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ON COMBINING MOTHERHOOD WITH EMPLOYMENT- AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

by

Linda Rose Ennis

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Department of Education
University of Toronto

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On Combining Motherhood With Employment: An Exploratory Study
Ph.D. 1997
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation will examine the experience of six working mothers in order to understand their experience of combining working with motherhood. To fully understand this issue, the following research question was formulated: what is the experience of being a working mother, what are the underlying feelings associated with this experience, and under what circumstances is the working mother affected by this experience?

The research methodology used was Glaser and Strauss' "grounded theory". The philosophical approach used was the "phenomenological-hermeneutic approach". Open-ended interviews were conducted with six working mothers, who volunteered for the study. All interviews were transcribed and analyzed according to Glaser and Strauss' "constant comparative method".

Two primary themes were derived from the research:
1. The working mother's ability to separate from and connect to others. This theme included the working mother's feelings of isolation and/or the yearning for others, the working mother's ability to balance work and motherhood with her own needs, the ability of the working mother to find a bridge between work and motherhood, the working mother's early relationship and losses, and the working mother's present relationships and support systems.
2. The working mother's sense of herself as feeling integrated and/or fragmented. This theme included the working mother's sense of emotional and physical well-being and the working mother's perception of time as affecting her sense of self.

Descriptive-interpretive summaries of each of the six interviews with working mothers were prepared in order to describe their experiences. As a result, three fluid stages to the working mother's experience were derived: the splitting working mother, the integrating working mother and the transitional working mother.

Existing theory was then applied to the research findings and a new theory derived from the research presented. Practical and theoretical limitations of the study, as well as implications of the research were discussed.
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"There is only the fight to recover what has been lost
And found and lost again and again: and now, under conditions
That seem unpropitious. But perhaps neither gain nor loss.
For us, there is only the trying."

T.S. Eliot (1963)

"Though nothing can bring back the hour
Of splendour in the grass, of glory in the flower;
We will grieve not, rather find
Strength in what remains behind."

W. Wordsworth
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Women who are combining the experiences of motherhood and employment are involved in a continual process of co-ordinating themselves with the various aspects that each area demands. At emotionally-laden periods in the life cycle of such an individual, the continuity in one's life may be broken, which affects the individual's sense of harmony and the manner in which she is able to relate to others in her life. This thesis will attempt to look at and explain what the "co-ordinating process" looks like for different working mothers, when, why and what types of critical situations affect the emotional well-being of the individual and what impact earlier and later relationships have on the working mother.

The roots of this issue stem from my own personal experience as a working mother, which has made me address how difficult it is for one to be objective and clear about this situation while one is "present in it". I imagine that there may be forces operating here that far surpass explanations which detail how difficult it is to be reflective while experiencing, somewhat reminiscent of the phenomenological-hermeneutic philosophical orientations. The need to be distant from a situation in order to gain a meaningful perspective of the whole picture certainly seems to me to be something that I have noticed in understanding the meaning of co-ordinating
might be difficult to comprehend the meaning of one's experience whilst in it, partly due to the way society has taught mothers to focus on the needs of the "other" (child, husband,...), thereby resulting in a numbing of one's own needs as a person, who is also a mother, wife, daughter, employee,... The aim of this thesis will be that of trying to look at how working mothers' experiences are the same and different, why that may be the case, and to address this issue, where it exists, of the ease with which some working mothers are reflective while in the experience, while others are not. Finally, for the purposes of writing this thesis, I have noted that in my attempt to integrate all the bits of information I have acquired throughout this process, I have also set out to draw a thread of continuity from my past, linking it through to my present and future. I imagine that in the process of reflecting upon one's experiences, one needs to look at them along the continuum of time, addressing one's past experiences, linked with one's present and future relationships. Because outside experiences interact with one's inner feelings, I imagine my experiences are reflective of many working mothers' as theirs are of mine. The road of pondering life experiences is a meaningful one if one can appreciate the whole journey. I hope that this work will provide that opportunity.

**Aims of this Study**

1. to describe the lived experience of the participants involved in this study, as well as to reflect on the meaning of those experiences

2. to apply a theoretical framework in order to understand the participants' experiences from a psychoanalytic perspective because of its strength in understanding the conscious and unconscious lived experiences of the individual as well as internal-external realities.
3. to examine the bodies of literature that address maternal employment, to make meaning of the fragmented literature in this field, and to apply it to the data derived from this research.

**Assumptions**

My preconceived notion of the phenomenon of maternal employment prior to carrying out a pilot study in this area was that there needed to be a reconciliation between motherhood and employment. I believed that if circumstances were ideal (i.e., availability of day-care, involvement of the father, flexibility of hours of employment, mother's level of organization), then the combination of motherhood and employment would be easier to attain. The pilot study indicated that although there are clearly barriers and facilitators in combining motherhood with employment, they do not account for the sources of conflict that the working mothers described in the interviews. It appears, then, as if the underlying dynamics needs to be further addressed in order to comprehend more clearly why the manipulation of external factors did not explain the entire phenomenon. My assumption is that there is an intricate relationship between the underlying dynamics of individuals involved and the present environmental conditions.

In choosing a suitable philosophical orientation, I needed to work within a philosophical mode that respected my own personal and work experiences as well as those of the participants in this study. The methods used within the paradigm of choice had to serve as an accurate means to gather experience material, as well as to allow reflection from the participants on those experiences. The philosophical orientation had to respect both the intrapsychic as well as the environmental contributions. I opted to apply, therefore, a phenomenological-hermeneutic perspective, and draw upon a psychoanalytic theoretical orientation in order to most fully
understand the underlying phenomena of maternal employment, the psychoanalytic orientation being a hermeneutical approach, in which I feel most schooled and familiar. A more detailed description of the phenomenological-hermeneutic approach and the psychoanalytic orientation will be described in greater detail in chapters five and three respectively.

The Research Question

The difficulty in understanding the lived experience of the working mother is that for the most part, most of the psychological work done in this area has focused on the environmental components affecting working mothers more so than their intrapsychic well-being or lack of it. It has placed a great deal of emphasis on such statistical indicators as the number of hours women are engaged in various household activities relative to their husbands and their espoused levels of satisfaction in engaging in these tasks. My own research (Ennis, 1990), as described in chapter four, which dealt with the dual role of working and mothering, concluded with the statement that the subjective experiences of the working mother needed to be understood in interaction with the environment rather than only noting what the motivators, facilitators and barriers to combining work with motherhood are. In order to fully understand the qualitative experience of working mothers, there is a need to also examine this issue using qualitative methodologies aside from the quantitative research that has been carried out up to this point. These qualitative studies would focus on past relationships as well as present ones, would explore the psychological inner world of the individuals involved and would do so by a deeper understanding of the working mother's reality by focusing on the meanings these women make of their own experiences. It is the hope that such an approach would look at the issue in a more holistic way rather than focusing on an
isolated aspect or situational variable associated with it. Past studies have employed a quantitative
approach whereby there was a verification of a hypothesis about working mothers' behaviour and
satisfaction. This study will employ a qualitative approach, which will deal with the phenomenon
in a more holistic way, and which "focuses upon process in the eventuation of outcomes rather
than providing...lists as causes" (Lofland, 1971). The psychoanalytic theoretical approach would
be the hermeneutic perspective applied to further understand and illuminate the individual's lived
experiences by focusing on the mothers' feelings, as well as behaviours.

Accordingly, the research question may be formulated as follows: What is the working
mother's experience, from her perspective, in combining motherhood with employment? How can
we further understand the underlying phenomena associated with this experience? How do
relationships with significant others enter into the experience of working mothers?

Contextual Information About Conditions of Mothers in the Working World

The dramatic increase of maternal employment in the last half century has great implications
from both an individual and societal perspective. As a result, there is the need to address this
phenomenon from both a psychological and sociological perspective. The employment rate of
women with children under the age of three has doubled since 1976 (Statistics Canada, 1993). The
"unpaid work" of caring for a household and family has not decreased, however, which
appears to constitute up to twenty-nine hours a week for women who are working, as well. This
contrasts with men who work outside of the home and who spend fourteen hours a week at
"unpaid work" (Statistics Canada, 1992). Because the working mother tends to feel greater
pressure in combining two such heavy loads, it is critical to gain a better understanding as to what her lived experience is in the context of the society in which she interacts.

Two primary issues that have been addressed in the area of maternal employment have included; the reasons for women's employment and career choices, which contrary to the traditional mode of thinking, suggests that women work for the same reasons that men do, for financial and personal reasons; institutional and societal barriers and how they impinge upon working women's opportunities. The qualitative work in this area has examined the following areas; the working mother's own definition of work as more encompassing than the traditional definition of work; the boundaries between work and family as more fluid for women; working women compartmentalizing, less than men, their work and home lives; women valuing connections between work and family, as well as between themselves and others within the work place (Grossman & Chester, 1990). These issues and others must be examined, not so much in a comparative way with working men, but rather as an attempt to fully comprehend the experience and meaning of employment in working mothers' lives.

Cultural Implications

For the purposes of this study, limited criteria for participant selection were established. The participants were working mothers who were presently employed within the educational system. They were referred to me by colleagues and by friends of friends and they were not women with whom I was socially involved. It became apparent, however, throughout the interviews that at least half of the women were middle to upper class and were of Jewish background. Since this study is exploring the individual lived experiences of the participants as they contribute to a whole
picture of working mothers, rather than generalizing one's experience to all working mothers, it is not critical that participants be drawn from several ethnic persuasions. However, it is important to note the impact of ethnicity in the way of the individual's attitudes towards acceptance and rejection of traditional values, as well as towards the Jewish culture's roots in patriarchy. This would affect the participants' lived experiences and feelings about being a working mother. It must be noted that one's identification with one's ethnicity clearly varies from individual to individual. In this study, attention was paid to the contribution of the participants' ethnicity where the participant made issue of it.

The Researcher

In order to provide a backdrop for this study, I will present myself, the researcher, as the first participant and will explain how and why I became involved in understanding combining motherhood with employment.

My interest in this issue was a personal one in that it stemmed from my own experience of returning to work as a kindergarten teacher when my eldest daughter was six months of age. Some of the difficulties that I experienced included my attempt to be physically and mentally in two places at one time, feeling overprotective of my child, excessive concern over my child's well-being, being overly critical towards the substitute caretaking that was in place, competitiveness with the substitute caretaker for my daughter's affection and attention and generally feeling torn between two places. One of the main difficulties that I experienced was in coming to terms with the paradox that work increased self-sufficiency and yet this self-sufficiency required dependency upon the substitute caretaker. I explored how unresolved dependency needs
seemed to have been reactivated with the birth of my eldest child. When I discovered this, I began a long journey which began with myself returning to graduate school and studying psychology. It became important for me to further my understanding by finding out what other working mothers' experiences and feelings about combining work with motherhood were.
Organization of Thesis

This dissertation consists of the following sections:

1. **Introduction** introduces the thesis topic and outlines the aims of the study, the question and problems associated with it, assumptions previous to writing the thesis as well as related to the philosophical orientation and contextual information about the conditions of mothers in the working world.

2. **Literature Review** will be presented in three areas: "Maternal Employment", "Transmission of Parental Behaviour", "Women's Identity and Maternal Subjectivity".

3. **Theoretical Framework** will discuss primarily existing psychoanalytic theory concerning the experience of individuals in relation to others drawing specifically on M. Klein's "Object Relations Theory".

4. **Previous Findings** from the pilot study I undertook prior to this project in this area.

5. **Methodology** will be outlined describing the phenomenological method, selection of subjects (purposeful sampling) the method of data collection (open-ended in-depth interview format), the method of data analysis (Grounded Theory), interpretation and evaluation. It will introduce the "phenomenological-hermeneutic (psychoanalytic) perspective" and explain the rationale for its use.
6. **Results: Descriptive-Interpretive Summaries** will include the profiles of each of the participants involved in the study.

7. **Results: Themes** will be derived as a result of the analysis.

8. **Discussion** will detail the results and reflect through the application of theory the explanation for the findings.

9. **Conclusion** will look at the practical and theoretical limitations and implications of this research.

10. **References**

11. **Appendix** displays a sample of the consent form that was filled out by the participants, the Background Information Questionnaire and an example of data coding.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

The subject area of maternal employment appears to draw on three bodies of literature that are not easily integrated in that they approach this issue in their own distinct way quite apart from each other, which makes the area of maternal employment appear rather fragmented. As it were, in presenting the literature review, it is no accident that I am presenting each body of literature separately from the other because they seem to operate in isolation from each other. Therefore, it will also be the aim of this thesis to examine this dilemma as well as to thread together the essence of maternal employment upon examining the three bodies of literature that pertain to the area.

This chapter will present the following three areas:

1) Maternal Employment (Empirical & Phenomenological-Clinical works)

2) Transmission of Parental Behaviour (Intergenerational Continuity)

3) Women's Identity and Maternal Subjectivity

1) Maternal Employment

This section will examine two bodies of literature basically in this area. One is of an empirical nature, oftentimes drawing from a feminist perspective, which recognizes the interaction between women's personal experiences and the political position of women. The other applies a
phenomenological/ clinical approach drawing on feminist psychodynamic thinking in its attempt to provide understanding of the underlying dynamics into the ways working mothers feel about their experience of combining employment with motherhood.

A. Empirical Works on Maternal Employment

Empirical work in this area has dealt with the following issues related to the effects of maternal employment on the mother; exploring the variety of family structures under which employed mothers live; measuring the well-being of the working mother and the work-family conflict; examining the characteristics, determinants and consequences of maternal separation anxiety; and measuring the variables associated with the decision-making process related to maternal employment, the attitude towards work and motivation for employment, and those factors affecting working mothers' career patterns.

