psychological Association, Applied Behavioral Studies in Education Graduate Student Association, Psi Chi