ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: "LIFE AS A GYROSCOPE":
CREATING A GROUNDED THEORY MODEL FOR
FULL-TIME WORKING MOTHERS IN HIGHER
EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION DEVELOPING AND
MAINTAINING A FULFILLING, BALANCED LIFE

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   Women in today's society have multiple roles, multiple identities, and multiple

challenges – as married women or life partners, as daughters, as sisters, as mothers, as

members of communities, and as women in the workforce, among others. In particular,

the dual roles of mother and worker can conflict and present challenges for women who

want to have both a career and a family. Women working in higher education

administration are no exception.

   The purpose of this study was to understand the development of a dual-focused

outlook by women with children working in the upper levels of higher education

administration. By studying the work/life issues and experiences of a small sample of

women who are identified as dual-focused, I expected to learn how these higher

education administrators managed two significant roles - that of worker and mother - and

how these women were able to achieve and maintain a dual-focused orientation.

However, what I found was that these women are dual-focused in that they value both

motherhood and work, but also that they have extremely strong and well-developed self-concepts.

This study utilized grounded theory methods to understand the development and maintenance of a dual-focused outlook in 12 mid- to upper-level mothers in higher education administration at a large research I institution. By conducting three individual interviews with each participant and one group interview session, I was able to develop a grounded theory and model for full-time working mothers in higher education administration developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life.

Using grounded theory methods, one core category and five key categories emerged. The core category was developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life. The key categories were: valuing self, valuing work, valuing motherhood, negotiating a balanced life, and setting the context. The five key categories overlapped to form the core category. In order to have successful work and family lives, the women in this study were found to place a high value on self, a high value on work, a high value on motherhood, and to rely on support and tools to negotiate a balanced life.

"LIFE AS A GYROSCOPE":
CREATING A GROUNDED THEORY MODEL FOR FULL-TIME WORKING
MOTHERS IN HIGHER EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION DEVELOPING AND
MAINTAINING A FULFILLING, BALANCED LIFE

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to four extraordinary people in my life.

To Stirling Supple, my vivacious, phenomenal four-year-old daughter.

To Matthew Supple, my loving, devoted husband.

To Bill and Paula Lecky, my wonderful, supportive parents.

Throughout this process, I have grown to appreciate even more the instrumental
roles each of you has played in my life. Thank you.

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Dr. Susan Komives, my advisor and dissertation chair, lifted me up when I was not sure I would or could ever get to the finish line. Thank you for supporting me, for challenging me, for teaching me, but most of all, for believing in me. I honestly could not have done it without you.

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There are dozens of other friends, colleagues, faculty and family who played an important role in this process. I could not possibly name every person on these two pages, so please know I am so appreciative of each one of you, your support, and encouragement.

And finally, I am so grateful for the endless support of my family. You all gave me the solid foundation of love and support to grow and challenge myself to be the best I

can be. To my dad, Bill Lecky, for teaching me the value of balancing home and work and for showing me what it means to be a true professional and a committed parent. To my mom, Paula Lecky, for making motherhood appear easy and for showing me how to love children in ways that make us feel like anything is possible. To my brother, Eric Lecky – I am thankful for providing his technical and graphic expertise, and for offering his love and support throughout my life as I strived for each new goal.

To my daughter, Stirling Supple, who delights and surprises me everyday and makes me want to be the best mother I can be. I did not think it was possible to love one person so much. I hope work like this will make life better for women and mothers in your generation and the generations that follow. Without you, I would never have understood the importance of this research.

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CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

Women in today's society have multiple roles, multiple identities, and multiple challenges – as married women or life partners, as daughters, as sisters, as mothers, as members of communities, and as women in the workforce, among others. In particular, the dual roles of mother and worker can conflict and present challenges for women who want to have both a career and a family. In both wage earning jobs and professional fields of work where careers are demanding, women must constantly make choices and perfect strategies to succeed in their career paths and to succeed as mothers. Women working in higher education administration are no exception.

The 2002 National Study of the Changing Workforce provided a broad overview of the integration of work, family and personal life through data comparisons to the first study of the changing workforce conducted 25 years prior (Bond, Thompson, Galinsky, & Prottas, 2002). This national survey of almost 3,500 working men and women found that in the past 25 years, the proportion of men and women in the workforce has become nearly equal (51% men and 49% women). Over the past 25 years, women have achieved increasingly higher educational levels and moved into more professional and managerial positions – in fact, women are significantly more likely to hold managerial positions than men (38% of women compared to 28% of men). In spite of these increased numbers of women in the workforce, mothers and fathers continue to spend about the same amount of time with their children as they have in the past. Over the past 25 years, the total amount of time spent on family and household issues has stayed consistent, but the division of responsibility has changed somewhat. In addition, married working mothers

continue to spend more time on household chores and family work than their husbands, although fathers spend 42 more minutes per day on household work than they did in 1977. Employees with children report much higher levels of work/family interference than in the past (Bond et al.).

The issues faced by working mothers are important to understand and address for the future of higher education – and publications are being devoted to the topic and professing the need for more research and creative solutions (e.g., American Association of University Professors, 2004; Association of American Colleges and Universities, 2004). According to these and other publications, in order to support and encourage women to continue to make their careers in higher education administration and to help women succeed in climbing the leadership ladder, institutions must understand the personal and professional needs, career goals, and various roles these women must fill everyday and how to support the dual roles of worker and mother these women choose to embrace. To address the experiences of men in higher education administration, or working mothers in other fields, would be beyond the scope of this study, but suggests opportunities for future research.

As mentioned previously, the Association of American Colleges and Universities (2004) devoted an entire issue of its journal, "On Campus with Women," to the "perennial conflict between academic work and family responsibilities," (p. 1). Throughout this publication, several articles addressed the challenges faced by women on college campuses who are trying to have a career and raise a family. Renn and Hughes' (2004) book *Roads Taken: Women in Student Affairs at Mid-Career* included a large section on "Motherhood and Student Affairs: The Skillful Art of Managing Work and

Family" which gave personal narratives on the challenges several women have faced. There are many examples of women in higher education who have succeeded in raising a family and meeting their career goals, but there has been little research conducted on how women in higher education administration accomplish this feat.

"Historically, women have been expected to prioritize their goals based upon a primary role as nurturer in the family. Yet, a successful professional career requires timing based on the male pattern – that is, early achievements and uninterrupted competition," (Chliwniak, 1997, p. 33). In an analysis of the existing literature, Chliwniak reported that 51% of female college presidents reported being single in a 1990 profile compared with less than 10% of male presidents. This may be due to women postponing family and personal choices in favor of career advancement. For a variety of possible reasons, this statistic indicates that family and higher education leadership are not compatible for many women.

This chapter provides an introduction to this study. First, I places the experience of today's working mothers in higher education administration within the historical context of women in the workforce. This section is followed by more specific background on working mothers in higher education and an overview of the dual-focused outlook. The chapter then includes a summary of the purpose and significance of this study and a brief overview of grounded theory methodology. Finally, this chapter concludes with an overview of the whole study.

Historical Context

To understand today's working mothers, it is important to recognize the history of women in the workforce. The increasing number of married women who work outside the home has been a long-term consequence of capitalism, rising salaries, shifts in the demand for labor, greater access to education for women, and better control over childbearing (Coontz, 1992). The influx of women in the workplace began in earnest during World War II as women entered the workforce to replace the men who went off to war. Between 1940 and 1945, the women's labor force grew by more than 50% (Coontz). "Rosie the Riveter" became a common symbol for women working in American factories. As women gained job skills and work experience, their presence in the workplace grew. Yet, women continued to have children and maintain their roles within the household. When men returned from the war and the country's economy grew, society experienced the beginning of the dual-earner household, a situation which is commonplace today (Coontz). Some women continued to work out of financial necessity and others maintained their jobs due to the satisfaction and fulfillment they felt from working outside the home.

Beginning in the middle of the 20th century and continuing today, men's labor force participation can be depicted as an inverted bowl – men's participation rises slowly after school is completed and declines upon retirement (Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, 2000). In contrast, in the 1950's, women's work force participation was typically "m" shaped – middle class women would enter the workforce, leave to care for their families, return to work later in life, and then eventually retire. Through the 1950's and 60's men returned to work and women also remained in the workforce – expanding the

arenas of women's work and allowing women to work for both self-esteem and personal fulfillment in addition to economic gain (Coontz, 1992). With the publishing of *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963 and the founding of the National Organization for Women in 1966, the Women's Movement of the 1960's and 70's began and upper middle class, college educated women demanded gender equality and the idea of work as a component of life satisfaction (Coontz).

By the 1980's, the "m" shape had declined significantly and women's work force participation today more closely mimics men's. This indicates that women no longer leave the work force to raise children which forces them to manage the conflicts often presented by work and family (Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, 2000).

And yet, the population continues to grow, so women have not stopped having children. In 2000, the average number of children born to women over their lifetime was 2.1, up from fewer than 2.0 in the 1970s (Centers for Disease Control, 2002a). The average age of the mother at first birth rose over three years from 21.4 in 1970 to 25 in 2000 (Centers for Disease Control, 2002b). Although there is no specific data on the age at childbirth for working women, these data suggest that the numbers of working mothers continues to grow. The statistical data on working mothers supports this trend. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, labor force participation outside the home of women with children under the age of 6 grew from 39% in 1975 to 65% in 2000. For women with children ages 6-17, the percentages grew from 55% in 1975 to 79% in 2000 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004). Women with children also worked more hours each week outside the home in 2000 than they did in 1976 (Bureau of Labor Statistics). For

mothers of children age 6 to 17, hours worked increased by 2.5 hours per week from 33.1 to 35.6 (Bureau of Labor Statistics).

In addition, women, and consequently working mothers, in the workforce are more educated than in previous years. In 1970, only 11% of women in the workforce had four or more years of college. By 2002, that percentage had nearly tripled, as 31.5% of working women were college graduates (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004). And women are choosing, out of desire or necessity, to obtain advanced degrees and use those credentials for professional advancement opportunities. In 2002, over 6.5 million women had earned their Master's, Professional, and/or Doctoral degrees (Bureau of Labor Statistics). Of those, over 82% are currently employed (Bureau of Labor Statistics).

The increasing numbers of women earning advanced degrees, working outside the home, and seeking professional opportunities for growth and development often create challenges in trying to manage work and family life. These challenges are often complicated by the fact that most women are still expected to be the primary caretakers for children and family (Bond, Galinsky & Swanberg, 1997). Several studies have shown that although the numbers of working mothers continues to rise, women still do the majority of the work related to the home and family (Bond et al., 2002; Chliwniak, 1997; Hensel, 1991b; Scarr, Phillips & McCartney, 1989; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004) , or kinwork (Musil, 2004). "Kinwork" is described as the family obligations that come attached to professional women – unpaid responsibilities such as coordination of elder care, medical care, housework and child care that are often overlooked and rarely acknowledged (Musil).

In addition to doing most of the "kinwork," women in professional positions in many fields are often expected to work more than 40 hours per week, including nights, weekends, and travel. These job expectations can take time away from family and home responsibilities. Women in professional positions in higher education administration face some of these same challenges.

Women in Higher Education Administration

Women in higher education administration face the same work/life issues as those in other fields (Marshall, 2004). Whether in clerical or professional positions, women in higher education administration must learn how to negotiate these issues to succeed at work and at home. While women in all levels of the institution face these challenges, the demands of upper level administrative positions are even greater. And, in higher education institutions, women are moving into higher level administrative positions. In 1997, 35% of Senior Student Affairs Officers were women, compared to just 17% in 1980 (Jones & Komives, 2001). By 2001, women held almost half (47.8%) of the administrative, executive, and managerial positions in American colleges and universities (National Center for Education Statistics, 2001). Consistent with these data, women working in higher education administration frequently have one or more advanced degrees and have worked their way up the professional ranks of the campus administration (Marshall & Jones, 1990). These percentages indicate that more women are working in higher level positions than ever before and are more actively seeking increasing professional responsibility.

Multiple roles can, at times, hinder the career outcomes of women. In her compilation of two decades of research on women in academia, Simeone (1987) explained that the research on women in higher education indicates that marriage and family have a positive effect on the careers of academic men and a negative effect on the progress of women's careers in higher education. In their study on childbearing sequence and the career development of women administrators in higher education, Marshall and Jones (1990) found that 63% of the respondents in their sample (N=147) believed childbearing had a negative effect on their careers.

In her qualitative study of female higher education administrators with families, Marshall (2004) found that working mothers have complex and often competing roles between their personal and professional lives. Most of the women in her study recognized that their competing roles as mothers and administrators had resulted in "compromises, forfeitures and anxieties that affected their abilities to perform both roles to their levels of satisfaction" (p. 93). Marshall found that various professional trade-offs resulted from her participants' decisions to manage career and family. These women experienced limited career choices, limited advancement options, delayed educational goals, and withdrawal from professional associations in order to spend time with family. In light of this research, it is important to study women in higher education administration in order to understand how these women manage multiple roles and in particular, develop a dual-focused orientation regarding career and family.

Dual-focused Outlook

As a result of the need to fulfill work and family responsibilities, working mothers have developed coping strategies and mechanisms. Beginning in the 1980's, more women began to view work as a career requiring commitment equal to the needs of the family (Hensel, 1991b). "Having it all meant that women found psychological and emotional meaning in work as well as motherhood and marriage," (p. 41). Consequently, women today are likely to seek jobs outside the home that are personally fulfilling and support their family life as well. "Employees with high quality jobs and more supportive workplace environments are, in fact, more likely to go home in better moods and with more energy to give to the important people in their lives. In other words, work can enhance life off the job, not just detract from it," (Galinsky, 2004, p. 1)

Through the study of individuals who experienced a supportive workplace and family satisfaction, the concept of being dual-centric, or dual-focused, is an idea that evolved from the Families and Work Institute's study, "Leaders in the Global Economy," (Galinsky, Salmond, Bond, Kropf, Moore, & Harrington, 2004). Three orientations of combining work and home were identified in a study of 1,192 executive men and women from 10 multi-national companies. Work-centric views were held by 61%, home centric views were held by 7%, and 32% of the respondents, both men and women, put the same priority on work and family (Galinsky, 2004). The researchers identified this group as "dual-centric." This study found that, compared to those who are work-centric, people who are dual-centric have the highest ratings for feeling successful at work, feel much less stressed, are clear about their priorities, have an easier time managing both home and work responsibilities, and feel overall contentment. Although these respondents felt

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more successful, they also excelled in more objective measures of success – based on their career advancement and reports of subordinates and supervisors (Galinsky). These objective measures of success included level in the organization, salary level, and number of employees supervised.

Purpose and Significance of Study

The purpose of this study was to understand the development of a dual-focused outlook by women with children working in the upper levels of higher education administration. By studying the work/life issues and experiences of a small sample of women who self-identified as dual-focused, I expected to learn how these higher education administrators managed two significant roles - that of worker and mother - and how these women were able to achieve and maintain a dual-focused orientation. For all of the overlooked obligations that women face in the home and the workplace, it is imperative that more be understood about how to support mothers who work so that women can remain in the workforce, can achieve career goals, and can attain family and life satisfaction outside of the workplace.

The overarching research question was: How do working mothers develop and maintain their dual-focused identities as mother and higher education administrator?

After an extensive search of the literature, there appeared to be no data on the development of a dual-focused orientation in higher education research or in the related sociological or psychological literature. Due to the fact that there was no research on how one develops a dual-focused approach to work and family life, this study sought to understand this experience and as a result of the data collection, analysis and constant

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comparative method, generated a theory from the experiences of the women in this sample.

The significance of this study is that it helped formulate an emergent theory, as a result of employing grounded theory methodology, to help understand how the women in this sample developed and maintained a fulfilling, balanced life. This research adds to the literature base about women advancing in careers in higher education administration and supporting families. In addition, this study expanded the research on dual-focused orientations of women in higher education administration. Hopefully, it also contributed evidence supporting the need for family-friendly policies and practices in the higher education community.

This study is particularly significant to the leaders of today's higher education institutions. By understanding the successes, struggles and challenges women faced in the development of their dual roles and how those roles affected their career behaviors, educational leaders and policy makers can create environments that are conducive to negotiating work/life issues and challenges. Family-friendly policies and practices in all working environments can help women achieve balance between work and family (Bond et al., 1997). This study may help contribute to the policies and practices of higher education administration, particularly with regard to institutional policies about campus-based daycare, tele-commuting, flextime, and other opportunities to help women be active mothers and ambitious career seekers (Bond et al.; Hobson, Delunas & Kesic, 2001). As a result of family-friendly workplaces, women with children who feel supported by their work environment are more likely to be committed employees and productive workers (Bond et al.). In addition, this study has implications for graduate

and professional preparation programs that orient these women to their new professional roles. The findings may inform how work/family issues can be addressed in advising, mentoring or other program components.

Methodology: Assumptions of Grounded Theory

While a few authors have examined the development and dimensions of a dual-focused outlook (e.g., Galinsky, 2004), there was no existing research from which to develop a theoretical framework of how this dual-focused outlook develops. Understanding how this develops required the use of the grounded theory methodology. "Grounded theory is a general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analyzed. Theory evolves during actual research, and it does this through continuous interplay between analysis and data collection," (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 273). The constructs of the emerging theory or model are grounded in the data collected during the research process. "The purpose of grounded theory studies is to explore and understand how complex phenomena occur," (Brown, Stevens, Troiano & Schneider, 2002, p. 2).

Grounded theory explores the data using the categories and themes that emerge and develop from the words of the participants themselves. Since there were no existing studies about the development of the dual-focused identities of working mothers in higher education or related fields, grounded theory allowed this study to create an emergent theory from the data. Once categories and themes emerged, a theory was proposed from these connections (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

This method utilized the researcher as the primary instrument for collecting data. Data was collected during an in-depth interview process, analyzed, and coded into prevalent themes using a constant comparative method (Merriam, 1998). Interviews were conducted in a semi-structured interview format with open-ended questions developed by me and tested with peer reviewers. These questions were considered by investigating the experiences of 12 women in mid- and upper level positions in higher education administration who have children of varying ages living in the home in order to understand the complicated challenges of family demands and work roles.

Although quantitative methods would have involved a larger sample size and could have provided greater generalizability, qualitative methods yielded much more complex, descriptive data that could not be gleaned from quantitative measures for this research study. The quantitative design of most studies, in which group measures of attitudes and beliefs about work and parent roles are correlated with group outcome scores, obscures the psychological processes and personal meanings that give rise to these outcomes (Crawford, 1999). In this study, qualitative research allowed for the development of a new theoretical model for understanding the experience of women which can be the basis for future quantitative research.

Developed by the sociologists Glaser and Strauss in 1967, grounded theory methodology is based on eight assumptions which are described in Chapter 3 (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In order to honor these assumptions, I followed a specific protocol of gathering interview data through multiple visits, sifting through the data gathered using a variety of coding protocols, developing a core category and several key categories, and

creating a plausible relationship among concepts and sets of concepts (Creswell, 1998).

As a result, a theory emerged.

One limitation was the role of the researcher and the potential for researcher bias.

In any qualitative methodology, the researcher is the instrument for data gathering and

must identify and seek to be conscious of how the researcher's experiences and views

might bias the understanding of participant's experience. I recognized that as a

professional woman working in higher education administration and the mother of a

young child herself, she brought certain assumptions and biases to the study. In addition,

I works directly for a working mother and is surrounded by working mothers as

colleagues. However, the researcher's own mother was a stay-at-home mother through

the writer's entire childhood. I assumed that her personal experiences were used in a

positive way to help facilitate the conversations with the study participants and to deeply

explore the data collected – a necessary component of grounded theory research. She

also assumed that by being a working mother herself, she was able to elicit honest, open,

descriptive discussions with the participants during the interview process. In order to

reduce bias, throughout the data collection, analysis and interpretation, repetitive member

checking, peer debriefers, and use of a data auditor helped control for and eliminate bias,

which helped increase the credibility and trustworthiness of the results. These are

described in more detail in Chapter 3.

Overview of the Study

This dissertation includes five chapters. The first chapter provides an overview of

the study. The second chapter includes a complete review of the relevant literature. The

third chapter outlines the methodology including an overview of grounded theory

methods, the plan for data collection and analysis, the methodological considerations, the

interview protocol and the limitations of the research. The fourth chapter provides an

analysis of the data. The fifth and final chapter includes a discussion of findings and

conclusions, theoretical implications, implications for practice, and future directions.

CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose for a literature review in a grounded theory study is to inform the data collection and research study without altering the perspective of the researcher (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). One of the principles of grounded theory is that the data is gathered and analyzed on an ongoing basis so that the resulting model or theory will be "grounded" in the real data (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996). Strauss and Corbin stated that it is unnecessary to review all of the existing literature in advance because new categories will likely emerge from the gathering of original data. The review of related strains of literature helped me develop concepts and inform the data collection process without directly altering the development of the emerging theory.

Beginning in the middle of the 20th century, many women found psychological and emotional meaning in work as well as in the traditional roles of motherhood and marriage (Hensel, 1991b). Women took pride in their jobs outside the home, sought careers that provided opportunities for advancement, and at the same time, wanted to maintain the personal roles of wife, partner, significant other and mother – whether single, married or divorced (Hensel).

As a result of this new interest in meaningful employment and career opportunities, many women became significantly committed to both work and family domains and found that supportive environments in both family and job settings facilitated success at both home and work (Galinsky, 2004). Galinsky found that employees with high quality jobs and supportive workplaces are more likely to go home to their families in more positive moods. She explained that work can enhance family life (2004).

Building on this perception that life and work can complement one's performance in both realms, this study was based on the concept of being dual-focused –an idea that evolved from the Families and Work Institute's study (Galinsky et al., 2004), "Leaders in the Global Economy." In a study of over 1,100 male and female executives from international companies, 32% of the respondents, both men and women, put equal priority or emphasis on work and family (Galinsky, 2004). The researchers identified this group as "dual-centric." Their study utilized multivariate regression analyses to control for gender and age. The statistically significant results indicated that, compared to those who are work-centric or family-centric, people who are dual-centric had the highest ratings for feeling successful at work, felt much less stressed, were clear about their priorities, had an easier time managing both home and work responsibilities, and felt overall contentment. Although these respondents felt more successful, they also excelled in more objective indicators of success as measured by their career advancement patterns, reporting levels, compensation, and number of staff they supervised (Galinsky). The idea of a dual-centric focus on work and family originated from a study of executive leaders in the business world. This study was designed to see if the dual-centric or dual-focused concept was generalizable to women in higher education administration.

Consistent with Galinsky et al.'s (2004) findings, a few additional studies have found that women with children who are professionally employed outside the home have greater career satisfaction, life satisfaction and career success (e.g., Auster, 2001; Barnett & Baruch, 1985; Burke & McKeen, 1994; Roskies & Carrier, 1994). However, most research still finds that women's involvement in professional careers results in work-family conflict (e.g., Hobson, Delunas & Kesic, 2001; Napholz, 1995) and is predictive

of delayed marriage, delayed childbirth and childlessness (e.g., Cooney & Uhlenberg, 1989; Galinsky et al., 2004; Roskies & Carrier, 1994).

To inform the data collection processes for this study, this chapter reviewed relevant literature streams. The chapter is divided into three major sections. Each of the following sections came together to inform this study. The first major section focuses on roles and role identification and includes findings from three theoretical perspectives which were useful for informing the research on dual-focused identities of women in higher education administration: psychological theories of multiple identity development; vocational psychological theory on women's career development, and the sociological concept of multiple roles. These three overviews are followed by a thorough description of the dual-focused concept. The psychological theories helped illuminate how women develop the core identities of mother and worker. The vocational psychological literature informed this study about how women make career choices and what obstacles they face when trying to obtain a dual-focused approach to life and work. The sociological research helped explain how women develop their dual roles of mother and worker, among other roles they fill.

The second major section on work/family issues reviews existing research findings which are relevant to the study. In this portion, the literature on work/family issues is reviewed which includes research indicating: negative outcomes of work/family conflict, positive and negative spillover from work/family interaction, positive outcomes of work/family issues, dual-career issues, and strategies and structures for managing work/family issues. This section helped to explain why the dual-focused approach to

work and family is possible and how it might make women more successful both at home and at work.

In the final section, the existing literature is presented on work/family issues for women in college and university environments. This includes women in higher education administration which indicates that there is no literature on dual-focused outlooks. This is followed by a review of the literature of work/family issues for women faculty. This field of literature was examined because of the similarity in environments between faculty and higher education administrators. The following review of the literature explains how each of these relevant areas of research helped to inform this study.

Roles and Role Identification

A Psychological Perspective: Multiple-Identities of Women

It is evident from the local news and media reports that the process of "navigating" work and family life is challenging. In order to better understand how women negotiate career and family expectations and what might lead women working in higher education administration to be able to become dual-focused, it was important to understand women's identities, women's career behavior, and women's multiple roles.

Identity is perceived as a psychological construct, an idea which helps give meaning to one's overall sense of being and the development of the individual as a whole (Chickering, 1969; Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Erikson, 1980). Although there is a history of research on women's identity development (Josselson, 1987; 1996), the research on women's dual or multiple identities is relatively recent. In order to

understand the new concept of having a dual-focused identity, a concept based upon a strong emphasis on both a woman's work identity and home identity, one must look to the research on multiple identities. In this section, I examines two theoretical models which help explain the development of multiple identities in women, including the identities of worker and mother.

Using earlier models developed to explain the individual identities of oppressed populations (e.g., Root, 1990); Reynolds and Pope (1991) developed one of the first models for multiple dimensions of identity. The Multidimensional Identity Model (MIM) identified four possible options for the development of an individual's identity. These were: (1) identify with one aspect of self determined by society (e.g., society or family assigned identity, passive acceptance where one does not challenge or change the identity such as the societal expectations for mother as caregiver); (2) identify with one aspect of self determined by individual (e.g., conscious self-identification such as worker and choosing what it means to identify as a worker); (3) identify with multiple aspects of self in a segmented fashion (e.g., first I am a mother, then I am a worker, these are separate and distinct identities); or (4) identify with combined aspects of self (e.g., identity interaction forms into a new group such as becoming a working mother). Throughout time and across environments, individuals may experience each of the different options.

In a qualitative study of 10 women college students, Jones (1997) also explored the idea of multiple dimensions of identity using grounded theory methods to develop the concept of multiple identities. Jones found that women's identities consisted of multiple layers. The college women's identity was experienced as constantly "evolving in an ongoing negotiation between the outside and inside worlds," (p. 381). In this study,

identity was defined as a combination of external variables (e.g., gender, race) and internal variables which were more malleable, more complex and might change (e.g., life satisfaction, happiness). Jones found that while the sense of being a woman was important to these students, it was not central to the identity of these college women. The individual experiences, relationships, and families provided meaning to their female identity. The women's identities were influenced and developed by the diverse contexts in which their gender was experienced. The participants in this study discussed the search for and the development of identity as a complex, ongoing process.

Building on Jones (1997), Jones and McEwen (2000) used grounded theory methods and data from Jones' earlier study to create a conceptual model representing the multiple dimensions of identity for a diverse group of women college students. This was one of the first models specifically concerning the development of multiple identities in women. The model was fluid, malleable and dynamic, representing the ongoing construction of women's identities and the influence of changing environmental contexts on the experience of identity development. The model was composed of intersecting circles of identity characteristics which represent both the significant dimensions themselves and the contextual influences identified by participants in this study. These identity characteristics included race, culture, gender, sexual orientation, religion and social class. The circles intersected with each other to demonstrate that no one dimension can be understood individually, but only in relation to other dimensions of identity. The importance or salience of each dimension was identified by a dot on the circle. The closer the dot was to the central core of the circle, the more prominent that dimension of the individual's identity was at that time. The central core of the circle represented the

personal attributes and characteristics of the woman's individual identity. The model

existed inside a larger circle of current context – family background, sociocultural

conditions, current experiences, and life planning (Jones & McEwen).

These two models have significant implications for this study. Neither the

Reynolds and Pope (1991) model, nor the Jones and McEwen (2000) model, has been

tested in other psychological research. Neither model includes motherhood or worker as

one of the salient identities. Perhaps this is because these authors studied younger

women who were not yet married and did not likely have children. This current study

included mother, wife/partner and worker as significant dimensions of a woman's

identity and adds complexity to the models developed in these earlier studies. However,

these models were relevant because they suggested other possible significant identity

dimensions which arose in this interview process such as whether a woman can isolate

certain components of her identity (e.g., race, sexual orientation).

A Vocational Perspective: Career Psychology of Women

Now that the literature on multiple identities has been explored, it is important to

review the literature on the psychology of career development to help understand the

career issues of working mothers. As this section will indicate, a number of vocational

psychologists have studied career choice, career orientation, and career aspirations of

women using psychological theories on role conflict and multiple role development. For

many years, women's career issues were examined as either/or – career orientation vs.

family orientation or traditional vs. non-traditional. Today these distinctions are less

relevant because many women have careers outside the home and raise families (O'Brien

& Fassinger, 1993). The findings of these vocational studies helped explain why women pursue a dual-focused outlook on work and family.

Fitzgerald, Fassinger and Betz (1995) conducted a meta-analysis on the history and theories of women's career development. As they cited, early research on women's career development focused on traditional vs. non-traditional career choices in the 1960's. In the 1970's, research turned to work motivation (desire to pursue work outside the home) and career orientation (desire to pursue work as a primary life focus). In the 1980's, studies focused on the multiple role issues faced by working women and barriers to career success.

In an updated comprehensive volume, Fitzgerald and Harmon (2001) provided a postmodern update to these earlier ideas. Using Osipow's (1973) model of psychological aspects of women's career development, Fitzgerald and Harmon integrated the findings of three decades of studies on women's vocational psychology and developed a 21st century model for factors affecting women's vocational behavior. This model suggested there were multiple influences on women's vocational behavior including individual factors (e.g., attitude, abilities, interests); individual/social factors (e.g., race, ethnicity, sexual orientation); and social factors (e.g., family issues, school, significant others). Women's vocational behavior was then moderated by role overload, role conflict, and indirect discrimination. The result was a combination of work/family life, ability and interest implementation in a career field, achievement, and social change.

One of the seminal works on career psychology of women was conducted by Betz and Fitzgerald (1987). In their meta-analysis of existing literature, *The Career Psychology of Women*, Betz and Fitzgerald wrote several chapters on career motivation,

career adjustment and work/family issues. Their research concluded that several individual, background, educational and adult lifestyle variables facilitate women's career development patterns. These included: individual variables such as high ability, high self-esteem and strong academic self concept; background variables which included being the child of a working mother and supportive father, having highly educated parents, and female role models; educational variables such as access to higher education and experience at girls' schools and women's colleges; and, adult lifestyle variables including late marriage or being single and having no or few children (Betz & Fitzgerald).

Using the meta-analysis method, Betz and Fitzgerald (1987) went on to examine the major variables of women's career adjustment including motivation, barriers (external frustrations and internal conflicts), and coping mechanisms. After a comprehensive review of the literature, these authors went on to posit that examination of career salience and career commitment, in addition to other variables, is essential to understand the career behaviors of women. However, although they did conclude that "women who work appear to be at a psychological advantage compared to their non-working counterparts" (Betz & Fitzgerald, p. 208), like most earlier research, their analysis conceded to the evidence that role overload and role conflict are inevitable for most women with children working in a professional setting.

In a study of 409 adolescent women, O'Brien and Fassinger (1993) developed a model of women's career choice based on the interaction of gender role attitudes, individual characteristics, ability and relationship with mother and how these variables can predict career choice and career orientation. They found that women with liberal

gender role attitudes who exhibited moderate degrees of independence and attachment tended to value the importance of career attainment – thus demonstrating these women to be more career-oriented (O'Brien & Fassinger).

Farber (1996) summarized the implications of these studies. She explained that the life pattern in which women "want it all" confused career theorists, who previously assumed career orientation to be distinct from a homemaking orientation. However, as these studies indicate, women now demonstrate an increased aspirational level and interest in working outside the home, without a corresponding decreased interest in or sense of importance towards family development (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987). Earlier career research had demonstrated a strong negative relationship between women's actual family involvement (marriage and children) and their career development (Betz & Fitzgerald). This inverse relationship may be lessening with the increase in women's concurrent participation in both family and work roles (Fassinger, 1985; 1990), although certain career aspects (attainment, commitment, and innovation) may still be strongly inhibited by family involvement (Auster, 2001; Betz, 1994).

In her qualitative case study of professional working mothers, Farber (1996) examined the major components that influence career development of adult women within their families. She found that the individual factors of instrumentality (ability to deal with one's environment), achievement motivation, and attitude towards women's roles influence women's career development as evidenced by the following factors: a sense of equity within a dual career couple, clear communication within one's family and work environment, and avoiding success inhibition are interpersonal factors that play a role in women's career development. She went on the say that the intergenerational

factors of supportive or educated parents, female role models, and androgynous socialization also can affect career development.

In sum, these studies and models provided helpful background for this study on working mothers. Several of the issues and dimensions raised in these studies emerged as significant themes and lines of questioning in the interview process for these participants. Relevant areas for exploration included: role and influence of parents, presence and influence of role models, effect of family on career aspirations, effect of family on career outcomes, influence of dual career family, among others. Although these models seem fairly comprehensive, by nature of their career orientation, they focused largely on the career aspects of a woman's behavior and minimally addressed the role of a woman's home life – a key concept in the dual-focused outlook.

A Sociological Perspective: The Development of Multiple Roles

In the related fields of social psychology, social identity theory, and sociology, the interaction of an individual's identity with his or her experiences and surroundings gives rise to the idea of roles in society. In this study of women in higher education administration, the women's roles included mother, wife, and worker, among others. The concept of a dual-focused approach to navigating work and family issues implies that women who used this approach were occupying multiple roles. In this section, I reviews several studies about the development of multiple roles of women.

Over the years Barnett and her associates (1985, 1986, 1992, 1993) have been involved in numerous studies about women, work and role conflict. In various studies discussed below, Barnett examined and tested the scarcity hypothesis proposed by Goode

(1974) which assumed that energy and time are fixed constructs and limited in quantities. She also studied and tested the enhancement hypothesis developed by Sieber (1974) and expanded by Marks (1977) which purported that energy is not fixed and limited and multiple role involvement provides more than one arena in which to obtain role-related rewards that directly influence psychological well-being. As the following synthesis indicates, Barnett's research found both of these hypotheses incomplete because they addressed only quantity, not quality of roles.

In their study of women's multiple roles, Barnett and Baruch (1985) used survey research to examine 238 adult women in one large city. Using multiple regression analyses, they found that employment had a positive effect on women, either as a source of well-being or as a buffer against stress and anxiety resulting from other roles. Baruch and Barnett (1986) went on to use regression analyses to understand the effect of role quality and quantity on psychological well-being on the same sample of women. This analysis indicated that role quality was a much stronger predictor of stress and psychological distress than role quantity, suggesting that multiple role involvement had a positive effect on well-being. Barnett, Marshall and Singer (1992) studied 403 women employed in the fields of nursing and social work over two years. They used within-individual analyses to determine change over time and between-women analyses to explore changes in psychological distress and job role quality. They found that changes in job role quality were mediated by family roles. Over time, job quality changes did not affect the psychological well-being of women who filled both job and family roles. In contrast, changes in job role quality were directly related to changes in mental health among women who occupied only the job role. In a survey study of 300 dual-earner

couples, Barnett, Marshall, Raudenbush, and Brennan (1993) found that role conflict was positively associated with psychological distress. Therefore, negative feelings about one's role (worker or mother) indicated a greater tendency towards psychological distress.

In a phenomenological study of 30 men and women who were parents and in a dual career family, Richter (1990) found that women lacked a buffer zone between their personal and professional lives. Based on findings from her qualitative study, she believed that this lack of buffer zone appeared to stem from women's tendency to deal simultaneously with their different roles. Her findings indicated that compared to men, women who worked outside the home and had families had "psychological boundaries that are more permeable in both directions" (Richter, p. 158).

Marks and MacDermid (1996) echoed Barnett et al.'s (1993) findings. In their quantitative survey study of 333 college students at a northeastern university, they used factor analyses and found that people with more balanced, non-hierarchical role systems reported less role strain, more role ease, greater well-being and more positive role-specific experiences than those who did not have balanced role organization systems.

Crawford (1999) conducted a qualitative study of 15 working mothers in various professions to understand how they constructed and coordinated their roles as professionals and as mothers. She found that women gave meaning to particular situations and these meanings dictated and mediated outcomes related to working and parenting. Crawford identified these meanings as perspectives that were analogous to social roles, only more fluid and shifted across contexts and over time.

In similar findings to Reynolds and Pope (1991), Crawford (1999) identified four role perspectives: (1) Ego-anchored perspective: Self figured prominently. Pleasures and stresses of work and mothering were seen as positive or negative contributors to one's self. Life phases may have been more significant than social roles. Neither work nor family role identity was of primary importance to the self-identity; (2) Child-anchored perspective: Consideration for the children's needs was most prominent. Pleasures or stresses were framed relating to caring for children. Child's needs may have constrained work role. And yet, childcare duties may have been negatively evaluated. Emphasis is not on motherhood role in woman's identity, but mother's role in child's identity; (3) Role-anchored/Work: Professional work identity was emphasized. Sacrifices made in career path were often mentioned. Home was identified as symbolically distant; and, (4) Role-anchored/Family: Identification with maternal role was emphasized. Mothering and family activities were more significant than just childcare.

In the course of every day or over periods of time, Crawford's (1999) participants changed among the four mutually exclusive perspectives, but would likely be anchored more frequently in one of the four roles. She also found that, in each of the four perspectives, work and family issues may have been oppositional or non-oppositional. Oppositional coordination occurred when a dilemma or conflict occurred between work and family – life was viewed as a zero-sum equation. The woman interpreted one domain as causing problems in the other. Non-oppositional coordination was the reverse - strategies for overcoming conflict between the two domains were emphasized and trade-offs yielded positive outcomes. These findings are very relevant to what this study uncovered. The dual-focused outlook might have ego-anchored or child-anchored

perspectives as components of a woman's identity. It was important to explore these perspectives during the interview process and to keep the perspectives in mind during the analysis of the data.

Napholz (1995) divided women's roles into three categories and described three types of role commitments for working women as a result of her study of 106 employed women. She defined role commitment as "the subjective response on how one sets priorities for work and relationship roles" (Napholz, p. 24). The first type of commitment was "relationship first" which involved being employed, but having significant relationships (marriage or family) as a more prominent priority. Like the concept of being dual-focused, "work equals relationship" described the role commitment when work and significant relationships shared priority. The third commitment, "work first," existed when work took a more prominent role than significant relationships.