The most recent empirical work done in the area of maternal employment described the maternal employment, its effect on family members, theoretical and practical implications of this situation for a variety of families and the support or lack of it from society (Frankel, 1993). This work found three major themes, the first being the variety of family structures under which employed mothers live, the second being the commonality for the families of employed mothers and thirdly, the slim support for employed mothers.

Of particular interest for the purposes of this thesis is work done on the employed mother's well-being as it relates to maternal employment (Sears & Galambos, 1993). Two processes by which work experiences may be associated with family life are described as "spillover" and "crossover" effects. Spillover refers to the similarity between what occurs at work and at home...
for the same individual. Crossover refers to the influence of what happens to one spouse in either the work or home domain on the other spouse. Regarding spillover, it was found that there were significant spillover effects between the work and home domains in a bi-directional way with home stresses spilling over into work and job stresses affecting the family. Both positive and negative feelings of well-being affect the process of spillover from work to marital relations. It was also noted that since spillover and crossover phenomena have been treated separately, it would be more beneficial to examine how the processes of work and family interact and to measure the sources of satisfying work and family (marital) relations if the two processes were studied together. In a study of a sample of eight-hundred and twenty-eight men and women that looked at antecedents and consequences of work-family conflict, Burke (1989) also noted spillover effects of work experience onto the family, bi-directional influences of one on the other, and positive influences of work and family roles as well as conflicts. Further examination of the processes by which work and family interact is necessary, although this literature noted the importance of the daily transition from work to family and back again (Sears & Galambos, 1993).

Related to maternal employment is maternal separation anxiety and the characteristics, determinants and consequences of maternal separation anxiety were examined (McBride & Belsky, 1988). They found that upon analyzing sixty-three mother-infant dyads, employed mothers showed less anxiety than non-employed mothers over time but that mothers of sons experienced more anxiety than mothers of daughters. They also found that separation anxiety was greater among mothers who were interpersonally more sensitive and who had higher self-esteem, as measured by The Maternal Separation Anxiety Scale. They concluded that "separation anxiety is multiply determined by characteristics of the mother, the infant, and the employment situation"
The balance of employment and motherhood was also examined as a longitudinal study of the mothers' feelings about separation from their first-born infants (DeMeis, Hock and McBride, 1986). They noted that "employment-preference mothers" anxiety about separation declined earlier and to a greater extent than "actual employment status mothers". They concluded that the focus should be more on the importance of employment preference as opposed to actual employment in order to understand how mothers balance employment and motherhood.

The underpinnings of the decision-making process that women follow when making maternal/employment decisions were addressed, which include variables such as career orientation, costs of child rearing, symbolic meaning of children, beliefs about maternal care, role strain, age and number of children, economic necessity, availability of day care, flexible employment options, and availability of homemaking help (Frankel, 1993). The meaning of maternal employment for mothers and their perceptions of their three-year old children was also explored (Alvarez, 1985). It was found in a sample of 152 two-parent families that, where the employed mothers were positively motivated for working, there was low role conflict and high self-worth and the descriptions of their children by the employed mothers were more favourable. Where there was personal motivation for working, this was associated with the degree of role conflict, job satisfaction, enjoyment of personal contact by the employed mother. Maternal higher education was associated with negative consequences for children whose mothers had to work out of financial necessity or those who were experiencing role conflict. Mothers who worked out of personal preference, be it full-time or part-time, rather than financial necessity, reported more personal benefit from working. Upon examining a sample of 317 mothers of infants and their attitudes towards employment and motherhood following the birth of their first child, it was
found that even though 66% of the sample planned to return to work, most of the mothers expressed traditional views about exclusive mothering, which indicated a conflict between beliefs and plans (Hock, Gnezda and McBride, 1984). This study concluded that the maternal role in women's lives is important and addressed how public policy could assist women to maintain their career status while mothering. A longitudinal study of psychosocial variables affecting the career patterns of 49 women with young children was also conducted whereby it was found that psychosocial characteristics such as career orientation, nurturance, response to stress, concerns about infant fussiness and nonmaternal care for infants are potent predictors of maternal employment and the decision-making process (Morgan and Hock, 1984).

The above empirical literature focussed on the effects of employment on mothers by examining variables such as the type of family structure under which employed mothers live, support systems for employed mothers, spillover effects between work and home as related to feelings of well-being, and the relationship between separation anxiety and maternal employment. This literature also examined the contributing factors determining the decision-making process that working mothers make such as the degree of role conflict, job satisfaction, career orientation, economic factors, flexible employment options and the symbolic meaning of children. It is also necessary to view the phenomenological- clinical work, which will examine maternal employment from the women's perspective in a more in-depth way, thereby providing a glimpse into the personal dynamics, which has an impact on the environmental component, as well as being affected by it.
B. **Phenomenological/Clinical Works on Maternal Employment**

The phenomenological/clinical works on maternal employment is another method to explore the experience and meaning of work in women's lives. This approach examines, through their own accounts in interview format, the lives of working mothers. This body of literature explores how women view themselves as mothers and workers, how they experience their work, and the meaning they make of it in the context of the rest of their lives. The success of any mother's efforts to work outside of the home will depend upon external variables (i.e., status within the organization, flexibility regarding hours of employment, availability of day-care and attitude of the spouse), as well as personality attributes shaped by motives, values and attitudes, along with social and economic influences (Chester, 1990). Inner intrapsychic barriers to success (such as dependency needs, phobias about performance) must be explored as well as outer environmental barriers (such as sex discrimination, narrow sex role expectations). The mere removal of external barriers would not be sufficient to free the person to be effective in the environment (Moulton, 1986). It is important to look at whether in employment-related difficulties, there are any unexpressed conflicts which are preventing the women from developing a more effective strategy for dealing with problems in the work-place. This is not to discount that problems such as sex discrimination, low job satisfaction, excessive workloads or lack of resources do exist (Llewelyn & Osborne, 1990).

In the phenomenological-clinical works, the most common and recurring themes that were found in separate stories were; the crossing of boundaries between working women's personal and work life where they balance, blend, integrate and separate work from their personal life, as well as maintain a satisfactory balance between their needs and their children's (Chester, 1990;
Dinnerstein, 1992; Llewelyn & Osborne, 1990), the balance between the desire for connection as well as for autonomy (Litwin, 1986; Speiler, 1986; Kaplan, 1978; Eichenbaum & Orbach, 1987; Block, 1990; Rubin, 1984; Moulton, 1986), work conflicts as reflecting conflictual early mother-daughter relationships (Spector, 1986; Bassoff, 1992; Applegarth, 1986; Moulton, 1986; Swigart, 1991), the role of work in the development of woman's sense of self (Chester, 1990; Plunkett, 1980; Baruch & Barnett 1983; Block 1990; Hoschild, 1989) and the loss of the sense of self as equated with work success (Lerner, 1983; Block, 1990). In looking at the crossing of boundaries between working women's professional and private lives, it is important to examine how working women cope with the daily transitions between these two areas (Richter, 1990), which would be the phenomenological version of the "spillover" effect from the previous empirical studies. In this approach, it was found that there is a psychological shift accompanying transitions between professional and private lives, as well as "transition-related occurrences" along the transition process. The descriptive data of the above study noted the different ways of handling the shift from one domain to the other, as well as the differing working styles of men and women, whereby women prefer continuity between events in coming from home to work and need to keep their work within rigid boundaries at the transition point from work to home.

For the working mother to balance effectively her personal life with her work life, she must receive some cultural sanction for her career, compatible with her family needs a well as her ambitions and must be able to negotiate changes in her family life. It is a delicate balancing act, constrained by institutional practices and family hierarchies often hostile to her success (Dinnerstein, 1992). In exploring themes that are central to women's experience from a psychodynamic and feminist perspective, it was speculated that in understanding women's
experience of mothering, it is critical to note how past conflicts colour present ones and how important it is to maintain a satisfactory balance between the needs of mothers and their children. In addition, a great deal will depend upon the mother's own infantile needs having been fulfilled and her capacity to work out that balance (Llewelyn & Osborne, 1990).

With regards to balancing the desire for connection with autonomy, when looking at change and continuity in the life of a new mother, it was found that there is a fundamental conflict between the desire for intimacy and connection and yet the desire for separateness and autonomy. Work may be "the channel through which many women assert their separateness and independence" (Block, 1990, p. 214). In addition, where the family is a safe haven from the impersonal workplace, the workplace is a psychological and physical haven from feelings and relationships that interferes with woman's individuality. Object Relations Theory, which will further be described in chapter three would support the view that there is always a conflict between dependence and independence in women, which threatens their sense of femininity (Moulton, 1986). This finds its roots in the early mother-child relationship where the girl, who is angry at her mother for not giving her enough, expects punishment from her for the competition. There is also a fear that the woman might have surpassed her mother, which is a threat to the early bond between them. If the daughter develops a stronger relationship with her father, she might feel guilty over this triumph over her mother and feel her success is a farce. The daughter should be given the right to autonomy if there was good-enough mothering. It is also important that the relationship between the parents be flexible enough to allow their children to individuate comfortably. The conflict between the desire for connection as well as for autonomy, as noted above, was also noted by Litwin (1986), Speiler (1986), Kaplan (1978) and Eichenbaum &
Orbach (1987). There is a dual process of the daughter having to identify and disidentify with the mother in order to establish separateness (Bergman, 1982). Speiler (1986) said that those theorists, such as Mahler, who progress in a linear fashion from dependence to independence "fail to address states of oneness and separateness that characterize human development" (p.34). There is a need, she says, to incorporate that experiences of interrelatedness alternate with differentiation, thereby allowing for both connection and autonomy "in a creative synthesis". It is necessary to address this issue since "every facet of human existence is reflected in the reconciliation of oneness and separateness" (Kaplan, 1978). "The urge to stay merged and the urge to separate exist simultaneously and create a tension in women's relationships" (Eichenbaum & Orbach, 1987). This capacity, however, is outside of women's psychological domain. In working, the mother is experiencing two conflicting goals which cause polarization rather than integration, work which requires emotional distance and separation and mothering, which requires nurturing. There needs to be a delicate balance between attachment to the child and separation of the self (Rubin, 1984).

In addressing the theme of work conflicts as it relates to early mother-child relationships, the impact of being a working mother on the self, the couple and the children is connected to the fact that women suffer from conflicts in their internal belief systems, they feel guilty for abandoning their mother by being successful, and they feel the polarity between their own needs and their children (Spector, 1986). There is anger that mothers feel towards their children for taking them away from their work obligations. Guilt is paramount for those mothers who, interestingly enough, choose to work. There is a lack of solitude and creativity that women feel in combining work with motherhood. It appears as if there is an interaction between working mothers' internal
conflicts as well as external circumstances. A solution is to accept that one's life is separate from one's mother and to cultivate a support system in the workplace in order to develop a "good inner mother" (Bassoff, 1992). The role of the father is the frame of the mirror, who is the mother. He acts as the buffer between the mother and daughter. The mother's role is to support the daughter's relationships with others and to encourage her competition with others. The daughter must be able to walk in her mother's shoes in order to gain self-understanding. The fear of being alone is related to the issue of work inhibition in women in that it affects women's ability to think independently and creatively (Applegarth, 1986). Women with work inhibition's need to be taken care of, which is related to an unsatisfied need in the early mother-child relationship. The guilt of the working mother is seen by Swigart (1991) as socially-induced rage that mothers feel as their children expose their anger at their mothers for working and this corresponds to the rage that the mothers must have felt towards their own mothers when they left them. The rage is also resentment against the mother for having made her daughter aware of the powerlessness of women in the culture, at large. She describes the struggle of women for wanting to be more than mother and yet like her. Becoming a mother is a crisis and an opportunity to rework early conflicts involving one's dependency in relation to one's actual and internal mothers (Plunkett, 1980). Women who are able to combine work and mothering successfully are women who are not affected by early mothering issues and are not using work for defensive purposes.

The role of work in the development or loss of a sense of self in the working woman was explored in the following ways. Working outside the home gives a woman a sense of autonomy and competence, while gaining social contact with other adults to offset the isolation of being at home with a child only (Plunkett, 1980). Achieving is as important to women as are relationships
and are critical to their emotional and mental well-being (Baruch and Barnett, 1983). A career might suppress the emotional attachments one might have to one's children in that work might compensate for something missing inside. The contradictory pressure of work and family might reflect a poor sense of self worth (Hoschild, 1989). Women who fear success equate success with the loss of femininity, loss of relationships and even loss of life (Lerner, 1983). The factors contributing to this difficulty include "intrapsychic and psychodynamic formulations, the negative impact of sex-role stereotypes, the realities of discrimination and lack of opportunity, the impact of situational and contextual factors that affect women in male-defined and male-dominated work settings, the structure and division of parenting responsibilities" (Lerner, 1983). Working outside the home challenges earlier role models of what a good mother is because there is a rejecting of the female within oneself simultaneously with the rejection of mother (Flax, 1981). In combining work and motherhood, there is a dual consciousness involved in the planning for the future, yet an entrenchment in the realities of the present, resulting in feelings of loss, particularly of freedom (Block, 1990).

2) **Transmission of Parental Behaviour (Intergenerational Continuity)**

This section will deal mainly with the themes, the transmission of parental attachment behaviour to the next generation and the continuity of key aspects of parental behaviour across generations. An understanding of the role of adult attachment to parents of origin, as reflected in the present adult-child attachment relationship, may be an important element to consider in understanding the dynamics that occur in mother-child separation due to employment, as well as the working mother's perception of her success in combining motherhood with employment.
Influenced by attachment theory, as well as object relations theory, studies have stressed the intergenerational continuity of attachment in the family. According to this body of literature, based on studies in which parents reported on their childhood attachments through interviews and questionnaires, the present child-mother attachment is related to the quality of the mother's relations with her parents. This section will focus on those studies that examine the transmission of parental behaviour from the mother's perspective.

The relationship between the security of the adult's internal working model of attachment and subsequently her child's security of attachment was drawn from the Berkeley Social Development Project (Main & Weston, 1981) where the Adult Attachment Interview (Geurger, Kaplan & Main, 1984) was administered to forty mothers, fathers and and six-year old children. Particular parental patterns towards attachment relationships resulted in specific types of attachment behaviour in their children (e.g., insecure = avoidant; insecure = ambivalent; insecure = disorganized/disoriented).

Mothers of securely attached infants had higher self-esteem scores and reported more positive recollections of childhood relationships with their mothers, fathers and peers than mothers of anxiously attached infants (The Amherst Project: Ricks and Noyes, 1984). This study examined twenty-eight mother-infant pairs from middle class families when the infants were one year old in the Strange Situation and administered two questionnaires to the mothers (O'Brien, 1981; Epstein, 1983). They also found that the mothers of securely attached infants tended to idealize their fathers more than mothers of anxiously attached infants, with no differences on the idealization of mothers scale.
First-time pregnant women, also, who were classified as securely attached in the present and the past, showed more emotional closeness with their unborn child than those who were not securely attached (Ware, 1986). Problematic childhood attachments with the mother-of-origin was reflected during pregnancy in difficulties viewing oneself in a mothering role. The author noted that even if the mother had resolved childhood difficulties in attachment to her mother, she had greater difficulty in the maternal role if she had an insecure childhood attachment.

When looking at the possible effects of the early maternal attachment relationship to one's parents on the attachment behaviour exhibited by the mother with her first-born infant, results showed that there is a significant relationship between the mother's recollection of childhood attachment relationships with parents and attachment behaviour exhibited by the mother with her infant (Devine, 1988).

M. Van Dijk (1990) also noted the intergenerational quality in motherhood when she studied first-time pregnant women's relationships to their mothers and subsequently to their infants. She discussed the linking of past with present experiences with one's own mother to the quality of the mother's sense of herself as a first-time mother. She also elaborated upon her finding that where the mother-of-origin experiences the daughter as an extension of herself, the daughter may have difficulty with impending motherhood and may be less positive to babies.

Maternal personality, as well, was addressed as relevant to early maternal attachment (Gyra, 1982), where the Differential Diagnostic Technique was administered to the sixty mothers involved in this study. The results showed that that mothers with higher quality of object relationships showed stronger maternal bonding towards their infants. Mothers with higher DDT scores (more openness to a dependency relationship) showed stronger maternal bonding towards
their infants. Gyra suggested that "a woman may projectively identify her own internalized past early experiences with her own mother out onto her own present relationship with her newborn infant" (Weininger, 1986).

In a quantitative study carried out on thirty-nine mothers over the age of sixty to examine whether motherhood modifies early relationship patterns, it was found that the greater the self-acceptance due to optimal mothering, the greater the ability of the mother to interact with others in an interdependent way. In addition, the mothers who had not resolved separation-individuation with their own mothers, experienced unfulfilling marital relationships and dissatisfaction with their own children (Abramson, 1987).

I think it is important to conclude this section by noting that continuity implies meaningful links over time but not a lack of change (Emde, 1984). Although there are important discontinuities in development, these discontinuities may still be accompanied by continuities. In addition, the links will be within the environment as well as within the child. The family, for example, that serves as a "bridge in time of transition", allows the experience of growth to be less painful a loss of the self in the individual's reconstruction of her sense of balance (Kegan, 1982).

The contents of this section suggest the significant interaction between the transmission of attachment as both intrinsic and yet with the capacity for change over time due to the individual's interaction with his/her environment. If the environment is a supportive one and the attachment behaviour in the mother is of a secure nature, then the experience for such a working mother would be very different from another employed mother, who has had an unsupportive familial background and insecure attachment behaviour.
3) **Women's Identity and Maternal Subjectivity**

This section will examine the literature contributing to the understanding of the dynamics of female development. It is important to examine this body of literature since one cannot take a leap into the dynamics of motherhood without first having a clear understanding of female development and how women define themselves. The way women see themselves will ultimately affect their response to motherhood and employment.

**A. Women's Identity**

In the area of women's development, Gilligan (1982) analyzed the centrality of "connection" in women's sense of self rather than emphasizing separation and autonomy, which has always been prevalent in psychological theory. Struggles over connection and feelings of disconnection are central themes in this work. Resolving the conflict of breaking away while yet maintaining connection proves to be the critical issue. The questions arise from her work whether independence and separation are externally imposed and whether they are male characteristics rather than female ones. It has remained a challenge as to how to integrate the two theories and solutions. Kegan's (1982) solution was to describe "development as a vacillation back and forth between psychologies of independence and inclusion". In elaborating and expanding upon Gilligan's work, Salzman (1989) discussed the contribution of attachment to female development, and concurred that the struggle to maintain connection, particularly in adolescence, is the young adolescent's way of knowing her parents and being known by them. "Connected knowing" which refers to acting as a connected rather than a separate self in order to fully understand others' experiences (Belenky, 1986). Some women move towards integrating "separate knowing" and
"connected knowing" "into a single and more balanced voice", thereby attempting to overcome the polarities in their lives. Benjamin (1988) described in great detail how gender polarity underlies the dualistic structure that seems to exist, and explains that "it is this gendered logic which ultimately forecloses on the intersubjective realm" (p. 220).

The domestic and professional realms are kept on separate bands of experience in women's lives and lived out sequentially (Hancock, 1989). Tending to either side of the dichotomy alone fails a woman in becoming the person she really is, i.e., she needs to heed both sides of the duality.

In a longitudinal study on sixty college women, Josselson (1990) looked at female identity development and tried to understand how adolescent identity formation influences their lives. She organized women's experiences along a separation-individuation continuum, examining the degree to which separation-individuation had been undertaken and accomplished. Some very critical questions arose out of this study such as how women may maintain connection and yet become separate at the same time, how the internalization process operates in women, the role of guilt in women's separation-individuation process and the role of how the environment interacts with the female's inner experiences. Josselson stressed that "a woman's identity is always poised in contradistinction to and in the context of her mother's". She perceived employment as an anchor point, a necessary phase in the individuation process.

It appears that the literature in the area of female development and identity has perceived "connectedness" as central to women's sense of self, which has been polarized with male "separateness" in a dichotomous manner, albeit striving towards integrating the polarity. The interaction of the female with the environment, particularly with her mother, was recognized.
Finally, female employment was perceived as a necessary phase in the separation-individuation process.

B. **Maternal Subjectivity**

There has been, within the last decade, an appreciation for examining motherhood from the mother's perspective, which will serve as a role model for this thesis in its attempt to understand maternal subjectivity in relation to employment.

A woman's experience as a mother is the product of a complex set of social and psychological factors (Boulton, 1983). There are common threads of motherhood but everyone is different (Burck, 1986). The kind of mothers we are depends a great deal upon the influence of our own mothers and on how much support we get from the spouse, family, friends, employers and the community.

From a feminist perspective, the mother is a subject in relation to social reality, sexuality, work and historical experience but there is the need for more of the perspective of the mother, as an individual (Hirsch, 1989). In many cases, it is difficult to tease out what part belongs to the mother and which to the daughter in the mother-daughter relationship. In differentiating between feminist discourse and maternal discourse, Hirsch noted that the feminist voice is the voice of the daughter trying to separate from an overly connected mother and when the daughter becomes a mother, she transmits this role as an object. There is a great deal of discussion in this work of doubleness in that there is the mother/daughter duality, the double consciousness of mothers split between their loyalty to husbands and children, the double voice or identity of woman as an individual subject or as mother. She concludes that mothers should be able to speak for
themselves with two voices, as mother and daughter and that she may be simultaneously a
daughter and mother. The maternal discourse, she notes, is tied up with social and political reality
as well as to biological and psychological structures. Ruddick (1980) also deals with the double
position of maternal subjectivity but deals with this in a more integrative way as a mode of
accessing both ends in a dialogic way. The double-bind in which mothers find themselves is
further discussed by Litwin (1986) wherein she describes the struggle between women's desire for
autonomy, which is seen as a sign of maturity and yet also running contrary to society's
expectation of women as caregivers. Kristeva (1986) deals with the duality of woman in that her
identity has two sides- the woman-effect and the mother function. She explains that it is the father
as the male symbol which will break through the mother-child relationship even as the original
relationship between mother and child will not be silenced.

De Kanter (1993) elaborates upon the mother-daughter relationship by positing that "there is
a constant fusion and taking distance between mother and daughter, initiated from both the
mother's perspective and the daughter's...Being the same and different creates a constant tension
of fusion and autonomy...This switching gives developmental space to both mother and
daughter...mother and daughter are differentiated by difference in generation and the changes in
historical context" (p.30). Nielsen and Rudberg (1993) use the term "gendered subjectivity" to
describe the "early unconscious formation of self as both connected and separate" (p.48). There is
a duality in her descriptions of the concepts, "gender identity", which is the more developmental
culture-dependent construct, and "gendered subjectivity", which is a more inert and continuous
structure. Van Mens-Verhurlst (1993) gives the dual task to the daughters, to construct their
own subjectivity as well as acknowledging the subjectivity of their mothers while separating from them, which involves both separation from and connection to her.

From a feminist-psychoanalytic perspective, Flax (1980) describes the mother-daughter relationship as one in which the father assumes a significant role. He represents autonomy, and therefore if the daughter moves towards him, she must abandon her original tie to her mother and identify with a more contemptuous attitude towards mother, which leaves her feeling disloyal to mother and to herself as a woman. However, returning to the symbiotic state with mother results in fears of being re-engulfed by it and so goes the dilemma. The solution lies in the establishing of relationships with other women where "one is nurtured for being one's autonomous self" (Flax, 1980, p.179), and in striving towards the integration of mind and body, feeling and thought, work and play. Otherwise, what may occur is an overidentification with mother, masking the rage toward her for not allowing her to escape the traditional female situation.

Ernst and Maguire (1987) discuss how in motherhood, women have to remain in touch with intolerable infantile experiences of helplessness, which is eased through activities with the external world. The mother-daughter relationship is fraught with ambivalence because of the inability of the daughter to separate from the mother due to the original difficulty with the merger and the continual impact this has on the achievement of connection. There cannot be a genuine separation if there are insufficient emotional supplies to consolidate a psychological sense of self which allows for this.

Chodorow & Contratto (1982) looked at recurrent psychological themes from a feminist-psychodynamic perspective and introduced the "fantasy of the perfect mother", whereby they explained that there is a belief in the all-powerful mother, shaped by a male-dominated
society, resulting in a tendency to blame mother or idealize her. Their work is rooted in the culture's understanding of motherhood, as well as in the unconscious, unprocessed infantile fantasies of mother, which ultimately, they say, affects mothers' experience of motherhood. They recognized that this mode of conceptualization denies mothers their selfhood, the complexity of their lives, and their place in the relationship with their children.

As an explanation for women's willingness to accede to the explanation of the influence of patriarchy, Moore (1991) explained that this has its roots in the unconscious need for women to defend against the overwhelming affects of the early mother-daughter relationship.

For the purposes of this study regarding the subjective experiences of the working mother, understanding the individual experiences and thoughts concerning mothers, in general, will contribute greatly to this issue. This literature review which focusses on maternal subjectivity highlights the following themes: a woman's experience as a mother is the product of a complex set of social, political, cultural, biological and psychological factors; a woman's experience of motherhood is affected by the degree of support she receives from her spouse, family, friends, employers and the community; the duality of woman is such that her identity has two sides- the woman-effect and the mother function; there is a constant fusion and taking distance between mother and daughter, initiated from both the mother's perspective and the daughter's; there is the necessity for mothers to establish relationships with other women where one is nurtured for being one's autonomous self; the existence of the unconscious, unprocessed, infantile fantasies of the mother, as well as the influence of the actual mother, ultimately affects mothers' experiences of motherhood; and the influence of patriarchy has its roots in the unconscious need for women to defend against the overwhelming affects of the early mother-daughter relationship.
This chapter has presented the following three bodies of literature in an attempt to fully understand the area of maternal employment:

1) Maternal Employment (Empirical & Phenomenological-Clinical works)

2) Transmission of Parental Behaviour (Intergenerational Continuity)

3) Women's Identity and Maternal Subjectivity

Although the three areas are treated separately, they might be intricately related and one of the aims of this thesis will be to find the relationship between the isolated parts and link them. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the literature related to the area of maternal employment is derived from different perspectives. Although each body of literature stands alone quite nicely, as a whole it appears rather fragmented because the leap from one orientation to the next is rarely made.

As seen above, the Maternal Employment empirical studies noted the significance of relationships between mothers and others in the family and work domains, the "spillover effects" or bridges between work and motherhood, and the relationship between separation and employment. The more phenomenological-clinical works on Maternal Employment and the Female Development and Identity literatures focussed on the need to balance connection with autonomy in achieving a state of harmonious balance, the significance of the early mother-daughter relationship in achieving work-motherhood success, and the existence of a psychological shift in the transition between work and motherhood. The Transmission of Parental Behaviour literature spoke of the transmission of attachment as both intrinsic as well as due to the significance of the mother-child relationship. The Maternal Subjectivity literature drew more on the individual
experiences of mothers but also recognized the importance of the influence of the early-
mother relationship, the significance of present relationships, the existence of unconscious
fantasies and their influence on mothers' approach towards mothering. I will now examine the
theoretical literature in the area of "Early Object Relations" in order to find out how these
findings might be interpreted, with a particular interest in discovering the theoretical
underpinnings of states of separateness, connectedness and transition.
CHAPTER 3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will primarily examine the psychoanalytic perspective regarding the experience of the individual in relation to others particularly in the context of "separateness" and "connectedness". As it will become apparent in the Results and Discussion sections of this thesis, there is an intricate developmental interaction between states of separateness and connectedness that become apparent in combining motherhood with employment. This theoretical literature review will serve both as a background and means to interpret the experience of combining motherhood with employment. It helps to clarify the most prevalent issues, as it will be demonstrated through the data, which are those involving the interaction between states of separateness and connectedness in combining motherhood with employment, mourning the loss of connection and overcoming this loss through bridging via a state of transition, separateness with connectedness.