In her review of existing literature on women's multiple roles, Jones (1993) defined role overload and role conflict. Role overload was defined as the perception that an individual must perform too many tasks and respond to too many demands and expectations. Role conflict was defined as the simultaneous presence of incompatible expectations. Intrarole conflict occurred in response to pressures within a single life role, whereas interrole conflict was experienced when pressures from one role were incompatible with pressures from another role. Jones found that women developed tactics to cope with role conflict, including surrendering to role conflict by avoiding assuming multiple roles, developing strategies for coping such as exercise, time management training, sleeping less, or multi-tasking, and/or restructuring through problem-solving action.

McCracken and Weitzman (1997) studied 131 college women and their relationship of personal agency, problem-solving appraisal, and traditionality of career choice to their scores on the Attitudes toward Multiple Role Planning scales. They stated, "Multiple role realism is generally defined as the recognition that simultaneous work and family involvement is a complex and potentially stressful lifestyle, and it results in an awareness of the need for careful planning and consideration of the interface between work and family roles," (McCracken & Weitzman, p. 149). Their findings indicated women in this study did not plan in advance for the challenges of multiple roles, but began multiple role planning when the immediacy of the situation warranted. Although these women were college students, the authors speculated that women appeared to obtain more information about multiple roles as they approached the task of juggling career and family demands.

This body of literature indicates that women have or experience multiple roles including those of mother and worker. Different roles appear to be emphasized during different periods of time – throughout each day or over time, thus allowing one role or focus to take priority at various periods. The synthesis of the sociological studies on multiple roles informed the interview process for this study. In particular, the idea of role conflict and role quality arose as a thematic element. This study sought to understand the possible conflicts and complements of the multiple roles identified by the working mothers in the sample population.

As mentioned earlier, Galinsky et al. (2004) performed a comprehensive, three phase study using multivariate regression analysis to examine 1,192 senior level executives (reporting to either the CEO or the CEO's direct reports) at ten multinational companies around the world. Most male and female executives were work-centric (61%, equal percentages of men and women), but a sizable minority (32%, also equally likely in men and women) were dual-centric. Only 7% of the population surveyed identified as family-centric (Galinsky et al.). Galinsky et al. examined the relationship between gender and career advancement and demonstrated that male senior executives had higher status jobs than female senior executives, as measured by reporting level, number of subordinates, and compensation. Their analyses also showed that a higher percentage of women than men delayed having children and chose not to have children. However, women at more senior reporting levels were more likely to have children than women at lower levels of the organization and less likely to have decided not to have children than lower level women (Galinsky et al.).

As self-reported, the dual-centric executives felt more successful at work, were less stressed, and had an easier time managing the demands of their work and personal/family lives than those who were work-centric (Galinsky et al., 2004). One weakness of this study is that no comparisons were made to those who were family-centric. Women who were dual-centric advanced to higher levels in their organizations than those who were work-centric and reported feeling more successful at home.

In order to determine whether the participants were dual-centric, the researchers posed two questions, "In the past year, how often have you put your job before your

personal or family life?" and "In the past year, how often have you put your personal or family life before your job?" (Galinsky et al., p. 23). The results of these two questions indicated that putting a high priority on work does not preclude putting a high priority on personal or family life. Participants who answered that they put a much higher (27%) or higher (34%) priority on work over their personal/family life were categorized as work-centric. People who placed the same priority on work and their personal/family life were characterized as dual-centric (32%). Individuals who put a higher (5%) or much higher (1%) priority on their personal/family life over their work were considered family-centric.

Galinsky et al. (2004) reported through their survey research that employees with high quality jobs and more supportive workplace environments were more likely to go home in better moods and with more energy to give their families suggesting that work can enhance life rather than detract from it. Time, energy and mood combined to support the positive impact of multiple roles.

These researchers described the dual-centric process of managing work and family life in the following way:

> Navigating - Charting a course between the demands of work and family life to reach personal satisfaction. It is an ongoing process that takes place over time and is intentional. Not at all static, it involves tacking from one side to the other and back again to move towards one's goals (Galinsky et al., 2004, p. 28).

Galinsky et al.'s (2004) study was important to the conceptual framing of this study. As indicated previously, the reported results were gleaned from multivariate regression analysis controlling for both gender and age. Only statistically significant (p<.05) findings were included in the report. Due to the rigor and thoroughness of

Galinsky et al.'s study, the idea of being dual-centric or dual-focused was used as an

initial concept in this study. Grounded theory does not use a priori theory, yet the results

from this study did establish the concept of dual-centricity and provided a rich set of

concepts to explore in interviews for this grounded theory study.

A Perspective on Work/Family Issues

Consistent with Galinsky et al.'s (2004) findings, a few additional studies have

found that women with children who are professionally employed outside the home have

greater career satisfaction, life satisfaction and career success (e.g., Auster, 2001).

However, most research still finds that women's involvement in professional careers

results in work-family conflict (e.g., Hobson et al., 2001).

> Once considered separate spheres, the domains of work and family can no
> longer be so easily divided. The notion of distinct but complementary
> spheres has been replaced by a growing concern that the demands of work
> are increasingly at odds with the needs of families, most of whom now
> depend on either two earners or one female parent. Yet the organization
> of work continues to be based on the principle that work commitment
> means uninterrupted, full-time, and even overtime attention for a span of
> decades. The clash between family needs and workplace pressures has
> produced a new image based not on the notion of separate spheres, but on
> work-family conflict (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004, p. 97).

Aside from psychology and sociology, researchers in a variety of other disciplines

such as education and business have also examined women in the workforce and their

family/work issues. The literature examined here on work/family issues is divided into

five primary categories: negative outcomes of work/family conflict, positive and

negative outcomes of spillover from work/family interaction, positive outcomes of

work/family issues, the impact of dual career households, and strategies for managing work/family issues.

Negative Outcomes

As a result of work/family conflict, personal and societal consequences can occur. In particular, Hobson et al. (2001) performed a national survey on 3,122 randomly sampled residents of the U.S. about stressful life events. They cited the following outcomes of work/family role conflict: increased levels of stress and stress-related illness; lower life satisfaction; higher rates of family strife, violence and divorce; growing problems with parenting and supervision of children and adolescents; in addition to work consequences of decreased job satisfaction, higher turnover rates, lower levels of organizational commitment, and reduced productivity.

In a sample of 106 working mothers in various fields in a large, metropolitan county, Napholz (1995) found that women who step outside the stereotypical roles of wife and mother by placing a priority on the career role experienced emotional turmoil, stress and depression. Women who reported that families had priority over career roles experienced the lowest levels of anxiety. In this study, women who tried to participate in work and family roles equally experienced significantly higher levels of depression. "Despite increased education of women and broader involvement of women in the work force, women do not feel particularly adequate in their pursuit of multiple roles in adult life," (Napholz, p. 22). The ways in which women are affected by time pressures, role conflicts, and life stressors have become important to the health and well being of working mothers. These issues result in work/family conflict which is described as a

situation where participation in one of the roles is incompatible with participation in the other role, or makes participation in the other role more difficult (Napholz).

In a review of the literature, Barling (1990) echoed earlier studies that suggested inter-role conflict between work and family roles played by women has a detrimental effect on personal well-being and marital satisfaction. However, based on the research reviewed, the author went on to conclude that there appeared to be no adverse effects on the children of employed mothers. Kossek and Ozeki (1998) performed a meta-analysis on existing studies about work/family conflict. Like Barling, their results indicated a consistent negative relationship among all forms of work/family conflict and resulting job-life satisfaction.

Farmer (1984, 1985) defined home-career conflict as the situation when women value both homemaking and career roles and view these roles as incompatible. In her study of 163 college women, Farmer found that women in traditional college majors had a higher expectation of home-career conflict and lower career motivation scores as compared to women in non-traditional majors.

In their study, Phillips and Johnson (1985) found that men were significantly more supportive of women in work roles than had been indicated in previous literature. However, the study found that men expected women to interrupt their work role to have children. Although the results indicated that men and women should share equally in childcare, the majority of the responsibility often fell on the women. According to this study, it is likely that this family role for women had a significant negative affect on their ability to advance professionally.

Similarly, in a multiple case study of 15 women executives, Hawk (1995) found that one of the most significant challenges the participants faced was the ability to juggle career and family issues. Most of these women cited a supportive and involved spouse or partner and family as critical factors to their success. They indicated that career success was made possible because their husbands/partners shared in the home life responsibilities including housework and childcare.

Gutek, Searle and Klepa (1991) explained that the rational view of work/family conflict supposes that the more hours one spends in each role, the more conflict one will perceive. The gender role framework implies that more hours one spends on one's traditional gender role activities (i.e., family work for women, paid work for men) will be felt as less of an imposition than more hours one spends in the non-traditional gender role activity. The authors tested these frameworks on a random sample of 534 psychologists in the U.S. Their results provided some support for both viewpoints, but more strongly indicated that the rational view held true. There was a high correspondence between the hours spent in a particular domain and resulting conflict.

In their sample of 372 employed adults who were married and/or parents, Frone, Yardley and Markel (1997) developed and tested an integrative model of the work/family interface. At the core of the model was the idea of work/family conflict, when one role interfered in the other domain. Predictors for work/family conflict included: role-related time commitment, role-related dissatisfaction or distress, and role overload. Their findings indicated there was an indirect reciprocal relationship between work-to-family and family-to-work conflicts. Family-to-work conflict influenced work-to-family conflict through work distress and work overload. Conversely, increased parental

overload resulted from the influence of work-to-family conflict on family-to-work conflict. Work and family support may have reduced these conflicts and influences. Work distress was found to be a predictor of work-to-family conflict and family distress was an outcome. Likewise, family distress was a predictor of family-to-work conflict and work distress was an outcome. Therefore, this study indicated that if the obligations of one role frequently interfered with the performance of the second role, the level of in-role positive performance associated with the second role may suffer.

As this summary has shown, the literature base was clear on this topic. Historically and even currently, the research has shown a preponderance of evidence that work/family conflict is a significant indicator of negative behaviors and psychological distress. This was an important component which was likely to emerge in this study. It was interesting to understand that some women who identify as dual-focused felt negative outcomes of work/family conflict as indicated in the research discussed above.

Spillover Effects – Positive and Negative Outcomes

In contrast to these results, a number of studies found both positive and negative effects of managing the multiple roles of work and family life.

In her study of 55 full-time male and female employees, holding both supervisory and assembly line positions at a manufacturing plant, Crouter (1984) found that most respondents reported that their family life had a positive and negative impact on their work life. The examples of spillover were both positive (e.g., supportive family relationships) and negative (e.g., family difficulties, times of family crisis). In particular, mothers reported high levels of negative spillover when their children were young –

indicating that spillover was a function of family roles and responsibilities, which are traditionally based on gender in our society. In her family studies text, Lerner (1994) also discussed spillover effects. She explained positive spillover as occurring when the satisfaction and stimulation in one arena spread into the other. Negative spillover was defined as situations when problems and stresses in one arena make it difficult for the person to adequately perform in the other. Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, and Emlen (1993) described these terms as positive carryover, negative carryover, and added "energy deficit" – when people are so depleted by one role, they withdraw from the other role.

In their study on positive and negative spillover between work and family, Grzywacz and Marks (2000) used data from the National Survey of Midlife Development in the US involving 1,986 employed adult men and women. They found that decision latitude and family support were strongly associated with less negative and more positive spillover from family to work and work to family. Work and family barriers such as job pressures and lack of family support were related to more negative spillover and less positive spillover between work and family.

Another term for spillover is work-interfering-with-family (WIF) or family-interfering-with-work (FIW). In her study of 147 employed women with children, Noor (2004) investigated the impact of role salience which was defined as role commitment or importance – the central nature or focus of one's chosen role that provides meaning, self-worth and purpose – on WIF and FIW and women's well-being. Her results indicated that WIF conflict had a more significant impact on well-being than FIW issues. The author suggested that perhaps the women in her study viewed work and family as equally

important. Therefore, once these women had given time and energy to their work, they wanted to focus on family and felt frustrated when work intruded on family time. Therefore, "stress may have negative impacts on well-being when stress occurs between roles that are highly salient and in which there are some expectations of stress," (Noor, p. 401).

Adams, King, and King (1996) developed a study drawing on existing literature on work/family conflict and literature on family social support to understand the influence of these factors on job and life satisfaction. In a survey sample of 163 male and female full-time employees, these authors found that work and family relationships were related to career and life satisfaction and that the degree of significance or importance the worker assigned to work and family roles also affected relationships between work and family. According to these results, relationships between work and family had components of both conflict and support.

In a review of 15 years of literature on women's multiple roles and their impact on careers of women, Stoltz-Loike (1992) found that women's ability to balance the multiple roles of wife, mother and career woman was one of the most difficult and complex challenges to career success. This author found that hiring household help was one strategy for helping relieve role strain. However, for most women, relieving the role conflicts of the multiple responsibilities in the home and workplace meant reducing the importance of one of the roles or getting more help from other household members, or both.

Stoltz-Loike (1992) suggested that even as recently as the 1980s, professional women minimized role conflict by attributing priority to their home life roles as wives

and mothers. She explained that rather than leave the workforce, women reduced role strain by changing or reducing their standards within each role, rotating attention to roles, hiring outside help with childcare and household responsibilities, and soliciting help from family members. She explained that even though today's professional women experienced role strain, participation in multiple roles was associated with greater life satisfaction.

Robinson, Perrotta and Burns (1982) found that women who combined family and career roles with the least degree of stress were autonomous, possessed internal self-confidence, and had the ability to abandon traditional roles and create a new role model, rather than just adding a career on to their mother role. This change in role identity can affect a woman's priority setting and personal attitudes as well as her ultimate career and family decisions and choices (Stoltz-Loike, 1992).

Unlike the first part of this section, this synthesis of research indicates that work/family interaction can produce both positive and negative outcomes and effects. For this study, it was important to investigate the spillover effects felt by the participants and how they are managed in each case.

Positive Outcomes

Finally, a few studies showed the benefits of combining home and work efforts – a concept at the core of the dual-focused outlook. In survey research of 203 college students, Sullivan (1992) found that women had less traditional views of marriage and working mothers than men did. In general, in this study, women believed that career and family were not mutually exclusive, and that career and family demands could be

successfully balanced. In particular, Sullivan examined the idea of career sequencing and whether career success should come before family, or family before career. Women were more likely than men to believe that women should be established in their careers before having children and that women can successfully balance career and family demands.

Thoits (1992) interviewed 700 adult men and women who were married or divorced and living in a large mid-western city in order to study identity and psychological well-being. Her results indicated that wives who are mothers and workers are significantly less distressed than wives who are non-working mothers and working women who are not mothers. Burke and McKeen (1994) echoed these findings in their study of 792 alumnae of a Canadian University. Their results indicated that women with work and family foci reported greater life satisfaction and fewer psychosomatic symptoms.

In a qualitative study of 20 new mothers, Chester (1990) found that there was a tendency of women with high achievement motives to be drawn early on to a combination of work outside the home and parenting. She defined achievement motives as "a desire for the opportunity to excel as an individual, based on a comparison of one's performance with internally or externally defined standards," (Chester, p. 98). The women in this study seemed driven to find the right way to juggle multiple roles, and they tended to view their ability to do so as a matter of personal accomplishment or failure.

As these studies indicate, positive spillover is also possible. In their study of a random sample of 2130 men and women employed in the U.S. at mid-life, Wayne, Musisca and Fleeson (2004) examined the phenomenon of work-family facilitation,

another term for spillover. This type of interaction occurred when, "by virtue of participation in one role, one's performance or functioning in the other role is enhanced," (Wayne et al., p. 110). Work-family facilitation (WFF) occurred when one's work involvement provided skills, behaviors, or positive moods which positively influenced family life. Family-work facilitation (FWF) happened when one's involvement in family resulted in positive moods, support, or sense of accomplishment that helped the individual "cope better, work harder, feel more confident, or re-energized for one's role at work," (Wayne et al., p. 111). The results of this study found that WFF positively predicted job satisfaction and job effort. FWF was positively related to job effort, family satisfaction and family effort.

As this review indicates, there is not a great deal of empirical research and explanatory theories on the positive effects of the work/family interface. Barnett and Hyde (2001) sought to fill this void with their development of an expansionist theory of women, men, work and family. Based on a review of the relevant existing literature, Barnett and Hyde developed their expansionist theory based on four empirically testable principles. First, multiple roles are beneficial to the mental, physical and relationship health for both women and men. Second, several factors contribute to the beneficial effects of multiple roles including additional income, role buffering, social support, opportunities for success, an expanded frame of reference, increased self-complexity, similarity of experiences, and gender-role ideology. Third, multiple roles are beneficial under certain conditions depending upon number of roles, role quality, and time demands. Finally, psychological gender differences of the experience of multiple roles are not significant (Barnett & Hyde).

It is this section of the literature that was most interesting and most supportive of the dual-focused concept. These concepts identified in the spillover and positive impact literature were particularly helpful in informing and understanding the various dimensions of the dual-focused approach in the women of this study.

Dual Career Issues

Throughout this discussion of work/family issues, the role of one's partner or spouse cannot and should not be ignored. The number of dual-earner couples has increased substantially over the past 25 years – from 66% in 1977 to 78% in 2002 (Bond et al., 2002). In addition, dual-earner couples are working more hours than in the past. Combined work hours rose from 81 hours in 1977 to 91 hours in 2002 (Bond et al.). As a result, parents are actually spending more time with their children (6.2 hours per day on workdays versus 5.2 hours per day in 1977), but significantly less time on themselves. A father's time on himself has decreased from 2.1 hours per day in 1977 to 1.3 hours per day in 2002. Mothers also spend less time on themselves (.9 hours in 2002 down from 1.6 hours per day in 1977). It is likely through the support and sharing of the responsibilities for home and children that promotes or discourages the ability for women to be dual-focused on home and work. Several authors have examined this phenomenon.

In their field study of 399 dual-earner couples, Hammer, Allen and Grigsby (1997) found that there was an impact of the work/family conflict of one spouse on the work/family conflict of the other partner. In this sample, one member of each couple was an employee of a bank in the Pacific Northwest. These authors found that work/family conflict has strong crossover effects for both men and women, implying that an

individual's work/family conflict was a predictor of their partner's level of work/family conflict.

Hughes and Galinsky (1994) studied the work/family issues of 429 employed individuals – including 161 women with full-time employed spouses, 126 men with full-time employed spouses and 142 men with non-employed spouses. They examined the extent to which job and family roles accounted for gender differences in psychological distress. They also studied the extent to which work/family issues account for relationships between roles and psychological distress. Women in dual-earner families reported more psychological symptoms, less job enrichment, less time at work, and more household labor and childcare inequities than either group of men reported.

In a narrative analysis of interviews with more than 100 people in middle-class dual-earner couples in upstate New York, Becker and Moen (1999) found that many of the participants were employing a variety of strategies designed to help them scale back, reduce and restructure the couples' time involved in work. These researchers identified trading off (i.e., one career at a time), placing limits (i.e., time or geographical restrictions agreed upon), and one-job, one-career (i.e., when one spouse gives up a high-powered job for one that is more manageable or less demanding) as frequently used strategies.

In a qualitative study of 15 dual-career couples, Bird and Schnurman-Crook (2005) found that all 30 participants had a heavy commitment to their professional identity. The individuals felt validated in their professional identities when their partners approved of how their time was spent. Professional identity was also strongly linked to family identity for these participants. These couples reported employing problem-focused and emotion-focused coping strategies to deal with competing work/family

issues. Problem focused strategies involve doing something active and emotion-focused

coping involves regulating their feelings or calming the emotions caused by the stress.

These couples also engaged in dyadic coping (i.e., cooperative strategies between

couples) and communal coping (i.e., assistance from friends, family and colleagues).

Each of these studies was instructive in the outcomes of the interviews from this

research. Although dual-career issues were not a focal point of the beginning of the

interview process, they emerged as a crucial component of each woman's ability to have

a dual-focused identity.

Structures That May Influence Work/Family Roles

To understand some of the strain of work/family conflict described earlier, a few

authors have studied the impact of structures and strategies that may influence spillover.

In her digest of the literature on work/family issues in the workplace, Kerka (1991)

suggested that employers who help employees facilitate a balance between work and

family roles will have better workers. Benefits of employer support included: improved

quality of life and mental health, greater individual contributions to the well-being of

society, increased productivity, a wider pool of competent employees, better employee

morale and less turnover, and a more holistic upbringing for children.

Glass and Estes (1997) conducted a literature review of workplace policies related

to work/family issues. They cited research that linked extended work hours and lack of

family time to work/family conflict, lack of workplace flexibility to increased physical

distress and depression, and lack of workplace social support to decreased mental health

of employees. They stated that "evaluations of the effects of work/family initiatives

focus primarily on employee recruitment, turnover, absenteeism and productivity," (Glass & Estes, p. 303). Their survey of current research revealed that reduced work hours, schedule flexibility, and workplace social support mechanisms have been linked to increased positive outcomes in the workplace and the family's well-being.

In a study of 213 men and women working in an industrial firm, Mehrotra and Gebeke (1992) studied work/family interference in an attempt to clarify links between job conditions, work/family interference, and family outcomes. They found a significant relationship between work/family issues and supervisor sensitivity – indicating that understanding work environments made it easier to negotiate work/family issues. "Work and family issues need not be conflicting or competing forces. Business can best address the issues by promoting a balance, rather than a choice between work and family," (Mehrotra & Gebeke, p. 18).

Thomas and Ganster (1995) conducted a study on the impact of family-supportive work variables on work-family conflict. They developed a model which suggested that supportive work policies and supportive supervisors directly affected work-family conflict. These authors surveyed 398 people in the nursing field on the presence of family-supportive policies and supervisors. Their results indicated that family-supportive work policies and practices produced significant benefits in terms of employee attitudes and well-being by providing decreased work-family conflict and increased sense of control.

Both Hensel (1991a, 1991b) and Armenti (2004) outlined a number of strategies that universities can employ to help women navigate work/family challenges. Some of these suggestions for family-friendly policies and practices included: maternity policies

recognizing the special role of women faculty, family leave policies, options for new parents to reduce their teaching and committee loads, the ability to stop the tenure clock for one year for childbirth, on-campus childcare, and a reduction in evening and weekend expectations. Although these ideas addressed faculty life specifically, many of them could also be applied to the lives of women administrators.

Research suggests that only a small number of women in higher education administration utilize policies designed to minimize work/family conflict. Liston, Griffin and Hecker (1997) explored the use and applicability of the Family Leave Act of 1993 in higher education. They found that overall women in higher education administration experienced very different levels of acceptance and encouragement for using the Family Leave Act and taking time off after childbirth. Although maternity leave policies have gone from being minimal to addressing a broad spectrum of parental leave situations and needs, these researchers indicated that the Family Leave Act has not always impacted, much less improved, the working conditions of women in higher education administration (Liston et al.).

In sum, this body of literature clearly found evidence of work/family role conflict and the struggle for working mothers. However, some literature did point to the positive effects on psychological well-being of working outside the home and maintaining a family life. Although the husband's role has increased in the home in the last few decades, this has not replaced the socially expected and accepted traditional mother role for women (Galinsky, 2004).   However, "The existing work-family literature lacks a strong overarching theoretical framework that can integrate concepts and findings across

perspectives and capture a broader conceptualization of work-family experiences"
(Grzywacz & Marks, 2000, p. 112).

Work and Family Issues for Women in Colleges and Universities

Work and Family Issues for Women in Higher Education Administration

The relationship between work and family among women working in higher
education administration has not been studied extensively (Nobbe & Manning, 1997). As
a result, there is no literature on the dual-focused approach for women in higher
education administration. A synthesis of the minimal literature indicates that women in
this profession, like other professions, struggle to manage work and family roles (Evans,
1985; Marshall, 2004; Nobbe & Manning, 1997; Simeone, 1987).

From her review of prior research, including multiple qualitative and quantitative
studies, Simeone (1987) concluded that marriage and family had a positive effect on the
career aspirations and outcomes of men and a negative effect on the progress of women's
careers in higher education administration. Married women, particularly those with
children, were more likely to have dropped out of graduate school, have interrupted or
abandoned their careers, be unemployed or employed in a job unrelated to their training,
or to hold lower academic or administrative rank.

In another review of the relevant literature, Sederberg and Mueller (1992) sought
to explore the intersection of work and family for women administrators in higher
education. After reviewing twenty studies, they proposed several summary hypotheses
about the administrative careers of women in higher education administration. These
authors hypothesized that women with "orderly" careers (e.g., women who had not left

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the workforce for family or other issues) would be more likely than women with "disorderly" careers to move up in the hierarchy of administration. They also speculated that women with children were less likely than women without children to hold administrative positions. Although they did not draw conclusions about the descriptive hypotheses proposed in the study, the authors did suggest the idea of cohort differences. From their literature review, they found that women aged 55 and older were likely to follow an orderly career path – not stopping out of the workforce. Women in the 40-55 age group seemed to try to have it all in a disorderly way, by combining career, marriage, education and children in a variety of sequences, including taking time away from work. The youngest age group from 30-40 were more likely to delay marriage and families until they were more established in their careers.

Evans (1985) also studied orderly and disorderly career paths in a qualitative study of 25 women higher education administrators in the State of Indiana. She examined the career development issues facing women in student affairs administration, one branch of higher education administration. Her study showed that married women with children were less likely than married women without children and unmarried women to have had consistent work patterns. Her study indicated that women with children were more likely to stop out of their career paths to leave work for childbirth and childcare issues. Although the participants in this study felt their husbands were supportive of their careers, many mentioned that their husbands' career decisions had hindered their own career development because the family had put the husband's career priorities ahead of the women's goals. The married women with children still at home

noted role conflicts between work and family roles and some amount of guilty feelings about not having enough time for their children (Evans).

Using a slightly different methodological approach, Marshall and Jones (1990) examined the childbearing sequence and career development of women administrators in higher education. The authors used both statistical and descriptive analyses to suggest that many women administrators who are mothers paid a high personal price in maintaining their careers. Childcare responsibilities limited options and forced choices that led to regret whether work or family roles were emphasized (Marshall & Jones). Using survey research methodology, analyses of variance, and qualitative analyses on open-ended items on a random sample of 348 women who were members of a national association for women in higher education administration, the authors found that, for many young professional women, interest in career had not diminished or eliminated a desire for motherhood (Marshall & Jones). Sixty-three percent of these respondents felt that childbearing had a negative effect on their careers. In the qualitative portion of the study, negative effects included problems with professional advancement, delayed entry into careers, limited career options, and limited mobility. However, a significant majority (88%) of these women with children felt that the personal satisfaction offered by motherhood offset any negative effect on their careers. Thirty percent of the women in the study felt childbearing had a positive effect on their careers, citing reasons such as help in keeping their priorities in order, understanding others, and increased career motivation.

Gorena's findings (1996) echoed the positive feelings found by Marshall and Jones (1990). This is the only study identified which examined the family and work

career issues of a specific racial population. In a small survey of 68 Hispanic women (identified by Hispanic surnames) at the upper levels of higher education administration at four-year U.S. institutions, Gorena used descriptive statistical analyses to find that having children positively influenced the participants' career advancement patterns, while the respondents felt household and childcare duties hindered advancement. This finding suggests that some respondents might have felt conflict between work and family responsibilities.

Two studies (Marshall, 2004; Nobbe & Manning, 1997) used qualitative methodologies to examine work and family issues of women in higher education administration, and are consequently most relevant to the study of dual-focused outlooks among working mothers in higher education administration. In an examination of mothers in upper level student affairs positions at several public and private institutions and their coping and management strategies for balancing work and family, Nobbe and Manning conducted a narrative inquiry of 10 working mothers. Through their qualitative analysis, they found several critical themes important to maintaining balance including: support from supervisors and subordinates, flexible work environments, role models and spousal support, good childcare, improved efficiency and effectiveness.

In her similar narrative qualitative study of 17 working mothers who were also senior level higher education administrators at different institutions, Marshall (2004) found that working mothers have complex and often competing roles between their personal and professional lives. Most of the women in her study recognized that their competing roles as mothers and administrators had resulted in "compromises, forfeitures and anxieties that affected their abilities to perform both roles to their levels of

satisfaction" (Marshall, p. 93).   Marshall found that various professional trade-offs resulted from her participants' decisions to manage career and family. These women experienced limited career choices, limited advancement options, delayed educational goals, and withdrawal from professional associations in order to spend time with family.

In summary, the literature base that is most directly relevant to the development of a dual-focused outlook in women higher education administrators is small. In general, the existing literature base about working mothers in higher education administration indicates women have mixed feelings about work/family roles. It appears that, while most studies report that women's careers are hindered by family issues, most women would not change their decisions or priorities (Marshall, 2004; Marshall & Jones, 1990). The studies seem to be pertinent, but most examine the impact of children on career advancement and work patterns (e.g., Evans, 1985; Marshall & Jones; Sederberg & Mueller, 1992; Simeone, 1987).   Some of the research (e.g., Sederburg & Mueller; Simeone) is simply a review of existing literature, rather than rigorous, empirical research. Two of the studies (Marshall; Nobbe & Manning, 1997) are highly applicable and qualitatively rigorous, but focus on coping mechanisms and balance instead of a dual-focused outlook which places a high priority on success at both home and work, rather than focusing on compromise. These studies were all useful in informing the questions asked during the interview process. In particular, coping methods, work patterns, career advancement, and support systems were thoroughly explored during the data gathering process. By understanding these issues, and those addressed in earlier sections, I was able to gather the most useful information to help understand dual-focused women.

Work and Family Issues among Female College and University Faculty

Because limited research examines work/family issues among women in higher education administration, this chapter now describes the work/family experiences of female faculty at higher education institutions. Although faculty members were not included in this study, many of the same competing priorities exist. Tenure track and non-tenure track female faculty have a different set of work demands than administrators, but the organizational setting is similar and both faculty and administrative women tend to have advanced degrees. Faculty mothers face many unique challenges such as the challenges of achieving tenure to the pressures of research productivity. However, issues such as committee work and student interaction faced by faculty mothers are comparable to those experienced by administrators (Marshall, 2004). Many women move in and out of faculty and administrative roles (Marshall). Therefore, this literature base may inform research on the work/life experiences of women in higher education administration.

Most of the literature about women faculty focuses on the impact of children and family issues on the woman's career – either by delaying childbirth or disrupting their career plans for their spouses. In her study of 314 male and female faculty members in departments of criminology and criminal justice across the U.S., McElrath (1992) used ordinary least squares regression analysis to find that women were far more likely than men to disrupt their careers for a spouse's employment and far less likely than men to have children. In her descriptive statistics, she pointed out that only 13% of the men in this study had no children, compared to 50% of the women. After taking into account a number of factors including career disruption and presence of children, her analysis also

showed that women who had left their academic job and had returned were significantly less likely than those women who had maintained career continuity to earn tenure and took significantly longer to acquire tenure.

Utilizing the National Survey of Post Secondary Faculty in 1993 (NSOPF:93) data, Bellas and Toutkoushian (1999) used regression analyses and controlled for individual, job and institutional characteristics. They found that marital status and number of children did not affect time devoted to teaching or research for men or women. They concluded that, regardless of gender, faculty with more dependents displayed lower total work hours and more research output than faculty with fewer dependents. Perhaps this increased productivity is an indication of a dual-focused approach to work/life issues among this sample.

In her study of the relationship between family responsibilities and employment status among college and university faculty using the same data set as Bellas and Toutkoushian (1999), Perna (2001) examined whether the observed over-representation of women in non-tenure track faculty positions was related to family responsibilities. Using data from the NSOPF:93 and the theory of human capital and structural theories, Perna analyzed data from 25,780 faculty members at 817 institutions. Her conclusions indicated that after controlling for race, family responsibility, human capital (i.e., when an individual's status and rewards in the labor market are determined by his or her own productivity accumulated through educational attainment, job training, and experience), and structural characteristic variables (e.g., type of institution or academic discipline), employment of women in non-tenure track positions is positively related to their marital and parental status.

In their study of 5,087 faculty members at 507 four-year colleges and universities, Drago and Colbeck (2003) discussed the idea of "bias avoidance," a condition where biases against caregiving and family responsibilities are widespread, yet not explicit. Citing earlier work by Drago, Crouter, Wardell, and Willits (2001), the authors explained that bias avoidance can be productive, resulting in behaviors that improve work performance at the expense of family commitments, or unproductive, resulting in actions that downplay family commitments to maintain the impression of "ideal worker" with adverse impacts on actual work performance. Drago and Colbeck used results of their national survey and follow up shadowing studies, case studies, and focus groups to add and support three additional forms of bias avoidance: "Bias acceptance" which is the making and meeting of family commitments with resulting career penalties either assumed or planned for; "daddy privilege" which involves circumstances wherein men are lauded for the intrusion of family on work commitments, while women experience bias against caregiving for similar intrusions; and "bias resistance" which is described as actions that challenge perceived biases against caregiving behaviors involving either switching time and effort away from work and towards family, making commitments to family explicit in the workplace, or pressing for policy innovations that facilitate dual commitments to work and family.

Drago and Colbeck (2003) used descriptive analyses and found that 25% of women reported having fewer children than they wanted in order to achieve academic success. More than one-sixth of women in this study reportedly delayed their academic career in order to have children, and often delayed a second child until after tenure. Thirty-three percent of women faculty in this study did not ask for reduced teaching loads

or parental leave when needed, for fear of negative career repercussions, a sign of unproductive bias avoidance. Almost half of mothers in this study reported missing some of their children's important events in order to appear committed to their careers. Over half of these faculty mothers believe they came back to work too soon after the birth of their child. Clearly, this study indicates that significant compromises were being made by faculty mothers in order to obtain career and family success.

In similar findings to those of Drago and Colbeck (2003), Armenti (2004) performed a qualitative study of 19 female academicians and found that the participating women tended to try to plan childbirth around summer hiatuses from teaching and/or once tenure was attained. She found that women were engaging in the "hidden pregnancy phenomenon" – hiding or altering their maternal inclinations and desires to meet an unwritten professional expectation built around the male life cycle.

Based on interviews with 29 women faculty members at nine research universities, Ward and Wolf-Wendel (2004) found what they termed "silver linings and dark clouds," i.e., the simultaneous benefits and costs of academic motherhood. This qualitative study found that women found joy in both their personal and professional roles, recognized the benefits of the flexible work schedule, and appreciated the perspective that came with being a parent. In contrast, with flexibility came unclear expectations about tenure, an overwhelming workload, and not enough hours in the day for work or home commitments. The women in this study reported feeling content with a "good enough" performance in exchange for the opportunity to accommodate both career and family.

In general, the literature suggests that while men and women as workers and parents struggle with the task of achieving a balance between work and family life, the challenge for women is greater than for men, given the simple logistics of the biological clock, the tenure process, and the ongoing disparity with which women take on the second shift through caring for children and home (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004). This faculty literature lead this study to inquire about timetables and schedules of administrative life, and other possible work-related issues that could conflict with prime childbearing years.

Conclusion

The various literature pools of information provided important background for this study. Common themes revealed that women in all fields struggle with career and family issues, whether they experience role conflict or difficulty finding a balance. Women are mothers and professional career women all day, everyday. They are likely to have portions of each of their multiple role identities at all times (Lipman-Blumen, 1996). While most of the literature on work/family conflict may categorize women as dealing with multiple aspects of self in a segmented way, women who identify as dual-focused seem to successfully experience multiple aspects of self in combination.

The literature reviewed did have several weaknesses that cut across all of the literature streams. First, women without husbands were seldom addressed in a comprehensive way. The experiences of both single mothers and lesbian women are not prevalent in the literature. When addressing the issue of partners, most researchers assumed the women were married to a male husband. In addition, the use of technology

was not widely addressed in any of the literature. As today's culture becomes more technologically dependent, one would assume that the presence of technology (cell phones, e-mail, personal digital assistants, wireless networks, etc.) would make managing work and home more feasible and make telecommuting a more workable option to help parents cope.

One of the goals of grounded theory research is to find the holes in the literature and seek to fill the gaps with credible research (Creswell, 1998). Although all of the strains of literature reviewed in this chapter provided a helpful background to the discussion, there was clearly a lack of research on this concept of dual-focused approaches to work and family issues. "Research is needed, therefore, that looks for a deeper understanding of women workers' realities by including the meaning women make of their own experiences. It is this deeper understanding that has been called for by feminist researchers and other social scientists using qualitative methodologies" (Chester & Grossman, 1990, p. 5). This study sought to fill that void.

CHAPTER 3 – RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND STUDY DESIGN

As indicated in Chapter Two, there is a gap in the literature on the dual-focused outlook of working mothers in higher education administration. In order to fill this void, this study design utilized grounded theory methods to explore how this group of women developed a dual-focused orientation on family and work.

Grounded theory methodology was developed in 1967 by sociologists Glaser and Strauss. Grounded theory is a general qualitative methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data. The data is systematically gathered and analyzed and evolves into theory during the actual research. The theory emerges as a result of continual interaction between data collection and analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). "The intent of grounded theory is to generate or discover a theory, an abstract analytical schema of a phenomenon, that relates to a particular situation" (Creswell, 1998, p. 56).

This chapter includes a discussion of why qualitative methods were the most appropriate for this study; the rationale and definition for grounded theory as the selected methodology; the purpose of the study; participant selection plans; data collection and analysis methods; methodological issues; the role of the researcher; trustworthiness; and finally, limitations of this research.

Rationale for Qualitative Methods

Qualitative research is grounded in the ideals of description, narrative, and experience (Merriam, 1998). When trying to understand the complex lives of people – culture, context, lived experiences, intricacies of a specific case – qualitative methodology provides the opportunity for thorough, deep involvement. Qualitative

methods focus on contextualization and interpretation, use an inductive and naturalistic experimental approach, and rely on personal involvement and empathic understanding by the researcher (Brown et al., 2002). Through interviews, observation, and immersion, I developed a rich, thick description and understanding of the subject matter (Merriam). Qualitative research helps the reader to understand people's lives, stories, and behaviors (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Qualitative methods are appropriately rigorous and produce valuable results. The extensive, detailed data gathered by qualitative researchers allow for thorough understanding of the phenomena being studied. Careful data gathering and analysis techniques such as inquiry auditors, peer debriefers and member checking with participants can produce a study that is externally valid. Finally, although qualitative research results do not seek to be generalizable to the population, qualitative studies can result in a theory that is transferable and can help guide policy, practice and future research (Creswell, 1998).

For the reasons cited previously, qualitative methods were most appropriate for this particular study. All women are different and have different approaches to work and motherhood, different priorities, different personal and professional goals, and different strategies for integrating work and family into a meaningful life experience. In order for me to understand thoroughly each unique woman and her situation, deep, rich data was collected through qualitative methodological strategies. By understanding the lives of these women, the research provided empirical data and practical implications for practitioners in higher education administration.