Melanie Klein's Object Relations Theory takes into account the psychology of the individual in relationship to others, stemming from the significance of the individual's early experiences to significant others and its effect on later experiences. The child's early experiences has an impact on later development and relationships and Klein demonstrates this through dividing
child development into positions - the Paranoid-Schizoid Position, the Depressive Position and the Oedipal Phase. She thought that if the child had not resolved particular issues in childhood, then he/she would still be entrenched in that position in adulthood. The Depressive Position, which involves feelings of guilt, loss and mourning, arises from the child's realization that he/she is separate from mother, is never fully worked through. "The anxieties pertaining to ambivalence and guilt, as well as situations of loss, which reawaken depressive experiences, are always with us" (Segal, 1973). Bion (1963) suggested that the two positions, the Paranoid-Schizoid Position and the Depressive Position were in an equilibrium with each other, thus enabling a shift in either direction. To locate the concept of "transition" as it pertains to separateness and connectedness, it is helpful to apply Klein's paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions with the transitional position between the two.

Kleinian theory respects the intricate relationship between the inner and external worlds, reference being made to "phantasies" that are innate, instinctually derived and of a deep unconscious nature that involve mental activity taking place in relation with objects (Isaacs, 1948). There is an interplay between phantasy and reality whereby unconscious phantasies are expressed through one's experience with the external environment as well as distorting it, while interactions with the external world, firstly with the mother, correct the distortion.

In motherhood, the mother identifies with her own mother and is re-experiencing herself as the cared-for child, thereby reawakening the good mother (Klein, 1937). The identification with the mother and the re-experiencing of the self as a child may cause conflict if there are remaining unresolved issues (Benedek, 1970). Separation from the child will then be difficult if there has not been a close identification with mother and also the loving permission to separate from her
(Herman, 1989). In addition, there needs to be a protecting father to lead the daughter towards freedom and to prevent her from "backsliding into the maternal circuit", which she paradoxically needs to do in order to deal with the persecutory feelings both she and mother feel towards each other (Herman, 1989). Klein recognized the value of both the mother and father as a couple and spoke of the "combined couple", which is the earliest and most primitive phantasy of the Oedipal situation, involving feelings of jealousy and exclusion on the part of the child. Because of the anxiety associated with this conception, a harmonious relationship between the parents, in reality, would alleviate some of the anxiety, experienced in phantasy. "As gradually, a more realistic relation to the parents develops, the infant comes to consider them (the parents) as separate individuals", resulting in the primitive combined parent figures' loss of strength (Klein, 1937, p. 79). Since the aim of the Oedipal Phase is of a reparative nature, it is comforting to the child if the mother and father live together harmoniously because of the alleviation of guilt and the trust the individual has in his/her reparative powers, simultaneously resulting in an integrated personality. In addition, the "superego", which is an interaction of external figures influenced by early sadistic impulses, becomes less harsh as it is continually in relationship with external objects and helps modify the phantastic harshness. If destructive aspects predominate, the death instinct becomes prevalent and with it the desire to kill off the loving and dependent parts of oneself. "The most important counterforce to the death instinct is the soothing maternal primary process presence" and the transitional mode that originates in this essential of all internalizations (Horton, 1981, p. 151).

Mahler, Pine & Bergman (1975) dealt with the separation-individuation process, which appears to correspond well with Klein's Depressive Position even though their theory is more
linear and the focus is on the individuation process from a state of oneness with mother while Klein is aware of a state of separateness right from the start. Mahler also differs from Spitz's belief in the simultaneous presence of clinging and separating, as mentioned above. Her subphases in the separation-individuation process begins with "differentiation" in the fifth to ninth month, the start of distinguishing between the self and the other. There is a great deal of scanning and then checking back to the mother as a way of comparing her to others and also stranger anxiety comes into play at this point in development. The second subphase is the "practicing" subphase, occurring at the ninth to sixteenth month when the child explores the environment at some physical difference from the mother and uses her as a base to emotionally refuel herself. The child now feels elated at their ability to be mobile and is low-keyed upon mother's absence. Father becomes more important at this stage as an exciting person to which one may venture forth to. The third subphase is the "rapprochement phase" at fifteen to twenty-four months, which results in the child's increased need to be close with mother, increased separation anxiety, awareness of separateness, a fear of being reengulfed by mother, and a general ambivalence and indecision. At this subphase, there is the appearance of the transitional phenomena as a means of fulfilling the need to distance and yet explore the wider realm while maintaining contact with the replacement of the loved object. Winnicott (1951) spoke of transitional objects and phenomena as belonging to the realm of illusion, which is an intermediate area of experience, neither belonging exclusively to the inner or outside world and helps the child deal with the loss and separation from the real mother. In this intermediate space, inner and outer reality are kept separate and yet interrelated. Mahler's last stage is that of "consolidation" where individuality is achieved, which is dependent upon the internalization of a "positively cathected inner image of mother". Mahler felt that the
struggle between separateness and the wish for fusion with mother is an unresolved issue that prevails throughout the lifetime.

While Mahler's paradigm seems to come from an observational perspective versus Klein's which is more phenomenological, Grotstein (1982) has been able to reconcile the two orientations in a more cohesive way that makes them both very useful in a non-contradictory way. He formulated the "dual track theory" in order to describe how the experiences of separation and connection interact with each other. He explained that the child is born with postnatal experiences of both a track of connectedness (continuing primary identification) and a track of separation. He speculates that the child may go back and forth from a state of separateness to unseparateness in order to achieve safety, security and privacy. The two tracks of experience converge into a state of beginning complementarity at which point the infant would feel separate and yet non-separate. The undifferentiated track develops into a separated self as the individual passes through childhood. Grotstein (1986) used a visual image in his dual track formulation of the siamese twin with two heads and one body whose linkage is a twisted ribbon representing discontinuous continuity, a boundary allowing the experience of connection and yet denying total awareness of the connection at the same time. Pertaining to the ongoing struggle between the need to cling and/or separate (Spitz, 1957), "transitional relatedness" (Horton, 1981) as a lifelong developmental process will be addressed. The effect of transitionalization is "to mitigate the sharpness of the gap of separation", facilitated by phantasy as well as by reality (Grotstein, 1991).

The relationship between dependence and separateness was also addressed by Stechler and Kaplan (1980) who defined the self as having both aspects of separateness and unity. They did not see this trend as the outcome of separate streams of development but rather a "mutual and
persistent interplay" between the two. Eigen (1993) used the term "dual union" to refer to the simultaneous presence of both distinction and union dimensions with one or the other emphasized in specific situations. He recommended the study of how the two structures interact and when they would become dissociated from each other. He referred to the preverbal roots of "dual union" by referring to early infant research, which has acknowledged the importance of infantile gazing as well as touching (Spitz, 1965; Stern, 1977; Elkin, 1972), with the intent of noting the simultaneous existence of both separateness as well as contact, which must be co-ordinated or brought into balance. Eigen (1993) felt that the structure described characterizes the self throughout its development.

Fairbairn (1941) examined the relationship between dependence and independence by contrasting "mature dependence" with "infantile dependence", rather than looking at the two stages in an interactive way. There would be, on the part of differentiated individuals, the capacity for a co-operative relationship in "mature dependence" only as evolving from the emotional identification with the object in "infantile dependence" He did, however, outline an intermediate stage, which was described as "transitional", "arising out of the difficulties and conflicts of transition" (Fairbairn, 1941, p. 145), and consisting of defensive techniques to deal with the transition.

An extension of Fairbairn's intermediate stage and Winnicott's work in the way of looking at transitional phenomena, would be that of noting the value of the transitional phenomena and stage throughout the lifespan as a bridge from primary objects to the outside world or from states of dependence to independence. "Transitional relatedness" provides through the transitional act, a form of soothing reminiscent of the comforting maternal object (Horton, 1981). The ability to
soothe oneself is dependent upon the "holding" capacity of the mother as well as the individual's innate capacity to accept soothing. With "good-enough mothering", the individual will internalize the solacing experience and will be able to draw on this in adulthood. If the situation is reversed and the child considers his/her mother's needs first, rather than the reverse, a hardened exterior will be assumed in the form of a "false self" and this self-soothing capacity will never develop.

In experiencing and bridging the space, initially between the mother and child and then, later, between oneself and others, Balint (1968) describes two polar positions; that of the "philobat" and that of the "ocnophilic", which is basically the object-seeker and the self-sufficient, sometimes alternating within the same individual (Balint, 1968). This is expressive of the conflict that exists between closeness and distance, fear of engulfment by the (m)other and fear of abandonment.

To conclude this theoretical literature review, I would like to refer to a cognitive-developmental perspective that seems to mirror what has been noted in the psychoanalytic orientation regarding connection and separation. Pipp (1990) discussed the sensorimotor and representational internal working models of self, other and relationship in the context of mechanisms of connection and separation. It was noted that there are two developmental lines, one of connectedness and one of separation characterizing the individual's development of knowledge of self and other. The author said that these developmental lines are present from birth and undergo changes in form throughout development. It was said that "we are continual dual processors" and that mechanisms for separation and connection with others exist throughout the lifespan. In the same volume, Emde (1990), in his work on autonomy and connectedness, noted that polarities exist in all phases of development including those of autonomy/connectedness but that the "I" and "We" selves do not exist in a parallel or linear way.
in that they must meet. "Processes of autonomy are concurrent with processes of connectedness"

(Cicchetti & Beeghly 1990, p.45).
CHAPTER 4

PREVIOUS FINDINGS

This chapter will present a summary of the previous findings of a pilot study that I carried out in the area of how working mothers dealt with the dual role of working and mothering (Ennis, 1990). For this study I interviewed fifteen working mothers in order to understand how they combined their roles of being a mother with their working experiences. The conflicts and benefits of working and mothering were explored through interview and recorded by the participants in questionnaires. I also attempted to understand what the underlying causes for the conflicts were for the purpose of implementing a plan whereby working mothers' needs would be met.

My preconceived notion consisted of feeling intuitively that the reconciliation between motherhood and working was the ultimate goal which later seemed not to be the case. One cannot reconcile what was never joined. Originally, I focused on how the workplace could help the mothering role. I was soon to see that the workplace was not always the source of the difficulty nor the solution. The question then arose as to why I was looking to the workplace for all of the answers. Why was my focus on the difficulties of the work setting when I instinctively knew that the motherhood role is complex? I originally felt that the source of anxiety was overload from both ends, motherhood and work. Later I was to see that sometimes overload is a chosen mode for living. My focus gradually shifted from a problem-solving approach to a psychodynamic one.
The fifteen working women that I interviewed were in their thirties and had children ranging from one to twelve years of age. The range of the number of children was from one to three. Two of the mothers were single mothers. One of the married mothers was the sole financial earner in her family. The mothers' Occupations ranged from dental assistant, doctor, secretary, teacher, psychologist, librarian to the owner of a maintenance company. I interviewed the women through informal conversation using an interview guide approach, from which I referred to certain questions that I felt might tap the issues which were then incorporated into the interview. I began the conversation with a general statement like: "If a new mother approached you for advice as to how to combine work and motherhood effectively, what would you advise?" Another open-ended question that I asked was: "Why do you think some women seem to handle working and motherhood so well while others find it more difficult to be involved in both roles effectively?"

I found that there was a great reluctance on the part of most of the mothers to criticise motherhood or their mothers. Many of the working mothers were also defensive about their reasons for working. While, initially, most said that they chose to work, later they rationalised that the money was helpful or that by working their husbands would help more in the house and with the children. It appeared as if the work environment was a compensatory mechanism or a means to integrate one's sense of self into a more meaningful whole. The questions that were left unanswered in my mind were; Are working mothers unfulfilled as mothers? Are some working mothers experiencing unfinished business in relation to their career aspirations that are still lingering and need to be fulfilled? Is there a desire for more paternal involvement with the children on the part of working mothers to relieve mothers of such intense psychological responsibility for
their children or to compensate for an absent father-of-origin? Are there unresolved issues between the working mothers and their mothers that are being resolved through their career?

In the pilot study, I chose four of the fifteen subjects and elaborated upon their individual experiences with regards to the conflicts and benefits of combining working with motherhood. I explored the variations in the experiences of these women by choosing four cases that represented a range in a particular dimension, which was in the area of reasons for working. The first example was that of a working mother who was single and worked out of necessity. The second was that of a married woman who worked for financial reasons to supplement the family income. The third subject was a married woman who chose to work and was satisfied with the arrangement. The last example was that of a married woman who worked out of choice but was not satisfied with the arrangement and was experiencing a great deal of stress and was planning to quit her job.

In the interviews carried out with the fifteen working mothers, I noted some common patterns with regards to their experience of fulfilling the dual role of working and motherhood. The consistencies were then divided into two areas; motivators for dual roles and facilitators/barriers to dual roles (Hoffman, 1974). The motivators included common patterns of experiences which act as motivating factors for becoming a working mother. The facilitators/barriers included the commonalities that acted as facilitating or interfering factors in assuming that role. As a result of these motivators and facilitators/barriers, the end product may or may not include a satisfactory situation for the working mother.

The major patterns as related to the motivators and facilitators/barriers that emerged in the interviews were the following:
Motivators

1. Work As A Source of Self-Esteem
2. Work As Fulfillment of High Achievement Goals
3. Work As A Source of Independence
4. Mother's Positive Attitude Towards The Dual Role
5. Societal/Cultural Expectations
6. Financial Reward

Facilitators/Barriers

1. Ability/Inability To Co-ordinate The Two Roles
2. Time Management Skills
3. Fatigue Management
4. Organizational Skills
5. Support Systems
6. Age and Number of Children
7. Mother’s Desire/Lack of Desire To Work (Related To Husband’s Financial Status)
8. Hours of Employment/Flexibility In Hours

At this point, I elaborated upon the above motivators and facilitators/barriers by discussing the possible underlying motives found in the common themes. In the interviews, many of the working mothers determined that high self-esteem was something they hoped to gain from employment. They elaborated that they were able to acquire new skills, some of which helped them in their relationships with their children (e.g., active listening skills). I found it interesting that the two mothers, who were clearly working out of need rather than by choice, were trying to
construct boundaries by keeping work and motherhood apart. The mothers who were working out of choice wanted to bring those feelings of high-esteem into their relationships with their children unless the energy required for employment surpassed those required for mothering and housekeeping. Other working mothers found that they felt better about themselves when they were able to establish relationships with colleagues and superiors. I speculated that perhaps the underlying motive here was that the mother had the need to be mirrored by her colleagues and superiors in order to enable her to do so with her children. She, as a result, feels better integrated when she is working. The workplace, therefore, may act as a space for the mother's creative and social needs. Self-esteem also seemed, to some, to derive from feeling in control and since the work environment is more structured than mothering is, it provides more security for the working mother. From a Kleinian perspective, I speculated that if one has not internalized a good mother, then the internal state may be of a hostile nature. To counter these persecutory feelings, good relationships have to be sought out in the outside world (i.e., the work environment). Perhaps this might be looking to employment as a flight from the internalized parental representation to others. As a result, the working mother might feel guilty for moving away from the internal bad mother and might re-enact this relationship with a superior at work and triumph over him/her by devaluing his/her worth and work's worth in entirety. This might explain the working mother's tendency to complain about how issues at work interfere with motherhood rather than the reverse.

Another theme (motivator) that seemed to reoccur was the working mother's need to achieve and continue to fulfill high achievement goals. From a Kohutian perspective, I speculated that this might entail the need to be noticed, to be recognized, to be assured of one's existence. Every time that an achievement is fulfilled, it might be confirmation that one is present in life. This may occur
as a result of inadequate mirroring as a child or inadequate mirroring of academic/achievement-related abilities because of one's gender as a female. The financial reward might represent the gift, the concrete verification that one was present and produces something worthwhile.

The following three motivators, I felt, were interrelated; Mother's Positive Attitude Towards The Dual Role; Societal/Cultural Expectations; and Work As A Source of Independence. The working mothers suggested that their attitudes towards working were related to their mother's attitudes towards employment. Societal and cultural expectations also seemed to be hooked up with the mother-of-origin's attitudes. Most of the mothers who chose work as their option had mothers whose attitudes towards maternal employment were positive. The mothers who did not choose employment had mothers who were not positive towards maternal employment or who had mothers who struggled to make ends meet while raising a family. The mothers who chose employment but were having a difficult time with fulfilling both roles noted turbulent or smothering relationships with their own mothers. Relationships with their fathers and husbands seemed positive. What the fifteen working mothers might have been suggesting was perhaps that there was a need on their part to finally separate- individuate from their mothers via a career in the case where the mother-daughter relationship was a tight one. There wouldn't be as much guilt experienced perhaps in this separation from the mother-of-origin since having the child in itself would be a way of making amends to her. However, the separation anxiety that originated in the original mother-daughter relationship might be reactivated when the working mother leaves her child with other caregivers, which might become manifested in the child's separation from the mother. Many of the working mothers interviewed, particularly those with difficulties in
combining the dual roles, did not trust other caregivers to look after their children and were anxious about this. The fear of separation may be an unconscious reliving of the first separation-individuation from the mother. For those women who established a strong connection with their fathers, there may be a conflict in that there, on the one hand, is the woman's desire to keep the idealized father as he is intact and yet on the other hand, to separate from him. Because there might be a desire to retain this image simultaneously with the desire to be accepted as an independent woman versus a dependent girl, the work scenario might offer the security and opportunity for one to individuate while releasing fears of loss of love from the father, as well as fears of retaliation from the internalized parents due to envy if the daughter is surpassing her parents professionally. The conflict between dependence and independence is clearly evident in the comments by many of the interviewees, who said that they despised the feeling of having to rely on support systems since they were working in order to be independent. I imagine that is the reason why the flexible hours was an option that the working mothers chose as a way of dealing with this dilemma. Clearly, that would give them the control over a situation that felt unmanageable.

With regards to the facilitators/barriers that the working mothers outlined as determining how the dual role operates, the one that was most prevalent was the ability/inability to co-ordinate the two roles. The other facilitators seemed to contribute to whether this facilitator could be achieved. The underlying issue, I felt, was that for many of the working mothers, it was difficult to feel integrated as a person when one is working in two worlds at the same time. Many of the women expressed that they were trying to give their daughters a new role model of femininity in the working world. Others were struggling with feeling so competent at work and then coming
home to an out of control situation. The image I drew upon to describe this phenomenon was that of the figure becoming the ground and then the reverse depending upon which environment was the priority at the time. There was a need to integrate the split off parts of the self, I felt, and to recognize and respect these parts rather than putting up walls and boundaries around each of the roles played out. Once the parts would be recognized, I felt that the working mother could then come to terms with being accepted as an independent individual.

Support Systems as a facilitator/barrier was mentioned above in relation to the working mother's striving for independence, the most significant of whom was the husband. A great barrier to facilitating the integration of work and mothering is the degree to which the father assumes responsibility for the children and the household. From the interviews, it appeared as if paternal involvement did not occur often enough. When the working mothers were questioned about this, many of them rationalized that their husbands' hours were not flexible enough. However, clearly there are many issues at play regarding this matter. Many women are not willing to ask their husbands for help with the motherhood role for fear that their husbands will discontinue whatever support they are presently offering. The questions arose whether women feel as if they are a failure when they ask for help in this domain or whether they are afraid to relinquish their power as the mother because it is still their sole area of expertise. Does the lack of greater paternal involvement suggest that the husbands do not have the same need to develop their nurturing part of themselves at the same time as the wives have the need to develop their independent part of themselves?

I concluded the pilot study by saying that even though a redefinition and broadening of the term "motherhood" is recommended, if working women did not face the sources of their conflicts
in relation to motherhood, consequently, turning towards a career to compensate for that difficulty, then the dual role of motherhood and employment would never be understood nor compatible. Further study was warranted particularly in the area of understanding what the subjective experiences of the working mother were and how they interacted with the environment.
CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will discuss the qualitative method as an appropriate methodology to be used in this study. It will then describe the phenomenological approach and elaborate upon the phenomenological-hermeneutic perspective, as well as the rationale for its application in this thesis. The chapter will then, more specifically, describe the research design, elaborating upon the selection of participants through purposeful sampling, the method of acquiring the data through an open-ended in-depth interview format, and the method of data analysis through Glaser and Strauss' classical Grounded Theory Approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The Qualitative Method

Whereas quantitative methods are supported by the positivist or scientific paradigm, which "leads us to regard the world as made up of observable, measurable facts", qualitative methods are supported by the interpretivist paradigm, "which portrays a world in which reality is socially constructed, complex, and ever-changing" (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). The different assumptions affect the purpose of the research, as well as the role of the researcher. Quantitative research seeks to predict outcomes, that will generalize to other results while the researcher's role is to observe, measure and to be objective and unbiased. Qualitative research attempts to understand
and interpret how participants construct their world. The researcher observes and interacts with the participants and often is a co-participant, as well as a facilitator in the interview situation.

The qualitative design, therefore, seemed to be the more suitable approach to explore the questions surrounding working mothers' experience and the meaning of their experience. While quantitative research has attempted to measure the relationship between variables related to maternal employment, the qualitative approach will complement that approach by adopting an in-depth exploration of the participants' experiences and feelings.

The Phenomenological-Hermeneutic Approach

The phenomenological approach is a research approach whose interest lies in the qualitative exploration of human experience and whose goal is to understand the individual by using a holistic approach. It is an attitude or an orientation in the psychological study of the individual, consisting of an unbiased exploration of consciousness and experience, which is then analyzed and described without any preconceptions (Misiak & Sexton, 1966). Unstructured interviews may provoke discovery by the interviewee.

In my search for a suitable philosophical orientation that most suited my aims for this thesis, I made several assumptions. I needed to work within a philosophical mode that respected my own personal and work experiences and yet acknowledged that the participants' experiences would not be unduly influenced by my own orientation and experiences. The approach would have to be conducive to the participant being actively involved in the data collection process. The methods used within the paradigm would have to be an accurate means to gather experience material, as well as to allow for reflection upon one's experiences. The philosophical orientation would have
to respect the intrapsychic as well as the environmental components. There would be no ultimate truth found, I felt, but rather an understanding of the participants' truth. The qualities of the experience itself would have to be respected as something that comes from within the individual rather than an imposition from outside.

The philosophical approach that seemed to meet the criteria described above was the "phenomenological-hermeneutic" approach. This approach is attentive to both hermeneutics and phenomenology. It is a descriptive (phenomenological) methodology because it is attentive to how things appear, it allows things speak for themselves; it is an interpretive (hermeneutic) methodology because it claims that there are no such things as uninterpreted phenomena (Van Manen, 1990). This approach would capture both the experience of the participants, as well as attempt to interpret that experience. Phenomenology and hermeneutics are intricately related since meaning is being constructed in the experiencing of the phenomenon. It does, however, become fully developed in reflectivity. Within this paradigm, the individual's interaction with the environment is respected with an emphasis on the interpretation of the meaning as a result of that interaction. In order to fully understand a phenomenon, an understanding of the context in relation to the phenomenon is important since meaning is socially and historically bound both for the researcher and participant (Smith, 1983).

The psychoanalytic orientation is a hermeneutical approach that helps link the present experience with the historical reality (Bouchard & Guerette, 1991), as well as reality with unconscious activity (Segal, 1973). It is a process which reactivates past experiences while engaging in a dialogic relationship in the present. Bridging the experience with the interpretation of that experience results in the greatest understanding of the phenomenon. I chose the
phenomenological-hermeneutic perspective, which applied a psychoanalytic theoretical orientation, specifically Object Relations Theory (Please refer to chapter 3).

**The Research Design**

**Participant Selection**

The number of working mothers was not pre-determined. The sample size was determined by the point at which categories became "saturated" or fell within the categories generated up to that point, which in the case of this study was with the analysis of the sixth participant. The criteria for selection was "purposeful sampling", where cases were chosen, from those referred by word of mouth, for the purpose of understanding the phenomenon, maternal employment. All of the working mothers would have to be in intact marriages, would have to have at least one child, and would have to be working in a Board of Education.

The mothers ranged in age from 30-42 years of age with children's ages ranging from 20 months to 13 years of age. One of the mothers had one child, two had two children and three had three children. All of the participants worked prior to having children, as well as after. Their professions within the educational system ranged from being a teacher/diagnostician, psychometrist, speech therapist, occupational therapist, social worker to that of a vice-principal. Participants' names were replaced with initials to assure confidentiality.

**The Interview Format**

"Open-ended interviewing" was used as an approach to clarify or further existing data. This may occur at the end of an observation session or informally anytime after (Bogdan & Taylor,
1975). Patton (1980) discussed three approaches to collecting qualitative data through open-ended interviewing. They are; the "informal conversational interview"; the "general interview guide approach", and the "standardized open-ended interview". The "informal conversational interview" involves asking questions in natural conversation.

Because the interview should set the stage for the interviewee to talk about issues of concern to her, an open-ended interview format was felt to be most conducive to this exploratory study. An opportunity was given to each participant to talk about her experience of being a working mother and to express her feelings regarding maternal employment. The questions were non-specific and of a general nature. Areas or chunks of ideas worth exploring in the area were incorporated into the conversation. These included the following;

1. Definition of work e.g., "Can you talk about what work means to you?"
2. Feelings about work- how the mother responds to work
   e.g., "How do you feel about working?" (like work/don't like work/don't care)
3. Activities that the working mother is engaged in
4. Types of interactions in which the working mother is involved
5. Prior expectations and Changes over time with regards to combining work with motherhood
6. History-Family Background Information & Work History
7. Influences/Sources of Support
8. Sources of conflict and how these are dealt with

The interview began with myself, the interviewer, going to the participant's home by appointment, introducing the project by introducing myself, my background and the thesis topic.
I explained that the length of time for the interview would be approximately 1-1.5 hours, that the interview data would be used for the doctoral thesis, and that the interview would be taped for the purposes of transcription. Permission for tape-recording and for the use of the transcript was asked of all participants (See Consent Form, Appendix 1). The confidentiality issue was addressed and all participants were assured that their actual names would not be used in the thesis. A Background information questionnaire was also filled out by all participants. (See Appendix 2)

Because it was crucial to capture the respondent's own perceptions and feelings, it was imperative to record her exact words, which can be achieved only through recording the interview. Field notes were important in the interview process as well, because it helped the interviewer formulate new questions as the interview progressed and also non-verbal feedback was noted in this way. During the interview, itself, I attempted to listen to voiced and unvoiced words. Non-verbal responses such as gestures, expressions, intonations, hesitations, and periods of silence were noted. In addition, the interviewer noted interpretations, his/her thoughts and ideas that came to mind during the interview. After the interview, "elaboration" or summaries of the responses were made. After the interview, I also compared and contrasted the three groups of working mothers based upon their feelings about work (i.e., like working; do not like working; don't care) in order to understand where each group fit in terms of the theoretical framework. Attention was paid to how the interviewer affected the interview and what her role was in this setting. A personal journal was kept in which I recorded my feelings, brainstorms, connections, and areas of confusion. In this way, I was able to trace my own development of ideas and feelings throughout the process.
Data Analysis

"Analysis" is the process of bringing order to the data, organizing what is there into patterns, categories and basic descriptive units" (Patton, 1980). "Interpretation" attaches meanings and significance to the analysis, explains the descriptive patterns, and looks for relationships and linkages among the descriptive dimensions. "Evaluation" makes judgements about and assigns value to what has been analyzed and interpreted. (Patton, 1980).