Rationale for Grounded Theory

The emic perspective of grounded theory explores the data using the categories and themes that emerge and develop from the words of the participants themselves. Since there were no existing studies about the development of the dual-focused outlooks of working mothers in higher education or related fields, grounded theory allowed this study to create an emergent theory and a model. Once categories and themes emerged, a model was proposed from these connections (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

In this study, qualitative methods yielded much more complex, descriptive data that could not be gleaned from quantitative measures for this research study. The quantitative design of most studies, in which group measures of attitudes and beliefs about work and parent roles are correlated with group outcome scores, obscures the psychological processes and personal meanings that give rise to these outcomes (Crawford, 1999). In this study, qualitative research allowed for the development of a new model for understanding the experience of dual-focused women in higher education administration. The concepts that developed were "grounded" in the particular data collected, and the usefulness of the constructs can be tested in subsequent research (Gall, et al., 1996).

Grounded theory methodology is designed "to explore and understand how complex phenomena occur" (Brown et al., 2002, p. 2). Grounded theory is based on eight assumptions:

1. The need to get out into the field to discover what is really going on

2. The relevance of theory, grounded in data, to the development of a discipline and as a basis for social action

3. The complexity and variability of the phenomena and human action

4.   The belief that persons are actors who take an active role in responding to problematic situations

5.   The realization that people act on the basis of meaning

6.   The understanding that meaning is defined and redefined through interaction

7.   A sensitivity to the evolving and unfolding nature of events (process)

8.   An awareness of the interrelationships among conditions (structure), action (process), and consequences. (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, pp. 9-10)

In order to honor these assumptions, I followed a specific protocol of gathering interview data through multiple visits, sifting through the data gathered using a variety of coding protocols, involving the participants throughout the process, developing core categories and subcategories, and creating a plausible relationship among concepts and sets of concepts (Creswell, 1998). As a result, an emergent theory was co-constructed by the participants, the data, and me.

The grounded theory method utilizes the researcher as the primary instrument for collecting data. Data was collected during an in-depth interview process, analyzed, and coded into prevalent themes using a constant comparative method (Merriam, 1998). Interviews were conducted in a semi-structured interview format with open-ended questions developed by me and tested with a peer reviewer. These questions were considered by investigating the experiences of twelve women in upper level positions in higher education administration who had children of varying ages living in the home in order to understand the complicated challenges of developing a dual-focused outlook to manage family demands and work roles.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to learn more about the experiences of a small sample of female higher education administrators who had children including how these higher education administrators experienced two roles - that of full-time, upper level administrator and mother - and how these women were able to achieve a dual-focused orientation. Those working mothers who were dual-focused placed an equal, but high priority on both work and family. Using grounded theory methods, I examined work/life issues in order to understand the behaviors, perceptions, experiences, goals and attitudes of dual-focused women with children working in the field of higher education administration. As a result, the collected data helped generate a theory on the development and maintenance of fulfilling, balanced lives for these women.

In qualitative studies, "research questions must anchor the researcher around an intellectual curiosity or phenomenon about which the researcher cares and wants to know more" (Jones, 2002, p. 463). This research study determined how the participants have developed the dual-focused identity of "working mother" and how these women used a dual-focused approach to resolve issues between their work and family roles. This study addressed one significant research question: How do working mothers develop and maintain their dual-focused identities as mother and higher education administrator? The study specifically explored the following issues during the interview process:

A.   What are the behaviors, perceptions, experiences, goals and attitudes, as they relate to working mothers with dual-focused identities of mother and higher education administrator?

B.   How do working mothers in higher education administration use their

dual-focused outlooks to resolve conflict between their work and family

roles?

C.   How do the supervisors and/or policies of the institution support a dual-

focused approach to work and family?

Participant Selection

In order to understand the dual-focused approach to work and family, women who

were identified as dual-focused were selected. In order to minimize variation in context,

the participants were selected from one large research institution. The women in the

sample were selected using purposive, network, and criterion sampling (Patton, 1990).

Purposive sampling is defined as the deliberate selection of information-rich cases that

are selected because of some characteristic. Network sampling, also described as chain

or snowball sampling, occurs when personal referrals or recommendations are made to

information rich cases (Creswell, 1998; Patton). Criterion sampling ensures that the

participants meet the criteria for inclusion by possessing certain defined attributes (Jones,

2002; Patton).

First, network sampling was used to identify a potential pool of participants.

Inquiries were sent to 14 working mothers on campus explaining the study, explaining a

definition of dual-focused perspectives, listing the criterion for inclusion and soliciting

names of recommended participants. The first phase of criteria for selection was

demographic in nature: all the women in the sample had at least a Master's degree and

had at least one child under the age of 18 living at home. The women held professional

positions in higher education administration at the assistant director level or above, such as Director of Admissions, Assistant Director of Student Activities, or Dean of Undergraduate Studies. In order to understand the dual-focused identity development, it was important that the women be mothers of children living in the home and mid- or senior-level administrators. It was assumed that women at this administrative level would have earned a Master's degree. (See Appendix A).

Criterion sampling was then used in the second phase of selection to ensure that the participants met the defined criteria for inclusion. The first and most important criterion was whether the participant actually fit into the demographic criteria. Thirty-four women were contacted via e-mail to explain the study and confirm their demographic profiles. Twenty-seven women responded, and 23 of those fit the demographic profile.

Secondly, women who self defined as dual-focused were sought. Each of the women who fit the demographic criteria was contacted via e-mail to gauge their interest and to determine whether they placed a high value on both home and work. This was determined by posing several questions to the potential sample: (1) Do you consider yourself to place a high priority on both work and family life? (2) Do you value one role over the other? (3) I consider myself… work-oriented (Higher or much higher priority on work), high value on both orientations (Equally high priority on work and family) or family-oriented (Higher or much higher priority on family). (4) Are there any circumstances that shaped your responses to be different than you would normally have replied? (e.g., family illness or job crisis). Twenty-seven women returned the survey; twenty-three actually met the demographic criteria. No participants emerged as work-

focused. Eleven women self-identified as having a greater focus on family. Twelve

participants who answered that they put the same high priority on work and family were

identified as in fact meeting the criteria for dual-focused identities. (See Appendix B).

Third, once a pool of appropriate candidates was established, purposive sampling

was employed to identify the most variable cases. The purposive sampling criteria

included an attempt to locate women of varying ages and races who worked in various

departments and positions with different numbers and ages of children. The criteria also

included an invitation to the individually identified women to participate in this study and

an understanding of their willingness to be participants. This occurred via an

informational e-mail and overview of the study, followed by a personal phone call from

me. During this phone conversation, I spent some time exploring the comfort level of the

participants and discussing confidentiality and anonymity in light of my position in the

Vice President's Office. None of the women expressed any doubt or concern about their

involvement. Since only 12 women identified as dual-focused, all of them were

considered in the purposive sampling phase. Their ages, races, offices, and number of

children did vary quite a bit. As a result, all 12 women were asked to participate and all

agreed. All signed the research consent form at the initial interview. (See Appendix C).

Sample size in qualitative methodology varies. In grounded theory, however, the

important consideration when deciding on sample size is to reach the point of redundancy

when saturation has occurred (Creswell, 1998; Strauss & Corbin, 1994). This happens

when duplicate data is discovered and no new information leading to a better

understanding of the phenomena emerges (Strauss & Corbin). The key to sample size in

qualitative research is not how many cases are examined, but how much information-rich

data is gathered in each case (Jones, 2002). In order to obtain an information-rich

sample, twelve participants were selected who met the criteria listed earlier. With the data

from these 12 participants, all of the categories were thoroughly saturated. No additional

cases were necessary, and thus no theoretical sampling occurred.

Data Collection

Once the sample was identified, I began the data collection process and interview

protocol. Interviews are the primary data collection method in grounded theory research.

This allows for the collection of extensive amounts of rich, thick, personal data.

The goal of data collection in grounded theory research is to employ a constant

comparative method of data collection and analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). This

involved the collection of data, coding into core and conceptual categories, and saturating

the categories until the data becomes redundant and no new information surfaced

(Creswell, 1998).

Interviews

Interviews conveyed a variety of important data and were essential for collecting

personal, first-hand information from the participating women. They allowed

participants to explain their feelings, beliefs and opinions about the situation or past

events. Interviewing in grounded theory research has the intention of exploring

individual experiences and placing them in context. Grounded theory interviews have

semi-structured or completely open-ended formats, and typically have "probes" asked by

the researcher to follow up on an interviewee's answer. This study used a semi-structured format with open-ended questions and follow up probes. (See Appendix D).

Qualitative interviewing involves a flexible outline of topics and questions, and moves from broad to more specific questions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Interviewing in grounded theory has the specific intention of exploring the participants' experiences and placing them in context (Brown et al., 2002). I expected interactive dialogue between myself and the interviewee and developed follow-up questions appropriately. During the actual study, concurrent data analysis occurred while coding for categories. Additional questions were posed in later interview sessions. Based on the literature reviewed, these questions were developed as part of a preliminary protocol. Once the pilot test was completed, the interview protocol was adjusted appropriately. These initial questions were followed by specific and personal probes based on the responses of the participants. These probe questions were used as follow-up to the initial interview answers and varied for each participant. (See Appendix D).

A series of three, 60 minute, one-on-one interviews were conducted with each participant. According to the stipulations for narrative, in-depth interviewing, a series of three interviews allowed the interviewer to conduct a complex, detailed exploration of the phenomena being examined (Seidman, 1991). The goal of the first interview was to put the participant's experience in context by exploring the past experiences of the interviewee. The second interview focused on the concrete details of the present experience.   In the third interview, participants were asked to reflect on the meaning of their experience (Seidman).

The interviews were conducted in each participant's office at their request. A neutral location was offered, but the participants all preferred to meet in their own offices. With the permission of the respondent, the interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed following the sessions. I took research notes during the interviews as well as summary notes following each session. The data was triangulated by exploring the information through these different ways. The recorded tapes and transcribed recordings provided exact representations of what each participant said. The research and summary notes recorded environment, non-verbal communication, and general thoughts about how the interview went. Once the recorded interviews were transcribed, each of the typed interviews was sent to the participants to be verified and or corrected. This technique of member checking increased the trustworthiness of the data.

At the conclusion of the individual interviews, participants were invited to an optional group interview conducted to help clarify and explore and the emerging themes and categories. All of the participants were interested in attending. Ten of the 12 participants were able to attend. The two other participants were unavailable at the time the meeting was scheduled. (See Appendix E). At that session, the women provided meaningful feedback about the emerging theory, resulting in several changes in the final iteration. Through their involvement, we were able to co-construct a more accurate product and honest portrayal of their experiences.

Pilot Testing

In order to develop an interview protocol for this research, the interview questions were pilot-tested with women in higher education administration not included in the

study. Piloting the interview questions with other women helped to refine the

organization and content of the questions, thus enhancing the rigor and trustworthiness of

the findings (Jones, 2002). For both the pilot test and the actual investigation, the

questions were open-ended and conducted in a semi-structured interview environment.

Document Review

As a secondary data source, documentation was also reviewed. This included

campus policies and practices on childcare, job sharing, flex time, sick leave, family

leave, and maternity leave; and participant résumés. The purpose of reviewing these

documents was to verify and supplement the information provided in the interviews.

Through simultaneous data collection and analysis, the study of these documents

prompted me to develop follow-up questions for later interviews.

Data Analysis

Data analysis in grounded theory methodology involves coding the themes

identified during the interviews in categories. Data analysis occurs simultaneously with

data collection utilizing the constant comparative method (Brown et al., 2002).

Grounded theory data analysis uses three specific coding procedures: open, axial, and

selective.

There are five data analysis goals for grounded theory research:

1. Build rather than test theory.

2. Provide researchers with analytic tools for handling masses of raw data.

3. Help the analysts to consider alternative meanings of phenomena.

4. Be systematic and creative simultaneously.

5. Identify, develop, and relate the concepts that are the building blocks of the theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 13).

Open Coding

In order to accomplish these goals, grounded theorists begin data analysis with open coding. Open coding happened at the beginning of the study. The primary goals of this coding procedure were to conceptualize and categorize data by making comparisons and asking questions of the data. Open coding began the concept labeling process. There were 1718 unique concepts identified from 36 interview sessions and almost 800 pages of interview transcriptions. Over time, a number of label concepts were clustered around a related theme. The individual concepts were sorted to form 38 abstract categories (Brown et al., 2002). Once the categories were formed, they were fleshed out to clarify their properties and dimensions or characteristics of the category which gave it meaning (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Axial Coding

The second stage of data analysis for grounded theory was axial coding. This was the process of relating categories to their subcategories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The purpose of this stage of analysis was to "create a model that details the specific conditions that give rise to a phenomenon's occurrence" (Brown et al., 2002, p. 5). This phase involved a coding paradigm which utilized conditions, actions and interactions, and consequences. In the axial coding phase, conditions were categorized as causal,

intervening, contextual, or some combination of these three. Causal conditions described

the factors that lead to the occurrence of the central idea being studied. Intervening

conditions referred to the factors that can mitigate or influence the causal conditions and

affect the phenomenon. Contextual conditions were the specific set of conditions coming

together at this time and place to create a specific circumstance which required a response

through actions and interactions. Actions and interactions were processes that were

facilitated and constrained under certain conditions. Consequences were the outcome of

the phenomena as it was engaged through action and interaction (Brown et al.).

Axial coding involved the use of four analytic processes: continually relating

subcategories to categories, comparing categories with the collected data, expanding the

density of the categories by detailing their properties and dimensions, and exploring

variations in the phenomena (Brown et al., 2002). During this process, emerging ideas

and themes were reviewed with the participants and clarification and input was sought

from each woman. A list of categories generated from the axial coding process is

provided in Appendix F.

Selective Coding

The final stage of data analysis in the grounded theory method was selective

coding. Selective coding involved the process of selecting a core category, relating it to

other categories, validating those relationships, and supplementing with other categories.

The core category pulled together the other categories to help explain the whole

phenomenon. During this process, theoretical saturation was reached. No new properties

emerged (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The words used to describe the core category were

altered following the group interview, allowing for their "in vivo" language to be incorporated into the model.

The result of these three phases of coding produced a "story," a key aspect when developing the grounded theory. Through the coding process the data was mapped out, relating the major categories and subcategories to each other at the property and dimensional levels (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This mapping process formed the basis for the theory. "The theory is actually considered grounded when it is validated against the data and mapped out narratively and when states of transition and intervening conditions are incorporated as well," (Brown et al., 2002, p. 6).

In addition to careful coding, attention to process was critical for this method to ensure that changes in conditions that impact action and interaction over time are recognized. The resulting consequences and subsequent interactions and actions sequences were also noted (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This process continued until theoretical saturation was reached. This occurred when no new data emerged regarding a category, the category was dense enough to cover variations, and relationships between categories were delineated clearly (Brown et al., 2002).

Once all of these steps were accomplished, a completed grounded theory emerged. The theory can be judged on its ability to explain the phenomenon with the fewest possible concepts and the greatest possible scope to describe the problem being examined (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Methodological Issues

Access Issues

One issue was gaining access and collecting data from 12 women. Because these women were balancing full-time work and motherhood, their time was very limited. To minimize this challenge, I attempted to be efficient and cooperative with each participant. Attempts were made to meet at the most convenient times for the participants. The data collection process was lengthy and cumbersome with much data collected. Data collection and analysis took several months. Due to the personal issues of motherhood and career demands, this topic was laden with much personal emotion for each participant. At times, it was difficult for me to interpret and manage the emotions of the participants. In order to minimize confusion and misinterpretations, member data checking was used throughout the process.

Political Issues

Several political issues were carefully considered when conducting this study. First, for fear of professional hindering, these women were wary of drawing attention to the challenge of balancing personal and professional lives, and were careful about discussing their situation with a researcher. Second, policies and practices varied from department to department on how they handled such things as maternity leave to leave practices for sick family members. These practices and policies were included and considered when analyzing the data. Women were only able to operate within the parameters allowed to them. For example, women working in an environment with supportive family policies were more satisfied with the ability to be dual-focused.

Finally, I was careful not to form value judgments of each woman's individual situation. It was assumed by the researcher that all women choose the strategy that works best for them and that this study did not judge participants' decisions and actions. This concern is addressed when defining the role of the researcher.

Ethical Issues

For this study, the most pressing ethical issue was protecting the privacy of the participants. The women involved in the study chose not to be identified for fear of jeopardizing their relationships and career aspirations, in particular with their subordinates and supervisors. In addition, these women did not wish to have their personal challenges advertised widely among their colleagues, family and friends. In an effort to gain an accurate and honest understanding of the supportiveness of a work environment, the participants' identities were concealed using self-selected pseudonyms for themselves and anyone they discussed by name in their interviews.

Another ethical consideration was the relationship between the women and me, as the researcher. Throughout the study, I worked in a senior level position in one of the vice presidents' offices at the institution of study. Some of the women in the sample reported directly or indirectly to the office in which I worked. It was important to significantly stress the confidentiality of the sample population and assure the participants that there was no confusion between the roles of researcher and administrator.

Role of the Researcher

In qualitative research methods, the role of the researcher is important to define and explain (Creswell, 1998). Because of the intimate involvement and extensive time spent with the participants, it was necessary to minimize and account for researcher bias that could have resulted. I was the primary instrument for gathering and analyzing the data, which inevitably meant that subjective thoughts and opinions might have seeped into the analysis, thus creating researcher bias. While somewhat limited by human error, I still had the ability to maximize the situation to gather the most meaningful information by being highly communicative and establishing good rapport with the participants. Merriam (1998) encouraged the qualitative researcher to be flexible, adapting to unexpected events.

In grounded theory specifically, the researcher is viewed as the instrument through which data is collected and analyzed. Therefore, the researcher's assumptions about the phenomenon being explored were important to the research findings and were clearly articulated in the research report (Brown et al., 2002). In grounded theory, the researcher must demonstrate "theoretical sensitivity" to the data (Brown et al.). Theoretical sensitivity was accomplished using the following techniques. First, I questioned the data (e.g., who, when, why, where, what, how, timing, etc.). Second, I analyzed the multiple meanings of a single word, phrase or sentence. Third, I made new comparisons to promote unusual ways of looking at the data in order to provide a denser theoretical conceptualization. Finally, I followed up with participants multiple times to member check, to test emerging themes, and to probe absolute terms such as "never" and "always" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Although human error, personal opinion, and subjective interpretation were inevitable to some degree, I avoided bias and increased validity by utilizing different strategies. First, an inquiry auditor was solicited to help corroborate and triangulate initial impressions and to provide a second interpretation of the data. A letter verifying the findings of the Inquiry Auditor is located in Appendix G.

Second, I engaged in member checking by continually confirming data interpretations and thematic coding with the participants and with peer debriefers (Merriam, 1998). Because I am a young woman with children, I tried to separate those feelings about motherhood and working to enable me to complete this study with as little researcher bias as possible.

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness, similar to the quantitative constructs of reliability and validity, must be established in qualitative research. The concept of trustworthiness refers to a "conceptual soundness" from which the research value can be ascertained and judged (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Strauss and Corbin (1998, pp. 270-272) provide eight conceptual questions to provide a means to assess the trustworthiness of a grounded theory:

1. Are concepts generated?

2. Are the concepts systematically related?

3. Are there many conceptual linkages, and are the categories well developed? Do categories have conceptual density (richness of the description of a concept)?

4. Is variation within the phenomena built into the theory (how differences are explored, described, and incorporated into the theory)?

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5.   Are the conditions under which variation can be found built into the study and explained?

6.   Has process been taken into account?

7.   Do the theoretical findings seem significant, and to what extent?

8.   Does the theory stand the test of time and become part of the discussions and ideas exchanged among relevant social and professional groups?

Lincoln and Guba (1985) expounded more generally on the trustworthiness of qualitative data including triangulation of data (exploring difference sources), explanations of researcher bias, and length of time spent with the data. Trustworthiness was achieved by the satisfactory attainment of four constructs: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Credibility was determined by how much the data accurately reflected the multiple dimensions of the topic under study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This was achieved through prolonged engagement with the participants and the data and triangulation of the data. Credibility in this study was established using peer debriefers to verify the researcher's work, member checking of the emerging themes and data with the participants, an inquiry auditor who checked the data analysis categorization, and input and feedback from the research committee that helped guide the methodological and conceptual development of the study (Creswell, 1998). The peer debriefers were selected from among colleagues and fellow students at the research institution. Two debriefers were selected - one debriefer was a single woman, one was a married woman with three children. One inquiry auditor was selected; he was a married man working on another campus with three children.

Transferability was the theoretical parameter of the research and referred to the ability to apply the research findings in another setting (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Transferability was achieved by providing very thorough descriptions of the participants, the research study, the methodology, the results, and the emerging theory which ensured enough data to allow future researchers to make judgments about the application of this research inquiry in other settings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Dependability ensured that the data accurately represented and described the changing conditions of the phenomena under investigation, which is the foundation of grounded theory research. An inquiry auditor was used to guarantee the grounded theory data collection and analysis procedures were followed throughout the process and that the emerging theory and its categories accurately reflected the analysis of the data. This objective auditor ensured that the emerging theory, and the coding and categories composing the theory, were dependable (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Finally, confirmability verified the objectivity of the findings and emerging theory. Confirmability can be achieved if another researcher is able to confirm the study when presented with the same data. An inquiry auditor followed an audit trail to determine confirmability.

Limitations

By its very nature, qualitative research in general and grounded theory specifically has a variety of strengths, limitations and trade-offs. The limitations of this study were that the findings were not generalizable to the greater population of working mothers in higher education administration.

Although one may conclude that these participants have similar experiences to others in similar situations, this was not necessarily the case. I chose different women who represented typical cases, rather than deviant or exemplary ones. Although not the purpose of grounded theory, the ability to generalize to the average experience of other women was more likely when typical cases were selected. As with any type of research, there were trade-offs when choosing grounded theory methods. In this situation, the reader obtained an accurate life picture of a few sample women, but did not get the overall picture of the majority of women in higher education administration.

Nonetheless, this study was still important for the future of women in higher education administration. By understanding how women constructed a dual-focused approach and how women identified themselves in various roles, universities can begin to create environments, practices and policies that encourage women to pursue higher level administrative positions while maintaining a high priority on their family life.

CHAPTER 4 – FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

The next section of this study summarizes the findings and analyses of the deep, rich, descriptive data. After completing 36 individual interviews with 12 women and one focus group, a comprehensive theory emerged explaining how working mothers in higher education administration develop and maintain fulfilling, balanced lives. One core category and five key categories emerged from the words of these amazing women. The first section of this chapter will describe the 12 participants – as a group and individually. The second section will illustrate the core category and its properties and dimensions. The remaining sections will describe in detail the properties and dimensions of each of the five key categories. Finally, a summary of the analysis will be presented.

Participant Profiles

The total sample was comprised of 12 women ranging in age from mid-30s to early 50s. Three of the participants were African-American, one was of mixed race – Hispanic and Caucasian, and eight were Caucasian. Eleven of the participants were married (one remarried during the course of this study) and one was divorced. Eight of the women had one child, three had two children (one was born during the course of this study), and one woman had three children. All of the women had at least a master's degree, with seven having completed terminal degrees (i.e., Ph.D., M.B.A., J.D., etc.) and one with a terminal degree in progress. The women were employed in four major divisions of the research institution – Academic Affairs, Student Affairs, University Relations, and the President's Office. The participants represented 10 different offices on campus. Three women were mid-level managers reporting to a director. Nine women

were senior level administrators reporting to an Assistant Vice President or Vice President. Table 1 summarizes the demographics of each participant. The following section describes each participant in greater detail. All of the women have chosen pseudonyms to represent them. All names of partners, children and bosses have also been changed. As a form of member checking, each participant read and edited the descriptions listed below.

Table 1

Participant Descriptions

Name	Age	Race	Position	Terminal Degree	Marital Status	Number & Ages of Children
Candace	53	Caucasian	Senior level admin.	Yes	Married	1 – 18 years old
Jenna	46	Caucasian	Senior level admin.	Master's	Married	1 – 6 years old
Michelle	36	African-American	Senior level admin.	Yes	Married	1 – 4 years old
Nadine	53	Caucasian	Senior level admin.	Yes	Divorced	1 – 18 years old
Renée	47	African-American	Senior level admin.	Master's	Married	1 – 6 years old
Siggy	53	Hispanic/Caucasian bi-racial	Senior level admin.	Yes	Married	1 – 18 years old
Suzanne	36	Caucasian	Mid-level admin.	Master's	Married	1 – 3 years old
Tara	38	Caucasian	Mid-level admin.	Terminal degree in progress	Married	2 – 7 and 1 years old
Toya	49	African-American	Senior level admin.	Yes	Married	3 – 24; 21; 14 years old
Trece	45	Caucasian	Senior level admin.	Yes	Married	2 – 8 and 6 years old
Trixie	47	Caucasian	Mid-level admin.	Master's	Married	1 – 16 years old
Zoe	51	Caucasian	Senior level admin.	Yes	Married	2 – 20 and 17 years old

Candace

Candace is a senior level administrator. She is a Caucasian woman in her early 50s and has one child – a teenage son. She has one younger sister. While Candace was growing up, both her mother and father worked full-time to support the family. Neither of her parents attended a four-year college, but attained business degrees at a technical school.

Candace got her undergraduate degree and her master's degree at major research universities. She met her first husband during college, and they got married in the mid-1970s. She started in an administrative position at the institution in 1976 and has been here for 31 years. Candace began a doctoral program locally in 1978 and got divorced shortly thereafter. Candace met her current husband in 1984, got married in 1986, and had her only child in 1988. Currently, her son is a senior in high school and will be attending college in the fall. Her husband retired five years ago.

Candace began her professional career at the current institution in 1976 and worked her way up through several positions to her current senior level position that she began in 2002. Outside of work, Candace has many interests including golf and tennis.

Jenna

Jenna is a senior level administrator. Jenna is a Caucasian woman in her mid-40s, is married and in 2001, internationally adopted a daughter. Jenna has been married to her husband since 2004. Jenna has worked on campus since 1990 in a number of different offices and capacities. Jenna helped create and grow the office that she currently directs.

Jenna grew up on Long Island and both her mother and father worked. Jenna's mother was a full-time teacher and loved her career. Both Jenna's mother and father influenced her development as a professional woman. Jenna's father was a commercial pilot and an author. Jenna's parents got divorced when she was 15 and both parents re-married. Jenna's father died in 1994. Jenna went to college and graduate school and obtained her first master's degree in Organizational Development in 1989 and a second master's in Social Work in 1997.

Prior to Jenna's current marriage, she had been partnered with a woman for 10 years and had decided to pursue adoption with her partner. Just prior to the actual trip to adopt their baby, Jenna's partner decided she didn't want to pursue the adoption. Jenna went on her own poised to become a single mother. She spent a month overseas adopting her baby girl – who is now 6 years old. Jenna met her current husband about six months after she had adopted her daughter. During the course of this study, Jenna's husband legally adopted her daughter. Jenna's husband works as a senior account manager for a corporation. Outside of work, Jenna makes mixed media art pieces and enjoys creative writing.

Michelle

Michelle is a senior level administrator. She is an African-American woman in her mid-30s, is married and has one young son. She grew up in Maryland, and has one sister. Michelle's parents both earned doctoral degrees and both worked full-time in academia while Michelle and her sister were growing up. Michelle's mother retired in 1987 and lives with Multiple Sclerosis. Michelle and her younger sister are responsible

for much of their mother's care. Michelle's father still works full-time as a professor locally and serves as the primary caregiver for Michelle's mom.

Michelle earned her bachelor's degree at a major East Coast university and her law degree at a regional law school. After finishing law school, she was hired at the institution in a senior level position 12 years ago and has remained in the position ever since.

Michelle has been married for about seven years and gave birth to her only son in 2002. Michelle met her husband in 1995 and got married in 1999. Michelle's husband is a financial consultant at a major corporation. For much of their early relationship, Michelle's husband traveled during the week. Outside of work, Michelle enjoys spending time on volunteer activities for local charities.

Nadine

Nadine is a senior level administrator. She is a Caucasian woman in her early-50s and has one teenage daughter. Nadine grew up in a working class family in New Jersey. Both her parents worked and neither of them went to college. Nadine's mother died when Nadine was only 9 years old. Nadine was raised by her father and her godmother. Nadine's father remarried when Nadine was still young and Nadine had no siblings and little extended family. Nadine lived at home until she went to college as a first generation college student. Shortly after college, Nadine began her career at the research institution in the mid-1970s. She worked her way up, earned her master's and doctoral degrees locally, and in 2002 began her role in her current position.

Nadine knew her former husband in high school and married him in 1986. They lived in Maryland and had their only daughter in 1988. In the early 1990s, Nadine and her husband got divorced and agreed to share custody of their daughter. They continue to share custody, and their daughter is a senior in high school this year. Currently, Nadine is involved in a relationship with a man who lives in another city.

Renée

Renée is an African-American woman in her late 40s. She is a senior level administrator. She is in her second marriage and has been married to her current husband nine years. Renée was born in Virginia and grew up all over the world as a "military brat." Renée's parents both worked full-time while she was growing up. Renée is fluent in French and has lived in France. She is the oldest of four children, and her parents and two sisters live in the Washington area. Renée went to a major research institution for her bachelor's degree. She worked in corporate consulting jobs for almost 15 years after college. Throughout her career, Renée was very involved with the institution in a volunteer capacity. She was recruited to work on campus in 1995. While working on campus, Renée completed her master's degree at a major East Coast university. In 1999, she left one division to become a senior level administrator in another division – a position she holds today.

Renée married her first husband when she was 26, and they were married for less than one year. She married her current husband in 1995. He is an attorney and a clinical social worker. Renée and her husband adopted their son in 2001 when he was 18 months

old. Now he is in first grade. Outside of work, Renée enjoys traveling and learning about the French culture.

<p style="text-align:center">*Siggy*</p>

Siggy is a bi-racial Hispanic-Caucasian woman in her mid-50s. She is currently a senior level administrator. Siggy is the mother of one teenaged daughter who is completing her first year of college. She was born in New York City to a working class family. Siggy's father went to college at night and became a school teacher. Her family was somewhat tri-lingual and spoke English, Spanish and Portuguese. Both Siggy's parents worked while she was growing up.

After high school, Siggy went to college for one semester and then left to go travel and discover her roots. She came back to college and got her bachelor's degree, her master's degree and her Ph.D. at three separate large public universities. After completing her last degree, Siggy moved to take a job on the West Coast, met and married her first husband in 1986 and had her first and only daughter in 1988. She left the West Coast to take a tenure-track position in the Midwest and then came to the university in a tenure-track position in 1990. After obtaining tenure, Siggy moved into an administrative position in 2001 and her current position in 2005.

Siggy got divorced in 1995, remarried in 1996, divorced again in 2003. She re-married in December, 2006. Outside of work, Siggy enjoys traveling and spending time with her dogs.

Suzanne

Suzanne is a Caucasian woman in her mid-30s who works as a mid-level manager. She is married and has a daughter who is 2 years old. She currently lives in Arlington, Virginia and commutes to the institution.

Suzanne and her sister grew up in Virginia, where both of their parents worked. Suzanne's father was a high school teacher at the school where Suzanne and her sister attended. Her mother worked full-time as a medical secretary. During the summers and after school, her father was the primary caregiver for her and her sister.

Suzanne has been working at the research institution for 10 years. She went to a public regional institution for her undergraduate and master's degrees. After her master's degree, Suzanne worked for a few years at colleges in the mid-Atlantic region. While at her last job, Suzanne decided to leave administration to pursue a master's degree in Library and Information Science at the institution. When she began the master's program, she got a part time job in the department in which she currently works. After one year, she switched to a full-time position and finished her degree part time in 2001.

Suzanne has been married for six years. Her husband is bi-racial—Chinese and Caucasian, is a technology consultant and is pursuing a master's degree part time. Suzanne and her husband decided to adopt a baby girl internationally. Suzanne and her husband traveled overseas and adopted their daughter just before her first birthday. Both of Suzanne's parents are retired and serve as the primary childcare providers for Suzanne's daughter.

Tara

Tara is a Caucasian woman in her late 30s with two children, ages 1 and 7. Her second child was born during the course of this study. Tara is a mid-level manager. She works full-time and is working on her dissertation part time. Tara expects to graduate with her Ph.D. this year. She is married and her husband also works full-time.

Tara grew up in upstate New York. She has two sisters. Neither of her parents went to college. While Tara was growing up, her mom worked part time and her dad worked two jobs. He was rarely home with Tara and her sisters. Tara's parents placed a high value on education and encouraged Tara and her sisters to attend college.

Tara earned her undergraduate and master's degrees at a large northeastern university. She worked professionally at that school for three years before moving to [the university]. Tara has been at the institution for 12 years. She worked in two prior positions on campus and has been in her current position for six years.

Toya

Toya is an African-American woman in her late 40s. She is a senior level administrator. She is married and has three children. Toya is a native Washingtonian and the middle child of three sisters. She went to Catholic high school and then to a Midwestern university for college and her master's program, where she met her husband. She completed her PhD at a major research institution in the Midwest. She got married in 1980, and she and her husband stayed in the Midwest while both he and she completed their graduate degrees. As Toya was finishing her doctoral degree, she began applying for internships while she was pregnant with her first child. After having the baby, she went

right back to work at her internship. She worked for a few years in the Midwest and then came to the institution just after she had her second child.

Since she arrived at the research institution, Toya has worked in several different positions in three different divisions. She was in her first department for three years and the second position for nine years. During the second job at the institution, she had her third child, who is now a freshman in high school. She left that position for a totally different department and division, and held that job for six years. Currently, she is in a third division and has been in that position for a few years.

Toya's mother went to college and almost completed her master's degree. Toya's father did not go to college and worked full-time while Toya and her sisters were growing up. Both her sisters completed college and are licensed in their professional fields. Toya's mother worked off and on and finished college during Toya's childhood. Toya, her parents, and both her sisters and their families still live in the Washington area.

Trece

Trece is a Caucasian woman in her mid-40s. She is married and has two children – ages 6 and 8. She works on campus as a senior level administrator. She is originally from New England and is the eldest girl of five children. She has been married for 10 years and her husband also works in higher education.

Trece grew up in a very traditional Catholic household. Her father worked full-time as a physicist and her mother raised five children. Trece and all of her siblings went to college. Trece's father was her professional role model. He died over 16 years ago. At that time, Trece's youngest brother went off to college and her mother got her first

professional job. Since then, Trece's mother has developed a new identity as a professional working woman.

Trece lived in New England until she came to the mid-Atlantic region. She earned her undergraduate, master's and doctoral degrees at a major research institution. After she completed her master's degree, she went to work at a college in New England for two years. She was recruited to come to Washington and worked her way up at the research institution for 11 years. During that time, Trece completed her doctoral degree and got married. In 1997, she got recruited to create a new position and department in a different division. In the past 10 years, she built a new office and was promoted twice. During this period of growth and expansion, Trece had both of her children – one shortly after she began the new position and one two years later.

Trixie

Trixie is a Caucasian woman in her mid-40s. She has been married for 20 years and has one teenage daughter. She has worked as a mid-level manager at the institution for five years.

Trixie grew up in New Mexico. She has two siblings and her mother worked full-time while they were growing up. Her parents divorced when Trixie was very young and her father was not involved in the lives of the children. Trixie's mother re-married when Trixie was eight. Trixie attended a university in the Southwest. After graduation, she volunteered for a political campaign. When the candidate won the election, Trixie moved to Washington to take a job on Capitol Hill. She met her husband while working on the Hill, where he still works on the evening shift.

Trixie worked as a staff member in one of the offices on Capitol Hill. She left this position when she had a baby because she found the environment to be unfriendly for working moms. She went to work for a management consulting company. Prior to coming to the research institution, Trixie was an independent consultant on Capitol Hill. While working at the consulting firm full-time, Trixie got her master's degree over the course of two years. While her daughter was young, Trixie worked full-time during the week, traveled extensively, and attended her master's degree courses on the weekends.

Zoe

Zoe is a Caucasian woman in her early 50s. She is an attorney and works on campus in a senior level administrative position. Zoe is married to a college professor, and they have two children – one in college and one finishing high school.

Zoe's parents both attended college in Ohio. While Zoe was growing up, her mother did not work, but was a very active managerial level volunteer in her children's schools and community. Zoe's grandmother was a great influence in her life. Zoe's grandmother and grandfather ran various businesses, including a hotel, restaurant and a mom and pop convenience store. When Zoe would visit them every summer, she would work in their businesses.

Zoe grew up in the suburbs of Ohio, and attended an East Coast Ivy League university. She went to law school at a major university. Following law school, Zoe went to work at a law firm on Wall Street. After several years, she left to go work for the Office of the District Attorney in Manhattan. During that time, Zoe met her husband; they married and had their first child. At the time, Zoe's husband was finishing his

doctoral degree in New York City. Zoe became pregnant with their second child just as her husband finished his degree. He conducted an international search for a faculty position and chose to accept a position in York, Pennsylvania. With a new baby and a toddler, Zoe and her family moved to Baltimore, and she began a job search in the Washington/Baltimore area. She initially took a job in the public sector, moved to the private sector for several years and eventually came to work at the institution in 1996. Aside from work and family, Zoe enjoys playing tennis and organizing and captaining competitive tennis teams.