"Analysis", "interpretation", and "evaluation" fall within the third phase of the qualitative research process, "working with data" (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975). According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), the goal of qualitative research is to generate concepts or categories from which theory may be derived. The category in which the data falls is more important than the data itself. I chose the Grounded Theory Approach as a means of analyzing the data and deriving theory from the data.

The Grounded Theory Approach

Grounded theory is a constant comparative method, whereby investigators both code data in an attempt to prove a theoretical proposition, as well as inspect data to detect new properties of theoretical categories (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In the constant comparative method, there is the systematic categorization of data but theorising is limited until patterns emerge in the data. The process involves data collection, open categorizing, memoing, moving towards parsimony through the determination of a core category, and the write-up of the theory (Glaser, 1978).
In the grounded approach, the data collection is intricately tied to the analysis in that the outcome of one interview acts as a building block for understanding the next interview. Initially, participants are chosen who seem to represent the phenomenon to be studied and these participants are similar. However, while categories are being generated, the researcher's task is then to seek to clarify differences within this area (Rennie & Phillips, 1988). The selection of new data sources, based on the emerging theory, is what Glaser & Strauss (1967) call "theoretical sampling".

"Open categorization" involved analyzing the transcribed interview material line by line or broken into meaning units "of individual concepts conveyed by the interviewee" (Rennie & Phillips, 1988). These units of analysis were then sorted into clusters, based on the meaning within the items. At this point, a preliminary interpretation of the unit was given, which remained as close to the data as possible and was mainly of a descriptive nature. Higher level interpretations were then recorded as "memos". (See an example of coding in Appendix C.). The memos helped the analyst transform the data from isolated information into themes and patterns. It is a way of noting one's thoughts about possible properties and allows one to think of relationships between categories. The meaning units form the basis of possible future categories. As the categories emerged, the units of analysis were then compared to each category. A given unit was assigned to as many categories as possible and this is referred to as "open categorizing". Some categories appeared to be characteristics of other categories or "properties". As the categories "saturated" in that there was no additional information producing new categories or properties, all new data fell within the categories generated up to this point. After each interview was analyzed, a summary description of the experience of each participant's experience was prepared to keep track of each
participant's individual experience within the process. These individual reflective descriptions also served as a comparison to the others as a means of noting both similarities and differences among the participants.

In the movement towards "parsimony", saturation had been achieved and the focus was then on the relationship among categories and on the integration of categories and properties. The central categories had links with many other categories because of the many times the data had been falling under this categorization. The central categories subsumed lower-order categories or properties. At this time, categories that were not linked to others were collapsed into other categories. The most central category is called the "core category" and it is the one that is most connected to the other categories and properties. It is usually of an abstract nature, often leading to the discovery of the underlying psychological meaning of the phenomenon. It is the last category to saturate.

In writing up the theory in the Grounded Theory Approach, the analyst sorted through his/her memos and created new memos based on insights produced by the initial ones. The memos contributed to the generation of the core category, the properties and the relationships between them and provided the structure for the presentation of the theory. The inclusion of the literature review contributed to the understanding of the phenomenon and is directed by the theory emerging from the participants' experiences.
Chapter 6

Results: Descriptive-Interpretive Summaries

This chapter will include the profiles of each of the participants involved in this study in order to get a more holistic sense of the participants' experiences of work and motherhood. In this way, there will be an opportunity to acknowledge the individuality of each of the participants, after which in the next chapter, issues will be broken down, comprising participants' experiences into clustering categories and themes. The profiles here will be presented as summaries and will be of a descriptive and interpretive nature. After the profiles are presented, three fluid stages to the working mother experience will be identified and described.

Summary of P1

P1 is a 41 year old mother of two children ages 6 and 8 years. She is also working as a teacher/diagnostician for a Board of Education on a shortened day schedule full-time. She began working eighteen years ago, took 6 months maternity leaves and returned to work. Her reasons for working, she says, are for financial reasons. Her husband, 46, is an engineer who works full-time. P1 was born in Vancouver and lost her father when she was five years of age, after which her mother was forced to work.
P1 began the interview by saying that the purpose of work for her is "a source of income" (1:5) and a challenge to find out how children learn ("How did that child learn? What makes him learn that way or what doesn't make him learn the way the teacher is teaching?) (4:64), how the fit is. She says she likes work at the beginning of the interview but towards the end after she has discussed motherhood in relation to work, she says; "(I am) very jealous of people who don't work. Why can't I be like my friend, who is very wealthy and is given an income every month?" (46:686). She says she would like not to work at times "because it is so demanding and there are many times when you truly..that work has to come first because you cannot say; 'I'm not going in tomorrow", but you can say to your child; "I'm not taking you to a movie tomorrow" (11:192). For P1, work comes first because of the financial need. P1 says she "would love to work where you have one day off during the week" (17:281). For P1, work is something she can fall back on financially "and I was always going to have my own income which I do to this day" (50:751).

Later on in the interview, it became clear that she never expected to work because she grew up in a family where her mother worked and was never home. She says:

From the age of eight, we let ourselves in, my brother who was two years older than me..we let ourselves in the door, made our own dinner and she got home..she worked from 9:00 to 6:00 and she got home at 7:00 by the time she took two buses home from downtown. (40:618)

Her mother would tell her; "I have to work. I have no choice" (41:626) and she hated working. P1's mother would tell her; "No, you will never work when you have children" (42:634).
Only in the last few minutes of the interview, did P1 expose why her mother worked and that was because her father died when she was five. They had to move from a middle class existence suddenly to a lower class one in terrible financial need.

P1 felt angry while she was pregnant about the fact she was going to be working as a mother and she explains that she knew she had to work because of the economy and because she and her husband had older parents to support (45:681). She could not tolerate the isolation that private tutoring entailed and so she returned to her job in the Board. Although her husband, is an engineer, who works full-time, she explains that they do not have one bank account in common (50:753) and that she wants "more materialistic things as an adult" (47:702) and wants her children to have more than she did. (46:695)

In discussing the work situation, P1 would often split teachers into good ones and bad ones. She would account for the good teachers through basically inborn talent and/or the influence of one's mother ("They have a talent for it. One of them, her mother's a teacher...") (3:49). She also explains that teachers often go into the profession because they think it is familiar territory. In her more descriptive moments in the discussion of her feelings about teaching, she said that she felt "fed up with the bells...you have to be there by a certain time and you leave at a certain time" (6:98). She says she has no choice and doesn't have enough room (7:112). She feels disappointed when the students misbehave or cannot read and says she is drained and often feels she has no impact on them. With regards to working with other teachers and superiors, she says; "I have to admit that I am a person when my opinions are strong, what opinions I have are extremely strong. I am unbending. I refuse to see other people's side of it. I am not very good at that" (8:141), and yet she says: "I am the type of person who feels that they must convince them. They must see my
side of the story" (10:166). P1, in particular, was discussing her views on the whole language approach to reading, which she feels is inferior to an approach dealing with the parts, "graph phonetics". She describes how "maddening" it is for her when she can't convince others of her perspective.

In the context of work, she describes how it is to start over, that it would be too hard to do this for financial reasons. She finds it so difficult "to fit in everything " (13:217), and expresses anger over her own children's neediness (And so, who is going to pick them up (angry), who is going to feed them ?) (13:220). She doesn't explain who she is angry at because she says she has a good babysitter, although later it becomes clear that she has no parental support, an unavailable husband and she says sadly; "There are none (support) for me" (49:729).

In discussing her own personal needs, she says she has no time for herself , "no room for like...to join a book club...Chinese painting" (17:276), and that her needs "will be on hold for a few more years" (17:281). Regarding her personal relationships with others, she says she feels misunderstood by others who have more than she, feels controlled by those she works for and is not connected enough with her husband , friends and family. About her husband she says; " We don't talk about each other's work very much. More so about his. Very little about mine. Like, I am not sure if he would know what school I am at. It has never been an interest to him. Maybe he just doesn't, he can't relate to it, it's such a foreign thing to him what I do" (27:428). Of her feelings of disconnectedness, she says; "Well, that's why I get frustrated at times because I think (longingly); "Oh, wouldn't I like it if somebody would just come or have Friday night dinner at someone's house or some place to go for holiday" (49:733). The only real support she describes is that of a female co-worker, who makes her laugh and they look after each other mutually ("We
are both protective over each other. Like we will cover for each other. It is just almost sisterly" (31:483). It is very difficult for P1 to accept pleasurable and relaxing moments, as well as to allow herself what she considers a luxury item. There is an overall sense of hopelessness she conveys in that she says; "I have also learned...that nothing will change" (32:509), that the demands of motherhood will not become easier with time and then, in a paradoxical way, she disconfirms this and says that there is more free time down the road, which ultimately frightens her because "it is also depressing that, you know, I quite like this age that my kids are at, you know. I don't want them to be in university. I can't imagine me a mother of a child in university and I am not a young mother" (34:523). She says she likes the fact that her children at this stage "can be self-sufficient, they can play alone or play with others" (334:531), alone and together. She is concerned that work seems to eat up the time she might have with her children and that the way to be connected to children is through not working ("And maybe it does go by faster because you are working. You don't savour the moments because you don't have that...") (36:564). The way she copes with the feelings described above are through organization ("Oh yes, I know I am an organized person, if I am anything, I am organized") (23:378), through obsessiveness, particularly in the way of cleaning ("Before, before I leave from 8:30 to 9:30, I clean almost every morning and then, again, when I get home and sometimes in the evening") (39:596), and through an overemphasis on externals, such as the body ("I feel more confident when I am skinny") (54:802), as well as on material things.

P1 concludes her interview by saying that being responsible for herself is "a way of life, it is a way of survival. You have to be responsible to be organized, as that is the only way we are going to survive and we are all going to get there" (50:740). She was able to relate her present situation
to her early experiences and losses, as well as to recognize that her early life was one of disorder and of a lack of space. She finishes off by saying that work is something to fall back on and to enable her a life of independence. As long as she looks good, she says, she will feel more confident about herself and feel that everything is in order (55:816).

P1, like two of the other working mothers (P5, and P6), is in denial regarding the loss of the father and the subsequent absence of the mother. As a result, separations and the passage of time are very difficult for her. Working, while it provides some connections for her in the form of a supportive colleague, is also something that takes her away from her children, as work did for her mother. As a result, she has a great deal of difficulty integrating work and motherhood.

**Summary of P2**

P2 is a forty year old woman with two daughters, ages 10 and 5 years. She is a psychometrist for a Board of Education and says that she enjoys working and wants to pursue her career. She began working after she graduated from university (prior to having children). She was thirty and thirty-five years of age when she had her children, which went generally quite well. Her maternal reaction during the postpartum period, however, was one of tiredness and she went through phases of feeling down during this period. She breast-fed her children. Both she and her husband have been sharing the caretaking of the children for the last two years. Prior to this recent arrangement she had four babysitters and four casual sitters.

P2 went back to work seven months after having her children. She has had two positions and has worked a total of fourteen years. Her hours of employment are part-time three days a week. She is the third child of four children. Her mother stayed at home until she was a preadolescent.
P2's husband is 40 years of age and was 30, 35 when his children were born. He is the second child. His occupation is that of a lawyer and he works part-time from his home and the other part in an office, which makes him fairly flexible.

The main issues that seemed to surface in P2's interview were the following; that motherhood is not enough and yet it is a priority; that motherhood is overwhelming; draining and intrusive; that fathers are absent/workaholics or act in stereotypic ways towards women; that there is a strong need for relationships and connection, as well as time to be alone and with her husband; that children and mothers have a mutual impact upon each other; that there is a need to form boundaries, juggle, put on hold, prioritize, balance, and accept.

P2 began the interview with discussing her feelings about working by saying that she enjoys work and doesn't want to just be at home with the children. She continues; "I didn't want to just be at home with them. It was agreed that I would get depressed or worried and I think keeping my hands in my field is important to me. Also, being with other adults and doing what I do, I do gain satisfaction from it." (1:5). Work is a way for her to find out answers as well as to continue to be the helping type of person that she considered herself to be ("I tend to be a real helping type of person so and that is also influenced by my mother") (44:664). Work is a way for her to avoid isolation ("I think I would feel somewhat isolated at times from other adults even though I have friends that aren't working but I mean you can't get together with them all the time") (1:16). She values the support she gets from her co-workers and other women at work ("And, luckily, I work with some..three other women. Well, there is more than that, but other women that are really very supportive and..") (15:224). Work is also a way for her to avoid becoming overly involved or intrusive with her children ("And I know how I am. I get almost overly involved with my children..."
if I am with them too much and they start driving you crazy...and I know that I just feel that it would be overwhelming ,being at home all the time..") (1:17). She connects her controlling and intrusive manner to her mother's mode of being ("I try to back off because I used to hate when my mother did that ) (49:742). She also was able to relate that not only is she not "just at home with the children", her mother was also "not just a mother" (47:715). She felt guilty for saying that "it sounds awful to say that but that she did something else, too" (47:716). At work, her old supervisor "knew everything about everybody's family in terms of problems. He would tell you..." (13:196) but now, although she likes work, there have been changes in administration and her new supervisor "is not in tune with people's feelings as much" (13:193). With regards to her feelings regarding part-time or full-time work, she seems ambivalent in that she explains being half-time with her children is enjoyable and yet not satisfying because she could not get involved in as many things she used to be "plus taking too much work home, thinking I should get it all done") (33:500). In addition to feelings of being unaware or out of touch with what was happening at work when she was off, P2 says that motherhood adds to her "professional empathy" (18:262) but that pressure from work spills over into her homelife, sometimes, although she tries to keep them separate. She admits that the split doesn't always work ("I mean you can keep them separate and then all of a sudden"..)(27:396) and so she has tried to accept that she cannot do everything.

When she discussed motherhood, she dealt with her mothering experiences, bringing in her own relationships with her mother. She said that a school age child "a lot of people don't realize it needs a parent home just as much as toddlers to talk about their day...(3:39) and later, in trying to remember her feelings about her mother working, she said; "I was school age but I can't
remember how old I was" (47:707). She describes the mutual feelings that exist between herself, as mother and her children ("There have been a few times I have had to do an extra day and they are disappointed that I won't be home and I am, too. I almost resent doing that extra time because I feel it is taking away from them") (3:49), whereas in her relationship with her mother, she denies any mutual missing ("Um..I thought it was okay. I kept, you see, it is even hard for me to remember what arrangements she must have made. I think we used to go to a neighbour's house...") (47:709). And yet, when she describes her experience of her children going to a baby-sitter's house, as she had, she says; "It was horrible. I was exhausted again because I had to wake them up early, get them ready, and then pick them up at the end of the day and get everything ready for dinner. It was horrible") (24:353). In discussing her baby-sitting arrangement in the home, she says that "she loved the children like her own, so after she left, that's when things got really bad...") (38:580). In discussing, in greater detail, the characteristics of the aforementioned baby-sitter, it became clear that she did not feel comfortable with her being a "homebody", which she later conceded she is and was like when she was a child ("I mean, I, again, I am sort of a homebody and I liked coming home at lunch or after school") (47:711).

In describing her present feelings and experiences of motherhood, she said she felt overwhelmingly tired, guilty about not doing enough, particularly when she is at home and not working. She finds there is too much running ("I think it is almost just our demands in our society. I mean, working and looking after the children and doing everything else. I mean, when I think of what I do during the day, sometimes I am always running around. Even the days I am off, I seem to be..") (9:135), and as a result, she is susceptible easily to becoming ill. There is just too much to do and not enough time to do it in, since time goes by so quickly, she ruefully sighs.
Difficulty with time shortage is associated with no time for herself and also no time for herself and her husband together (22:324). She discusses the things she likes to do for herself by herself, such as exercising, piano, reading, while emphasizing her need for connection with friends, in the form of phoning and getting together with them for lunch. In connecting with friends, she says, she can just "be" rather than "do" for her children ("That is also a plus, about working, is that you can get out and have lunch, without being up and down a million times with your kids, you know. Like, how you have to get things and stuff, so I can sit and eat lunch and talk") (31:460). Another issue that she deals with strongly is the issue of the need for organization ("If I didn't have the calendar (that her husband makes), I am dead") (23:339), and she relates this organizational ability to her mother ("She was, she is, very organized and very efficient in certain areas...") (48:723). Related to organization, is also her need to keep separate her work and mothering, as mentioned above, as well as placing limits on the number of committees and meetings she is involved in after work hours. P2 discusses the need for balance and the need to juggle in her life, particularly when she feels guilty about not being responsible at work or not giving enough to her children. In organizing her time and her children's time, she says that she is constantly checking "to see if it all fits together" (21:313). She often speaks of her forgetting things that need to be done and therefore would benefit from organization, as well as forgetting what life was like prior to motherhood. She accounts for this by saying that she just has too much on her mind:

I know I am always thinking about, I mean, the only time I stop thinking about these things, I try to force myself are the weekends. I try not to think about it or when we are on holidays. Otherwise, I think there is always things on my mind. (24:361)
She accounts for this way of being a personality characteristic, "but that is just me" (24:364), although she later says that her mother "also gets anxious about certain things that she shouldn't" (50:755). Another personality trait, she discusses that she, her mother, and daughter all possess, is that of being "too good to people" (44:670), which she finds is detrimental because other people would take advantage of them. To her, being authentic is to be critical and true to yourself.

P2 describes motherhood as the priority over work ("And I certainly want to do a good job at work and I want to do a good job at being a mother but I think, to me, probably being a parent is still to me the highest priority...but in terms of expectations, I thought I would probably be able to pursue my career a bit more than I have") (32:485). Both jobs are terribly demanding for her and combining the two is difficult. Nevertheless, she is optimistic in that she is able to look at life experiences on a continuum of possibilities where she "puts certain things on hold until the children are older") (61:915).

By the end of the interview, P2 has begun to move from idealizing her mother to more of an acceptance that "there are negative things too...I mean everybody has, but she is very giving and...." and balancing the image she had of her mother.

The relationship she has with her husband and the one she has with her father, certainly have affected her experiences in the work/motherhood domain. Her husband is very supportive and helpful to her with caring for the children and for helping to organize her. She says:

But I find that just very basic things, like helping with the dinner, helping clean up, I think, chores and also my older daughter is now getting homework and stuff, so we take turns if she needs help with projects or whatever. (6:93)
Her father was a workaholic and generally absent from the family, when she was young and she sought him out through working with him, as she yearns to speak with him when he speaks with her husband about business instead of her. Her father is also stereotypical in his attitude to women working in that he felt women shouldn't work unless they do for their husbands, which her mother did. She concluded that she would never want her husband away as much as her father was because she missed him but that she benefitted from, what she perceived, a close relationship between her parents as a marital couple ("They have been married fifty years and that has probably influenced, I'm sure, my relationship to my husband."). (58:883). She adds that she and her husband have a good relationship, that they keep themselves apart from her parents ("I mean and we have never discussed it (our negatives) with my parents") (59:887), just as her parents never argued in front of their children and tried to hide things. P2 also conceded that she "learned from him (her father) that work and being effective and being conscientious and reliable is important" (53:799). As a result, she reflects that she, too, does more than she should at work and is an overachiever.

P2 seems to have been responding to intrusive mothering, and then later to an absent mother. In addition, she had to deal with an absent workaholic father. Because of oscillating absence or intrusiveness, she responded by feeling an emptiness within herself and a lack of a sense of basic security. P2 responds to this early childhood upbringing by becoming, herself, afraid of too much connectedness as well as distance. She is working towards repairing unacceptable situations and sources of conflict and is trying to "fit it all together". She is working towards a more integrative state than P1 can.
Summary of P3

P3 is a 30 year old mother of one daughter and is pregnant with her second child. She works a 2.5 day week as a speech/language pathologist. Her husband works full-time as a dentist and is 32 years of age. He has minimal flexibility. Major caretakers are herself and her nanny.

P3 requested to be interviewed at the interviewer's home because she expressed discomfort and shame regarding the size of her home, as well as a fear of being interrupted by her child. Once in the interviewer's home, she expressed her opinion that the interviewer's home was also too small. During the interview, she said:

Because even though the nanny's there, if they are not out at the park, or if they're just playing in the house, I mean, it's a small house. Say we're in the same room., and I don't know, even if it wasn't a small house, maybe she'd just know I was home. (25:386)

In the history, P3 said that her emotional maternal reactions, during the postpartum period, were those of being housebound or trapped. She expressed embarrassment about being tired, when she was not working, since she felt that motherhood should be the priority over work. She explained:

But that day, I remember, just starting to be worried, and I really shocked myself, like I never go in feeling sad for my doctor's appointment. And I, um, had the baby with me, I remember she was attached to me wherever I went....because it makes you feel guilty. Oh how could you say that you love your daughter so much? (55:870)

She felt totally depleted:
I was nursing all the time, I don't know. Now that, I knew something had to be wrong. I mean, there was no way I should have to nurse her, but it seemed like there never was a time when I wasn't nursing her. It turned out that, in fact, supplementing her, I guess, she wasn't getting enough. She wasn't the type of baby that I could put in the swing to do my own thing. She needed to be held a lot and she didn't sleep that much during the day. (58:921)

P3 was raised in a traditional family where boys work and girls marry and have children. She was the only daughter of three children. Her mother did not work and did not value paid employment for women, according to P3. She explained:

My mother didn't work, I mean she's an artist, she paints but it was always a hobby. It became a little bit of a profession because she's doing very well and she's selling but um that's a different generation too and um she didn't have help. I mean she had baby nurses when we were first born before that but um she never worked and um she never really valued it that much (79:1241). I don't really have the role model of a working mother that I had felt I had needed to with this perfectionist that I have in me. (81:1277)

P3 felt that her own husband, who like her father is mostly absent, was also of the opinion that women need not work and he was not supportive enough, was unavailable and unreliable. She sighs:

He will call and say, or I know in advance, but sometimes I don't always know, you know, or I mean he's also working really hard too. He's got a lot of late meetings, you know, and he never comes home and does it for me. (90:1410)
She expressed feeling left out of her husband's large family, in addition to having felt left out of her own family. She explained that, in the case of her own husband, there were so many children, she was redundant. In her own family, she felt discriminated against because of her sex, the evidence being that that she was left out of the family business because she was female. She explains:

Also, my dad has a business and my two other brothers are now in the business and it's always going to be a. One of my brothers was going to become involved with it. He changed his mind. So, the business has always been open to them. and, um, I don't know there. there wasn't really an invitation to me. And I don't think I really would... I wouldn't have wanted it. (82:1295)

As a mother, P3 says she finds herself shopping and returning things she has bought and forever grocery shopping:

I mean I'll go grocery shopping. And I seem to be doing a lot of grocery shopping, I don't know, there's just the three of us, well there's the nanny, too. I guess there's the four of us in the house, right? ..it seems like I'm always grocery shopping. (28:422)

But, despite the fact that she has the ingredients, she says:

Yeah, and then well making dinner and, well, that kind of gets shafted a little, too, but you know my nanny can help out, in that regard. It's not exactly the most amazing cuisine, but it's fine and, you know, certainly she makes for my daughter, you know the hamburgers.
You know, I take out the meat for her and then you know that 's what we can have for dinner if we want, which may not be my choice, you know. (30:456)

She is always rushing around both on work days and on days off. P3 finds motherhood alone very isolating:

I missed maybe the social contact. You know sometimes I'd feel so housebound for sure, especially my daughter's born in October. So, she was born in the winter and the two of us together, you can't seem to go out without help, you know. (50:779)

She was afraid of leaving the baby with anyone:

Like, you know, I didn't know who to trust and the only person I really trusted was the nurse that I had initially. My parents don't live here. They live in Ottawa and um, my in-laws, my daughter is the fifteenth grandchild. Well, they're older and I just didn't have... well once she babysat. (5:788)

P3 often struggles with the value of women who have help by saying:

Just because you have help doesn't mean you can't spend time with your kids (68:1075) because I need it (help). What I was going to say that I don't know if I would need it even (if not working). But then once you have help I don't think there is any turning back. (66:1044)
She also deals with her feelings about women who do not work and their worth ("It doesn't mean that just because you are not a working mother at work getting paid that you are not a busy person...so I think it's how you fill your life up that you have to do") (56:885). Ideally, she said that she "had the perfect situation" when she had a nanny for the summer when she wasn't working (36). P3 feels guilty about having help when others, who cannot afford it, don't and she notes that husbands do not seem to understand women's need for help. Her husband feels that her difficulties stem from her inability to manage time effectively and she says;" So we end up talking about, this whole discussion about exercise and the Y and it's not even really what I wanted to be talking about because I'm really talking about a million other things.." (75:1181).

P3 is rather ambivalent about both working and being a mother. She says; "Maybe I did it (work) to show, to do the opposite..." (82;1294). She continues; " So I guess , I felt that I did want something of my own" (84:1321). In addition, she speculates; "And I guess maybe, I don't now, maybe I didn't want to be dependent on my husband" (84:1325). She said she needed something_of her_own ("I'm like sort of my own master of my caseload" (42:640 ); "I'd like to always work in some capacity or have something outside of the home because I think that would just be some freedom for me...something extra, something with extra stimulation, um, and sort of makes me feel like a normal person") (55:878) . Yet, P3 devalues her working role by saying; "I'm not a big entrepreneur..like for me it's a profession I enjoy that I keep it in perspective and that's true. Like I don't..it's not the biggest thing in my life" (86:1350). She also adds that work for her means being a part of the earning process; " ..and you know taking part in the breadwinning ..." (86;1357).
When P3 described work, she repeatedly described feeling overwhelmed by it; "And maybe I bit off a little bit too much more than I could chew" (1:18). She finds the work load too heavy, the school needy and the children depleting;

You know, this principal's, you know, on your back and this teacher's on, you know, this kid really needs something, can't you just squeeze him in, maybe we can get him serviced earlier or referred outside and maybe one by one each of these assessments I feel I could do. Okay, I'll squeeze that one in, I'll squeeze that one in. (2:26)

She has difficulty balancing or regulating the load because she says she has difficulty saying "no" and knowing her limits ( "But there is a lot of pressure and um some people would probably be better at saying "no". this is all I can do at the moment ") (2:23). She speaks of whether to fit in certain activities into others or whether to prioritize them to form a balance:

As they (demands) become greater and greater, it becomes harder and harder and then it comes to the point where you probably will have to, at least for myself, I'm probably going to have to make decisions and changes to just to fit it in and prioritize everything. to feel, to make it that perfect balance that I'm searching for. (62:974)

Ideally, she says it would be nice if one didn't have to prioritize and choose one activity before another. She allows herself to be pressured into giving as much as she can to be a nice person (2). She also needs to complete loose ends and leave no ends untied ("I don't like to leave anything sort of unfinished") (10:152). Gaps always need to be filled. She explains; "There's a slight chance there might be someone to get the position filled even though we were told that there
wouldn't be (10:159). I just figure that for sure there will be a lot of students that will be just left with nothing" (12: 198). As a result, she seems to be aware of anger resulting from being deprived in the form of "parents' anger (that ) won't be directed at me...it will be directed towards the Board ...") (10:165). She feels judged by those in authority at work and even though she has requested for her load to be lighter, she feels that others might perceive her as slackling off (5).