Development of the Grounded Theory

The development of the grounded theory model for developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life for full-time working mothers in higher education administration is based on one core category and five key categories. Each of the five categories overlaps and/or intersects, forming an inner triangle where all of the categories come together. This intersection represents the core category – developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life. The five key categories are valuing self, valuing work, valuing motherhood, negotiating a balanced life and setting the context. Each of the five main categories and the core category have properties and dimensions. The diagram below gives and overview of the core and key categories. The following sections will describe these characteristics for each category.
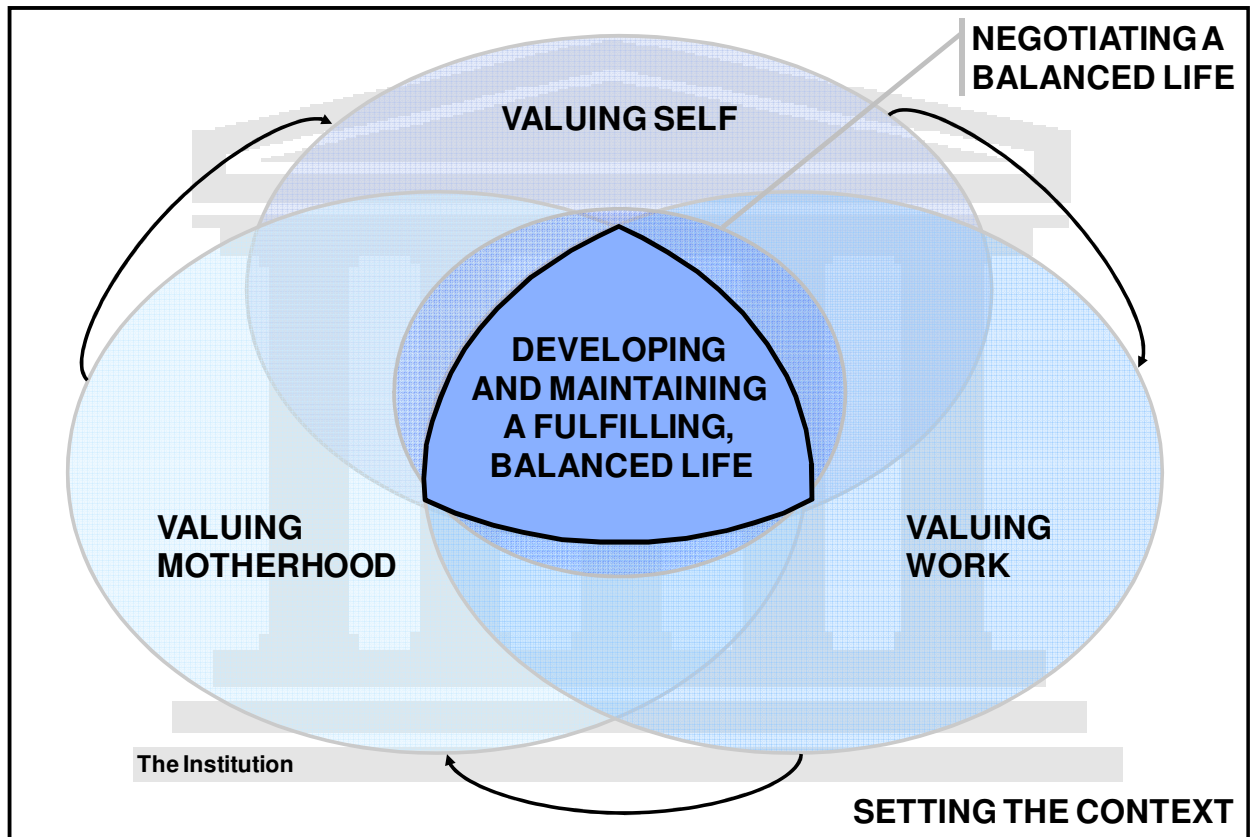
**A Grounded Theory Model For Full-Time Working Mothers In Higher Education
Administration Developing and Maintaining A Fulfilling, Balanced Life**

Core Category: Developing and Maintaining a Fulfilling, Balanced Life for Full-Time
Working Mothers in Higher Education Administration

As described above, the intersection of the five categories creates the core

category in the center of the model. The core category is developing and maintaining a

fulfilling, balanced life and has six properties. The properties of the core category are: 1.

finding balance, 2. coping with life, 3. setting boundaries and having spillover, 4. facing

challenges, 5. making compromises, and 6. dealing with conflict. Each of these

properties has dimensions and characteristics that further illustrate and explain the meanings of each property.

1. Finding Balance

The first property of the core category can be described as finding balance. This property has dimensions that range from easy to balance to hard to balance, meaning that some participants thought it was relatively easy to find balance in their lives, while others found it more difficult to balance all aspects of their busy lives. There were many characteristics of finding balance described by the participants. These included: developing a give and take relationship between home and work, making choices about what is important, finding perspective, setting a tone of balance for others, constantly multitasking, deriving value from having successful home and work lives, and connecting with other people. Each of these characteristics was an integral part in these women being able to develop and maintain a fulfilling, balanced life.

In one of her interviews, Trece described balance in a colorful and descriptive way that seemed to fit all of the participants, "A constant negotiation and something that qualifies me to be a logistics and transportation expert (Laughter) or an air traffic controller." Toya explained it as, "It's just keeping track of all this stuff that [the kids] have to do, and if they have activities on top of it, it just drives you crazy. So, you go home from a full day at work organized and you go home to organize yet some more." The participants talked about a variety of ways they seek balance which are described below.

The first characteristic of finding balance is the ability to develop a give and take relationship between home and work. Candace described this phenomenon of give and take.

> I'm on the border, I go back and forth. …during some periods and on some days, my family life is more important to me and in some periods and some days, my work life is more important to me …because of what's going on. At some periods one of them goes up in importance, the other one comes down …as you kind of work your way through a period of time…

Candace went on to explain further, "It's almost like an internal barometer that let's you make choices about where you need to put your priorities at a certain point in time." She described what it means to her to be dual-focused on home and work. "[It] doesn't mean that you lead this sort of a linear life and that at all points in time when you're going down that road that work and home are both equally important at the same time." She felt there was more of a give and take relationship. "As you go through this life, you're giving and taking and navigating the way you need to navigate in order to be successful at both places."

The second characteristic of finding balance is the ability to have a sense of what is important now and making choices about how to spend one's time. Trixie described it as "pieces of pie." She explained, "To me it's not like juggling. It's more like what's expanding to take the most room right now. So, what's got to shrink to accommodate? What's the big ball and the little ball? Because on any given day in any given moment, they are not equal."

Candace also illuminated this concept by describing the impressions of her colleagues. When asked by others how she does it all, Candace responded,

It's fairly simple. You do what you have to do when you have to do it. So, it's not like there's this formula…People do what they need to do to be successful and be successful at both. …I've always said to young mothers, "Don't worry! You'll figure it out. It's not that difficult. It's hard, but the choices once you're in that situation will be obvious to you." … Everything cannot be important. You have to have some self-confidence about what you do and the work you do, but you've also got to be able to make some choices.

The third characteristic of finding balance is finding perspective. All of the participants talked about giving or getting perspective as one of the important components of finding balance and establishing priorities. Nadine described this phenomenon as "a pull and tug between work and family." She explained, "There are times when …I think, if I didn't have Julie I'd probably go home and worry about this problem until tomorrow. And what I really need …is perspective, and … it [is] a great advantage to have a child because you can't go home and worry about it."

Many of the participants in this study are current supervisors. Throughout all of the topics and interviews, many of these participants wove through their comments the importance of setting a tone for others and modeling good behavior. This is the fourth characteristic of finding balance. For example, Suzanne explained, "I can be just as good a role model for them and just as successful for them if I'm able… to be a good balanced person [rather] than being a person who comes to every event and is always checking on them." Candace also echoed this sentiment.

When you're ready to start a family, you can do that. We'll let you have time off; we'll appreciate the value you're going to put on that. We're not going to hurry you back to work. We know what it's like to have a young kid home when they're sick and you have to be at home. I think that we …made it more realistic for people.

The fifth characteristic of finding balance is multitasking all the time. Renée described this experience.

There's no balance. Balance is not even in my thinking. …I'm always working and I'm always dealing with my family. On Wednesday, Johnny is here [at] like 3. I go out to see him. It's like the middle of the day, and not everybody knows this. …it's so integrated. And I try to bring Johnny to everything …because I don't think it's fair for me to be working on the weekend and him at home. They come to all football games and they sit with me and they have a lot of fun and they love sports and Johnny came to the wedding expo that we had here in his suit. And we went to every little caterer's booth and had cupcakes (Laughter)…

Michelle explained the phenomenon of multitasking as well. She said, "I know my husband and my family probably aren't surprised in that they think I'm doing a good job …in keeping …with my personality. I've always juggled a lot of things." Her colleagues are surprised she can multitask so well. "They were shocked, but Kevin came later into the mix. He was the last thing to come in the sequence of things. So, they think 'Wow, you take care of your mom and now you've got your grandfather and you take care of him'."

The sixth important characteristic of finding balance is that many of the participants in this study derive great value from having both successful home and work lives. For example, Candace said,

Because we've been in the positions that we've been in, it has been clear to people that we valued not only our work, but our home and we valued having kids …we were determined that if other people wanted to do what we had done, that we were going to make it possible for them to do. And, so, there's been a lot of women throughout the years … who I think looked at me and others and said I can do that. They did that; I can do that.

Zoe described the commitment to both family and work in a different way.

I find people who don't have children in their lives do not have the same perspective as people who do have children …and that perspective adds a positive facet to their judgment about interactions with other people …in the work place that I think are important to have. …You don't have to have children to be fulfilled, but I think the addition of that responsibility and that component in your life fulfills another aspect to you and your

general outlook and judgment so that when people don't have children you have to look harder for how are they developing that well-rounded perspective. They can do it, but I think that [the] children piece is an automatic advantage.

To continue the discussion about deriving value from home and work, participants described the opportunity to be challenged at work, to contribute to society, and to show your children the importance of mothers working as a component of having both successful home and work lives. For example, Tara explained the benefit of working, "You get to use your mind and you get to do something that you really enjoy doing. I didn't go to school to stay home. …you feel like… you're contributing to society in a way that you don't if you're a stay-at-home mom." She also described the opportunity to have her children grow up in an environment where they see both parents work. "Having my sons grow up in a household where they can see, …it's not just daddy, that mommy contributes as well, and that she can do something besides just being a mommy. I think that's a great benefit especially for young boys to be in a household and watch their moms do that." Suzanne described this opportunity, as well,

> To become a better person like a more broad-minded person, a more flexible person, a more forgiving and kind, generous, graceful spirited person, a more loving person, somebody who almost gets to live their childhood over again … You get to do the things with your child that maybe you didn't get to do in your own childhood … You get to see the world in a completely different way, in a fresh way, a new way, in a very exciting and open way. You get a chance to be a more real open person because sometimes when …you don't have any children and you're good at your work, people can perceive you as totally committed to your job. You don't have a life…you never make mistakes; you're perfect. And, this allows you to be a more real person …without necessarily having changed anything except the fact that you have a child. Now that you're trying to balance it, all of a sudden you've become this … (Laughter) completely different person.

The final characteristic of finding balance described in this study was the chance to connect with other people – colleagues, other moms, and constituents. Several of the participants talked about this opportunity. Renée explained, "You can really relate so well to so many constituents and your kids become such a source of connection …and everyone seems to be struggling with how to raise your kids today that it gives you a real way to sort of build rapport and sustain it…" Jenna talked about connecting with the other people in her office.

> It's fun to talk about kids and tell kids stories at work (Laughter) …And our kids are at different stages, so it's a little bit of an opportunity to connect…And I believe that it will be a real opportunity to connect when we have these new people come in …. And … we wouldn't have had any trouble recruiting for this job, but I think for those that are coming in to know that there are other young children in this work environment has got to feel really good.

Trece summed up the women's feelings about finding balance between home and work, "I get to be a successful mom and a successful career person in my chosen field at the same time." This was explained and illustrated by Trixie. "Because I cannot not do my work because my work is part of my identity and I don't have to give that up to have this other huge part of my identity (Laughter). At the same time if I can have both of them, that's really important to me." She recognizes the privilege of having a career she loves. "Not everyone has work like mine. I'm not installing telephone cables on a [very hot] day like today… It lets me have both these really significant things that I can't imagine not having."

These women have developed elaborate systems for finding balance in their work and home lives. These included: developing a give and take relationship between home and work, making choices about what is important, finding perspective, setting a tone of

balance for others, constantly multitasking, deriving value from having successful home and work lives, and connecting with other people. Finding balance allows these women to cope with life, as described below.

2. *Coping with Life*

The second property of the core category is coping with life. Participant responses to this property ranged along the dimensions from easy to cope to difficult to cope. Participants talked extensively about strategies they employ to cope with their busy lives. These included: taking time to reflect and de-stress; finding fun ways to cope; making time to exercise and going to bed earlier; connecting with spouse, family and friends; and letting stuff go (e.g., a clean house, phone calls, e-mails, volunteering, entertaining). Nadine described her routine for de-compressing.

> I allow myself a little time in the morning to sort myself out. …some people get up out of the bed and put their running shoes on and they're out the door…, but I really try to get myself centered about the day. And I don't get out a newspaper … or go jogging …. (Laughter) I get up and there's a good half an hour of pure contemplation… about what I need to get done. If I could only get two things done today with Julie, with work, with life, …what is it? Because I normally get one thing done (Laughter). Even though your To Do list has 20 things on it, what one thing will you not fail on, you've got to end this day with this done.

The first characteristic of coping with life was taking time to reflect and de-stress. Trece talked about de-stressing in the car. "Trying to debrief and de-stress on the way home and have it gone by the time I cross that invisible line. I would prefer to talk more about work at home with my husband, but that's not a thing that we do very often. It requires more time than we have with the kids around and he generally doesn't talk as

much about work." Toya also talked about de-briefing in the car, "I'm very reflective. I do a lot of thinking in the car."

The second characteristic of coping with life was finding more fun, playful ways to cope with their busy lives. These participants talked about pedicures and ice cream. Trixie elaborated by describing ice cream and pedicures as coping mechanisms. "Is there anything butter brickle [ice cream] can't cure? …the affluent part is I get pedicures just about every week. That makes me so happy. (Laughter) …Those little things that you can get when you have that kind of privilege that really help."

Other participants talked about the third characteristic of coping with life - the importance of taking care of oneself, exercising and going to bed earlier as means of coping. Jenna espoused the importance of exercise in her life, "I do my exercises and I work out and … I try to do that like once or twice a week and the only time I can do it is usually in the morning. …I dropped her, got to the gym at 9, got here at 11..." Siggy described the importance of exercise in her life. "I go to the gym – and this an agreement that I have with myself that I need to have that hour – and, otherwise, I think I would drop all sorts of balls." Suzanne also commented on this, "I have to [exercise] and I feel much better during the day when I do it, too. I feel more awake and that kind of thing."

Toya also talked about the importance of rest, "I have learned as I've gotten older to rest more and that is very difficult for me because I'm not a rester." Michelle also talked about taking care of herself.

> I need to… make sure that I take time out for myself. And it's not going on vacation or anything like that, but …scheduling your dental appointment, scheduling your annual physical. … I'm also not staying up as late as I used to. I'm a night owl. I would much rather go to bed at 2 in the morning because I'm so productive from 10 p.m. to 2 a.m., but I'm not a morning person at all. …it's finally sunk in that maybe I should go to

bed earlier and I'm trying to shift my productive hours to be a little bit more in the morning. And, so, by getting up earlier, I can check my email at work; I check my personal email and make sure the bills are paid and I can still leave the house by 8:30 and get to work before 9 and have accomplished a couple of things before I come in.

The fourth characteristic of coping with life was the importance of connecting with one's spouse, family and friends as a coping mechanism. Candace talks to her husband. "If I were like a single mom, I wouldn't have that, so I've got somebody who I can kind of bounce things off of and get a perspective and somebody who will tell me, 'look you need to get a grip and things are not that bad'." Jenna talks to her friends. "[I have] one really good friend and… that's been a really big help because we've got kids who are around the same age. And that's just like 'God, she won't go to bed and what will I do? I have to get up and schlep to work in the morning;' whatever it is. And I just vent for like 10 minutes."

Toya talks to her mom and sisters as a coping mechanism. Trece and Tara talk with work friends and other working moms as a coping strategy. Tara said, "I think talking to other working mothers helps a lot, knowing that somebody else is going through it besides you." Trece said she talks to work friends. "It's a trusted small group. I don't spend enough time in my personal life going into deep work conversations. So, it's got to be work. Usually a pretty small group, same level."

The final characteristic of the property of coping with life is "letting stuff go." Many of the participants described giving up a clean house, not returning phone calls, not entertaining, and not volunteering as ways for coping. For example, Trixie does not entertain on Christmas or many other times during the year.

I make rules that I think strike some people as really weird like on Christmas, I don't get dressed. I won't leave the house and I won't cook a

Christmas dinner. The in-laws can come over if they want to see us and say hi and that's fine. Then I'll put out some snacks, but I'm not cooking a big dinner and I'm not getting out of my pajamas. (Laughter) I'm not going to their house. I got pneumonia one year. I used to be more stressed and so I had to [stay in my pajamas and rest]. I thought, this rocks. I'm doing this every year. (Laughter) So, I don't do a lot of elaborate social things. I don't give elaborate parties or dinner parties or anything.

Jenna talked about not returning phone calls. "I don't return phone calls, …friends, other stuff, it just has to …rise to the surface. When it rises (Laughter) to the top I'll do it." Trixie talked about giving up volunteer opportunities in order to cope. "I used to be very involved in volunteering at her school when I lived on Capitol Hill. It's such a blessing (Laughter) like you don't need to do that; like the school's actually running itself. (Laughter) I don't need to be involved in it."

Trixie also talked about the cleanliness of her house as something she has let go. "My house is so far from perfect. …Every two weeks a woman comes and cleans so it's not disgusting. Otherwise, it's like I don't even really see it. (Laughter) It's not important to me."

All of the strategies described above are coping mechanisms, which help elaborate on the core category. The participants coped by decompressing, having fun, caring for oneself, connecting with others, and letting things go. By coping with life in various ways, the participants are more able to develop and maintain a fulfilling, balanced life.

3. Setting Boundaries and Having Spillover

The third property of the core category was setting boundaries and having spillover. As described in Chapter 2, spillover occurs when home and family activities

spill over into the workplace or work activities spill over into one's home. All of the

participants in this study reported that having spillover was an essential way to manage

the complexities of developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life. Spillover

ranged along the dimensions of seamless boundaries where spillover was common and

encouraged in both directions to significant boundaries where participants tried to keep

home and work arenas more physically and emotionally separate. Another dimension of

this property is the ability to shape one's boundaries – either to set strong boundaries or

to not set boundaries. Building on the notion of spillover, the women in this study talked

quite a bit about setting boundaries. About half of the sample tried to set strong

boundaries while the other half tried not to set firm boundaries in order to function most

effectively. Examples of both halves of the sample are provided below.

The first characteristic of setting boundaries and having spillover was

compartmentalization. Candace talked about her inability and lack of desire to

compartmentalize. Candace said,

> I bring my whole self to the work place. I talk about my family all the
> time. I'm sure the mood my family is in influences what I do at work.
> I'm sure what bears on me at home comes to work with me. I just can't
> imagine how people can compartmentalize like that, and it's certainly not
> in my makeup to be able to do that.

Zoe thought she would be more relaxed with more compartmentalization.

"I'd have less stresses if there was more compartmentalization. …I don't think

this world allows for that anymore. Work is a 24-hour a day, 7 day a week, 365

day a year kind of a thing and so is your personal life. So, it's just really a matter

of balancing it and you just have to do it with perspective."

In contrast, about half of the participants talked about needing to set firm boundaries in order to maintain order and control. Tara explained it as, "I think that what really keeps me from being overwhelmed all the time is just compartmentalizing, just the focus and the discipline and just making sure that I don't get behind. Getting behind sends me over the edge….(Sighing) that's how I get through the day…" She tries to separate home and work. "When I'm home, I try to focus on home things and when I'm at work, I try to focus on work things. And if I bring my problems from home to work, I don't think I would accomplish as much." Trece explained her compartmentalizing strategy in a very illustrative way.

> Once I get here, I'm pretty able to leave [my family responsibilities]. In fact, I've completely forgotten things. Like I forgot a veterinary important appointment entirely, yesterday completely blew it off. …It was just because I get to work and I shift and become so focused on this. One woman really mentored me in this area. …She …taught me a lot and mentored me a little bit about how to leave your work day behind you when you get in the car and how to line up the resources at home to help you make that transition very quickly to be mom and wife and stuff that I felt were tremendously helpful at the time. But she talks about crossing the county line from Prince George's County to Montgomery County and that being the magical transition point where, you just leave work behind you for the night and shift into focusing on other kinds of things and doing the same thing when you come back, and I do that.

Interestingly, each half of the participants, whether they were able or unable to compartmentalize, felt the ability to do so or not was crucial to their success. If they viewed themselves as able to compartmentalize, they felt this was important. If they thought they were unable to set boundaries, they felt the ability to be seamless in their actions was important as well.

In addition to whether the participants were able or unable to compartmentalize, they described two types of boundaries, which they set – political or strategic boundaries

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and physical or psychological boundaries. The second characteristic of setting boundaries and having spillover was setting political or strategic boundaries. Political or strategic boundaries were described as making decisions to share or not share personal stories and issues at work or work stories at home and setting a tone of appropriate boundary setting for employees. Physical or psychological boundaries were described as mentally or physically bringing work home or mentally or physically bringing your child to work, and psychologically shifting gears from work to home as Trece described above. Trece described the strategic boundaries in the following way,

> My children are much younger than the people who are at my level or above. And so, I don't want them to judge me and dismiss me as oh, she's going to be distracted because she has small children... But then there are occasions where you do a bio for a consulting project and they're going to introduce me. I make a very deliberate decision to be introduced in terms of my professional achievements and who I am in relation to my husband and children. And with peers and people who I supervise, I use my role as a mom a lot. … I feel like for the people coming along behind me, it's my responsibility to leave the environment more mother-friendly than I found it. (Laughter)

Renée used her motherhood to build bridges and relationships strategically. She used her son's experience at lacrosse camp to build rapport with colleagues in athletics. "[I] had a tough meeting with athletics … and the [person] was a Lacrosse player, so I just tried [to be] strategic." She discussed her son's lacrosse camp. "I just thought it broke the ice and gave me something to talk about before we got to the issue at hand and sort of softened people up a bit. I mean not to what I needed, but it made it more pleasant."

Suzanne talked about the political and strategic boundaries she uses when setting a tone for her employees.

I'm the supervisor and, so, I feel like I need to be together… I need to be on my A game as much as I can. …I'm close to these folks personally, too, so with different ones, …I can share different things. …They're so incredibly supportive and flexible and caring and protective, but I feel like it's my responsibility to them that I don't burden them with all the things that I have to juggle in my private life. They need to know that when they need me, they can have me because I'm their supervisor. I'm paid to do that, and it's important to me. …I probably don't share everything with them. But I don't walk through this door and feel like I have to be completely someone I'm not, or I have to be an automaton or a robot or a complete perfect person. Certainly, they've seen me sort of run in here and was like "ACCKK" (Laughter) but I try to keep those days to a minimum. (Laughter)

Nadine talked about the importance of setting a tone for others as well. She tries to talk about her family without focusing too much on personal issues. "I try not to dwell on it, make it more important to anybody than it should be, but I try to allow it and talk about it." She explained, "You can talk about your family and be a mom and talk about the choices you made about those things. And then you can annoy people by taking too much of the meeting time talking about your family issues and that's why I say limits are important. There's really only so much that people really want to know or understand about your personal life." She does not try to hide personal issues she has to tend to outside of work. "I will say I can't come in this morning because Julie has a dentist appointment. And I don't try to hide that …" Nadine thinks her behavior empowers others. "And I think when I talk about her and if I do that responsibly, that allows other people to talk. If I will say it and I will talk about it, then you could make a dentist appointment for your kid and you wouldn't have to feel badly about that."

The third characteristic of setting boundaries and having spillover was physical or psychological boundaries. Many of the women talked about setting physical and psychological boundaries including mentally or physically bringing work home or

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bringing their child to work, and psychologically shifting gears from work to home during the commute. Nadine talked about emotionally bringing work home.

> If I have some really bad days, I just go home and some times I just feel thank goodness I have something better to come home to. And sometimes I can be so preoccupied with a problem at work I can't let it go and I have to trust that I was present enough in the last three days that I was around Julie that if I'm in the ozone tonight, that she can bear with me. And sometimes I'll tell her; "I had a really, really out there kind of day today and I'm not with it. And I need to go to bed early tonight. I need you to go to bed early tonight. We're all just calling it a day at 9 (Laughter) and just bear with me here."

Nadine and Renée talked about the essential need to make personal phone calls during the day. Renée said, "If I didn't do that stuff here during the day and make these appointments, they'd never get made." Nadine added,

> Generally, I try to do work when I'm here and not do work at home. I try to separate them. …Sometimes you can't do that because you have to get on the phone to make doctor's appointments. …But when I get home, it's too late to make those appointments. My poor child is sitting up in the front of the room because I haven't gotten her the eye doctor appointment yet.

Tara and Suzanne talked about shifting gears psychologically from work to home. Tara said, "When I leave work, and I have to leave at a specific time to pick up Cameron, then my life begins a different turn in the evening and I can't really worry about well let me set an hour aside to go do e-mail, or just do that memo or letter that I didn't finish up." Suzanne elaborated on when she makes the transition.

> It really depends on what happened here in the day or what I have on my plate for home. I'm not sure when that happens and sometimes it even happens here. I'll call Eric and [say] "are you going to do dinner tonight or am I? Do I need to stop at the store? Are you picking Elizabeth up?" But, …it happens on my drive home generally. I start to think about, "we need to do laundry today" or "you've got to go to the pool" or "let's go for a bike ride" or those kinds of things. When I'm home, sometimes I'll shift gears back into work mode after Elizabeth goes to bed if I need to do that.

So, I just thought that was a really, really interesting way to put it
(Laughter) like a little car shifting. (Laughter)

The fourth characteristic of setting boundaries and having spillover was actual

spillover. Spillover was viewed as both physical or literal - the necessities to manage life

including cell phones, e-mail, the ability to conduct personal phone calls at work, and the

ability to work at home and emotional – bringing frustration, personal experiences and

emotional baggage from one arena to the other. Some examples of each follow. Tara

described the phenomenon.

> You're not going to have 100% of the time where you're not a parent or
> you're not an employee, you have to realize that that's the nature of our
> job. It's not a 9 to 5 kind of job, so you definitely have to balance both of
> those things and they're going to spill over into one another, but you just
> deal with it. I guess the key for me is not letting one take over the other.
> Recognize that there are things that I can do in terms of working smarter,
> being prepared at work, making sure that I build time into my schedule so
> that I'm not booked back-to-back every single day so that I have a little bit
> of room to breathe in my schedule so that if something comes up, I can
> move things around more easily. I don't let things sit for very long on my
> desk. If it means that I have a really big pile, I'm going to take it home at
> night so that I can catch up, even if it means staying up late so that the
> next day it doesn't just keep building and building.

Siggy says she has spillover all the time as well. She talked about the experience

of her daughter applying to college as creating literal spillover in her life. "We had small

senior staff meeting and I was talking at length about my experience as a parent trying to

buy a computer for my daughter through this program on campus and it was not working.

And that if I were a parent, I wouldn't know how to navigate the bookstore …"

Zoe talked about spillover created by cell phones.

> We're doing emails; we're doing telephone; you have cell phones now. I
> spent yesterday on the phone trying to resolve this very complex litigation
> that's ongoing and three of those principal people were all on vacation.
> We spent the whole day doing this. They were on the phone; I was on the

phone; they were on vacation; I was here at work. It didn't make any difference.

Michelle described bringing work home – both physical work and e-mail. She tries to spend the early evening hours with her son. During the day it is hard to find time to fit everything in. "So, I will find myself after he's asleep getting back on the computer to …send emails that I wanted to after I've had a chance to think through some things and I'll read before I go to bed…. I try hard not to bring work home."

To illustrate the fifth characteristic of setting boundaries and having spillover, Trece talked about the more emotional aspects of spillover. "When I'm more stressed, I'm sure my coping skills aren't what they could be. …Particularly if I'm frustrated at work about how something is going, then I might be more short-tempered or less able to cope with little frustrations when I get home."

Candace also explained the emotion and frustration that can facilitate spillover from one arena to the other. She talked about spillover when her son was sick. "If something went wrong, if he was sick, I would bring that to work with me, …and I'd be worried about it and preoccupied by it. I might have to be late getting in because of it and I'm just actually certain that I've brought some of that to work with me on occasion." She also takes work things home with her. "If I'm frustrated or angry or …whatever's happened has got me all worked up. …I take more of it home now than I used to because Jim's more available [now that he is retired]…. So, (Laughter) I don't feel bad telling him about what I'm frustrated about because he's usually not frustrated about much (Laughter) and he finds it interesting."

As a final characteristic, Jenna described the ability to have spillover as a privilege for people in more senior level positions.

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I recognize [spillover] as a form of a kind of privilege for people at our level. A really intense privilege. And I don't know how people ever see a dentist in the other positions… and I really have so much sympathy and worry about the people that have punch clock jobs. I don't know how they do it. The nurse is registering us at the new school because we haven't had enough Hepatitis B shots, but I'm sure we have, and I have to call the doctor. And …they're only open during work hours. …And I just feel like I'm so lucky and so blessed to be in this kind of position where I can do it. And I can close the door and nothing's going to fall apart and no one's going to yell at me and no one's going to dock my pay or something because I have to just navigate the vicissitudes of life.

4. Facing Challenges

The next property of the core category was facing challenges, which included overcoming barriers. The women in this study ranged in their responses from no challenges to many challenges. The challenges faced by this sample of women included: doing it all; considering financial implications; cooking, commuting and being the snack mom; facing illness, divorce or marital difficulties; being exhausted, overwhelmed and feeling guilty; dealing with a lack of flexibility in the workplace; and making personal and professional compromises.

First, when it comes to doing it all, Tara described the challenge in the following way, "It's two really big jobs that somebody could give their total dedication to [each]. If I could just work, I would be fulfilled in terms of time and energy and then the same thing with being home." Renée elaborated, "[The biggest challenge is] being good at what I do in both arenas and staying on top of my game. I don't think I'm on top of my game… that's hard particularly if you've had a work ethic that has been good to consciously say that I just can't do this that well."

Second, Suzanne summarized the feelings of several of the moms in her discussion about financial considerations.

[If I decided I wanted to stay home,] I think [my husband] would say okay. Although I think as that reality became more current for him, he would get more scared about what it would mean for us financially and because we also live in one of the most expensive areas in the world to live and it's just very, very difficult to live just on one salary no matter how much that one person makes… and to be able to save for college and retirement and be able to put money away to send her to dance classes. …I think on his worst day he's like "quit; just quit," but then on every other day, he's like "I understand why you want to do it."

Third, several of the participants talked about the challenges of tending to a child's logistical needs at school while working. This included managing logistics, planning for summer camp, cooking dinner, and making snacks. Nadine aptly coined this, "being the snack mom." She said,

It started in elementary school where the snack mom had to bring the stuff in for a break at 2 o'clock or for a birthday week or you'd have to bake something … and then I always had this thing about the moms who were baking or bringing in all the goodies and who were always supportive at school. And I suppose if I was honest with myself, I always felt guilty about not being the snack mom there for your kid in those snack mom ways.

Trixie called it "being the napkins and forks mom." She explained, "My mom was the 'napkins and forks' mom. When it came time to sign up, my mom would say you get that sheet first and you sign up for paper products. (Laughter) There's no way that she was going to make something." Trixie's daughter inherited this family trait. "…So my daughter has the paper products legacy. It's our family legacy, sign up for paper plates; mommy knows how to do that. (Laughter)"

These logistical challenges were not often experienced by their male colleagues, according to participants. As Siggy described,

I have always been very aware that my male colleagues usually have wives or partners at home. … I am sure [they] do not drive home with a mental calculator in their head on how much time it will take them to go to the store, make dinner, get over to the gym because you want to take care of yourself, too… I clean my own house; I do my own grocery shopping; I

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do my own lawn work and, so, I don't have the luxury of having a wife to take care of me to do my laundry, to go grocery shopping for me, to prepare my meals, to do these things. …It really is a huge challenge. …I never felt like giving up on either of them, but I often times felt like I just can't do this anymore.

The fourth characteristic of facing challenges was marital or health issues. One of the participants in this study is divorced and not re-married, three others are divorced and re-married. Some of the participants have dealt with severe marital difficulties or serious illness of self or family member. All of these relationship and health-related difficulties were mentioned when the women were asked about challenges.

When thinking about an upcoming surgery, Siggy described, "I feel responsible to my work and it's kind of devastating to me that I'm going to be operated on... And I think about all the responsibilities I have…" She thought first about the impact on her daughter who was starting college, "And the first thing out of my mouth when I heard I was diagnosed with this, was 'oh, no.' I thought of my daughter; …and I said 'How am I going to tell her?' And then I said, 'Oh, no! [The accreditation]'. She continued,

It's a very interesting reaction and it wasn't anything personal. It wasn't like I'm going to have to go through this and it's just a life-changing incident for me. …women who work…[are] often put in those positions where we think of ourselves last and our responsibilities first. And I've always had to remind myself even now … that if I had to stop writing [the report], someone needs to do it so it will get done. I'm not the center of the universe. (Laughter)

Nadine talked about the painful decision to get divorced, "It was really the hardest decision I ever made and there isn't a decision I can ever make that would ever compare to it." She went on to say, "But it's kind of like you are between a rock and a hard place, you choose – you do what you have to do or what you think is best to do. The really amazing thing is that you think it is unsurvivable, but you do survive."

The fifth significant challenge mentioned by many of the participants was overcoming exhaustion, and dealing with being overwhelmed. Jenna talked about the exhaustion of being a working mother. "I think it's really a matter of energy… before I had her, I was just tired. I worked so hard. … I remember just coming home some days just falling into bed. I had never been this tired in my whole entire life. And I know I was no more tired than I am now; not at all." Trece explained the feeling many working mothers have of being overwhelmed.

> Sometimes... I feel overwhelmed. There are days when it just feels out of control. Something happens and it's not in the plan. I took [a day off] and then …I couldn't get through …114 e-mail messages… I'd had four meetings in the day and three deadlines to meet … and I had two [issues] that were breaking that if they didn't have my undivided attention, they would not have gone well. ….At some point on the drive home last night, I stopped feeling overwhelmed and just relaxed. I still had to go to get dinner. My husband was out at a meeting and… then I had to go to church for the first communion meeting with the Priest (Laughter).

The sixth challenge mentioned was a lack of flexibility in the workplace. Candace stated,

> The biggest thing is having colleagues, supervisors, mentors around you that understand and place value on [balance]. They …place value on a balanced life on having family and on what all of that means. So, it's a barrier if you don't have that and even …now…, what you find is that once your child grows up, you've got parents and so having somebody who understands that the parents are aging [and] things happen. …It's the same thing; it's the same thing as having a child who needs attention.

5. *Making Compromises*

The working mothers in this study also talked about making compromises. These compromises ranged along a continuum from no compromises to many compromises. Only one or two participants felt that they had made minimal or few compromises. In

particular, Siggy, Trixie and Michelle felt that they had made few compromises. As Trixie said, "I don't feel like I've given that up for this. I feel like… there's almost nothing I want to do that I can't do." Siggy elaborated,

> I've been very lucky. One of the things I've been able to do is a lot of travel for academic reasons, especially when I was a faculty member and even in the past few years. And, I've always had a network of family and friends who've helped to step in, and that's one the things I did not have to give up. And, in fact, it was a positive experience for my daughter to be able to develop relationships with other people and, so, to develop certain responsibilities. So, that's been effective. I don't think I've had to give up anything. I can't think of anything I've had to give up.

However, most of the participants felt they have had to make several compromises along the way. Nadine elaborated,

> There was a staff member that I met with and she was contemplating having children and working and she had this sense that I was queen of the world could do it all kind of thing. …we talked for a good …hour and a half about some of the hard-core realities and that we do make choices and we do give things up and I don't buy into the notion that we can have it all and have it all at one time. You can have it all but you may have it at different times in your life and that you have to accept stages and phases. You have to be patient and make choices. And if you want all of these things, to not have the illusion that you can do them all at one time. And I was really struck by the fact that a year and a half later, she was presenting at a conference and she told that story. That one conversation changed her feeling about the whole thing and this notion of queens of the world that we can have it all; we can do it all. She said it was such a relief. So, we should probably have more conversations like that with people.

These compromises fell into the categories of personal and professional. From a personal standpoint, these working mothers felt they had given up exercise, reading, friendships, time for self and volunteer responsibilities – ironically, many of the same things they alluded to as coping strategies. Many of the participants talked about giving up exercise. Renée explained that she gave up exercise for family time, "My exercise has gone to hell in a hand basket. I feel like I'm gaining weight daily and that's something

that was really important to me to manage. I mean I used to swim on the master's team. And, I gave that up because I felt it was important to have breakfast as a family."

Some of the moms in this study talked about giving up reading for pleasure. Suzanne elaborated on this compromise. "The thing that I grieved the most … is I'm a huge reader and I didn't even realize how much, … reading was like my own little support system." She went on to say, "…But then the times where I felt like the most balanced have been when I've been able to fit a little bit of reading time in each week or each day. … I grieve that lost time a lot and it's hard to let that go because I love doing that so much."

Many of the working mothers talked about giving up or shifting friendships. Trece observed, "I have little time for friends outside my work environment." Renée elaborated, "My friendships I have been able to sustain on the way home on the phone. I do not see my friends regularly, particularly, my friends who have kids that are in different age groups. It's just hard to connect. Everybody's involved with so many different things so they become phone relationships and that's unfortunate."

Some of the moms also talked about compromising time for self. Tara summarized these feelings.

> [I've given up] free time for myself. I hardly ever do anything unless it has something to do with either work or with being a mother or a wife. I very rarely sit and read a book for me or just go and sit and watch TV or go to a movie or do anything like that. I've given up a lot of that. I'm in a book club…, but I rarely read the book (Laughter) because I don't have a lot of time.

Several of the participants talked about giving up volunteer responsibilities. Trece talked about giving up volunteer roles. "I gave up a lot of 'volunteer' responsibilities – anything that seemed extra or not directly related to my job, or to

critical experiences at home … I just don't have time to do it." She stopped teaching

graduate students. "I stopped teaching for four years. I had been teaching in a graduate

program, which was my one regular connection with students from grad or undergrad and

I think that's important to my job on the campus as a university administrator to have that

connection." She went on to say,

> ...I stopped consulting for a while and was off that circuit for a little bit
> and then gradually started adding some of those back in when my kids
> were a little bit older... And I can't do the parents' coffee during parent
> involvement week at school because it's in the middle of the day … Ken
> and I both try to make sure that with each kid we've done at least two
> extra things with them and their classroom to let them see their parents
> being involved ... So, I don't get to do what parents who are stay-at-home
> parents would have the opportunity to do in the school environment. I
> don't think I've given up career advancement, but I probably have less of
> a kind of national profile than I might have had if I had more time to write
> for professional publication or do a few more speeches....

Although several of the women each described the loss or compromise of these

personal aspects of their lives, there was a tremendous amount of consistency and

agreement when describing professional compromises. Almost all of the participants

talked about some form of professional compromise that they have made as a result of

being a full-time working mother. These ranged from staying at the research institution

longer than anticipated, slower career advancement than expected, decreased professional

involvement or staying in a lower profile job than they had hoped. The following

examples illustrate these professional compromises.

Many women talked about staying at the institution longer than anticipated.

Candace described this decision.

> I think had I not had kids, I would have entertained more professional
> opportunities. I don't know that I would have still been here. I'm not sure
> that we wouldn't, but … we might have made a decision to leave. And I
> didn't want to do that … at a certain point through [Mike's] school career.

…one of the junctures was between middle school and high school. And if I was ever going to do anything else, I was going to do it then and if I didn't, I was definitely going to wait until he got out of high school. …And another juncture is now …going from high school to college. If he comes here to college, I'll feel differently about the possibility of ever leaving. Not that it's on my mind right now, but if some once in life time opportunity came along, I would consider leaving…So, I'd definitely think that that's made a difference. The possibility is that I've made different decisions about career paths because of having kids.

Tara described her decision to stay at the campus.

I've also chosen to stay at the university, partly because of my family. I don't feel like I have a lot of freedom to go looking for a job all over the country or even in a different city. It's been convenient to work here; it's been familiar to work here, but …if I started another job, I'd have to prove myself all over again, new people, new colleagues, a new school and I wouldn't mind doing that if I wasn't a parent, but I don't think I could do that with having young children. I think that's too challenging, so, I think that that's kind of kept me where I am. And some people would probably say that that's not a good choice. I mean folks who don't have kids …they would … say "What's the matter with her? She needs to focus on getting a better job or making more money or climbing the ladder," whereas for me I think that being a parent especially has slowed me down.

Regardless of whether they stayed at the institution longer than expected because of their families, many of the participants talked about slower career advancement than they had anticipated before having children. This was a very strong and resounding theme across participants and interviews. For example, Candace described these feelings,

I don't know …I do feel like from time to time …there's maybe been missed opportunities. … I'm absolutely certain that if I hadn't had a family, I would have probably gone ahead and been a VP. Now, would I have been happy being a VP because …now I don't want to do that. But, at some point some time, I really did feel like that …because of the relationship I was in and because of his work and then because of having a kid, …there were times when I felt like, well, I can't apply anywhere I want to apply; …you have to be able to be mobile to do certain things and I didn't feel - I wasn't mobile. Now, I wasn't distraught about that, but Oh! Absolutely [it] totally kept me [here], which I was quite happy with.

Nadine explained,

> I wasn't a fast tracker. Fast trackers to me are people who move through
> their careers quickly. They move about the country; they take new
> positions; they get the advantage of moving around, working with
> different people, seeing different ways of doing business. They aspire to
> leadership positions more quickly, but I'm not going to move my daughter
> … all over the country… I was lucky. Well, I took it slower. [The] chair
> of the doctoral program when I was there …said "Women can have it all,
> but they have to take life in phases". And if you try to cram it all in at one
> time, you might not make it, so you take it in phases. And, so, I aspired to
> leadership in phases.

Some women felt the professional compromises they have made have been in the

areas of professional involvement outside of their jobs. For example, Trece explained

she used to do a lot more writing and speaking in her field. "I used to do a lot more of

that than I do now, so that piece is affected. I don't want to travel as much and be away

from family, and that just doesn't seem like that's so important right now…" She tries to

stay involved professionally because, "it still reflects positively on the institution. It

keeps me in the mix in terms of a national conversation. ….I [wonder] whether those

opportunities will pass at some point, …if I keep saying no to them?" Nadine described

her situation.

> I believe that I was on my way to becoming president of [my professional
> association]. … I had a three-year term working on the board when I got
> [this] position …and I gave it up because I only had two years left with
> Julie and I knew that the job would take a lot out of me. I think you're
> kidding yourself if you take [this] position and you don't really wrestle
> with the fact that it's going to take a lot out of you. And you have to
> figure out will I have enough left to raise my child? And even though
> she's in high school now, I do believe that they need you and I really
> didn't want to look back on my last two years before she goes to college
> and say I was too busy with the association business…

Zoe talked about taking a lower profile job to accommodate the needs of her

children and family. "[I] …went and worked full-time for another firm a little less high

profile than the one on Wall Street... There are compromises." She made compromises

in her current position as well. "I don't have to work on weekends; I don't have to recruit

clients, which is something the private sector always required that I never liked that

didn't really work with my personal family life and my interests in other things. That is a

good thing about being here -- not having to get clients and not having to do that kind of

thing." She went on, "It's also not the same level of legal work. We're generalists here.

We don't really do the specific litigation cases…; we do general legal advising and

sometimes it's very, very interesting but a lot of times it's pretty routine."

In summary, Suzanne provided a very articulate synopsis of the biggest

challenges faced by full-time working moms in this study. In the workplace, her

challenge has been "just letting go of perfection and letting go of having to be at

everything and be everything to all people and that's probably been the biggest challenge

but also very freeing. Because I realize that the world hasn't turned upside down

(Laughter). It's all worked out fine." Her biggest personal challenge has been,

> Figuring out how to do all the things I want to do as a mom with Elizabeth in a
> more limited or confined amount of time because I don't have all day with her.
> Figuring out how she still gets to have those opportunities and experiences …but
> they might not always be with me. They might be with my mom or my sister or
> Eric or my dad. Some of them will be with me, but they don't all have to be with
> me. …I have the tendency to be the all encompassing mom. (Laughter) …I've
> got to let other people have the space and the opportunity to build relationships
> with her.

6. Dealing with Conflict

The final property associated with the core category was dealing with conflict.

The dimensions of this property ranged from no or minimal conflict to significant or

much conflict. The participants articulated their experiences with conflict in four areas:

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preventing conflict, identifying sources of conflict, avoiding conflict, and solving

conflict. Each of these characteristics of dealing with conflict will be discussed in greater

detail below.

First, in order to prevent conflict, the women in this study talked about soliciting

support from a spouse, colleagues or family; and staying organized. Candace talked

about the support of her husband as a means for preventing conflict.

> If I knew there was a potential conflict, I would just sit down with Jim and
> talk … about it with him. …The biggest conflicts for me were over how
> we were going to handle things during the week, especially if Mike got
> sick or had something out of the ordinary to do…. So, …we would …talk
> about what our work schedules were going to be and whoever had the
> least important thing to do – and it wasn't like either of us had free days –
> so it was always a matter of compromising in terms of what …did both of
> us have to do and then sort of talking through which one …of us had a
> little bit more flexibility in our schedule than the other one.

Michelle talked about staying organized as a way to prevent conflict. "I…

compartmentalize quite a bit. When I'm at work, I focus on work; when I am at home,

then I can think about the home things, so I try not to carry one or the other with me."

She uses her time in the car to plan and thus prevent conflict. "I do a lot of thinking and

planning in the car. I'm in the car a lot unfortunately …with traffic and things and I

actually keep a notebook and a pen in my car." She continued, "… I try to reduce

conflict as much as possible by being organized (Laughter) and through

compartmentalizing the different roles that I play. …Things don't always …play out the

way you want them to and you do always try to think of a plan B just in case if something

were to occur so then you can hit the ground running."

A second characteristic of dealing with conflict is identifying sources of conflict.

The sources of conflict for these women included the role of their partner in the parenting

process, travel schedules, kids' activities, employee behavior, and one's own guilt. For

example, Nadine explained her partner's role in the parenting process as a potential

source of conflict.

> I will say, "Am I really supposed to be responsible for that or is Jim
> supposed to be responsible for that?" … And then learning how to
> position myself with him as my ex-husband and I can do that because I
> know in his heart of hearts he wants the right thing to happen. …So I had
> to learn to figure out what can I expect of him and then I had to get myself
> to a place that says, "Well, then if I'm not going to do this…, then it's not
> going to be done and then that'll be that, Jim." And, if I get to that point
> with him (Laughter) then he runs and does it and I count on that.

Trece talked about the travel schedules that she and her husband manage as a

potential source of conflict. She said, "a couple of times we've had things that haven't

gone as smoothly that are more a function of having the dates…, get on the calendar and

then in actuality they're a day off …just because we didn't factor in the day he has to

leave." She continued, "So, how does that play out? It means someone needs to

reconfigure and renegotiate with their work environment or the people who are

depending on them."

Trece also talked about choices for children's activities as a potential source of

conflict.

> I don't want either of us to be making choices that sacrifice something at
> work in order to be managing at home. And, [you need] to be very clear
> and careful about when you have to go …and how much flexibility you
> have in the scheduling at a certain time [and] trading off… I make the
> choices about logistics for the kids' activities in the morning and in the
> evenings so that we don't have anyone carrying more of that load. Every
> once in a while I feel like I'm doing more of that, so that Ken can spend
> time with his mom …and still have time with the kids, or so that he can
> coach one of the teams. He can't get everybody to and from their activities
> if he's coaching.

Jenna talked about frustration with employees' time as a source of conflict. She commented on a recent meeting conflict. "…yesterday I really wished we could have started this meeting at 10. And [Diane], and I have the same habit, [she] struggle[d] to get in here on time. We tried to give her a flexible schedule …but I was frustrated..."

The final source of conflict identified was one's own guilt. For example, Tara explained,

> From a work perspective, if there were somebody else who could help me out - who can serve on that [work task] and meet with that student …and then I'll take something else for them another time so I can swap this because …I don't want them to think that I can't handle my job, but [I feel] terribly, terribly guilty about imposing on somebody at work to take over one of my responsibilities because I have a family obligation. I don't feel like that's right. And I don't feel like someone who doesn't have children …should get all the night stuff or the weekend stuff or whatever. We have to at least share it more equitably than that.

The third component of dealing with conflict was avoiding conflict when and if it does arise. The participants talked about avoiding conflict through constant negotiation, juggling all the time, and creating seamless boundaries as methods of avoidance.

Nadine described her increased awareness of the constant negotiation as a result of these interviews. "I have learned to let myself off the hook because there's always conflict …" She went on, "Actually being a part of these interviews has made me really even be more aware of it. It's really been interesting to just think through my days and to recognize the conflicts. They exist constantly, constantly competing …" Siggy explained the constant negotiation, "How do I handle having to be in a Senate meeting and having to be at my daughter's presentation for an award she's getting? Those are incredibly difficult choices on a daily basis."

Renée described constant juggling to avoid conflict.

> I have to be flexible with boundaries and I feel that the conflict is resolved that I work at home a lot and I do some personal stuff at work and that my life doesn't have a start and stop time regarding either. It's all integrated. So, for example, in March my biggest thing – and I sat at my desk and did this - was planned out the summer camp. You can't do that at night…so then I work at night or I come in on the weekends and do this kind of work…

Zoe agreed that juggling was the key to avoiding conflict, such as an important meeting and a sick child. "It's always a matter of weighing. …You're always juggling and you have to decide. If it's a cabinet meeting -- I'll finish it and then go get [my son]. If I have a meeting …that can be postponed, then I would give that up and I would go …" She continued, "It's a matter of what can your kid deal with, what age they are and your other priorities and you're always trying to do both. …I think you're never separating your work life and your personal life. You're a whole person all the time and so, everything happens at once."

The fourth component of dealing with conflict was, if and when it does occur, how to solve it. When faced with a conflict and a decision must be made, several women talked about weighing options and examining consequences. Tara explained,

> I weigh my options. I will sit down and think through what are the possibilities and what are the likely outcomes of those possibilities and what's going to …do the least amount of damage, if you will, in both places - at home and at work… I look at what are the possible consequences here? If I have to be [in two places at once], what's going to happen if I give into one? For example, how would Cameron feel if I don't show up? Can my husband go?

The participants also talked about doing their best and giving themselves a break. For example, Nadine said, "There's unacceptable and then there's okay and there are many things that we do …and you just have to say 'I'm doing the best I can'. And so, I've just got to let that go." She continued, "I think you have to learn how to exist in a

little bit of denial. The more I was in these interviews, the more conscious I became of a

lot of the conflict. And there is a little bit of healthy denial that you can operate in that.

…I'm just going to think about that tomorrow."

Another characteristic of solving conflict was finding alternative solutions. Tara

described finding alternatives as a viable solution for resolving conflict.

> I try to look at alternatives that maybe other parents might not do …For
> example, this week I have no daycare for my oldest because my daycare
> provider is on vacation, so my choices were do I take a week off or do I
> try to find somebody else to watch him. …So, I asked family to help so
> he's with my sister for a week. …So you look at different ways of doing
> things… Like if you're not with your child during the week, then you try
> to make up for it on the weekend so you try to spend more quality time
> with your children versus quantity of time.

Sometimes the best way of finding an alternative solution was to explain the situation to

her child, as Siggy experienced with her daughter.

> When she was much littler, I would say, "This is part of my job …to do
> this just like your teacher has a job and they're there on Saturdays when
> you have to do a performance …or your coach is there on Saturday that's
> my job to be there." And she, she could understand that. I mean now my
> response to her is something that's very different; … for the past two
> summers, she's been working full-time. And so, she understands these
> kinds of work obligations and how you kind of juggle things.

Siggy went on to explain her feeling of validation when her daughter recognized the

conflict.

> And it was very interesting. …When she was applying to colleges, …[the
> application] asked her mother's profession and her father's profession and
> she wrote down mother [senior administrator], father unemployed because
> her father is unemployed. And then she was asked about challenges and
> she said, "If it weren't for my mother, I'd be homeless." In that sense, I
> think that that was a kind of recognition because her father is unemployed.
> And he has no money and his wife worked and supported them and …it
> was that kind of recognition. If it weren't for my mother, I'd be homeless.
> It is amazing because I think that after 17 years she recognized that.

In sum, the participants in this study did what they could to prevent conflict, identify its sources, avoid conflict when it does arise, and solve it. These full-time working mothers identified finding balance, coping with life, setting boundaries and having spillover, facing challenges, making compromises, and dealing with conflicts as essential properties of the core category developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life. Originally, this core category was called "having a happy, balanced life." After vetting the theory with the focus group, the participants were troubled by the word "happy." They felt it was a subjective, vague term that did not accurately describe their feelings most of the time. They generally felt they would not choose to live their lives any other way, but on any given day they did not identify themselves as feeling happy, but rather fulfilled.

The next several sections will provide an overview of the five key categories – valuing self, valuing work, valuing motherhood, negotiating a balanced life, and setting the context and their overlapping dimensions.

Valuing Self

The first key category that contributes to the core category of developing and maintaining a balanced life is valuing self. This category is the first chronologically in the theory because each of the participants had a unique, strong sense of self and personal identity before they had their careers, their partners, or their children. The women had a strong understanding of their own self-concept and what was important to them in life. The category of valuing self had three major properties: 1. managing emotions, 2. matching personality with lifestyle, and 3. understanding the impact of other aspects of

one's identity – such as race and ethnicity, religion, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, and gender roles.

1. Managing Emotions

The first property of valuing self involves understanding one's own emotions, which ranged broadly from feeling happy and fulfilled to feeling badly. When feeling badly, these participants used terms like: guilty, overwhelmed, exhausted, frustrated, resentful, regretful, anxious and insecure. When describing their happiness and fulfillment, the women used words like: excited, affirmed, lucky, loving what I do, understanding what makes me happy, and deriving meaning from work and motherhood. Several participants also talked about hobbies and interests outside of home and work as contributing to their happiness.

First, Jenna described the anxiety of keeping everything running as a working mom. She occasionally experienced early morning waking as a result. "I find that if I'm having anxiety, work-related anxiety, … I will have some early morning waking and so sometimes I'll just get up and go to the computer and I'll check my email or do something. If I'm up… I don't worry about it that much, I'll get up and do it."

Second, lots of the participants talked about exhaustion – in terms of emotion and, as mentioned earlier, as a challenge of having a fulfilling, balanced life. Jenna explained, "If you ask me [about] that, I go through ebbs and flows of exhaustion…So, am I exhausted? Most nights I'm tired." Tara and Suzanne agreed. Suzanne said, "There are some times I feel exhausted. I feel tired, but I also feel like …I didn't expect it to be different from this. I knew it was going to be hard and for me it's worth it." And

Tara added, "Yeah, completely exhausted. I fall asleep almost immediately when I lie down at night. If I have to work on my dissertation or something, it's not for very long because I don't really have much of a mind left by that time. And now that I'm pregnant, forget it." Renée explained,

> I'm perennially tired. I could sleep anytime, anywhere. And, so, now I'm using caffeine and I had gone off caffeine for a while. And, particularly after 40, caffeine is just not good. But I'm so tired. And my body hasn't really adjusted. So, I'll drink coffee…but I'm always tired.

Third, many of the working mothers in this study talked about their struggles with guilt. Most feel a lot of guilt about different things. Tara summarized, "Sometimes …early on… when I was at work, I felt like I should be home and when I was home I felt like I should be at work." As Trece explained, she feels guilty about work. "I feel guilty that I don't follow up on most things as quickly as I want to at work. I worry about developing a reputation for that which I find horrifying, but there are some things that you're just not going to be able to do as quickly as I should." Zoe talked about feeling guilty when her children were younger.

> When I was younger… I would feel guilty leaving to go home to my family and try to make amends [at work] all the time by coming in early or being constantly on email or being available by cell phone because I didn't want people to realize that I wasn't actually sitting at my desk. So, these were signs of feeling insecure and guilty… And the nanny saw them take their first step; you didn't and they don't want to play with you when you want to play with them. When you want to play, they want to do something else and the timing doesn't always work and you resent that because you have a little time and you want them to be a part of that. There's lots of guilt[y] feelings about that.

Arguably, the women in this study were very accomplished – they were mothers and successful administrators and professionals. Surprisingly, several of the women in this study also confided in me that they have a great deal of insecurity as a fourth

characteristic of managing emotions. Trixie described her jealousy about her interactions

with another working mom.

> So, she came in to talk to me for an hour about her department and other
> people had told me she was a real superstar. She got tenure early and
> she's really driven and organized and I walked out and she had … four
> kids who looked like they were a year or two apart like these little
> stepping stones … Oh, my gosh, four kids and not to mention a fabulous
> figure. It was like she was the anti-Christ (Laughter). Like where did you
> come from? And I was really angry with her. How did you do that?
> …Clearly. She's not on the mommy track. She's a superstar and she had a
> figure. [Her kids were] two, four, six, eight would be kind of my guess.
> …When people are like that I think "okay, that's just not right"
> (Laughter). There's something wrong there. I'm not sure what it is, but
> she's got some over-achiever thing going on that's just huge. Or just some
> are better at it.

Fifth, many of the participants commented on feeling resentful or sad about how

other people feel about their decisions. Siggy was intensely affected by the comments of

a friend soon after Siggy had her daughter. "When I first had my daughter…, I actually

went out and had coffee with a friend… And she said 'How are you doing?' And I said

to her 'It's very hard having a child who's four months old and doing work'." Siggy

went on, "And I will never forget this. But she looked at me and said, 'You have made

the decision to have a child, quit griping about it. I hate hearing about women who have

children and then can't deal with it.' She said that to me. And she let that guard down

because she was a friend …and I had known her for several years." Tara concurred with

Siggy's frustrations. She feels somewhat resentful about other people's opinions of her

ability to be a working mother.

> It makes me feel – I don't want to say resentful – but a little bit maybe
> resentful. Sometimes it makes me challenge myself to ask myself if I'm
> doing the right thing. Should I be doing both of these things and can I
> really be good at both? Sometimes it makes me feel sad. I feel like why
> should I have to go through all of this? I know who I am; I know what
> kind of worker I am; I know what kind of parent I am. Why should I care

what other people think or what their expectations are, spoken or unspoken? I shouldn't worry so much about it, but I do. I think probably most working mothers think about that. If they care about both being a parent and being a good worker, especially a professional, I think you have to think about those things.

On a more positive note, these women also felt generally very happy and fulfilled with their decisions. Nadine summarized, "The pursuit of your own happiness is essential. And you have to know what makes you happy." First, Suzanne explained the joy of parenthood. "I mean you really just have to enjoy each day, and because they change so much from day to day. If you're thinking about when they're 10, you're missing out on what they're doing when they're two, and what they're doing when they're two is so cool and so cute and exciting."

Second, Candace described her "stronger sense of self" because she has had kids.

I feel more mature; I feel more fulfilled. It's more emotional. But I think because of having kids, I feel more confident, more knowledgeable, maybe just generally better. You feel better about yourself, I think because it's not all about you… I mean I had a great job; I loved what I did; I loved the people that I worked with and I can remember thinking that I knew that I was going to be a better mother if I was working because work satisfied me. And that when I could have both, I was going to be better at work because I had my child and I was going to be better with my child because I had my work.

Third, Nadine explained the importance of being happy,

I think what's most important is … to be happy as a parent with your life and … one of the best things that you can do for your child is that if you're happy with your life,… you can come home and be present and feel good about things and have that relationship at home…. If you're home and you're miserable being home because it doesn't offer you the challenges that you need to feel excited and happy about life, …then what kind of a parent will you be? If you're happy… being home and that's fulfilling to you, then I think that's the best way to go. I've always been happy at work even on my worst days, but …I'm glad that I'm working and it's very intriguing and interesting. And, so, from that perspective, because I'm happy I think it helps me be a better mom.

Fourth, Toya talked about the importance of loving what you do, "I just think you figure out what you love and just do it. And, for me, it doesn't mean I don't get tired. It doesn't mean I don't get frustrated; it doesn't mean it isn't hard sometimes, but, as I taught my kids, I do what I love and I'm fortunate." Trixie also talked about loving her job. She said, "…The independent consulting gig …was great for me and that meant that I could volunteer for PTA or be in the classroom …while still keeping my professional identity." She went on, "And, I love my professional identity. I love going to the airport knowing that I was on some important business trip. (Laughter) I always loved that, and that was very rewarding."

Fifth, Jenna summarized the feelings of many of the women when she talked about deriving meaning and value from her work.

> I want to feel efficacious in terms of being able to affect the world, make a difference in my environment. Sometimes I question the purview. Am I making enough of a difference? Is it big enough? Is the scope large enough? …I see my work in many ways as playing a helping role and really want to facilitate that. And when I see that happening in organizations and in people and in leaders, particularly women leaders, I feel good. I feel good about myself and my contributions.

Finally, several of the women also talked about pursuing hobbies outside of work and family time as a key to their happiness and fulfillment. The hobbies from these participants included playing tennis and golf, studying French, designing clothes, quilting and knitting, cooking, and taking care of pets.

2. Matching Personality with Lifestyle

Another property of valuing self was learning to find a lifestyle that matched the personality type of the women in this study. The participants varied along a continuum

of having a personality that fits easily with one's lifestyle to having to adapt one's

personality to make the life of a full-time working mom possible. In particular, the

women in this study identified the following personality traits: choosing not to "sweat

the small stuff;" taking time for self to process and reflect; being extremely organized and

able to multi-task; being determined and driven; and being personable and a good

communicator. The following descriptions from the participants further illuminate these

personality characteristics.

The first personality trait of the women in this study was the ability to prioritize,

choose what is important, be flexible, and not to "sweat the small stuff." Trece

summarized, "I think of it as more of a quality than a skill, the ability to tolerate a lot of

unknown or ambiguity and be prepared for anything that happens, because it will.

(Laughter)" For example, Michelle explained, "Being able to know what is or is not

important in my life and also always trying to be fair to others – not jumping to

conclusions until you get your facts straight." Tara described,

> My work is here and it's important and it's going to get done and I can't
> freak about it if something doesn't get done on time, but then the same
> thing with home. I can't worry about every little detail whether my house
> is clean or not or if Cameron goes to school and he's got his dirty old
> tennis shoes... I don't get bent [out of shape] about that. (Laughter) I also
> am able to pick and choose things that are really important. There are
> some things that I see even in my neighborhood like women who get bent
> about certain things that I'm just like it's so unimportant... people who
> worry about is the garbage can on your side or my side…it doesn't matter,
> …I don't have time to worry about stuff like that.

The second personality trait identified by these working mothers was the need to

take the time to process, reflect and decompress – as mentioned in the section on coping

strategies. They reflect when they get up early or on their commute to and from work.

For example, Siggy explained she uses her time in the car to process, plan and make the

transition from home to work and work to home. "On the way home …I'm already mentally going what's for dinner?" Nadine described her time to decompress in the morning. "I let myself daydream and without that time, I think I would just get to be a machine."

The third set of personality characteristics of the women in this study was the ability to be extremely organized, to juggle multiple things, and to multitask. Almost all of the women mentioned organizational ability as one of their strongest traits. As Siggy explained, "I have learned to become extremely organized. (Laughter) And to juggle about 30 balls at once... It's very ironic. The sense of being able to do six, seven things at once and prioritize and not drop anything…And at any given moment, I've got about 14 things going on in my brain." Zoe commented that she uses her long commute to get organized, "I have a long commute and I use that entire time planning what I have to get done, making little lists. I don't tell the police that I'm writing as I'm sitting at the steering wheel."

The next set of personality traits identified by these women included being driven, determined, energetic, ambitious and demanding. Their own words provided a rich description of these characteristics. For example, Toya said,

> I have a lot of energy and I have a lot of openness. I can see vision; I can see where things might go. I can pick up things fast. I can see multi-tasking. They call it multi-task. I just call it doing a lot of things at the same time. (Laughter) I can keep a lot of balls in the air at the same time and I like that. I thrive on that.

Candace described her personality as differing somewhat at home and at work,

> There are some things that you will do at work but you won't do at home. I can be very, very, very competitive at work. I can be very decisive at work. I can be very demanding at work and I don't think I'm nearly like that at home. (Laughter) I don't need to be; I don't want to be. It's not the

same situation. I'm more calm at home; I'm not nearly as demanding. It's not competitive. There's a lot you give up in day-to-day decisions at home, but if you had to face those same decisions at work you might not behave the same way...

Fifth, Renée summarized the many responses about being highly organized in comparison to her non-working friends.

I'm driven and somewhat disciplined. I do have a capacity to be able to do a lot. There's some people that just don't, some of my non-working mothers who seem so disorganized and they have all this time and can't get anything done. …Those are the ones that end up not having the gift for the birthday party…, and I just have a big box of gifts here in my storage bin… and they're all running out and then they spend a fortune on something at the last minute. So, I feel like because of how my life is, I'm forced to be very organized. More so than I would be.

Sixth, several of the participants talked about their personality as being very tenacious and not wanting anyone to think they are taking advantage. Siggy said, "Because I feel very strongly about this that I never wanted any favors or anything like that." Tara explained, "I really don't want people to think that I can't do it or that I'm taking advantage because I have a child. I don't want there to be a lot of discrepancy between my hours and the job that I do and other people who don't have the same responsibility; … that would be hard."

Trece and Candace talked about the importance of being easy to work with and a good communicator. As Candace illustrated, "I can work with just about anybody. I can get in there and develop a relationship with just about anybody …, and I think that carries over at home, too...   It's working it out, figuring out how to get to a good place." Trece agreed,

[The fact that] I can speak honestly with and appropriately with my husband, our childcare provider and people at work about anything that's going on in any given day helps to make things go smoothly even if something crops up that you didn't expect... I am a fairly good

communicator, so I'm able to address issues with everybody I need to. From my administrative assistant to people that work with and for me, my supervisor, my childcare provider. I feel like I'm supervising people all over the place…

3. Understanding the Impact of Other Aspects of Identity

The third and final property of the category of valuing self was the ability to understand the impact of other aspects of one's identity on their identity as working mothers. In particular, the participants in this study described race and ethnicity, religion, socio-economic status, sexual orientation and gender roles as significant components of their identities.

Race and Ethnicity

Three of the 12 women in this study were African-American and one was bi-racial Hispanic-Caucasian. The African-American women all talked about the fact that Black women work and are self-sufficient. Renée observed, "We're not oriented to think that you're going to get married and be taken care of." Toya explained,

> …My view of black women is …they work because that's what we're taught to do and that's part of our success, part of our ability to manage many things …and be comfortable with that to do the family and to do the career and to be a wife and all those pieces. … As an African-American female – work is part of the culture and, so, it's not unknown.

She continued about the importance of finding a career she enjoyed,

> My expectation is that I would work. What became important to me as an African-American female was to find work that I liked as opposed to permission to work. …I think the other thing is – and it's particularly dicey as an African-American female – is that you can become subject to a superwoman syndrome. I can do all things … and I should be able to do all things well, and if I can't, then there's something wrong with me. And, I think that is the down side of being an African-American woman is that

you don't feel you have permission to say "this is hard" or "I don't want to do this" or "this doesn't feel good" and you just go with everything. If it needs to be done, you can get it done.

Michelle also talked about this experience, and the need for African-American working women to connect with each other. "Within the black community, somebody felt a need to make sure this information exchanged for the resources that black female professional mothers need. And I never had quite defined myself that way before…"

Some of the Caucasian participants in the study commented on their awareness of White privilege. Nadine explained, "I think you get some advantages in being White in today's society because more people at the top are White, so they're more likely to think in some ways that are similar to you and that gives you an advantage."

In addition to the participants who are from racial and ethnic minorities who had their children by birth, two of the mothers in this study adopted children from Asian countries. A few of the adoptive parents and the birth parents talked about the uncomfortable experiences of their children being singled out. As Suzanne explained,

> [A Chinese woman who confronted us in a store] didn't speak any English and …Eric speaks a tiny bit of Chinese, but not enough to communicate with her, so we just walked away and then …spent a lot of time talking about it and wondering if Elizabeth had any idea what she said because [she] heard Chinese for the first year of her life. …Those pieces of …our family dynamics are going to probably have a bigger role my work identity from here on out. I've always been a very open person and very committed to working in a multi-cultural environment. But now that I have a daughter who is of a different race than I am, it puts all of the conversations and the struggles and challenges that I've heard from colleagues who are of a different race into a different [perspective] for me, and it makes it a lot more real I think. And, it also makes it more difficult to parent Elizabeth because I see with some of our students who are non-Caucasian and …the things that they have had to go through and then to think that my little Elizabeth will have to go through some of that, is very difficult for me.

Siggy talked about the importance of diversity in the community in which she raised her child. She talked about her own upbringing.

> I grew up in a neighborhood that was very multi-cultural but, in some ways, very segregated in terms of race, in terms of class, in terms of ethnicity… And, so, it's always been important for …me to raise [my daughter] in an area that has [diversity]... She spent the first two years of her life [in the Midwest] and one of the reasons I left there was because there was absolutely no racial and ethnic diversity outside of the faculty in the university and some students.

Siggy went on to describe the racial targeting of her daughter in the college admissions process. "She's had …teachers who are African-American and that… is an important part that shaped her." She went on, "In the college admissions process … because she's got a Hispanic last name…, she's found it rather amusing that in some schools …, she's treated different… her friends are experiencing the same thing, it's very strange for them."

Like Siggy, several of the mothers in this study commented on the comfort of their children moving between and among different worlds. Toya said, "My kids are even more …citizens of the world. I think what we said to them is, 'Be very comfortable with your blackness and know that that's who you are'." She went on, "'You come from a rich tradition of history, know that racism exists and you have to deal with it, but that is not the defining factor of your life. Be friends with whoever you want to be friends with, connect with whoever you want to connect but acknowledge it and know it'." Toya thinks her children inherited this from her own background.

> I grew up in an African-American community, went to a local elementary school... My school was largely black; …my early teachers …are black professionals, so that was my world. And, then, my first move to private school was in eighth grade and… I was the only, no there was one other black kid in school, but I was never uncomfortable. …in the shifting roles, but there really are shifts. And many of the kids in my

neighborhood… went to private schools… So, it was a real mix of people, people who were middle class trying to be upwardly mobile…. my parents never dictated my friendships or my relationships. They made sure …I had white friends and I had black friends and that I moved among worlds.

Siggy and Toya commented on how their racial identities have changed and evolved to become fully integrated into their total identity. Toya commented, "You are always walking that fine line of 'are they seeing me, are they seeing the Black me, or are they seeing a woman me?' Who are they seeing? And, that is a very, very thin tight rope to try to walk…" Siggy explained,

> There's a saying in Portuguese …basically the translation is, "Everything that you do is all of yourself." And then it follows up and it says, "Every color is the rainbow." And, I believe that no matter what we do in the small acts and in the big acts they are really the sub-total of who we are, and everything we do expresses ourselves. …Even in the small thing of …going to a meeting… I bring …my background growing up sort of bi-culturally, I bring the fact that I come out of a working class neighborhood. I bring my strength as a faculty member, I bring the sense that I'm heterosexual… and they're expressions of who I am.

Toya added,

> As an African-American woman, my work is important to my race and my identity. My kids are even more important. …For me, in terms of race and identity – identity as a person is very important. I spent a lot of years working on …issues related to race. …And I find it important, but, as I get older, I want them more integrated in my life as opposed to these causes that are out there.

Religion

The next component of identity that many participants discussed was religion. Several women mentioned the importance of organized religion and faith to their identities. Tara credited religion with developing "…my sense of responsibility, my responsibilities at work, my responsibilities as a parent." Suzanne said religion and

spirituality influence her interactions with others. "It definitely comes into play in how I interact with people in terms of the kind of person that I want to be. The kind that's in the care that I show people and it plays into being a parent or however it plays into being a good spouse." Renée has helped her son understand and appreciate the spirit of religion in her family. "We're Catholic… it's really through grace that I am even sitting here... I'm very aware of that. Now that we're in Lent and I'm trying to figure out how to establish a closer relationship with God, and I'm so tired I can't figure it out."

In contrast, some of the women in this study are not raising their children in any kind of formalized religion. As Jenna explained,

> I don't really have a formal religion … and I'm not raising my kid …with any formal religion, and I do wonder … "am I depriving her in some way?" My mother was always searching and she took us to all these different churches and felt like, "I want you to be exposed and then you can decide." Well, I had such a terrible exposure, such a down right rotten, I believe, unethical exposure to organized religion that I hate it.

Zoe and her husband have different religions and raise their children celebrating both sets of holidays. "We do Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur and we also do Christmas and Easter (Laughter). I'm sure it's some sense of confusion for them." Her daughter is trying to decide which religion is right for her. "And, my daughter had thought that she would become Jewish … in [high school] she started hanging out with Jewish families going to Synagogues …and thinking that she would like to convert. At this point, I'm not sure what she is going to do in the long term."

As a result, some of the women are confused as to how to educate their children about religion. Jenna elaborated,

> I try to live my life in an ethical, honest Christian caring way. And, so, I suppose that's how I have to talk to my daughter about it. I did try for a while and probably need to do it again because she became resistant. I did

try to do like a moment of gratitude before we go to bed at night. And, so,
I have us say out like the things that we were thankful for as kind of our
prayer. …I do let her know that I pray sometimes and we do have our
own version of grace… From the education standpoint, I want her to know
about different belief systems. And if she wants to get more into one,
that's fine.

Socio-Economic Status

When asked about other aspects of their identity that influence their identities as

working mothers, many of the women commented on their socio-economic status (SES).

All women recognized the privilege of their education and incomes. The impact of SES

on the participants ranged from minimal impact to significant impact. Specifically, the

participants talked about appreciating the ability to have a career, rather than a job;

appreciating the ability to be able to afford help; and making more money than their

parents did.

Zoe explained that she was privileged to be able to have a career and afford help.

"I've been fortunate enough to have a good college education, have been able to go to a

professional school that many people might not have, so that it gives me the ability to

have a job that pays enough that I can employ help when my children were younger to

care for them." Trece echoed these thoughts.

I had the privilege of being able to (Laughter) do this and I don't know
what the tipping points are for having to work and having the ability to
have childcare that gives me the opportunity to balance this so well, but
I'm sure that there are at least those two variables in people's decisions. I
live in a much nicer house than my parents ever lived in. We make
probably three times the family income that my family lived off of. We
have fewer children to direct those resources toward.

Sexual Orientation

A few of the women also commented on the role of sexual orientation in their identity. The dimensions of impact ranged from minimal impact to significant impact. In particular, they talked about an awareness of heterosexual privilege and the importance of integrating an awareness of bisexuality/homosexuality into a child's development. One of the participants lived as a lesbian for 10 years prior to her marriage, and her awareness and discussion on the subject was by far the greatest.

Nadine described great empathy for gay and lesbian friends and colleagues who have a difficult life in parenting, authorizing health care, and not having partner benefits. She explained, "Being heterosexual …you've got an advantage in life; you just do. Whether you call it unfair or not, I think it's real. …It's nice …to be able to be open about who you are." She went on, "It's nice …to have a boyfriend and have my flowers there and I find that very comforting. (Laughter) I enjoy being in a relationship and the world is supportive and encouraging of heterosexual relationships." Jenna elaborated,

> There's a little bit of a part of this proud minority. …It gives you a certain
> kind of identity. …even today I still feel like … my bisexuality is really
> important in terms of how I raise her and what I teach her about what it
> means to be a family. She has friends from two-mom families and she
> knows about that. And we've read, "Heather has Two Mommies". And
> [she knows] boys do wear dresses.

Gender Roles

The final component of other aspects of the participant's identities was gender roles. In particular, the participants mentioned being aware that gender roles and expectations are often inlaid at birth, feeling frustrated that most working mothers don't have wives (like many working men do), and feeling both affirmed and frustrated that

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their children have different expectations of their mothers and their fathers, usually

wanting things from their mothers. Trece explained, "I'll be standing right there and

Ken's standing right there and they'll still come to me and say, 'Mom, I need this; Mom,

I need a drink'. I'm like, 'your father's right there'."

In summary, the women in this study had a particularly strong sense of self and

identity. When articulating their feelings about valuing self, they talked about

understanding emotions, matching personality with lifestyle, and understanding the

impact of other aspects of their identities such as race and religion.

Valuing Work

The second category of the grounded theory was valuing work. This category

represented the aspects of the participants' lives that focused on their careers, their places

of work, and the priority they placed on working. The women in this study identified

three properties of the category valuing work. These included: 1. understanding the

impact of and on work, 2. being supervised, and 3. having or being a mentor. In the

following sections, these concepts are each explained in greater detail.

1. Understanding the Impact of and on Work

The first property of valuing work focused on understanding the impact of work

on one's life and the impact of motherhood on work. The dimensions of this property

ranged from women feeling they were enhancing work to feeling they were short-

changing work by being a mother. The characteristics of this property overlapped and

connected with some of the other properties of valuing work. The components of this

property included: not working was never considered by most of these women, they love

their jobs, contributing to society is a human right, contributing financially to one's

family is important, and the acknowledgement that they were more productive in the

office before they had children and more can be accomplished in offices without people

rearing children. Finally, one participant commented on the justification of the decision

to return to work – commenting it is easier to commit to returning to work than admitting

to the hesitation to stay home. Michelle summarized the feelings of many of the

participants of always wanting to work. "I was working before I was married, before I

had Kevin and I don't think I'd be who I am or be able to organize myself the same way

if I wasn't working."

Many of the women in this study talked about how being a mother made them a

better worker. As Michelle summarized, "I think for me I'm a better person for it. Part

of who I am, good or bad, part of my identity is my job." Candace talked about how

having a child really helped her be better at work – more focused, more understanding.

Candace said,

> I absolutely think being a mom makes me a better worker. I'm more
> patient, and, especially in the line of work that we're in you see students in
> a different light. …I look at students now and I see Mike. …That's a
> different way of looking at them than I might have looked at them if I
> didn't have kids. I can better understand the choices they make, the
> decisions they make, the mistakes they make. Why they do some of the
> many things they do. What's pushing them, what's pressuring them.

Trece described being more productive at work. "It certainly makes me a more

empathetic worker. Since I've become a mother and have such crunched time during the

day I spend less time goofing around… I don't have as much time to 'shoot the

breeze'… But in the process, I'm far more productive and focused here during the day."

And she described being more empathetic with her staff.

> I have first-hand knowledge of what it means to have to juggle things
> when something happens in your family. …I think I'm more sensitive to
> that because I am …a mother than I would be if I hadn't had [children],
> and I think people appreciate it. I'm more flexible; I don't let people off
> the hook for their work responsibility, …but I can think ten other ways for
> them to get the job done… That makes …a work environment where …a
> lot of people have stayed a really long time. They like working in an
> environment where it's creative, it's team oriented, and it's hard working,
> but there's flexibility, too.

Renée commented on the slower productivity as a result of children. "I think I've been considered for almost my entire career to be a very good worker. I've always had pretty good work ethic and discipline. I would say that being a mom has taken away from that a little because things come up." Jenna concurred, "There is more pressure …with a frame or a lens of a 'businesswoman' than before. I hate to say this, there's a part of me that's like, well from a pure if you're trying to operate the best most effective unit… (Sighing) you'll probably get more done with people that aren't rearing kids."

2. Being Supervised

The second property of valuing work was being supervised. All participants agreed that support from a supervisor was essential and desirable. The participants talked about support ranging from feeling very supported to feeling very unsupported. The women described seeking support from colleagues and peers, feeling supported by supervisors if the work gets done, feeling somewhat unsupported by female supervisors and unsupported by past supervisors.

Trece articulated the important role of peers and colleagues in the workplace as

supporters.

> I think there's a role for the relationships with people who are our peers.
> …those people are an incredible source of support, especially when the
> going gets rough. They're going through exactly the same thing you are
> …and you could call in a moment's notice …And no matter what anyone
> else is doing, … at the drop of a hat would stop and say, "What can I do to
> help?"... And I would do the same. …It is a support network. …I think if
> I didn't have peers who I knew were going through the same struggles, I
> would worry that I was not making the best decision for work or the best
> decision for family. They're people who are pretty darn successful and
> who are satisfied with their lives, it is a very heartening thing.

Jenna and Suzanne valued their supportive male supervisors. Jenna used an

example to describe her supportive male supervisor.

> I have a really supportive boss. He's not a micro-manager. He's not
> heavy handed. …I had to take Amy for her passport stuff …and they
> opened at 10 and I was hoping to be done in time to bring her to [pre-
> school] before my 11 o'clock meeting with Rick. It was clear I wasn't
> going to make it and I just brought her to the meeting with me. And she's
> very self-contained and he was fine with that. And, so, it was kind of fun.

Candace talked about her female supervisor as being supportive as long as the

work gets done.

> I think [my supervisor] …would like to say that she can appreciate the
> family piece and she can appreciate the balance that you need to have.
> But the caveat is as long it doesn't interfere with what needs to get done
> here. And that's different because there have been times when [my former
> supervisor] would have said, "Look, there are some things that probably
> you do need to get done here… But you simply can't take care of that
> because of what's going on in your life and your family." And he was
> willing to accept that and he was willing to do whatever needed to do in
> order for there not to be undo pressures on those people here at work.

Tara's experience has been similar. Tara's male supervisor has children of his own and is

somewhat supportive but appears not to have changed his work expectations. "He

supports me when I need to do something for my son …and that's really important to me.

Of course, if …I wasn't doing my job well, I don't think he …would be nearly as supportive because he has a job to do and …the way that I do my job reflects upon him as a supervisor."

Michelle talked about keeping a good relationship with her supervisor. "I intentionally do what I'm supposed to do because you want to stay in good favor… it's strategic. …There will always be things that come up that I can't predict, and, so, if you're going to continue to have that support from one's supervisor, then you have to keep up your end of the bargain…"

All participants felt that supervisors acknowledged the professional nature of their work and provided them some time flexibility. Nadine summarized, "If I want to sit here until 11:00 on Tuesday night,… and I want to be at the lacrosse game at 3:00 the next day, people trust me to make those decisions... that's really helped me a lot with the whole guilt thing. There is very little that I feel that I missed of real importance, the really big things."

3. Mentoring

The third property of valuing work was the theme of having a mentor or being a mentor to others. The participants used the terms mentor and role model interchangeably. Although they do not mean the same thing, I has kept both terms in the text to be true to the data. The dimensions of this property ranged from the absence of a mentor to the importance of a mentor in one's success. The women talked about feeling a lack of female mentors, the importance of modeling balanced behavior for one's staff, and viewing one's own grandmother or mother as a mentor for work and life.

Many of the women commented on the lack of female mentors in the workplace and the lack of similarity in experience among those who were there. Siggy illustrated, "It's funny. The generation that came before me was that some were not necessarily helpful, some were. But some women I found along the way were, 'I pulled myself up by my bootstraps, you need to do this by yourself. Don't expect special treatment'." Zoe did not have female mentors and added,

> I believe you need mentors to succeed professionally. …A lot of women
> that I encountered who were there to possibly be role models for me didn't
> feel comfortable the way I had expectations that you would have life and
> family together. And they were not family people. And they
> resented…someone who wanted or had both. Because they didn't think
> we were entitled to have both because they hadn't had both…I think one
> of the biggest disappointments is how little mentoring support there really
> was.

In describing their frustration with the lack of female mentors and role models, many of the women described how they were trying to serve as a model for their own staff members by modeling balanced behavior. Siggy commented, "I was at the receiving end of some of the unkindness and, so, I think it's really important that women who choose to do the juggling act, who choose to balance, realize that they have support from colleagues on campus, and it's very important." Candace said,

> I thought I could be a good role model for people … who were coming
> along and I knew were going to have families. The nice thing is that
> …lots of those people have come back would say to me, "I …learned a lot
> by watching you. And it's made a huge difference in the way that I view
> and value my work..." …We had a lot of staff members who over the
> years would say, "I stayed here because I knew that was a value in this
> department and I didn't think that it would be a value moving somewhere
> else. And so, I made the choice to stay where I was …because I loved
> what I was doing and I knew that my values were consistent with the
> leadership in the department," …I think we kept a lot of good staff
> members over the years because of that.

Many of the women in this study talked about their own mothers and grandmothers as their most significant mentors and role models. Toya elaborated on the important role of her mother, "My mother and I are very, very, very close. And she really demanded, maybe demanded is too strong, but just believed that I should do whatever it was [I wanted to do for my career]." Suzanne described her mother as a role model for how to be a good mom. "My mother is a role model but not in terms of being able to manage a career …because my mother's job was …just a job for her. She did it because she had to. She hated it, simply because we couldn't live just off my dad's salary, but she is a role model for me in terms of how to be a good mom. She is a great mom to us." But, Zoe and others, found their mothers not to be significant role models.

> I believe my mother was frustrated in her life by never really fulfilling, to the extent she wanted to, the side of her where she felt she was contributing to society and using her talents outside of her personal interactions with people and voluntary activities. I always felt that she wanted to do something and was frustrated in her own life in not being able to realize that. So, it had a negative impact on her own self-esteem and her own satisfaction with her life which affected every other aspect of her life, so I always thought [it was] an important part of being a parent and of being a mother as well.

Jenna and Renée commented on the importance of being a flexible supervisor and modeling balanced behavior. Jenna said, "I try to [be] very flexible, and I think consequently [my staff are] very responsible. I mean not just consequently. I think it's a chicken egg…They came in as responsible; I trusted them; I give them flexibility; they recognize that; they appreciate that; they demonstrate their responsibility and loyalty. So, it all works, and I think we're really high producers considering." Trece added,

> I can surround myself with people who have similar kinds of values and we support each other. [My staff] deliberately chose to stick with this environment because we created the department environment that's very flexible in some ways and is supportive of the decision we have made to

reflect that balance… I'm very proud that the department …is considered one of the best in the country in higher education. They are not slacking off because we have families. It is that we found a way to try to balance some of that…

In summary, when describing how they valued work, the participants discussed three primary properties: understanding the impact of and on work, being supervised, and having and being a mentor or role model.

<div align="center">Valuing Motherhood</div>

The category of valuing motherhood included three properties: 1. having children, 2. arranging care for children, and 3. being involved with one's children. Throughout the interview process, many of the women talked easily about their career paths and career decisions. In general, they talked with less definitiveness about the decision to have children. For example, Candace said, "The decision to have kids was almost an approach avoidance decision. Are we? Aren't we? When are we? Is it a good time? If we don't do it now, what do we do if we wait too long?" In the next interview session, follow up questions were posed to all participants about the initial decision to have children. The range of dimension on this property spanned from an easy decision or experience having children to a difficult decision or experience having children. The characteristics of this property included making the decision to have children; timing childbirth and adoption; experiencing pregnancy, childbirth, and/or adoption; and experiencing maternity leave.

1. Having Children

When asked about the decision to have children, the responses of these women ranged from having a clear and easy decision about children to a lack of certainty about whether to have children. Michelle, Suzanne and Renée always knew they wanted to have children, but were unsure about the timing. Michelle explained, "I knew when [I wanted to have children], the when meaning at what stage in my life. I didn't know the year, but definitely the stage in my life." Suzanne added, "Well, I've always wanted to have children. So, I don't know if it was so much a decision [of] whether to have children or not have children. It was probably more a decision of when to start a family." And Renée summarized, "I always wanted children and I always wanted lots, because I was one of four kids."

Candace talked about the decision to have children as being more difficult.

> I don't know that Jim and I ever would have said that "Oh, we have to have kids. We **love** children." …So, I think we decided that [having] kids …would enrich our lives and we believed that we didn't know quite what it was going to be like, but we knew it would be something that would be beyond our wildest dreams. And it would change our lives forever, …but we knew it would be in a good way. …We almost just sort of fell into it. It wasn't like plotting out this career thing. …It was more emotional than deliberative.

Most of the women in this study were not deliberate about timing their childbirth or adoption experiences. Trece explained, "We did not plan our childbirth timing. And, so, the point at which I got married … we just started right away. …we wanted to see how quickly we could get pregnant and I was within at least five months." Jenna also talked about the timing of having a child. "I did decide what graduate degree to get because of wanting to get pregnant. I already had a Masters [degree], but instead of getting a PhD, I decided to get another Masters degree..." Trixie was more cavalier in her

decision-making process. "It was like we have been married five years and I guess it would be okay if we had a kid. 'Do you think they should have a kid? I don't know. We could try and have a kid'."

When it came to experiencing pregnancy, childbirth and/or adoption, the women in this study had varying experiences. Three of the women in this study were unable to conceive on their own and decided to adopt. Renée explained that she tried to have a baby and could not get pregnant. She went through in vitro fertilization several times. "I got pregnant and miscarried – devastating. And I always wanted to be a mother. And I always wanted four kids. I was very mad at myself for waiting so long..." She was frustrated that women were not forthright about the difficulties with getting pregnant after the age of 35.

> [I was] angry at other women for not really talking about how difficult it is to get pregnant. I spent most of my life trying not to get pregnant and then trying to get pregnant was very difficult. And I was upset that even the medical community…never really lets women after 35 know just how hard it is to get pregnant. And, I thought that by staying in shape and watching what I ate, [I would be okay, but] that has nothing to do with the quality of your eggs.

She continued to talk about different decisions she wished she had made.

> …So, I feel… my generation – I'm 46 – really got caught in this – between the feminist and …traditional roles for women trap, because my mother wanted us to go to school and not depend on a man for anything and she just drilled that into our heads. And I wish that I had been a little more strategic, …when I was a college student knowing that I wanted to be married, that I wanted to have children, that I had been… more deliberate in thinking about that, …Because then I probably would have made slightly different choices to set myself up to better take advantage of my biological timing.

For organized, high achieving women like those in this study, sometimes the experience of maternity leave was disorganized and overwhelming. They were suddenly

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faced with adding the new role of motherhood to their established self-concepts. Trixie and Michelle commented. Trixie said,

> I had this postpartum moment - like postpartum blues. Mine was very short, but very intense and it was like maybe two days after [my daughter] was born and I was sitting with her in my lap with tears just pouring [down my face]. You could no more control them. You're not even really crying; they're just pouring out of you. Because I'm looking down at her going, "I wonder if Evan would be mad if I wanted to give her back? Because I don't know how to do this." I do know how to work. I could go right back to work if I could just (Laughter) figure out something else to do with her.

Michelle elaborated,

> …But I found the three months [I spent] at home horribly difficult in that I had no schedule. I think, good or bad, I am driven by my day, my calendar. I know where I'm supposed to be. I have to be in the office by this time and I leave by this time and I have structure. When I was at home with my son, I didn't have the structure. I couldn't figure when I was supposed to eat breakfast.

Once the women in this study had one child, the decision to have two was much more difficult. Only four of the women have more than one child, and two are uncertain as to whether they will have more than one child. Six women have only one child and have decided not to have any more children. When deciding whether to have more than one child, the women's responses ranged from easy decision making to difficult decision making.

Several participants were influenced by their own age at the time of their first child. Candace explained,

> Maybe for a split second, but not for very long we considered more kids. And mainly because we were old. (Laughter) …When I finally had Mike, I was 35 and [my husband] was 42. … I remember joking around …did we want …to be having kids in high school when he was what, 85? That was ridiculous. …I think to this day had I gotten married to him when I was younger, (Laughter) I would have had more kids. So, my choice to have more kids was not so much based on my work and my position as it

was that I had waited a while to have kids, and when I finally did, I was
really happy, but I was getting old and just decided that we wouldn't do it.

Trixie reiterated the concern about age, "And the reason …we only have one child, we never made a conscious decision. But at the age when everyone has the second one, I was getting my master's." She went on, "…so then when that passes …then you're a lot older, and do you really have it in you to do it again… so I don't think we decided to just have one and then sometimes I'm sad that I just had one. Maybe I should have had a spare around (Laughter) but it's hard to have two."

Tara talked about the timing of a second child, "We waited a long time to start trying for our second and then that didn't work out; I miscarried a couple of years ago. …We knew we wanted a second, so it was either going to happen naturally or we had talked about the possibility of adoption."

Some of the women are now considering having a second child. Timing is a concern for Jenna. "We've been struggling with this around do we adopt again because we've got our ages and our energy levels, but I just feel like I'm 45. He's 52…And two, I just feel like with any child, but I don't know if I would feel the same way if it was a birth child. But with an adopted child, when we die I don't want her to have no one." Michelle explained, "We always talked about two. Kevin has been a handful in that he's high energy… so, as I hit 36 I know I have to hurry up. I have to make up my mind what we're going to do."

In summary, most of the women in this study knew they wanted to have children, but were more uncertain about timing and having more than one child. They had a variety of childbirth, adoption, and maternity leave experiences. Overall, the participants were sure they wanted to return to work following their maternity leave.

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2. Arranging Care

The second property of valuing motherhood was arranging childcare and children's education. The dimensions of this property were twofold – ranging from happy to unhappy with care, and finding childcare easy to manage or difficult to manage. All of the women in the study mentioned this and spent time focused on ensuring good care for their children. The characteristics of this property included choosing childcare and making decisions about the child's education. Candace explained,

> The most difficult decision for me was, "Who was I going to leave my child with?" …And that was a really **hard** decision to make and I can remember at one point interviewing scads of women who could have kept him and I only found one that I thought I could leave him with. …I remember saying to myself if I had to put him in any of these other women's homes, I won't go back to work.

Toya also shared this concern about finding suitable childcare. She had her baby and had planned to take him to a local childcare center. "They [said], 'We don't have a space.' I'm like 'No, you have to have a space because you told me you would have a space.' They are like, 'No, we have to give it to live humans, and yours wasn't here and somebody else got it. We don't have one for you'."

The women in this study faced decisions about their children's education from nursery school through college. The option of attending college at the institution kept some women on campus. The decision about education seemed difficult at every level. Suzanne explained, "It's too stressful because we've been looking at Montessori programs for Elizabeth because I think that's a great way to teach children if you want to help them learn. … It has to be the right [fit], your child has to be able to manage kind of a certain level of ambiguity and self-reliant learning and self-motivated..." Michelle

talked about education decisions and private school for her son. "But even when we moved from Montgomery County …to Prince George's County …we contemplated private school anyway."

3. Being Involved with Children

The third and final property of valuing motherhood was involvement with children. The dimensions of this property ranged from being happy and satisfied with involvement to being frustrated at times with involvement with one's children. The characteristics of this theme included: developing a connection between mother and child, experiencing a sense of pride and accomplishment over child's development, overcoming difficulty with discipline and understanding their child's emotions, teaching children and exposing them to experiences, modeling what it means to be a working mother, and cherishing spending time in the car with one's child.

Some of the mothers in this study talked about the opportunity to nurture a child and held them grow and develop. Suzanne described this phenomenon. "Sometimes I think it's a great opportunity to teach and shape a person to be a good citizen and to be a really open-minded person, a loving person, generous and caring. That's a huge responsibility, but it's also very exciting to figure out how to do." She loves the opportunity to be a mother.

> I love Elizabeth at this age, but I get really excited when I think about what she is going to be like when she's 22 or when she's 30 because I think my mom and dad get this great joy out of the fact that [my sister and I are] grown up and self-sufficient (Laughter). And, I think sometimes they're like "Gosh, our daughters are really neat people. They turned out pretty good." So I kind of get excited for that time.

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Suzanne described the role of nurturer. Her daughter is "very momma focused right now, very attached; she doesn't understand or can't accept when I leave her." Suzanne says she can't even leave her daughter with her husband. "Even when I leave her with Eric, it's just heartbreaking…And she's not sleeping through the night …And, so, she'll get up in the middle of the night and she won't go back in her crib. She is just hysterical crying and, so, I end up sleeping on the floor with her."

Trixie described the connection she feels with her teenage daughter. "This is a very strong relationship. I think that I know a lot about her, and I think she knows a lot about me. I think it is more cooperative than anything else. And, for a really long time it has been." She continued, "When she reached the age of reason, we could pretty much talk about everything." She feels that her daughter is her greatest accomplishment, and when her daughter is not doing well her parents suffer. "There is a sense of helplessness; like it's **me** in some ways. It's just like she's a crowning achievement and if it's not going well for her, then that's a bad feeling for the two of us… And, [as she gets older] she's been weaning me off of her... It will be weird not to be so focused on somebody else's achievements." Jenna also laments the loss of connection as her child grows older. "The irony is I **miss** that stage in a certain way, and I'm still like sort of grappling with this now. She really doesn't need me as much right now. She's five years old; she's really independent; it's like my baby girl is growing up."

Jenna and Suzanne have adopted children from different countries. This experience has made both women want to ensure that their children are exposed to their birth culture as part of their involvement with their children. As Jenna explained, "[She is] really aware now of different Asian cultures and countries in Asia…. And, when we

watched the Olympics, she said, 'I want the Asian one in red to win.' So, she's really

identifying with it and she's just so happy to see people who look like her wandering all

over the place."

Nadine feels she is setting an example for her teenaged daughter and wants to

teach her what is important. "The interesting thing about a 16-year-old is that they are

watching you, and they are watching who you are and who you are becoming as a person;

and she thought that for her Mom to be the Director was like the coolest thing on earth."

Siggy described her child's independence with a sense of pride and accomplishment.

> I'm not a hover-er at all. I have never been and I truly believe that I have
> taught my child how to …take care of herself. She's the sort of kid who
> can be left home alone, who will do her homework... She's very
> responsible… I think that that's very important and I … role model for my
> daughter.

Finding personal time with their children was a concern for most participants. The

final component of this property was the importance of time in the car with one's child.

Many of the women cherished this time. Trece and Nadine explained. Nadine shared, "I

actually like my car time. The two of us trapped in the car together … and I used to love

my drive home with her." After picking her up from school, Nadine and her daughter

would talk on the way home. "She would be quiet until it got dark and when it got dark

…she would talk to me about anything and everything. There was something about the

cloak of darkness in the car that as a young child, I knew that she had a question about

the most profound thing like 'do you really think there is a God?'" Trece also added,

> Driving to work with my daughter has given me a chance to talk with her
> in some amazing ways that we don't get time to do [otherwise]. …We
> were driving to work and school the day before yesterday, and she said,
> "Mommy, does God give bad guys the choice to be bad?" And I said
> "Yeah, he does." So, we had this whole conversation about "free will"
> even though that's not what I called it. And we sort of questioned each

other, and she asked, "But God starts you out good, right?" And I said "Man, how did you pick all that up just from going to church occasionally?" (Laughter) …And she'll raise stuff like that, very philosophical questions, almost everyday.

As another way to find time to connect with their children, almost all of the participants talked about making it a priority to have dinner together as a family. Suzanne explained, "We always have dinner, all three of us together every night. That's really important, we try really hard to make that happen. We also share the cooking and the cleaning responsibility because yeah, I couldn't do it every night. (Laughter)." Renée also talked about this as a priority. "All three of us try to eat dinner every night. ….I love to cook first of all. So, what I'll try to do is cook a couple of things over the weekend, or now I've fallen in love with Trader Joe's and I'll stick something in the oven honestly."

All in all, the women in this study valued motherhood immensely and felt a unique bond with their children – whether biological or adopted. They often struggled with the decision to have children and how many, childcare and education, but felt a deep intimacy with each of their children. They cherished the connection and looked for opportunities to spend time together in meaningful ways.

Overlapping Categories

In addition to the core categories of valuing self, valuing work and valuing motherhood, there were three intersections where two of these categories intersected – valuing self and work; valuing work and motherhood; and valuing motherhood and self. There were a few properties that fell into each of these overlapping sections and

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illustrated both of the intersecting categories. These overlapping sections are described below.

Valuing Self and Work

In light of the fact that the women in this study placed a high value on self and a high value on work, it is not surprising that there would be properties of this study that fall in the overlapping area between valuing self and valuing work. In particular, two properties fell into this area – managing expectations and choosing and committing to a career field. These are described below.

Managing Expectations

The first property of valuing self and work was managing expectations. This property ranged along the dimensions of expectations are easy to meet or manage to expectations are difficult to live up to. The participants in this study identified expectations from many different sources – expectations of self; of employees, colleagues and supervisor; of one's own mother; of partner and children; and of other moms (both stay at home mothers and working mothers).

First, many of the participants talked about internal and societal expectations as barriers. As Toya explained, "I think if you look over your shoulder it is really tough because …other people have expectations about [what] it means to be a working mom and they can limit [you] if you're not careful." She went on, "Other people can say to you things …that can make you second guess yourself. Should you or shouldn't you be;

or don't you feel bad about and blah, blah, blah. I think you really have to not listen to

that…" Nadine and Suzanne talked about internal expectations as barriers.

Nadine said,

Sometimes I think the barriers are unrealistic self-expectations, but that's
because that's me. (Laughter) …And when we get our expectations sorted
out, then we can weave our way through. Society has contributed to those
expectations because they're roles that we've played over time and the
expectations that are just in our culture. We don't even get sometimes if
it's an unrealistic expectation or it can be done another way or that no one
in their right mind could do all that, so why would we think we're able to
do that and all of it...

Suzanne echoed her thoughts, "I think probably some of the biggest barriers are internal

barriers. Like always wanting it to be perfect and I always wanted to do everything

exactly right and always the whole super woman sort of mentality syndrome kind of

thing. I think is a big, big kind of barrier."

Siggy provided a rich description of what these high-achieving working mothers

expect of themselves.

I think the person with the most expectations of me is always myself and I
always fall short…And, my sister and I once had this conversation and I
was telling her that I always put these high expectations [on myself] and I
expect …to be perfect and to do 4,000 things at once, and she doesn't have
children, but she said something very smart. She said, "I want you to just
think about walking up a mountain and you're standing there on the
mountain with your daughter and you're going to ski down the mountain."
She said, "Would you just push her"? (Laughter) And I said, "Hell no!"
She said, "Well, that's what you do to yourself. You go up there and you
push yourself and you don't have to go down the mountain that way," and
she's absolutely right.

Second, in terms of expectations of the workplace, women in this study managed

the expectations of their employees, their supervisors and their colleagues. Nadine

described the complications of managing all of these expectations. "People at work

…have expectations of you all time." For example, "People expect you to have vision;

people expect you to manage organizational problems well; people expect you to take the time to listen to their problems and concerns; people expect you to return phone calls in 24 hours; they expect you to get the budget done …," She feels like she is constantly meeting the expectations. "Part of why I like this half an hour in the morning that I take, I just allow myself that time. Some of it's daydreaming, but some of it is saying 'If I get nothing done today, what do I intend to accomplish?' It isn't about someone else's expectation. It's because it's something that needs to be done."

Toya and Jenna talked about living up to the expectations of their own mothers. Toya shared that her mother frequently said, "To those who much is given, much is required; and I just wanted to throttle her." Jenna explained the relationship with her mother.

> [My mother's] …expectations are mostly about if I'm doing something that makes me happy and that it's good for the world. … I was raised with the importance of kindness and those kinds of things, and … I wish I'd been raised with a little more... you have the power to change the world. You can do something really magnificent. …I think a part of me is wanting Amy to know you can be whatever you want. …I wonder if I'd been raised a little bit more of that sense of efficacious, not just doing something good but doing something great, if I might be in a different place. So, it's a little bit like accepting that, but I've done well in my career, I've got a great education, but not rocking the world.

Trece also talked about family expectations – particularly those of her children. "I think that they definitely have an expectation that moms and dads both work. Work identities for both parents are just the norm for them, which I think is terrific. I think it's as important for Kenny as it is for Karen and I think that they have expectations about what that means." She continued, "For travel and unusual kinds of things their standards for mom and dad are very different. I was leaving… for one trip. And, both times the kids just broke down crying, 'Mommy we're going to miss you'. …so much drama."

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The final component of managing expectations was dealing with the expectations of other mothers – mostly stay at home mothers. Trixie described her experience.

> My social circle when all our kids were younger were almost all stay-at-home moms... I kind of felt like in some way that they were better moms than me, or (Laughter) they weren't like hugely judgmental, but I always felt like there was [some] sort of current of that going on. It's hard for me to sort out what is really some of the others' expectations versus what I've internalized it now because it's become my expectations…They …couldn't conceive of why you would not stay at home with your child, particularly when they were younger.

The women in this study felt like they were managing expectations from themselves, their families, their workplace, and society, making their lives even more complex.

Choosing and Committing to a Career Field

The second property of valuing self and work was choosing and committing to a career field. This involved the participants each describing their career choice, preparing for a career in higher education, choosing educational institutions and attaining degrees, making decisions about career progression, making the decision to return to work after maternity leave, committing to the institution, considering the financial implications of their career choices, and loving what they do. The dimensions of this property ranged from being clear about career decisions to being conflicted about career decisions.

Many of the participants came into working in higher education by chance. As Trece described, "I came to a realization when I was in college in a student para-professional role working in orientation as an advisor that there was a possible career choice in this kind of work." And Tara echoed, "I loved higher education… was an RA,

became a hall director and I did my graduate work in higher ed administration and I did my graduate work part time while I was working full-time."

Many of these working mothers came to the research institution early in their careers and never intended to stay here. Toya stated, "The truth is, I only intended to be at [the institution] for three years." But, their career paths kept them here for a variety of reasons. Nadine described, "I basically just continued to take the next step forward. I was liking what I was doing, I said I want to take the next step forward, so I would apply for a new position..." Suzanne explained,

> I started to get concerned about what this [career] was going to mean for me because I always wanted to have a family. I've always known that was going to be something that was really important to me. …When I was at [another institution], I started to … look for a different career outside of the field …and that's … what brought me to [the institution]. …[And I have stayed because] …I love what I do here really. If I didn't love it, I wouldn't be here.

When asked about their experiences with maternity leave and their decisions to come back to work, almost every participant said she never considered staying home and not coming back. It was not even a question for most of these women. As Suzanne articulated, "It's hard for me to imagine what kind of person I would be if I wasn't also doing this along with being a mom and being a wife…." Some days are particularly stressful. "Elizabeth's crying when I'm leaving and …then I'm like, 'Why don't I just want to quit? What is wrong with me?' (Laughter) Why can't I be one of those people that it's just easy to walk away from your career and let it go? But I'm not one of those people and that's been hard."

Another aspect of career commitment is the financial impact on one's family. Faced with the realities of the expense of raising a family such as paying college tuition,

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Zoe described the financial implications of one's career decisions. "From my perspective of the world – at least my world in the United States, there's really not a choice anymore [between working or not working] in my point of view unless your spouse is extremely well off in terms of his career. … Two people have to work."

In the end, there were many decisions along the way for these women – decisions about career choice, staying at the current institution, returning to work after maternity leave, and others, but the ultimate choices they made were because they love their work and they love what they do. Toya illustrated this fact, "As a worker you need to do something that you like... You ought to do what you love because that is how you'll feel fulfilled. So instead of just going to work… What I truly believe, is that you ought to do what you love to do. Because life is short. Do what you like."

<center>Valuing Work and Motherhood</center>

When considering the high value the women in this study placed on work and the high value they also placed on motherhood, it was inevitable there would be some overlap between the two. In particular, the categories of work and motherhood overlapped in three areas. These included: 1. identifying the impact of work on motherhood, 2. identifying the impact of motherhood on work, and 3. setting career goals. These three properties are described in more depth in the next section.

<center>*1. Identifying the Impact of Work on Motherhood*</center>

As referenced above in the section on valuing work, the participants identified the impact of work on motherhood. The working mothers in this study explained: staying

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home with their child was never considered, working offered balance and perspective on

motherhood issues, developing multiple aspects of one's identity makes one a better

mother, and conveying the importance of teaching children what it means to be a working

mother. The dimensions of this property ranged from minimal impact to significant

impact.

Michelle summarized the feelings of many when describing her decision not to

stay at home,

> I had never …anticipated I would stay home with Kevin. Before I even
> met my husband I don't think I ever contemplated staying home with a
> child. I think …I'd just be bored… I was so happy to come back to work
> because then it got me …back into a schedule. So, the time I do spend
> with him is more focused… But that has made me a better person because
> I was me before I got married or had Kevin.

Trixie agreed, "But the funny thing, work was easier and it never occurred to me to stay

home with Lisa when she was young."

Participants agreed with Nadine that, "Working has contributed to making me a

better person and a more complex person. And because of that, I think I'm a better

mother." Candace explained how work has made her a better mother and given her better

perspective on motherhood and work issues.

> The happier you are at work the better you're going to be at home, and the
> happier you are at home, the better you're going to be at work. And,
> knowing that I was not ever going to be a stay-at-home mom, …I believed
> that … being good at what I did here at work was going to …bleed over
> and that was going to help me be happy when I was at home. I also
> believe that it gives you perspective on both. And, so, when I go home,
> the perspective is "nothing's more important than my child." Whatever
> goes on here is insignificant compared to that.

Nadine elaborated on the value of diversity at work that influenced her as a

mother. "I think about the ways in which I've grown in terms of my own appreciation for

diversity and understanding of what that's all about." She continued, "I said to myself

when my daughter began dating an African-American man at 16 years old, was I not

better at it because I worked here? Was I not better at thinking about it, talking about it?"

Trece explained that she is "modeling for both my children that it doesn't matter

whether you're a man or a woman you can have a professional identity." She said,

> In terms of being a good role model for my children, I think that's
> important. …I think that makes me a good mom. On the days when I've
> been home for extended periods and I get into a routine that's not working,
> I don't feel as intellectually stimulated or engaged… I just think I
> wouldn't be a very good stay-at-home mother.

Jenna also explained the importance of having her daughter see her working. "I'm a

better mom for working here; ... So, …there's a part about giving me the break and then

there's also the part about I think it's really good for her to see me as efficacious and

having a life and not devoting a hundred percent to her." Suzanne elaborated about

teaching her daughter about work. "I want to talk to her about it, want to know what she

thinks about it and …I want to bring her into the office and let her see." She continued,

> I want her to see what it's like to do this and …to help her have a better
> understanding of why she can't have me all day … But I want to be more
> intentional with her about … "What do you want from your life?" …And,
> I want Eric to talk with her, too, about what does it mean for him to be a
> working person because he doesn't want to work. ... And, particularly for
> her because she'll grow up to be a woman and might want to be a mother
> some day or might not want to be a mother. …I don't want her experience
> with …our family to in any way tip the balance of that decision for her
> without us having talked about it.

2. Identifying the Impact of Motherhood on Work

The second property of the overlapping categories valuing work and valuing

motherhood was identifying the impact of motherhood on work. The dimensions of this

property ranged from minimal impact to significant impact. The women talked about motherhood allowing them to: establish better boundaries, offer balance and perspective on work issues, operate more productively and efficiently at work, encourage the mothers to be more compassionate and patient, and facilitate a better understanding of student issues.

Family obligations have influenced participants to manage work strategically. Jenna described her ability to set better boundaries because she has family obligations. "Before I would have stayed until 10 every night. …So, it's definitely helped me establish better boundaries in terms of leaving work." Tara realized she had to work smarter. "Honestly, I think that I can get the same amount of work done that I did before I was a mother but in a shorter amount of time. I think I work smarter now. I don't waste very much time at work at all. I have a plan. I'm better organized…"

Motherhood also taught Tara to be more compassionate. "In my line of work where I'm doing student discipline, I think I'm more compassionate because I'm a mother and I can relate more to parents. So, in that respect, I think it makes me a better worker."

Nadine summarized the feelings of many of the women about the role of motherhood in teaching values.

> It's about creating a balance in terms of bringing people up by teaching … values at home and giving people what they need to succeed, … Sometimes [people] just need to get rescued because it's the right thing to do, knowing when you're supposed to be a good person. And, so, I think I learned a lot raising [my daughter] and that helped me to be a better administrator.

3. Setting Career Goals

The third and final property in the overlap between valuing work and valuing motherhood was setting career goals. The dimensions of this property ranged from certainty of goals to uncertainty of goals. The women in this study talked a lot about career goals changing as a result of motherhood, for example: no longer wanting to be a vice president, slowing advancement, staying at the university longer than expected, and/or making career choices and decisions based on family. The mothers described becoming uncertain about career goals as a result of motherhood, and finally, feeling positive about doing the job well, being a good wife and a good mother.

On the positive side, many of these women feel very good about their careers and the decisions they have made. They pride themselves on doing their jobs well, being good wives and good mothers. Suzanne stated, "I want to be a good mom and a good wife and I want to be good at my job, but I don't have to be the best at my job at the expense of my family." Renée and Toya believe things have worked out the way they should. Renée explained,

> I have never crafted out what my career should be. Now, if you looked at where I am today backwards, you would say, "Wow you're brilliant; what a great plan!" That's serendipitous... That was grace because …even what I studied in college and what I'm doing now all seems so well integrated, it didn't start out that way. Really, I wanted meaningful work and something I enjoy doing.

Toya was uncertain about her career goals. She said, "Okay, to say I didn't have any career goal (Laughter) and my whole career has been by some kind of divine intervention. (Laughter) Not quite true. I have just been very, very fortunate." The support of her family made a major difference in her career choices. "I would say I could have not done my life without the support net that I have. … I consider that very

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particular to my family and probably to being African-American." Her whole family works and considers it normal, the way things are both at work and at home, "…None of my sisters and none of my family think it's weird to have to do the things that I have to do in order to be successful career wise… They also don't think it's weird because we always raised our kids together. They don't think it's weird that what we think is fun is going to the zoo."

However, most of the women feel having families has influenced their career paths and goals. Many explained that they no longer aspire to upward mobility, like wanting to be a vice president. Renée said, "I don't have a desire right now to be a vice president. It just seems to be even more pressure. It is more money, but a lot more risky. I love what I do because I feel that I'm more qualified to do what I do and it gives me space in my life to handle the other things that are important to me," such as her family.

Candace added, "I think being a mother has absolutely changed ultimately where I want to be because if I looked back before I had kids, I mean I'm not sure if it's just motherhood, but motherhood has been one of the things that's caused me to change it. If I looked back before I had kids, I would have sworn that I was going to be a VP." She continued,

> And I think having kids was one of the things that caused me to have to be
> more honest about whether I really wanted to [be a Vice President]. In
> the end my decision was "absolutely not", because I watched people who
> did that … and I don't think it's worth it. I mean it's just **totally** not worth
> it to me. I would never … (crying) compromise what I have at home. …I
> make enough choices about times spent at home and, so, I'm just not
> going to do it. I don't know why I'm so emotional about that. (Crying)
> That has had a huge impact on my decision whether or not I want to be a
> VP…

As a consequence, she feels freed by that decision. She thinks before she had children she would have been defensive about that. And, now, she feels comfortable that she has made a decision that is right for her and her family.

For many, motherhood influenced their careers to move at a slower pace. Tara observed, "I think it has slowed me down just a little bit and it's also made me rethink my career goals." She realized, "Before I was a mother, I think that I probably wanted to be a vice president, and maybe I still do. I'm not so sure." Motherhood caused her to think about a different timeframe for her career goals.

> There's no way that I could put in those kinds of hours and still be a good mother; at least not the kind of mother that I want to be… I might have finished my degree earlier and looked for a different job earlier had I not had a child six years ago. I would have moved at a faster pace. So, I think it's changed my goals in the sense that it's caused me to slow down a little bit and to rethink is this **really** what I want to do. I still have aspirations to be a dean or a director …when I'm older, the kids are older, but I'm not in a hurry to do so.

Nadine and Jenna agreed with Tara. Jenna said, "I'm not sure that it has affected my accomplishments to date in any grand way. I do think in terms of moving up; it's just a little less important. …It's like [I] care about and love this other part of my life and so it fills me..." Nadine explained the slower pace of her career accomplishments. "I'd say I gave up leaving [the university] to advance my career at a faster pace. I did not apply for the Assistant Director job the year that my daughter was born." Trece agreed,

> [Motherhood] doesn't affect the aspirations. It may have affected the time to achieve them—that's probably a more appropriate way to say it. I had two opportunities to become a vice president at another school, …but it would have meant interrupting large parts of my family life… But do I think it stops me from having this opportunity? I don't think so. I think I've reached a point that I have to choose not to do that, but I think those opportunities will come.

Trixie and Michelle described making decisions based on their family needs. Trixie explained, "Being an independent consultant for five or seven years, … would [not] have ever occurred to me if I had not had a kid to stay home with." She explained that she worked so little for the same amount of money compared to how much she works now. "You work 30 days a year and you're doing good. (Laughter) So, and I don't have to really scramble to make a whole lot of money, and I didn't feel that it was just lying around eating bon bons." Michelle has also made decisions based on her family needs.

> I got this role before I had all of those responsibilities …because …I realized that I needed that flexibility. I didn't need it when I was …25, but I need it now that I'm 36 (Laughter) and there's not much turnover at all in these roles nationally. … So, if something happens to Kevin or my mom …I can get there much more quickly and I am **so** appreciative of that… so I can't put a dollar value on that. I am glad that I had the foresight …to forego the BMW when I was 25.

Suzanne's description summarized many feelings about the uncertainty of career goals.

> [Motherhood has] probably made [my career goals] more realistic, (Laughter) but probably motherhood has made [my goals] a little more balanced as well. …No longer is it just my career that is so important to me, it's my career and my family and, so, I know down the road that will mean making some different decisions for which direction [my] career … heads. …I've truly put off a few things. Like I thought about starting to work on my doctorate and I decided it's just not realistic right now. …[Motherhood has], one, given me more perspective, and two, made my career aspiration kind of more realistic and practical and I don't have to be a dean somewhere to be really successful in my life.

The impact of work on motherhood, the impact of motherhood on work, and career goals were three properties that fell into both the categories of valuing work and valuing motherhood.

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Valuing Motherhood and Self

The next category represents the overlapping section between valuing motherhood and valuing self. The properties of this category included identifying one's family background and finding a life partner.

Identifying Family Background

When identifying family background, the women in this study ranged from having significant influence from their own mother to insignificant influence from their own mother and significant to insignificant influence of other family members. When describing their family background, they talked about their own age and education, their geographic background and their experience growing up, the influence of their mother, the influence of their father, and the influence of other family members.

Many of the women in this study were raised to believe they could do and be anything they wanted. Half of the women had mothers who went to college and about half of the women had mothers who worked when they were growing up. Trece explained, "I am defying most expectations of the generation before me in terms of what women do. They don't work. They stay at home. They devote their lives to their children and their husbands." As one of the oldest cousins, Trece has been one of the trailblazers. "My dad… held me to the same expectations as my brothers. And, so, I think there's been an opportunity for …my cousins, who are female, to follow the same path and we all went to college." She hopes this opportunity conveys to the next generation. "So, I hope it happens with our generation that that set of expectations for our kind of ethnic group and class says [it] was okay to do and largely attributed to my

mom and dad's generation." Toya agreed, "I was just raised that you could do anything.

So it was much more about how I was expected to do anything, and go forth, and get it

done… it never crossed my mind not to go to college. That was never an option, it was

…what you do."

Trece described the traditional role her mother played and how that has influenced

her. "I'm more affected knowing that my mom wasn't able to pursue opportunities

because my dad didn't want her to. …And even though we were capable of taking care

of ourselves, or things could have been arranged-- there was no flexibility there." She

discussed how this has influenced her own behavior. "I don't think it makes me feel

guilty necessarily... I do think that if I don't take care of those kinds of responsibilities

…, then I'm really not spending [the] kind of time that mothers would do with their kids.

I don't honestly think it's possible for me to be a good mom and spend the time that Ken

spends with the kids." As with Trece, Zoe's mother did not work outside the home

either. This greatly influenced her relationship with her own mother.

> When I was thinking of what I wanted to do with my life in the senior year
> of college, when I was asking, "What do I do next?" My mother sort of
> threw up her hands and said "I can't give you any advice; I've never done
> any of this." And it was kind of like, "What do you mean? I mean just
> talk to me about what I should do with my life" and she refused; she
> refused to get involved. And I think there was a lot of tension and regret
> on her part that she hadn't chosen to do something.

Although she also did not work outside the home, Tara's mother was a significant

positive influence, "My mom was always …a big advocate of women working outside

the home... Even though she …didn't have a career, she really did …encourage all my

sisters and me to get a good education because she always said nobody could ever take

that away from you…" Tara continued, "I think that she did the encouraging …because

she wanted us to have a better life. But she also didn't want us to be financially dependent on another person. She wanted us to be more autonomous and more independent and to be, I guess I would say, freer."

In contrast, some of the women had mothers who worked outside the home. Siggy explained, "My mother worked. I was the latch-key kid and it very much influenced me… because she worked at a time when a lot of women didn't work. …I was very independent …" Siggy spent her afternoons in the public library. "…It also turned me into an academic because I discovered books. And, inadvertently, it was the greatest gift that my parents could have given me." Michelle modeled her mother's working behavior. "I modeled my behavior after my mother. She did not have me, her eldest child, until after she was married and after she had finished her PhD." Her mother never stayed home. "My mother always worked. She was probably one of the few in her generation, particularly being black, that had as much education as she had. And if you had that much education, you were definitely working. You don't get three degrees to not work. Part of who she was was her job …"

Some of the women had their fathers play significant roles in their development. Suzanne's father was a teacher and home with the kids after school. She stated, "It's also sort of atypical to have your dad be the person that's …your primary caregiver after school and over the summer... So, that's …part of the reason why we're a very close family and that's why we probably all still live in Arlington." Trece described her father as one of her greatest professional influences.

> He's someone that I ended up modeling my professional values after. We had this
> great tradition. When I grew up and was out working on my own, we would call
> each other on Wednesday for hump day during the week …and then we would
> swap office war stories about something that was a challenge at work right now or

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was difficult. And then the opposite, he would give me advice; I would give him advice.

However, some fathers disapproved of these women - their daughters - working. Tara said, "I think my dad, who is very traditional, very strict at first probably will say 'Why are you working? You should be home with your kids.' And he would probably attribute a lot of the problems, societal problem with teenagers and kids, to mothers never being home."

Zoe felt the death of her parents had the greatest influence on her life and priorities. "When my parents' died, family just became hugely important to me in a totally different way. It was …so important to have children …And, relationships between the family became much more important to me. …Because the death of anybody close to you just brings all that in a totally different perspective."

Some of the women also had other influences – grandparents, siblings, and in-laws. Zoe shared, "My grandmother was probably one of the greatest influences in my life… She, as a mother, was always working. [My grandparents] ran a speakeasy during the depression. …When I was a child, she owned a newsstand which was a store where they sold soda pop and comic books and milk and bread." Toya explained,

> My family is why I have been able to do all the things that I have been
> able to do. My two sisters and I are incredibly close, our kids have been
> raised as if any parent could be a substitute parent for any kid. …Because
> it was like having six or seven parents at a time. So there was lots and lots
> of support. I could have a kid down at Georgetown because I was not the
> only parent… responsible for insuring that they got back and forth.

Finding a Life Partner

The second property in the overlapping area of valuing self and valuing

motherhood was finding a life partner. The dimensions of this property ranged from

having a successful partnership to having had a divorce, and having a partnership where

timing was conducive for having children versus not conducive for children. One of the

women in the study is currently divorced. Three of the women are divorced and

remarried. Eight of the women are married to their first husband. Two of the women

met their current partners later in life and were unable to have children, leading them to

adoption. Almost all of the women in this study met and married their partners after they

had begun establishing themselves in their careers.

The components of finding a life partner include: meeting one's partner and

timing of marriage or partnership; facing unhappiness, breakup or divorce; understanding

one's partner's background, education and career choices; and providing support from

one's partner – sharing parental responsibility, supporting women working full-time, and

participating in household roles.

Trixie and Michelle described how their husbands have been equal partners in

parenting and household roles. Michelle said, "He dresses Kevin every morning. They

do that in the morning because he gets up before I do. …he gets Kevin ready and I'm

just getting up. So, that's all done and the evenings as well. So even the daily routine is

really him." Trixie agreed,

> He's an equal partner in the care giving and it's gotten a little different as
> she's gotten older. … But yeah he dressed her and he did all the doctor's
> visits. I could not bear to go to the doctor (Laughter) with her. …[One]
> time Lisa said, "Well, look! It's daddy's vacuum cleaner." (Laughter)
> She never saw me use it. She just assumed it was his. And that was

something that dads did. …I think it would have been much more challenging without that.

Toya and Zoe's husbands do all the cooking. Zoe said, "My spouse is phenomenal. (Laughter) He takes the kids to the doctors; he makes dinner every night because I don't get home 'til 7. And his role, it's expanded." Toya explained that she "went on a ban on cooking" so her husband primarily does the cooking.

> One day I looked around and everybody looked healthy to me. (Laughter) My kids were much older …And it was almost 7 o'clock by then and I was like, "To start dinner now is crazy. I can't even think about it," and, so, I started actually …bringing food in. My husband, one, does not like a lot of take out stuff, but, two, he is a real spendthrift and he thought this was the most obnoxious waste of money **ever**. So, he didn't say a word and I didn't say a word. He just started beating me home and cooking and that's how it's flipped. And, so, for probably seven or eight years he has done the primary cooking.

Jenna believes that her husband is very supportive of her working full-time. "And I totally respect that, like we respect each working at each other's careers." Candace agrees,

> My husband I think would perceive me as being very successful at both [work and motherhood] and he thinks that I've made really good choices. …He has said to me …he would have it no other way. That …some of the reasons that he picked me as a partner was because he knew that I would be a good wife, a good mother, and successful in my career. …He was looking for an intellectual and an emotional equal. I don't think he was looking for a wife who was going to say, "Well, we're having kids and I'm going to stay home now."

The partners of the women in this study were important to the participants' success at motherhood and career. They provided support by sharing parental responsibility, supporting women working full-time, and participating in household roles.

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Negotiating a Balanced Life

The fourth key category was negotiating a balanced life. All of the women felt they would not be able to manage the balance without critical support systems in their lives. This category had three major properties: 1. surrounding yourself with supports, 2. managing the logistics, and 3. utilizing technology. Each of these properties is explained in greater detail in the next section.

1. Surrounding Oneself with Supports

The first property of negotiating a balanced life was surrounding oneself with supports. The responses to this category ranged from having many supports and feeling supported to having few supports and feeling unsupported. All of the women in this study felt some form of support was crucial to their success. Supports included: spouse or partner; family members; staff, colleagues and administrative support at work; childcare arrangements; friends or church community; and other working moms.

Nadine described her partner as a huge source of support. "I have a life with him, he's really great and I have a certain amount of peace when I'm with him that is separate and apart from all of this craziness. … I get space from the rest of the world in that relationship." She went on, "I can bring issues that exist in [my work] world into that relationship and talk about it with him and he's a really good listener and a good advisor and …it's like a really safe place for me. So, it's like home base."

Siggy talked about the importance of good friends. "I have good friends …who have known my daughter since she was two. …When I've had to go out of town and

travel …before she was old enough to be left alone … I have friends who she's stayed at

their houses and it's that kind of a community of friendship."

Toya talked about the essential support of family.

The only people I talk to daily are my mother and my two sisters, and we just check in. …My two sisters are probably my best friends … But the only reason I could [balance work and family] was my sisters would ensure that if my husband had something that he had to do, …they would fill in. So, that is, for me, why it has never felt like I've had to give up things in order to be successful. I've felt like my career has been able to stay on track because of the support network.

Several participants talked about the importance of a nanny and the ease of having

daycare at home. Renée explained, "She lives around the corner, and she has a car. …

And, it just works out really well and now I think she's going to get a job at the school, so

that will be very helpful. Johnny and she get along well." Toya said,

I had a nanny who came in who also cooked dinner and washed clothes and did light cleaning. …She was wonderful and that was for the first five years that my youngest was born and my sister had had her for five years before that. So… she was available for the kids when they had days that they were not in school for 10 years … I didn't have to really worry about if they weren't in school.

Several women described their amazing administrative assistants as enabling

them to keep all the balls in the air. Trece explained,

I have an amazing administrative assistant who helps me balance all of that. I could not do what I do without her because she literally helps be de-brief from the last meeting and keep track of what needs to get done and get it on the calendar or get it on the to-do list or something and hands off the next folder with what needs to be ready. I would bet honest to God behind every woman who's in a role like this …there's an administrative assistant who's got that much quick-on-the-uptake kind of preparation.

2. Managing the Logistics

The second property of negotiating a balanced life was managing the logistics. The dimensions of this property ranged from easy to manage to hard to manage. When talking about logistics, the women in this study talked about: developing and managing a daily routine; developing and managing household roles; making the most of the commute (doing business or spending time with children); managing children's school, care and activities; eating dinner together as a family whenever possible; and keeping the lines of communication open with everyone.

Renée illustrated the crazy life of a busy full-time working mother in higher education.

> My daily routine is I get up around 5:30 begrudgingly. Shower, blow dry my hair, whether I wash it or not because it's so crunched up when I wake up. (Laughter) Put water on for tea or put the oven on for breakfast or Johnny's lunch, do my makeup. I try to have everything done before 7 o'clock if I can because I like to be completely done before Johnny gets up.

Several mothers talked about the importance of establishing household roles with their spouse, and their children if they are old enough. Tara explained, "We do split a lot of that childcare responsibility, more 50-50 than other parents that I know. And he does take on household responsibilities." Trece added, "I take a lot of responsibility for that piece, but I manage it with my husband and make those decisions about who's going to be where together."

Participants talked about the commute as an important part of their day. Toya explained the importance of a short commute in enabling her to be a successful working mother. "I've always lived really close. …We don't move further and further out because then that makes the circle too hard. Even when I was driving the kids down to

[Washington] …it's just a very, very close circle." Trixie agreed, "Really, compared to other people [my commute is] short, only 20 minutes door-to-door, stopping at Starbucks and it's not with traffic. …That's a huge part. I don't how people commute a long way." Women who live further away make the most of their commuting time by doing business. Zoe explained how she uses her commuting time.

> I do all my telephone calls from the office, check my voice mail, do all my personal business, kind of make appointments with doctors, hairdressers, talk to family, especially on the night commute. …And my husband is always complaining about the telephone bills because they're huge because I look at that as time that I need to use productively.

Toya talked about spending the time in the car with her kids. "I needed to be able to talk to them, to see what was going on, to see where things were. So it was important to have that connection, and I found that if you just leave them on a bus or a van or whatever, you don't get that time. So we did a lot of parenting in the car."

Valuing time together as a family was important. As one example, many families in this study tried to have dinner together regularly. Tara described, "I make it a point to have dinner with Justin and Cameron every night that I possibly can and to make dinner. That it's not just throwing pizza on the table …usually four nights a week I try to make a well-balanced good dinner and we sit down together and actually eat dinner together." Candace reiterated,

> I'm the one that fixes dinner. …We will have at least some time at the dinner table almost every night as a family. And it might only be 15 minutes and it might be 8:30 or quarter to nine at night before we sit down to do it. But 95% of the time, there is some time that we're at the dinner table together as a family.

Trece described the importance of communicating with everyone in managing the logistics. "The ability to communicate …is really important here at work and at home

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with my husband, [and] with our childcare provider. If we mess that up, everything will get screwed up quickly…" She does this at work and at home. "In the office, I spend usually the first 15 minutes walking around to see people in my unit and see how they're doing."

3. Utilizing Technology

The third and final property of negotiating a balanced life was utilizing technology. The participants in this study found technology to range from helpful to intrusive. In particular, the working mothers talked about using Personal Digital Assistants (PDAs), cell phones, e-mail from home, and the Internet. From a positive perspective, these women felt that technology made them more efficient, made it easier to communicate, allowed better balance and easier juggling, and allowed them to get things done at home regardless of the time of day. On the negative side, technology could be intrusive and enhanced spillover, was impossible to get away from, produced the expectation of an immediate response, and could be impersonal. Michelle described the benefits.

> The cell phone, I don't know how I got along without it, email – both
> work and personal – keeps me connected faster. I came into the office and
> went through six emails and cleared up two cases already because it was
> just very quick [and] easy thing. It can …be a double-edged sword
> because now people know you can check it anywhere. They expect that
> things are always done immediately. It doesn't always work that way.

Renée agreed and explained the benefits of having a PDA. She can respond from any location. "That you can be anywhere doing email is **great** and I have this little thing like you respond to stuff and you can't tell where I am." She also finds technology helpful at home. "The fact that we're wireless in my house and have high speed Internet, I could be

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at home at 3:00 and still answer email if I wanted. ...I think technology has made it easier

to work from anywhere."

Not everyone found technology helpful. Toya shared her negative opinions.

I think technology is over-rated. I think the more technology you have, the more
you're on. So, if you have a cell phone for work, work is calling you; if you have
email from work, you're emailing. …We don't have answering machines in my
house and it's for this very reason because it just fills up. So, I would like to say
it's helped. I mean sometimes it's wonderful to be able to be at home and send an
email. Mostly it's just more stuff that you have on your plate and more trying to
navigate and negotiate.

Participants felt technology played a major role as a potentially useful tool in

managing and organizing the complexity of their lives. Suzanne summarized people's

mixed feelings about technology, observing,

It's a tool that I've learned how to maximize better and more efficiently
…And, as a tool, it's a blessing and a curse and you just have to figure out
how to maximize the blessings and minimize the curse. (Laughter) The
blessing is that I can work from home occasionally and still stay really in
touch with everybody who might need me. …Because I check my voice
mail regularly or I'll check the email; I'll get back to them. There's no
way they would know unless they stopped by my office. … It's pretty
seamless for them. In that way that's a great blessing. … I think on the
flip side of that the curse is that … you're always as accessible as you …
lead people to believe that you are. If you're responding to emails in the
middle of the night or over the weekend and you do that on a regular basis,
people then expect that you'll get back to them … no matter what ...

Tara explained, "So, in some respects, yeah, you do feel like you're never away

from it; you're never alone but [e-mail and cell phones] allow you to balance and juggle

things better, too, so it's kind of a win-win sometimes, [and] it's a lose-lose sometimes.

(Laughter)"

Setting the Context

The fifth and final key category component of the emergent grounded theory for full-time working mothers developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life was setting the context for this study. This study was set in two important contexts – time and place.

Time

Time involved three issues – this study existed within the current time period of the early 21st century, these women face constant decisions about how to spend their time, and the ongoing feeling of the participants that there was not enough time in each day.

In the early 21st century, we are at a time in history when many women work outside the home, the cost of living requires two incomes, and many women have a desire for career success. Few women have the luxury to stay home and raise their children. In addition, the popular culture continues to emphasize the debate for middle class women between staying home and working and the "inevitable" work-family conflict in books like *The Mommy Wars* and *The Feminine Mistake*. Society promotes and expects women to excel at both motherhood and work. The current time in which these women live is very relevant to the importance and findings in this study.

In addition, as evidenced in the other sections, time emerged as an important component repeatedly in the lives of these women. It was difficult for them to find times to meet with me. They struggled with finding enough time in the day to do everything

they hoped to accomplish. Time at work and time for the necessities of life were hard to

balance.

> Toya commented on the time constraints,

> We think we have a flexible schedule, but I don't really think we do.
> …what that tends to mean is we just shift time. …when I think of flex
> time, I'm thinking people are thinking maybe they work from home or
> four 10 hours days. … I don't think that happens. I think we just work
> more because I took off to take my kid to the dentist today, so I've got to
> work these extra hours because it's still got to get done.

> Tara and Trece explained about the need to make choices about how to spend

their time. Tara said, "It definitely means for me that you have to make choices and

sometimes you have to make very difficult choices, but sometimes where you give in one

area you have to give back in the other at another time. So, it is give and take on both of

those relationships." Trece summarized what she has learned about the time of full-time

working mothers.

> [My mentor] taught me early on you could take pride in all of these things
> that you could and should do, but you can't do them all at one time. She
> taught me two sorts of truisms that I just always come back to. And one is
> you can have everything; you just can't have it all at once. (Laughter)
> You'll be able to have great advancement at work; you'll be able to be a
> great mom; you'll be able to do volunteer work; you'll be able to teach or
> do scholarly work; you'll be able to do lots of things that in this field as a
> woman you will want to do, but you can't do them all at once. So, you
> make choices and you don't worry about not being able to do them all at
> one time. I think that's tremendous wisdom. I'm still not convinced you
> can actually do them all (Laughter) but you can do a lot of them if you
> find the right time.

Institution

> The second component of context involved the place where the study occurred -

the current environment at the research institution. The women in this study felt the

institutional environment at the university ranged from supportive to unsupportive, with most participants viewing the institutional policies and practices as unsupportive, inadequate, and not progressive for full-time working mothers.

The participants had many comments about the state of the institution in terms of its support for working mothers. Candace explained,

> We're probably in a very good and very, relatively speaking, supportive environment. But when it comes right down to it, I think for women, we **don't do** a whole lot to support them being working others… I don't think we do a whole lot to reinforce family. We really are not very progressive on the maternity and paternity leave. We're really not progressive on the childcare issue, so I think if I didn't have some of the [support systems] I have and I'm not in the place that I'm in, I'd feel very different. If I were a single mom, I'd feel very differently.

Siggy elaborated, "We don't have adequate childcare facilities on the campus and they are very expensive. We don't have adequate policies for women who are in non-traditional relationships. We don't have partner benefits." She added, "We don't have a lot of spousal accommodations if a woman were to come here for a job. If there's something to say about this university it's that on an individual basis in exceptional cases, we do things really well, but in terms of policy, we're not that progressive."

In contrast, Zoe felt the institution was very supportive of working mothers compared to other professional work environments. "I think that the policies are terrific. We are fortunate enough to work in a place where we're not required …to show billable hours. We're not required … to produce at a certain profit margin." She concluded, "We work for the state and we are very fortunate in that sense and because of that I think the institution is generally more family friendly. The state is more family friendly than a lot of places."

After vetting the developing theory with the participants during the focus group, they felt that the institution had an impact on each of the key categories, but portions of self, work and motherhood occurred outside the influence of the University, as well. The institution is represented as a shadow of a building in the background of the model – impacting part of all categories, but all categories having an impact beyond the scope of the institution, as well.

A Grounded Theory for Full-Time Working Mothers in Higher Education Administration
Developing and Maintaining a Fulfilling Balanced Life

The interaction of these five key categories – valuing self, valuing work, valuing motherhood, negotiating a balanced life and setting the context – forms the innermost category – the core category – **developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life**. The women in this study progressed chronologically through the categories from valuing self, to valuing work, to valuing motherhood, to negotiating a balanced life within the context – resulting in developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life. When women began their journeys as teenagers and young adults, they developed their own self-concepts and strong senses of identity. When they progressed to the work arena – they developed a commitment to their professional identities and an appreciation of the value of work, colleagues, supervisors and mentors. When they began the life phase of motherhood, these women adjusted their career goals and developed an intimate relationship with their children. As the children have grown, the women have progressed back to a new sense of self and independence, sometimes lost during the years when their children were young. In order to make this all work, the participants relied on support systems and logistics to coordinate the details. When the self, work and motherhood

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categories overlapped with each other – they produced additional properties in those

interacting zones – the overlap between self and work, work and motherhood, and

motherhood and self. They were impacted by the context of time and the institution. The

following model illustrates these interactions.

Figure 2. A Grounded Theory Model for Full-Time Working Mothers in Higher
Education Administration Developing and Maintaining a Fulfilling, Balanced Life
(expanded)
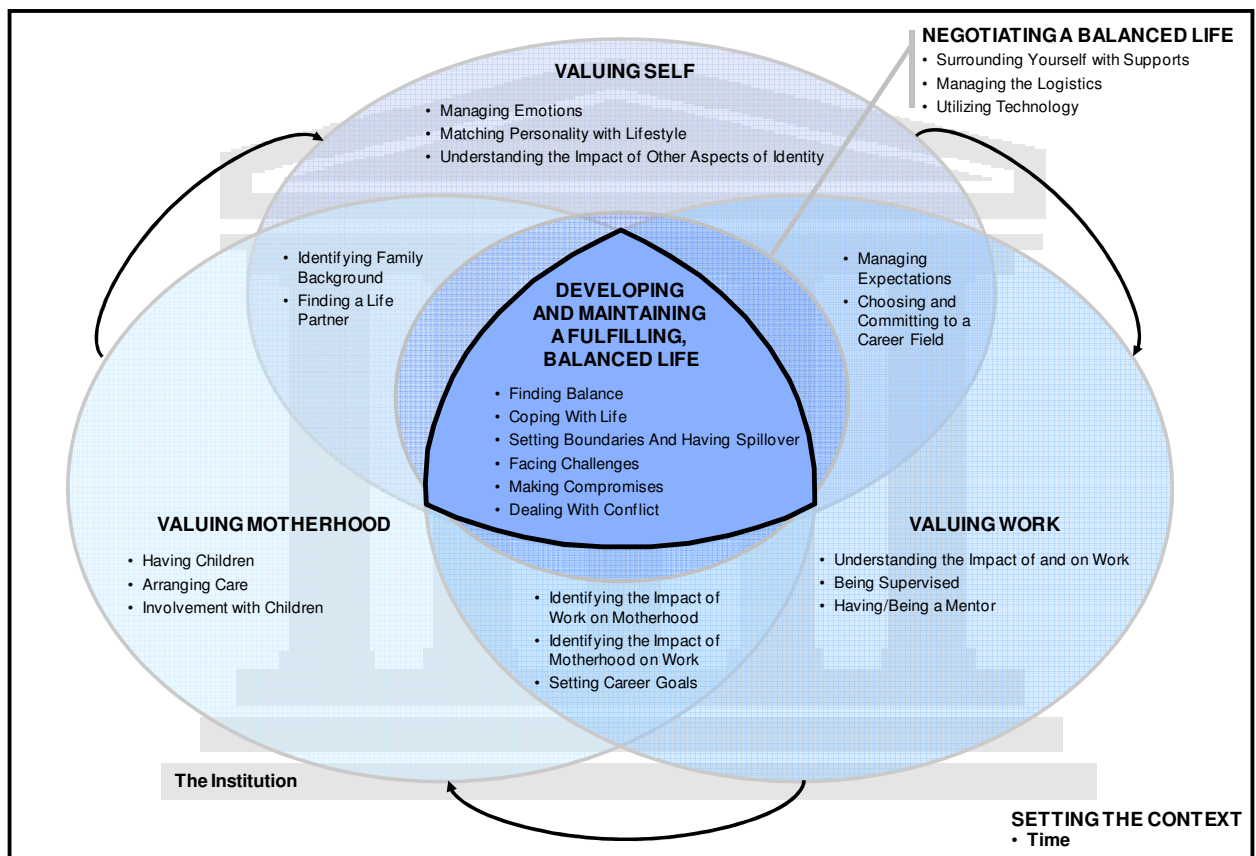
**A Grounded Theory Model For Full-Time Working Mothers In Higher Education
Administration Developing and Maintaining A Fulfilling, Balanced Life**

Conclusion

Overall there were many important findings in this study. Although not a complete representation of all working women, this study did provide a detailed picture of how full-time, high achieving, dual-focused working mothers in higher education administration at one institution maintained and developed their identities. In particular, there were eight important outcomes of this study.

First, the working mothers in this research were not just dual-focused, in a way, they were tri-focused. They expressed a deep and passionate commitment to self, family and work - and to doing all well. Their professional contributions and individual identities were important and their commitments to their children took equal priority. In general, these women were fairly certain about wanting children and never considered staying home and not returning to work following the arrival of those children. For the most part, these mothers did not consider working part time. They felt strongly that developing multiple aspects of their identities made them both better workers and better mothers, offering perspective and allowing them to express themselves in different ways.

Second, the women in this study strived to find a balance between home and work by engaging in a give and take relationship between the two arenas. On any given day, at any given time, work and family issues were not equal in importance or attention. Many times each day the women in this study made choices about how to spend their time and what was important in any given moment. Across days and weeks, the focus on different things grew and shrank, but their lives generally maintained equilibrium and balance.

Third, the mothers in this study could not accomplish all they did without spillover – facilitating life all day, all the time, at home and at work. The portability of

laptops, cell phones, e-mail at home and Personal Digital Assistants (PDAs) enabled these women to conduct business from anywhere. Occasionally this meant checking e-mail at home and making doctors appointments during the day. The flexibility to do their jobs from any place, at any time, enabled them to succeed in both the home and work arenas.

Fourth, most of the women felt they had made significant compromises or changed their career goals as a result of motherhood. The women felt that motherhood had slowed their career advancement and/or kept them at the institution longer than anticipated. They also mentioned decreased professional involvement outside of their jobs. Although none of the women regretted the choices they had made, they did comment on the time it has taken to achieve their goals. Many commented that women can have it all, just not all at one time.

Fifth, for the most part, these working mothers were trailblazers. Very few of them had women mentors, and almost none of them had female mentors who were also working mothers. They were often the first in their office or department to try to balance work and family, and received little support or understanding from the women ahead of them who had mostly chosen work or family, but not tried to balance success in both areas. As a result, the women in this study were very conscious of being empathetic, flexible supervisors and role models for others, setting a tone of support and understanding for colleagues and subordinates.

Sixth, the tri-focused women in this study who placed a high value on self, work and family had distinctly similar personality traits. They were extremely organized and able to juggle multiple things at once. They were determined, driven, ambitious and

demanding - of themselves and others. They were flexible and able to prioritize, choosing what was important and when. Although frequently tired, they were completely fulfilled and willing to live with the stress and challenge of being a highly successful administrator and a committed mother. They would not have chosen any other path, nor had it any other way.

Seventh, they were completely aware and in touch with multiple aspects of their identities. Whether race, religion, or socio-economic status was significant, these women were aware of these identities of self and able to incorporate them into their identities as working mothers.

Finally, the women in this study could not be as successful as they are, nor accomplish all that they do, without surrounding themselves with supports. These women relied heavily on supportive and involved partners, family members, colleagues and staff, and technology to enable them to negotiate the complexities of their lives.

CHAPTER 5 - DISCUSSION

Gyroscope - A rotating wheel whose axis is free to turn but maintains a fixed direction unless perturbed, especially used for stabilization or with the compass in an aircraft, ship, etc. When a force applied to a gyroscope tends to change the direction of the axis of rotation, the axis will move in a direction at right angles to the direction in which the force is applied. This motion is the result of the force produced by the angular momentum of the rotating body and the applied force. This pressure, although applied about a horizontal axis, does not cause the instrument to fall over, but causes it to precess about the vertical axis at right angles to the applied pressure, with the result that it turns and proceeds in a new direction. (www.gyroscopes.org)

One might find it ironic to use the gyroscope as a metaphor for developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life for full-time working mothers in higher education administration. A gyroscope helps to navigate airplanes, the space shuttle, and large ships. It is a complex instrument that requires the continuous rotation of wheels on different axes to maintain the stability and direction of the instrument. The same might be said for women's busy lives. All of the "wheels" must continue in motion to keep the gyroscope of women's lives in balance.

In developing the emergent grounded theory model for developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life for full-time working mothers in higher education administration, I became very aware that being a successful worker and a successful mother was possible, though challenging. The women in this study were fulfilled with their complex lives, and generally, would not have chosen any other path. In addition, they felt they have maintained their individual identities of self – identities they had prior to work and motherhood. They were very proud of both their professional accomplishments in the workplace and their personal accomplishments as mothers. However, the challenges and conflicts were noticeable and at times frustrating. The overall sentiment was that working mothers can have it all, just not all simultaneously.

This chapter will explain the emergent theory in relation to the original research questions, the relationship of the emergent theory to the existing literature, the implications for theory, implications for practice, implications for future research, the strengths and limitations of this study, and concluding thoughts.

<p style="text-align:center">Discussion of Theory in Relation to Research Questions</p>

The primary research question for this study was: How do working mothers develop and maintain their dual-focused identities as mother and higher education administrator? This research showed that working mothers in higher education administration developed their tri-focused identities by valuing self, valuing work and valuing motherhood. They maintain these identities by negotiating a balanced life. By having a fulfilling, balanced life the women maintain their focus on home and work and thus sustain their identities. The study specifically explored the following three issues during the interview process.

What are the behaviors, perceptions, experiences, goals and attitudes, as they relate to working mothers with dual-focused identities of mother and higher education administrator? This study found that working mothers in higher education administration used spillover from home to work and work to home in order to facilitate their busy lives. They were intensely committed to both their work and motherhood roles. Their experiences of career progression and goals varied but tended to be slowed a bit by motherhood. These women were highly motivated, driven, ambitious, organized multi-taskers who wanted to have it all and be good at it all.

How do working mothers in higher education administration use their dual-focused outlooks to resolve conflict between their work and family roles? These women used constant negotiation and give and take to manage their lives and resolve conflict. They relied on juggling and flexibility to avoid major conflicts in their work and home lives.

How do the supervisors and/or policies of the institution support a dual-focused approach to work and family?   In general, the women in this study found their supervisors and workplaces to be very supportive of their working mother lifestyles, but felt that the institution was not as supportive in its policies or practices. The flexibility and support of one's immediate supervisor and one's workplace seemed crucial to maintaining a dual-focus on family and work.

Relationship of Emerging Theory to Existing Literature

In order to fully understand the emergent theory for full-time working mothers in higher education administration to develop and maintain fulfilling, balanced lives, one must delve further into literature streams already discussed in Chapter 2 and explore some new ideas through the existing literature.

The five key categories in this emergent theory were valuing self, valuing work, valuing motherhood, negotiating a balanced life and setting the context. These intersected to form the core category of developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life. Each of these are explored as they relate to relevant research in the next section.

Valuing Self

In order to fully understand the category of valuing self, and its itinerant

properties of managing emotions, matching personality with lifestyle, and understanding

the impact of other aspects of identity, one must understand the theoretical underpinnings

of psychosocial development and self-efficacy.

Psychosocial Development

Psychosocial development literature describes the process of maturation resulting

from an interaction between the behaviors, attitudes and emotions of an individual and

his or her social context of family, community and culture. Given the examination in this

study of the development of a dual-focused outlook, this literature stream is particularly

relevant to the emergent theory.

In his development of some of the groundbreaking theory on psychosocial

development, Erikson (1964) described life as the engagement of one's self with the

outside world. He proposed that one moved through life in eight developmental stages:

trust/mistrust, autonomy/shame-doubt, initiative/guilt, industry/inferiority, identity/role

confusion, intimacy/isolation, generativity/stagnation/self-absorption, and ego

identity/despair. Children progress through the early stages, and as they mature into

adults, progress through the second half of the life stages. The women in this study seem

to be mostly at the generative stage along Erikson's levels. Erikson defined generativity

as biological in nature - creating and guiding the next generation through care for others

(1964). Positive outcomes of this stage of development are generativity while negative

outcomes are stagnation or self-absorption. By demonstrating their passion for the well-

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being of their families and the devotion to their children, these women are clearly generative. The amount of care they show for others is important. In contrast, the negative outcomes of this developmental stage are stagnation or self-absorption. These women clearly do not embody these outcomes. In their careers and their roles as mothers, they are continually active and moving forward, albeit at an admittedly slower pace than before motherhood. In their lives, their concern and time for others prevents any implications of self-absorption.

Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, and McKee (1978) followed Erikson's work with their own model of identity development, first studying men's, and later women's developmental life cycles. Levinson et al. posited that adults have stable periods of committed action separated by uncomfortable transition periods when people evaluate earlier decisions and struggle towards newfound stability.

Levinson's first relevant stage was Early Adulthood, from age 17 to 45. He described this as, the adult era of greatest energy and abundance and of greatest contradiction and stress (Levinson, 1986). He described early adulthood as a time for raising a family and establishing oneself in the adult world. This phase was characterized by satisfaction in terms of family life and occupational advancement, among others. During this phase, men and women undertook the burdens of parenthood and of forming an occupation. He believed that the rewards of this phase of the life cycle were enormous, but the costs were equal or even exceeded the benefits.

Levinson's second relevant phase was the Midlife Transition, between the ages of 40 to 45, which signaled the end of early adulthood and the start of middle adulthood. Adults in this phase became more reflective and less consumed by inner conflicts and

external demands. The third relevant phase, Middle Adulthood, lasted from about age 40 to 65. During this era, most people in their 40s and 50s became "senior members" of their fields. People were responsible for the development of the current generation of young adults.

These phases seem to clearly reflect the developmental stages of the women in this study. The women who participated ranged in age from mid-30s to early 50s. As was suggested by Levinson, the younger women demonstrated more guilt and concern about others expectations and mostly had the younger children in this study. The older women were more secure in their places in the world and felt a responsibility to make things more family-friendly for the next generation of working moms.

Finally, Josselson (1987, 1996) conducted a longitudinal study on women's identity development that followed a group of women for 22 years. She began in 1971, studying 60 students in their senior year of college, following up with the same group in 1983 (33 of the original participants continued), and in 1993 (30 participants continued).

Josselson (1996) identified four pathways to identity in her sample. Women identified as Guardians "knew where they were going without having considered alternatives." (p. 37). Pathmakers had followed a more traditional route of identity development – moving from exploration to commitment, as Erikson would have predicted. Participants who were identified as Searchers were uncertain and confused at the end of their college careers. Finally, Drifters were women who were not searching, yet had not committed at the time of this study. Following these women for 22 years, Josselson found that they continued to revise themselves and adjust their identities as

their circumstances changed and transitions occurred. Josselson (1996, p. 238-9) explained,

> Beyond what is most visible, identity reflects the inner organization of the parts of the self …in some tolerable equilibrium. But this integration, this core, will only hold when a woman can assume the authority of this self she has authored in an interpersonal world that responds to her understanding of who she is by taking her to be that person she feels herself to be.

This quote seems particularly relevant to the women in this study. While certainly the components of chronological development evident in Erikson and Levinson's work apply on the surface to the women in this study, the complexity and self-authorship of the identities of these participants is deeper and more layered. Their strong self-concept and sense of identity that has pervaded their lives throughout their adult development is unique to their psychosocial development and leads to the exploration of the theory of self-efficacy.

Self-Efficacy

Self-efficacy is the belief or expectation about one's own capabilities to produce levels of performance (Bandura, 1986; 1997). The person is the agent of change and the personal and environmental factors of one's life are dependent upon each other. As indicated by the women in the current study, each person's self-perception affects an individual's choices, efforts, persistence, and resiliency.

Bandura's (1986; 1997) theory of self-efficacy was based on an individual's interpretation of information from four sources: mastery experiences, vicarious experiences, verbal persuasions, and physical and emotional status. Mastery experience was how one interprets past success or failure in interpreting a task; experienced by

women in this study when trying to navigate and find balance in their lives. Vicarious experience was described as learning what to do by observing the positive and negative consequences experienced by others. Verbal persuasions were positive verbal messages and social encouragement that facilitates continued effort and persistence required to succeed. When the women in this study had mentors and role models, they were able to learn from others and interpret vicarious experiences and verbal persuasions. Physical and emotional status included the amount of stress and tension and one's mood – clearly experienced and exhibited by the participants of this study.

As a result, the theory of self-efficacy seems particularly relevant and applicable to the theory on developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life. The women in this study were certainly deeply affected by all four sources of information in living their busy lives and making constant decisions about balance. Relevant research has been conducted on self-efficacy and work-family conflict (Cinamon, 2006); career development (Lent, Brown & Hackett, 1994); parenting (Ardelt & Eccles, 2001); and marriage (Fincham, Harold & Gano-Phillips, 2000). The findings in the current study seem to indicate a high self-efficacy in all of these areas.

Valuing Work

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the literature on women's career development and vocational psychology is particularly salient to this study. The findings of these studies were reflected in the analysis of this current research.

Fitzgerald and Harmon (2001) developed a modern model for factors affecting women's vocational behavior. This model suggested there were multiple influences on

women's vocational behavior including individual factors (i.e., attitude, abilities, interests); individual/social factors (i.e., race, ethnicity, sexual orientation); and social factors (i.e., family issues, school, significant others). Most of these factors surfaced as properties in the current study, using some of the same words and terminologies. In Fitzgerald and Harmon's study, women's vocational behavior was then moderated by role overload, role conflict, and indirect discrimination. The result was a combination of work/family life, ability and interest implementation in a career field, achievement, and social change.

While the field of vocational psychology could provide greater insights into the model of developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life, it often neglected some of the important properties of the emergent theory. In particular, Fitzgerald and Harmon's model took into account relevant pieces of valuing self (individual factors, individual/social factors) and the overlap between motherhood and self (social factors), but neglected the important components of motherhood and negotiating a balanced life – in particular the role of support systems and the necessity of technology.

One of the most important works on career psychology of women was conducted by Betz and Fitzgerald (1987). In their meta-analysis of existing literature, *The Career Psychology of Women*, Betz and Fitzgerald wrote several chapters on career motivation, career adjustment and work/family issues. Their research concluded that several individual, background, educational and adult lifestyle variables facilitate women's career development patterns. These included: individual variables such as high ability, high self-esteem and strong academic self concept; background variables which included being the child of a working mother and supportive father, having highly educated

parents, and female role models; educational variables such as access to higher education and experience at girls' schools and women's colleges; and, adult lifestyle variables including late marriage or being single and having no or few children (Betz & Fitzgerald).

Many of these descriptors and characteristics fit the women in this study. In particular, the ideas of high ability, high self-esteem and strong self-concept can be seen in the valuing self category and serve to further illuminate the important idea of self-efficacy among the women in this current study. Betz and Fitzgerald's study also pointed to the importance of female role models, found lacking by these participants. As with the study discussed previously, there was no mention of the importance of support networks and the use of technology as a crucial tool.

Valuing Motherhood

When discussing their experiences with motherhood, the women in this study talked quite a bit about their connections with their children. They described these connections as unique to a mother and child. This connection can be described by attachment theory.

Attachment Theory

Bowlby (1988) explained attachment theory as an organized behavioral system that is activated when a person is threatened and functions to increase proximity to a caregiver in order to protect him or herself. This is usually described when characterizing an interaction between a mother and infant. These behaviors include

internal representations of self, other, and the world, and may function to soothe and regulate negative emotions. Infants who experience sensitive and responsive caregiving early in life develop internal working models of the caregiver as available and competent, the infant as worthy of care, and the world as safe and secure. This internal working model then provides the infant the tools to engage in active coping and self-soothing behavior. Studies have shown that securely attached children show better coping skills than insecurely attached children (Koren-Karie, Oppenheim, Haimovich, & Etzion-Carasso, 2003).

Relevant to this study, Main, Kaplan, and Cassidy (1985) applied the attachment construct to adulthood. They proposed that a secure internal working model developed in childhood will evolve into a secure internal working model in adulthood and that this will be displayed in the way in which the individual approaches emotionally important relationships.

The idea of attachment theory applies to the women in this study both in their depictions of their relationships with their children as very close and in their relationships with their life partners and support networks. As explored by Main et al., the close personal relationships described in this study allowed these women to maintain their balanced lives.

Negotiating a Balanced Life

To inform the categories of negotiating a balanced life and setting the context, one can look to the literature on time diaries. Time diaries examine how people spend their time, how they do what they do, and how their time is used.

Time Diary Research

For example, Nomaguchi, Bianchi and Milkie (2005) examined time strain and the association of these feelings with psychological well-being among dual-earner parents. With the exception of the one participant who is still divorced, all of the women who participated in this study were in dual-earner relationships. Nomaguchi et al.'s study found time deficits with children and spouses to be associated with lower well-being for women. In terms of time for self, mothers felt strain more than fathers. This feeling was conveyed in the current study, as well. In Nomaguchi's work, mothers who felt a time shortage for themselves expressed lower well-being. These findings seem to mimic the ideas generated by the categories negotiating a balanced life and developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life. The women in this study needed time to decompress as a way of coping and espoused the importance of time with their children and husbands.

In a similar study by Milkie, Mattingly, Nomaguchi, Bianchi and Robinson (2004), the authors found that nearly half of parents report feeling they spend too little time with children. Work hours were strongly related to these feelings. Some of these feelings were reflected in the findings of the current study – especially feelings of guilt, exhaustion and being overwhelmed.

In terms of support, the literature on childrearing, housework and technology also echo the findings of this current study. Milkie, Bianchi, Mattingly and Robinson (2002) found both mothers and fathers expressed that fathers should be equally involved in child-rearing. However, mothers in Milkie's study perceived much less involvement by fathers in actual parenting than fathers perceived-especially in disciplining and providing

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emotional support for their children. Less involvement by the father in disciplining children was associated with mothers' higher stress levels, and the discrepancy in expectations about fathers' involvement in play and caring for children resulted in mothers' increased feelings of unfairness in the household division of labor. In contrast, the women in the current study found their partners to be very helpful and involved – a component of their lives they felt was essential for their success at having balanced lives. The essential nature of this support echoes the converse of Milkie et al.'s findings that mothers perceived fathers to be less involved in childrearing issues, resulting in higher stress for the mothers.

In another relevant study, Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer and Robinson (2000) studied the household division of labor. They examined time-diary data which showed that the number of overall hours of domestic labor (excluding child care and shopping) has continued to decline since 1965. This finding is mainly due to significant declines among women (both in and out of the workforce), who have cut their housework hours almost in half since the 1960s, resulting from increased labor force participation, later marriage, and fewer children. By outsourcing, letting go of housework, or relying on a spouse to share the household duties, the women in the current study also exhibited these same behaviors toward housework.

Finally, Valcour and Hunter (2005) studied the impact of technology on work-life issues. They proclaimed that people whose work and family lives are well integrated function effectively at work and at home, feel a sense of satisfaction with both domains, and experience minimal levels of conflict between work and family, and the essential role technology plays in this integration. These findings are similar to the information on

dual-focused identities described in Chapter 2. The findings of Valcour and Hunter's study also support the outcomes of this current study. The participants in this study experienced spillover – which demonstrated integration between home and work, felt a sense of satisfaction with both work and home domains, and found technology to be an integral piece of this satisfaction and integration. In contrast to Valcour and Hunter's findings, the women in this study did experience some ongoing conflict between their home and work lives.

In sum, the literature on use of time for family-work issues serves to inform the core category of developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life and the key categories of negotiating a balanced life and setting the context.

Developing and Maintaining a Fulfilling, Balanced Life

In addition to all of the research discussed in the prior section, the literature on multiple dimensions of identity and intersectionality proved most useful when examining the dual-focused outlooks of full-time working mothers in higher education administration developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life.

Multiple Dimensions of Identity

Reynolds and Pope (1991) developed one of the first models for multiple dimensions of identity. The Multidimensional Identity Model (MIM) identified four possible options for the development of an individual's identity. These were: (1) identify with one aspect of self determined by society (e.g., society or family assigned identity, passive acceptance where one does not challenge or change the identity such as

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the societal expectations for mother as caregiver); (2) identify with one aspect of self determined by individual (e.g., conscious self-identification such as worker and choosing what it means to identify as a worker); (3) identify with multiple aspects of self in a segmented fashion (e.g., first I am a mother, then I am a worker, these are separate and distinct identities); or (4) identify with combined aspects of self (e.g., identity interaction forms into a new group such as becoming a working mother). Throughout time and across environments, individuals may experience each of the different options. The women in this study seemed very self-aware and combined their identities constantly – placing them in category four of this study.

In a qualitative study of 10 women college students, Jones (1997) also explored the idea of multiple dimensions of identity using grounded theory methods to develop the concept of multiple identities. Jones found that women's identities consisted of multiple layers. The college women's identity was experienced as constantly "evolving in an ongoing negotiation between the outside and inside worlds," (p. 381). In this study, identity was defined as a combination of external variables (i.e., gender, race) and internal variables which were more malleable, more complex and might change (i.e., life satisfaction, happiness). Jones found that while the sense of being a woman was important to these students, it was not central to the identity of these college women. The individual experiences, relationships, and families provided meaning to their female identity. The women's identities were influenced and developed by the diverse contexts in which their gender was experienced. Like in Jones' research, the participants in this study discussed the search for and the development of multiple aspects of their identities as a complex, ongoing process, always evolving and never static. Since the participants

in the current study were significantly older than college students, they were more self-aware about the external and internal variables contributing to their identities.

Building on Jones (1997), Jones and McEwen (2000) used grounded theory methods and data from Jones' earlier study to create a conceptual model representing the multiple dimensions of identity for a diverse group of women college students. This was one of the first models specifically concerning the development of multiple identities in women. The model was fluid, malleable and dynamic, representing the ongoing construction of women's identities and the influence of changing environmental contexts on the experience of identity development. The model was composed of intersecting circles of identity characteristics which represent both the significant dimensions themselves, and the contextual influences identified by participants in this study. These identity characteristics included race, culture, gender, sexual orientation, religion and social class, all characteristics that surfaced during the current research study as properties of valuing self. The circles intersected with each other to demonstrate that no one dimension can be understood individually, but only in relation to other dimensions of identity. The importance or salience of each dimension was identified by a dot on the circle. The closer the dot was to the central core of the circle, the more prominent that dimension of the individual's identity was at that time. The central core of the circle represented the personal attributes and characteristics of the woman's individual identity, also identified in the current model's category of valuing self. The model existed inside a larger circle of current context – family background, sociocultural conditions, current experiences, and life planning (Jones & McEwen).

Jones and McEwen's model is particularly applicable to the emergent theory generated in the current research study – with different factors contributing to the women's identities. Jones and McEwen's model is representative of a certain phase of women's lives – college-age. While all of these characteristics are absorbed in the current research's category of valuing self, the career and motherhood phases of life had not yet been experienced by the women in Jones and McEwen's sample. Perhaps one could view Jones and McEwen's model as an in depth investigation into the multiple dimensions of identity development for college age women and the grounded theory for developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life as the next step in the chronology of women's development.

Josselson (1996, p. 243) summarized, "The process of wanting and desiring is further complicated by the fact that people are composed of many discrete 'selves.' Women have multiple layers to their nature, and the solution to the riddle of identity formation is to include as many strands as possible." This leads to a discussion about the development of the theoretical framework of intersectionality.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is a very new theoretical framework that was developed less than 20 years ago and explores the interrelationship of race, class, gender, and other aspects of difference in people's lives. Intersectionality is grounded in feminist theory and is based on the principles that "people live multiple, layered identities and can simultaneously experience oppression and privilege." (Dill, McLaughlin & Nieves, 2007, p. 629). It

began as a way to explore the experiences of women of color through an intersectional analysis of their lives through multiple lenses.

In intersectionality, race, class, and gender affect all aspects of life, having varying levels of meaning and salience across time and experiences. The theoretical framework examines matrices of domination, structural power, historical grounding, and lived experiences (Andersen & Collins, 2004). In this study, the intersections of race, class, and gender were explored as they intersected with the participants' identities as working mothers. The layers of these identities added complexity and meaning to the women's abilities to value themselves and to develop their strong self-concepts.

The study of intersectionality has been applied to higher education and is "engaged in transforming both theory and practice in higher education across the disciplinary divide," (Dill et al., p. 629). As such, its applicability to the women in this study who all work in the domain of higher education administration is important to examine.

The literature on the development of multiple identities for women and intersectionality explored here provides a solid foundation for the development of this emergent theory – which explores the next phase of women's development by explaining how women develop and maintain a fulfilling, balanced life, including the components of career and motherhood.

Implications for Practice

Several implications and directions emerged from this research which can inform higher education administrators and institutions. The first implication is the importance

of supportive systems and policies in place at the institutional level. In general, the women in this study felt that their immediate workplace environments were supportive of their dual-focus on home and work, but that the institution was not. The research institution has very few policies which support working mothers. Beyond the Family and Medical Leave Act, annual leave, and sick leave, there are no official institutional policies or practices which support working parents. The university does not have on campus childcare (even unsubsidized), domestic partner benefits, policies on flextime, policies on telecommuting, or policies on part-time work. The institution does not have paid maternity or paternity leave or designated locations for breastfeeding on campus. With over 12,000 employees on campus, those are major supports and resources that are not being offered at an institutional level. To improve the quality of life for working mothers on campus, some or all of the above mentioned policies should be implemented.

Second, the importance of a supportive supervisor and colleagues was very clear throughout the process. Without an open, understanding and supportive supervisor, these high-achieving women could not be as successful and productive as they are in both their work and home lives. It is imperative for a supervisor to be trusting and confident in a woman's ability to get the job done, and to allow her the space, flexibility and freedom to do that job to the best of her ability in a manner that fits her life. Implications for practice include being open and honest about work/family issues and developing a mutually acceptable approach early on, before expectations develop and go unmet by the supervisor or the employee. This could include discussions during the performance review process, expectations prior to accepting a job, open discussions with supervisors, colleagues and subordinates.

In addition, the support and understanding of a woman's colleagues is also paramount to her success. Everyone has uncertainties and unexpected wrinkles in their lives and the ability to rely on the support and shared responsibility of colleagues is essential and creates a stronger team.

Third, the importance of flexible workplace - flexibility and understanding for all employees – is also crucial. When a supervisor can lead by example and set a tone of balance and understanding for all employees, the workplace will be a happier, more productive place. When an employee sees the boss leaving for a piano recital or a doctor's appointment, it empowers employees to make similar choices. Workplaces that acknowledge and celebrate other aspects of employees' lives create more committed, open and hard-working employees in many cases. To create a feeling of a supportive atmosphere is crucial in helping all employees to do their jobs well. In order to do so, supervisors should examine workplaces led by other working mothers to determine what works and what may not in their environment. Supervisors could also attend training sessions on campus or through professional associations to enable them to set a positive tone in their own offices.

The final implication is the importance of providing and encouraging support systems for working parents – mothers and fathers. Clearly, the reflections and opinions of the women in this study are not unique – working mothers have few outlets to share and process their daily lives, triumphs and struggles. At a professional association conference in April, 2007, only one of several hundred program sessions was about the work/family dynamic and the small room was overflowing with over 200 women from across the country hoping to discuss this topic. As an institution, we must do all we can

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to promote the importance of these discussions and bring the reality out of the shadows.
In our graduate programs, we must mentor, advise and inform our female students about
issues of work/family balance and how to develop and maintain tri-focused identities that
allow for valuing self, work and family life.

Anyone who has a family or family responsibilities outside of work feels the
strain of conflict or stress at some point. Colleges and universities must make it okay for
people to talk about these issues and share their frustrations. By sharing stories and
working together, administrators and faculty members can build a stronger community
for all of the people on campus. This could be accomplished through informal networks,
developing a listserv for working parents on campus, monthly roundtable discussions for
working parents over the lunch hour, or other services. As a result of this study, the
participants have decided to gather for lunch every few months to share ideas and
strategies for making it all work.

Implications for Theory

The most unique and potentially significant findings in this study are the
importance of each woman's sense of self and the need and reliance on support networks
for negotiating a balanced life. In the multitude of research about work-life balance and
work-family conflict, there is little discussion of the woman's sense of self-efficacy and
identity and her need for a strong support system, including the importance of
technology. There is also little research on women in higher education administration
and their search for work-life balance. This study will add to that small cadre of research.

Finally, there is little research on women or men who self-identify as dual-focused on home and work. I am hopeful this research will add to that literature stream, as well.

Implications for Future Research

This study offers several suggested avenues to pursue future research on the topic of a dual-focus on work and family and the emerging theory of developing and maintaining a fulfilling, balanced life. There are four major branches of study which could be pursued in future research: further study on this or similar samples of dual-focused, full-time working mothers in higher education administration, study on similar samples and types of men, research on different types and populations of women, and greater research on workplaces and supervisors.

First, if one were to study in greater depth this sample or a similar sample of dual-focused working mothers in higher education administration they might consider several related questions.

What are the behaviors of the husbands/partners of dual-focused working mothers? Clearly, the behavior, support and shared responsibility of the partners of the women in this study played a significant role in their ability to manage their lives. It would be interesting to study the behaviors, attitudes, goals and beliefs of these partners.

What, if any, are the affects or differences based on the age of the participants? Initially, it appeared that older women in this study were more comfortable in their lives and less concerned about perceptions of others. However, upon further analysis this seemed untrue. It would be interesting to determine what, if any, affect the age of the participants has on their experience.

Perhaps, it is the age of the children that affects their experience. So one might examine, what are the affects or differences based on the ages of the children? Arguably, younger children demand more of a mother's time and are less able to function independently. It would be interesting to understand what affect the child's age has on the woman's ability to maintain her dual-focused outlook.

As the children age, it would be interesting to understand what the experiences and perspectives are of the children of dual-focused working mothers. In this sample, some of the women said their children have never even asked why they work, and simply assume that moms and dads both work, while others question regularly and have different expectations for mothers and fathers. Future research might delve into the feelings and opinions of these children.

Finally, it would be interesting to understand on a larger scale if there is any significance to the number of children these women have. Eight of the women in this study only have one child, and most have made the decision not to have any more children. Of the 14 women who emerged from the initial survey as family-focused, 12 had two or more children. It would be very interesting to understand the significance of this data.

Second, one could conduct further research asking all of the same interview questions and essentially conducting the same study on dual-focused, working fathers. How do the identities of high achieving, dual-focused working men develop? What does their model and experience look like? Do they have fulfilling, balanced lives and value self, work and fatherhood in the same way these women do?

A third stream of research could investigate workplaces and environments. How can workplaces (supervisors, colleagues, institutions) be more supportive? What are the behaviors and characteristics of workplaces and/or supervisors who are deemed to be supportive? What do some institutions and/or corporations offer to make their workplaces more family-friendly? What policies exist? How could the institution be more family-friendly in its practices and policies?

Finally, further research could be conducted on other populations of working mothers. What does the development of working mothers in support level positions look like? How does this differ from high-achieving working mothers? What are the experiences of dual-focused women in other work environments? What does the development of family-focused women look like? How does this differ from dual-focused women? Exploring the experiences and lives of working mothers in other arenas would add to the literature base and provide a broader understanding of the development of working mothers.

<center>Strengths and Limitations of the Study</center>

As with any qualitative research study, this study on the development and maintenance of fulfilling, balanced lives for full-time working mothers in higher education administration has several strengths and weaknesses.

<center>*Strengths of the Study*</center>

First, this in depth research provides a comprehensive look at the development of the fulfilling lives of these 12 women. By conducting three individual 60-90 minutes

interviews with each participant and offering multiple opportunities for member checking, this research study represents honest interpretations of the lives, experiences, and identity development of these 12 women. By using many of the participants' words and feelings in the data analysis, the emerging theory presents an actual portrayal of their experiences as dual-focused working moms.

Second, this study offers insight into what makes a supportive work environment and the essential nature of a flexible work environment to enable employees to manage their work and their lives. This research demonstrates that providing a supportive, flexible workplace engenders loyalty, hard work, commitment, and the opportunity for employees to live full and productive lives – succeeding at work and at home.

Third, this study shows how dual-focused women do all that they do and gives suggestions for other working mothers. It offers coping strategies, behaviors, thoughts and feelings of busy, accomplished working mothers. This study lets the reader see how one subset of working moms lives their lives, manages their days and facilitates their jobs, children and partners.

The fourth strength of this study is that this research shows that anything is possible. Through deep, rich description and narratives about the lives of 12 high achieving women, this emerging theory shows that a successful dual-focus on work and family is challenging, but possible. The women in this study are busy, and at times, stressed, but as the emerging theory shows, overall they feel they have fulfilling, balanced lives. Their choices have been difficult, but they have no regrets. The women would never trade their families or their professional success and accomplishments for anything.

Fifth, this study adds to the limited discussion that has affected many and been discussed very little. There is little research out there about the success of working mothers who are dual-focused on both home and work. Most of the research that has been done has considered the need to sacrifice or compromise in one domain or the other, making success in both arenas improbable or unlikely. Some research has been done on working mothers in corporate America and some of faculty women who are mothers, but very little has been done on mothers in higher education administration.

Next, this study serves to demonstrate the need for further research. As mentioned above, this study is just the tip of the iceberg, more needs to be done in order to fully understand the complexity of this phenomenon.

Finally, the last strength of this study has to do with the benefits to the participants themselves. Throughout the interviews, each of the women commented at one time or another, how helpful this process was for them. They told me that no one ever asked them about this aspect of their lives – trying to balance and juggle the sometimes competing demands of work and motherhood. The interview process allowed them to be reflective and contemplative about areas of their life they never really considered. The women in this study are so busy, they rarely have time to think about the amazing things they are doing on a daily basis. One woman described it as a "day at the spa and a therapy session wrapped up in one." As a result of the process, the women were particularly open and excited to participate in the group interview. Ten of the 12 women were able to attend. The session presented an opportunity for connection with other women like them. The outcome was astonishing to me as the researcher – several of the women decided to start a monthly lunch meeting of the participants to discuss their

lives and strategies. This left me feeling as if my research was important. For these

women, the study had met a need for them that had gone unrecognized and unfulfilled.

Limitations of the Study

As with all research, there were also several limitations to this study. The first

limitation is the role of the researcher. As a full-time working mother with a small child

in an upper level position at the university, I would have been eligible to participate in

my own study. Due to my role on campus, I knew many of the women prior to the study

and interact with them regularly through my job. The role of the researcher was

discussed with each participant fully prior to the initial interview and steps were taken to

ensure confidentiality, and increase goodness, with peer debriefers, repeated member

checking, a group interview and an inquiry auditor. I am sure my role as a peer with

similar challenges and life issues facilitated an honest and open dialogue and allowed the

women to be candid in their responses. I hope my role as a peer did not bias my

interpretation of their thoughts and feelings.

The next limitation is that this study only examined women at one institution. By

examining only one institution, it is difficult to determine how the experiences and

interpretations of the women in this study might be unique to the campus culture at this

institution. The women did represent a diversity of workplaces and divisions, which

seemed to have different levels of flexibility, support, and tolerance of working mothers.

However, there is no way to know if the same themes and categories would have

emerged in another environment at a different institution – different size, non-public,

different geographic location, or any other number of different institutional characteristics.

Another limitation of this study is that it doesn't examine women at all levels of the organization. By interviewing women at upper levels of the organization, the research produced a deep understanding and interpretation of the experiences of these women without thoroughly understanding women at all levels of the organization. One participant explained that seniority brought with it privileges of spillover and flexibility in one's schedule. These participants could easily take off to attend a doctor's appointment and take work home at night. Women whose jobs are exclusively onsite and controlled by a time clock may not have the luxury of flexibility with their time. Additional research could examine the experiences of women at all levels of an organization.

Due to the specificity of this sample and study, the findings are not necessarily generalizable to the larger population. However, the findings are transferable to other women and other institutions and should be applicable in other settings. By studying the lives of 12 women using qualitative methods, I was able to get a thorough, deep, saturated understanding of their experiences and the diversity of their lives. As a result, the small sample size describes the phenomenon of their experiences, in the institutional context of the university at this point in time. Any other sample might produce slightly different findings. However, some research cited in Chapter 2 does find some similar experiences in other professions and working venues, so the results do seem valid for many women, thus supporting the likely transferability of the study.

All in all, the limitations were few and the study produced an emerging theory about the complexity of full-time working mothers in higher education administration and their ability to have fulfilling, balanced lives.

Conclusion

During the course of 36 intense individual interviews and one group interview, it became evident that these 12 women had strong self-concepts and understandings of their own identities. They were ambitious and directed, working hard and committing early to a career field. Following initial career success and/or post-bachelor's degrees, most of them met and married their current partners and made the decision to begin a family. After giving birth or adopting a first child, many of the women struggled with the decision to have more children – either because of their own age or because of their career demands. None of the women considered giving up their careers for stay at home motherhood. Throughout their lives, all of the women have valued themselves, their careers, and their children.

As individuals, these women had a deep sense of the multiple aspects of their own identities – including family background, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, and gender roles. They were aware of their wide range of emotions which ebb and flow from pure joy and total happiness to exhaustion, guilt and a sense of being overwhelmed depending on the situation. As mothers, these women were intensely committed to their children's well-being, care and education. They were involved in ways that are different and deeper than their partners. As workers, these women lacked female mentors but were committed to setting a tone for others and to

making the workplace more family-friendly than they found it. In general, they found their current supervisors and workplaces flexible and supportive.

All of the women in this study believed they had fulfilling, balanced lives and were equally committed to family and work, while trying to maintain their individual identities. They had very high expectations of themselves and tried to live up to the expectations of others. They genuinely felt motherhood offered perspective and balance to their work lives, and working offered an opportunity for personal growth and expression to balance their identities as mothers. The maintenance of this fulfilling, balanced life was an ongoing negotiation, requiring the support of spouses, family, colleagues and supervisors; juggling complex logistics; and utilizing strategic tools, such as technology. During the journey to develop and maintain a fulfilling, balanced life they were faced with constant decisions and negotiations about their priorities, conflicts, and boundaries. As a result, almost all of the women felt they had changed their career goals or slowed their career progression.

The women in this study were committed to the institution – but embraced the components of themselves, their work and their family lives that existed outside the physical and psychological boundaries of the institution. They were bound by time – the current time in history and the societal expectations of working mothers today; and the time in the day that was never enough in which they strived to do it all and to do it all well.

Although they were faced with challenges and had to make compromises, the opportunities were many and these women would not have it any other way. The common sentiment was that "women can have it all, just not all at one time." For our

institutions of today and the future professionals of tomorrow, it is important to understand how full-time working mothers in higher education administration succeed at having fulfilling, balanced lives that include successful careers, happy family lives, and an individual sense of personal identity. Hopefully, this study can illuminate how this complex negotiation can occur and encourage others to see the possibilities for themselves and the next generation of working mothers.

As mentioned earlier, a gyroscope is a complex instrument that requires the continuous rotation of wheels on different axes to maintain the stability and direction of the instrument. For tri-focused full-time working mothers in higher education administration, all of the "wheels" must continue in motion to keep the gyroscope of these women's lives in balance.

Dear _____,

Hello. My name is Brooke Supple. I know many of you through my role in Student Affairs, but in addition, I am a doctoral candidate in the Educational Policy and Leadership Program. It is as a student that I write to you today. I am writing to request your assistance finding women in higher education administration for my qualitative research study on the development of dual-focused identity development in working mothers.

I am seeking a diverse group of female, mid- to upper-level higher education administrators at [the research institution] who place a high priority on both their work roles and their home/family roles. As the final phase of my PhD in higher education administration, I am completing a qualitative dissertation on the development of dual-focused identities in female higher education administrators who are also working mothers.

I am asking that you nominate women you know or work with on campus who you believe embody this dual-focused identity – placing an equally high priority on work and home life. Please e-mail me the names and positions of the women who you believe meet the following criteria:

- Mid- or upper-level women administrators at [the research institution] (assistant directors or above) who
- Have at least a Master's degree,
- Have one or more children under 18 living at home, and
- Who you as a nominator believe are currently engaging in a relatively even balance of work and home roles

After an initial screening, a diverse group of women will be invited to participate in the study. Participation in the study involves one-on-one interviews, in addition to an optional follow-up group interview.

Please forward this e-mail to anyone at [the university] you believe might have access to women who fit the participant criteria. I truly appreciate your help in identifying potential participants. You will remain anonymous throughout the process. If possible, please respond by October 14, 2005. Please contact me or my dissertation advisor, Dr. Susan R. Komives at Komives@umd.edu, if you have any questions regarding this project or the nomination process.

Thank you so much for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Brooke Lecky Supple
bsupple@umd.edu
301-314-8437 (W)
301-598-5232 (H)

Dear _____,

      Hello. My name is Brooke Supple. I know many of you through my role in Student Affairs, but in addition, I am a doctoral candidate in the Educational Policy and Leadership Program. It is as a student that I write to you today. I am writing because you have been nominated by one of your colleagues as a woman in higher education administration who places a high priority on both home and work roles. For my qualitative research study, I am examining the development of dual-focused identities in working mothers. This study will have implications for university work policies, supervision, and professional development. Your involvement is very important.

      I am seeking a diverse group of female, mid- to upper-level higher education administrators at [the research institution] who have a Master's degree, have one or more children under 18 living at home, and are currently engaging in a relatively even balance of work and home roles. If you fit these criteria, I hope you might consider participating in my study. If you are interested, please complete the attached screening form and e-mail it back to me by Friday, October 14, 2005.

      After an initial screening, a diverse group of women will be invited to participate in the study. Participation in the study involves three one-on-one interviews, in addition to an optional follow-up group interview. Your involvement throughout the process will be confidential.

      Please forward this e-mail to anyone on campus you believe might fit the participant criteria. I truly appreciate your help in considering being a participant in my study. If possible, please respond by October 14. Please contact me or my dissertation advisor, Dr. Susan R. Komives at Komives@umd.edu, if you have any questions regarding this project or the nomination process.

      Thank you so much for your assistance.

      Sincerely,

      Brooke Lecky Supple
      bsupple@umd.edu
      301-314-8437 (W)
      301-598-5232 (H)

Participant Screening Information

Name:

Current Position:

Home Address:

Work Address:

Home Phone:

Work Phone:

Cell Phone:

E-mail:

Highest degree earned, institution and year of degree:

Age:

Race:

Marital/Partner Status:
___Married ___Single, never married   ___Divorced ____Committed partner   ___Widowed

Partner's Occupation:

Number and ages of children:

Please check one response per question.

Do you consider yourself to place a high priority on both work and family life?
_____Yes _____No

Do you value one role over the other? _____Yes _____No

I consider myself…
_____Work-oriented (Higher or much higher priority on work)
_____High value on both orientations (Equally high priorities on work and family)
_____Family-oriented (Higher or much higher priority on family)

Are there any circumstances that shaped your responses to be different than you would normally have replied? (e.g., family illness or job crises)

Thank you for taking the time to answer these questions. I look forward to speaking to you soon.

APPENDIX C

<u>CONSENT FORM</u>

Project Title	*Understanding How Dual-focused Identities Develop in Working Mothers in Higher Education Administration*
Why is this research being done?	*This is a research project being conducted by Brooke Supple at the University of Maryland., We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you meet the criteria for the study. The purpose of this research project is to develop a grounded theory that explores the developmental process of dual-focused identity development in working mothers in higher education administration.*
What will I be asked to do?	*The procedures involve one-on-one in-depth interviews as the primary research method. You will be asked to participate in a minimum of three individual interviews and one group interview. During the interview, you will be asked to respond to open-ended questions posed by the researcher focusing on your experience as a working mother.*
What about confidentiality?	*We will do our best to keep your personal information confidential. To help protect your confidentiality, all information will be reported anonymously and no individual will be identified in the report at any time. Excerpts of the interviews will be used in the written report of this study, but your full name will not be used. If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible. Your information may be shared with representatives of [the research institution], or governmental authorities if you or someone else is in danger or if we are required to do so by law.* *In accordance with legal requirements and/or professional standards, we will disclose to the appropriate individuals and/or authorities information that comes to our attention concerning child abuse or neglect or potential harm to you or others.*

Project Title	*Understanding How Dual-focused Identities Develop in Working Mothers in Higher Education Administration*
What are the risks of this research?	*There are no known risks associated with participating in this research project.*
What are the benefits of this research?	*This research is not designed to help you personally, but the results may help the investigator learn more about dual-focused identity development. We hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of work/family issues for working mothers.*
Do I have to be in this research? May I stop participating at any time?	*Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify.*
What if I have questions?	*This research is being conducted by Brooke Supple of the Department of Educational Policy and Leadership at the University of Maryland. If you have any questions about the research study, please contact Brooke Supple at 301-314-8437, bsupple@umd.edu, or 2108 Mitchell Building or her research advisor, Dr. Susan R. Komives at komives@umd.edu.* *If you have questions about your rights as a research subject or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact:* **Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 20742; (e-mail) irb@deans.umd.edu; (telephone) 301-405-0678** *This research has been reviewed according to the University of Maryland, IRB procedures for research involving human subjects.*
Statement of Age of Subject and Consent	*Your signature indicates that:* *you are at least 18 years of age;* *the research has been explained to you;* *your questions have been fully answered; and* *you freely and voluntarily choose to participate in this research project.*
Signature and Date	**NAME OF SUBJECT**
	SIGNATURE OF SUBJECT
	DATE

Protocols for Interviews One, Two and Three

Interview Overview (repeated each time):

Name:_____

Date and Time:_____

Location:_____

Other observations:_____

_____

Interview Process (review each time):
1. Welcome participant.
2. Introduce myself and the research study.
3. Explain the interview process.
    a. The conversation will be kept confidential.
    b. Although I am tape recording, your individual identity will be kept confidential.
    c. You will be provided with a transcript of the tape in order to make additions, clarifications, or edits to our interview.
    d. I will be taking notes during the interview to assist in the data analysis process.
4. Review and have participant sign the informed consent form.
5. Complete Participant Data Form.
6. Clarify and review if they have any questions.
7. Begin interview.

Interview One Purpose:

To establish trust and rapport with the participant; to understand the life history of the participant.

Interview One Questions:

Possible follow up probes are noted in case this information does not come up in the conversation.

Background:
1. Please tell me a little bit about yourself.
2. Please tell me about your work history.
    a. Follow up: How long have you been in your current position?
3. Please tell me about your immediate family.
    a. Follow up: How many children do you have? How old are they?
    b. Follow up: Did you plan your pregnancy around the academic calendar?
    c. Follow up: Did you take time away from work to care for your children?
4. Does your spouse/partner work outside the home? What is their occupation?
5. Is your partner supportive of you working full-time?
6. What was the role and influence of your parents?
    a. Follow up: Did your mother work? How did that affect you?

7. Have you had significant female role models? Tell me about them.
    a. Follow up: What has their influence been?

Dual-focused Identity:
8. How do you describe the balance of your work life and family life?
    a. Follow up: What do you perceive a dual-focused identity to be?
9. How do others perceive you as a working mother?
    a. Follow up: Partner? Colleagues? Friends?
10. What are your behaviors that make you dual-focused? How did this emphasis develop for you?
    a. Follow up: Have you always had this identity? How has it fluctuated across time?
    b. Follow up: When and how did your ability to place a high priority on work and family develop?
11. What personal traits do you believe are necessary to develop a dual-focused identity?

Interview Two Purpose:
To fully explore current work/family issues with each participant; to understand how they handle conflict; to follow up and clarify questions from Interview One.

Interview Two Questions:
Possible follow up probes are noted in case this information does not come up in the conversation.

Follow up from Interview 1:
1. Since our first conversation, have you had the opportunity to reflect on any issues? Is there anything you would like to clarify or add?

2. All of the participants were very clear about their career paths in Interview 1, but not as clear about how the decision happened to have children. What influenced your decision and when did that become clear to you? Can you talk a little bit about that?

3. Several participants mentioned that "work makes them a better mom." Do you feel that way? Can you elaborate on what that means?

4. All of the participants referenced "giving up something" in order to have both a successful career and a family. What have you given up? How do you feel about that?

Identity and Role Issues:
5. How might other roles or aspects of your identity factor into your identity as a working mother (e.g., race, sexual orientation, ethnicity, religion)?

Career Issues:
6.   What has been the impact of motherhood on your career goals and aspirations?
      a. Follow up: What has that meant?
      b. Follow up: What have you given up to do both?
7.   How do you think having a family has affected your career accomplishments?
8.   Do the expectations of others influence you and the roles you play?
9.   Does your supervisor support or discourage a dual-centric approach to work and family?
      a. Follow up: Do you bring your whole self to the workplace or leave your family/personal issues at home? Why?
      b. Follow up: Tell me about how you perceive the policies of your institution regarding your approach to work and family?

Interview Three Purpose:
To follow up or clarify answers from the first two interviews; to have participants reflect on their experiences, to begin to explore themes which have emerged.

Interview Three Questions:
Possible follow up probes are noted in case this information does not come up in the conversation.

1. Were there other events or experiences or meanings that we did not discuss last time? Tell me about those.
2. How do you use your dual-focused outlook to resolve conflict between your work and family roles?
3. What is the impact of work/family issues on your life? On your work?
4. What spillover effects occur (home to work or work to home)?
      a. Follow up: How do you manage these?
      b. Follow up: Do you feel forced to choose one or the other?
5. What environmental supports are important to enable you to maintain a dual-centric identity?
      a. Follow up: What other factors influence your dual-centric identity?
6. What are your coping strategies for managing home and work?
      a. Follow up: What kind of support networks or structures do you have and how do they help?
7. What are the biggest barriers to being a dual-focused working mother?
8. What are the greatest opportunities as a dual-focused working mother?
9. How has technology played a role in your ability to be dual-focused?
10. What is the greatest challenge you face by being a working mother?
11. What question did I not ask that I should have or that you would like to answer?
12. Let's discuss the themes I e-mailed you in advance. What are your thoughts?

For every interview:

Possible Prompts:
- Can you tell me more about that particular experience?
- Who or what else was involved in that experience?
- How would you describe what happened?
- Can you give me an example?
- What meaning did you make of that experience?
- How did that make you feel?
- Has that feeling changed over time?
- When did you start feeling that way?

Closure:
1. Thank participant and turn off the recorder.
2. Remind them that the transcript will be sent to them by e-mail for their comments, edits, or clarifications.
3. Arrange or confirm next interview time and location.

APPENDIX E
Group Interview Protocol

Interview Overview:
Names:_____
Date and Time:_____
Location:_____
Other observations:_____
_____

Ground Rules for Group Interview:
1. Welcome participants.
2. Have everyone introduce themselves.
3. Explain the interview process.
    a. The conversation will be kept confidential by the researcher and the participants.
    b. Although I am tape recording, your individual identity will be kept confidential.
    c. I will be taking notes during the interview to assist in the data analysis process.
    d. Everyone should feel free to comment or abstain from any parts of the conversation.
    e. Everyone should feel free to speak openly, pose questions to the interviewer or the participants, and enter into the discussion when they feel comfortable.
4. Clarify and review if they have any questions.
5. Begin interview.

Questions and comments will evolve from data analysis.
Share emerging themes and ask for clarification and reaction.
Elicit feedback on how categories are forming and what elements are missing.

Closure:
1. Thank participants and turn off the recorder.
2. Remind them that the transcript will be sent to them by e-mail for their comments, edits, or clarifications.
3. Explain final writing and editing process.

APPENDIX F
Categories Generated in Axial Coding Process

1. Balance
2. Barriers
3. Boundaries
4. Career choice/Commitment
5. Challenges
6. Compromise
7. Conflict
8. Coping
9. Daily routine
10. Emotions
11. Expectations
12. Family Background
13. Further study
14. Gender
15. Gender roles
16. Goals
17. Happiness/fulfillment
18. Hobbies
19. Institution
20. Logistics
21. Mentor
22. Motherhood
23. Opportunities
24. Partner
25. Personality
26. Priorities
27. Race
28. Regrets
29. Religion
30. SES
31. Sexual Orientation
32. Spillover
33. Supervisor/workplace
34. Supports
35. Technology
36. Themes
37. Time
38. Work

APPENDIX G

Letter from Inquiry Auditor

April 19, 2007

To Whom It May Concern:

      I served as the Inquiry Auditor for Brooke Supple's dissertation research. This role provides one way to increase dependability and confirmability of the research. The Inquiry Auditor essentially has two roles, to examine the process and the product of the grounded theory research. My process role examines the researcher's use/misuse of grounded theory, which focuses mostly on the coding which is the core of the grounded theory method. My role when looking at the product entails verifying the final outcomes, which includes the core category and key categories and how they evolved from the in vivo words of the participants via the coding processes. Brooke Supple was successful in her attempt to appropriately code the copious data collected from the words of her 12 participants. She also achieved a verifiable emerging theory and model from the raw data collected.

Sincerely,

Scott C. Brown, Ph.D.
Inquiry Auditor
and
Director
Daniel L. Jones Career Development Center
Mount Holyoke College

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