In adjusting to her dual role (be it two part-time jobs or to motherhood and employment), she says she has great difficulty. Firstly, she feels forced out of her role as mother by virtue of the fact that she hired a nanny to support her in the role of Mother ("That I had to. I should go back (to work)...because I had the full-time nanny...") (3:44). She also had ambivalent feelings about the nanny in that she distrusts her ("And the next thing she wanted more money...and it's like, oh, but I thought you just loved my daughter so much") (33:501), as well as feeling cared for by her. She speaks often, throughout the interview, of trying to keep it all in balance, especially work and play since she noted that her father "was all work and no play" (83) and her mother was not a role model of a working mother, although she always told her children "how much work it (motherhood) was" (81:1277). As a result, she says; "I was probably very stressed just adjusting to the two jobs and trying to, you know, not go crazy" (40:607). She says that she feels neither here nor there and does not totally identify with either parent. In combining motherhood with employment, she also feels stressed in a different way:

There it was, all work stress and um but now the work stress plus it's that, sort of, like emotional, that stress...because I, my love is my husband and my daughter and I want to spend all my time with them and they truly, as I said before, they got my priority so I'm
feeling a little bit cheated from that, and um, I don't know if my daughter feels any.

(46:703)

P3 feels the stress when she is expected to be in two places at once:

There it was all work stress and, um, but now the work stress plus it's that sort of like emotional that stress, like I mean, in the event, I don't know, because I my love is my husband and my daughter and I want to spend all my time with them... But I guess the stress has some sort of emotional aspect. (46:705)

Time is an issue that continually arises for P3 in many different ways. She seems to view time as a continuum where priorities changes as time goes by for mothers ("Um, he's (husband) always been that way and we sort of had that in common when we first met but I've since stopped as much...it was never, maybe when I was single") (74:1163). At that point of realization, she berates herself for changing and says that what she does now is a waste of time ("You know, but I don't, I've never really followed through. I occasionally, I'll say;"Okay, I'm going to try doing that". But the moment I get, "Okay". That's, it's a waste of time" (74:1166). She explains that what used to be important isn't because "I guess I'm also lazy" (75:1174) and because she lacks energy. She explains that for her, she has different priorities now from her husband and that she feels guilty for setting her priorities in self-indulgent activities, like getting her hair cut mainly because "I heard him thinking; "Are you going to the Y". Like, you know, he's starting to bug me......" (77:1209). She explains that it is very important for her to make her own decisions about how she should be spending her free time, which is very little because she doesn't have any energy
left after doing what needs to be done for the family ("I have grocery shopping, we don't have any milk, after that if I have any energy left... what's the difference if I have any energy left?") (77:1216). Because of her work and family commitments and her lack of energy, she never has enough time ("It just does not seem to be enough hours in the day") (20:317). She explains the difference between her mother and her perspectives towards women working as due to the times, the generation difference, once again looking at the differences on the continuum between women, generally speaking, then and now. P3 finds that she needs to "mentally make a timetable of all the things" she needs to do (21:328). Even with this attempt at organization, "it just always seems like I make it under the bell" (21:331), she says. She finds it very difficult to be punctual and is constantly fighting the clock.

Another issue that P3 is struggling with is balancing her own needs with the expectations of others (the inside with the outside). She describes how she is caught in situations that look okay but are not (a false front). For example she says;" There's plenty for her babysitter to do so you know on paper it really was, you know, the perfect set-up" (4:53). She also feels uncomfortable about lying or evading the truth, as she explains regarding whether to inform her students' parents of no replacement for her ("I would feel like I was lying...it's not really lying...it would be holding back information...") (15:243). She finds that she always needs to be good for fear of being judged harshly and yet the environment never seems to respond to her efforts:

Feeling bad, you know, you know, like you want to take on everyone's child and you want to do your best and you want to show that you're working hard...and they don't really appreciate the fact that you're in different schools. I mean I'm sure they believe me but it's
but they still perceive me as like, possibly some teachers may think; "Oh, she's slacking off." (5:75)

The other part of this harshness seems to come from within herself ("No, no, physically I would go to work for the 2.5 days but I would spend a lot of time or I'd go to the library near my house and do reports. Then nobody is telling me I have to do it..") (4:63). She says she cannot take the whole world on her shoulders but she finds herself constantly pushing herself to do that extra bit for fear of feeling worse about herself. The other issue P3 struggles with is making a good appearance and then feeling badly about being judged on appearances alone. She says, "And the other part of this you like for yourself to appear or to be and to really be efficient (8:125). I don't want to be ever thought of that way (slacking off), you know, they might not realize how hard I'm working") (6:86). P3 has difficulty, herself, with the inside vs. the outside. She feels judged by her external being (her body, her sex), whereas in the past she wasn't aware of feeling this way, although she recognizes the value of physical fitness to a degree. She explains; "I take that as not the priority, and it's unfortunate, because I think that is really important and I always feel better and actually energised when you go and exercise but somehow with all the other things, I just haven't seen" (29:440). Sometimes, she attributes her behaviours and feelings to her personality type rather than the environmental component by saying that she is compulsive and perfectionistic. Yet, she feels sad when she realizes that her husband focuses on the body and the external issues (time management) rather than the underlying emotional ones. Because others seem to know what is right for her better than she seems to, she tends to feel helpless and
depressed, particularly because she seems to have no impact on those around her and no control over her own life.

She concludes by saying that there would be relief if there were more boundaries in her life ("I guess if I had the type of job that you could just go to your job....") and if she had extra help from her husband in the evenings or if he was just there (connectedness) so she wouldn't feel alone. She seems to need to feel a part of things and yet apart, connected and yet having something of her own. Isolation makes her feel too much separated or disconnected from others which affects her sense of continuity. Her experience of work and motherhood is one of oscillation between the two places, where she is struggling to integrate the two and becomes depressed while attempting to do so. She is caught in the middle between the two.

**Summary of P4**

P4 is a 37 year old occupational therapist working for a Board of Education. She is the mother of three children, two boys and one girl. P4 is married to a 40 year old lawyer who works full-time in an inflexible profession. She is the major caretaker, with the assistance of a nanny since her second child was 8 months of age. She says her husband is supportive of her working.

Her reasons for working are for professional growth and then for financial reasons. She is dependent upon her husband and parents for financial support since she is working part-time in a variety of different jobs related to her field. Her feelings about work are generally positive. P4 started working prior to having children, following graduation and returned to work one year after the birth of her first child, three months after her second and twelve months after her third. Her third child is her only daughter. P4 is a middle child among three daughters. Her mother was
a homemaker, who worked in her grandmother's store which her grandmother ran for fifty years.
P4 was raised with having live-in help.

P4 began speaking about about her work and needed to be prodded to discuss her family of
origin at a later point in the interview. Soon into the interview, she categorized her role as a
working mother into three areas; working outside of the home; working inside of the home
(laundry, cooking) and being with her children (play). She says: "So working at home is one, and
working at homework is another, and sometimes I consider being with my children play. I
consider my work work....right, there are three areas for me" (1;13). Her priorities, she says are;
"So my priority is the kids and my second priority is my work and my third is the work around the
house if I had to rate them" (3;33).

One of the issues that came up throughout this interview is that of fitting in. She speaks of
children who have learning problems who do not fit in. ("They just learn differently. So that's
what I do) (14:220). She continues in this vein: "It's a consulting position which I also feel really
fits with the amount of or sort of administrative experience I've had and experience that I've had
with not so much hands-on clinical which I'm happy about". Later on in the interview, she
discusses fitting in various activities into her schedule;"But that's the only time I can fit it in..yeah,
fitness is really important and I think that, well especially being in the field I'm in where, you
know.." (35:514). While P4 stresses the need to fit in, to fill in gaps, she also discusses the need to
take breaks. She says; "I have been working for over fifteen years and in between that time, I have
taken some breaks, some longer, some shorter when I had my kids (1:8). Sometimes when the
gap is too large, she describes the following reaction; " But I remember the feeling of like just
being so, so far. First of all, I felt, and it isn't even that far, but I felt like it was in an emergency" (4:59).

P4 discussed in great detail her need to choose between two or more options and/or having to combine options. She describes how children are the priority (2:20), yet having to have the responsibility for both work at home and at work (2:24). She explains that children and work are the mothers' responsibility (2:30). Husbands, she says, come home late from work unless they have to be there for the children (2:29) and they prefer not to have to worry about them (43:641).

It is a conflict for her, resulting in self-imposed guilt, whereby she says she wants to both work and do things for her children simultaneously, but yet mothers may not go far professionally while their children are young (72). Her guilt mainly revolves, she says, around not spending enough time with her youngest child, her only daughter. She relieves her guilt by saying that work does not affect children as much as it does the mother (63) and that she makes her workload flexible.

She describes how someone always has to lose for someone else to gain. For example, mothers can't go far professionally when the children are young; children are affected less by mother working than mother; mother needs to bargain with her children to get her needs met (67) and siblings rival for their mother's attention (47). She describes in detail a competitive relationship that she and her sister had while growing up and how her sister's needs came second to her own, which she also feels guilty about.

While she says that she chooses various part-time jobs for the purposes of being flexible, she says:
But everything sort of revolves around my home life and what I am doing with them and so I have had offers to call. It can be supervisors of department and things like that but I don't take them because I don't want to commit that kind of time.

By not actively seeking employment herself and by taking a multitude of part-time work, she won't become too over-invested in work and will avoid, as she says, commitment to it. In addition, she is not committing herself long-term to work ("Yeah, and that's why this job is so perfect for me now. It may not be what I want to do eventually, but it really works now") (17:262). She prefers to make short-term commitments ("Yeah, so like it's sort of fitting in and it's a two year commitment so that's fine. I know I'm going to be there another couple of years") (23:350). P4 seems afraid of long-term commitment to work ("Two year commitment, and it's not forever and it's short" (24:355). P4 also feels comfortable knowing that her situation is a temporary one ("And the realization that I may not go as far as anyone goes professionally while my kids are at this stage. I'm fine with that now because I know that that's a temporary thing") (72:1062). Even though she doesn't want to feel trapped into a particular job situation, she emphasizes the value of work is that it is something to fall back on for financial reasons. She says:

And I think I looked around and I've seen a number of my friends go through horrendous situations where they've lost husbands or separations and divorces and realized the need to have something because, I mean, G-d forbid, you just never know when you're going to have to be the breadwinner. (39:586)

She attributes this way of thinking to her mother's influence whereby she says; "I don't know if this is why I work, but I know growing up, my mother always wanted us to have professions and
to have our own money and to be independent" (39:580). In addition to P4 being somewhat passive about how she becomes involved in the work she acquires, it is important for her to look right and for things to appear right even if this is really not the case. She described in the interview how she needs to put up a good show that everything is fine. Being involved in all of the jobs she is doing, brings her relief and frees her, she says. In addition, she feels as if she is doing what her mother wanted her to do, "to be something". In connection with appearances, she also is concerned with physical fitness, although she says that it it is also important to her for personal well-being and for social connection. She also described a modelling stint as a teenager, which was a critical activity for her then and has influenced her now. She says:

It sort of, you know, what I feel is important, is that appearance, overall appearance is generally important and maybe that came out of that (52:768). Not that I feel people should be made up, but I'm much more aware of people, maybe professionally, but I'm sort of aware of how people present themselves, whether they're neat or put together or dishevelled or, like, there's just something about putting yourself together that shows a person who is sort of together (52:771). So, I don't know if you can attribute that to modelling when I was 13. (52:778)

She describes that, in her work, she worries about being found out, if she is unprepared for a meeting. She says:

I like to be prepared. It's like going into a meeting or going to a class that you're not prepared for, and you sit there and you feel, you know, like I hope he doesn't ask me a
question anytime, a kind of feeling of apprehension and anxiety that I think I feel. I just think it's harder to get your act together to deal with them, if you're not prepared. (54:803)

In the interview, P4 described feeling at loose ends and of trying to pull herself together in the way of describing scattered routines, crashing from fatigue, needing to finish off loose ends at all costs, needing to appear together and needing to do things a hundred percent or not at all. She would describe feeling times when she felt as if she might blank out and of a sense of mindlessness where she felt she lost the sense of who she was. This would occur, she said when she would be involved in relationships with others, particularly her children, and not taking into account her own interest ("But I want to keep my head, well, and I want to keep my hands in a profession because they're going to be grown and out of the house and who knows what I'll be doing but I'll want to do something") (21:313).

Clearly, an issue for P4 is her need to make choices about the amount of time she should spend in the motherhood and work areas, whether and how to juggle part-time work with motherhood, and how to juggle all of her part-time jobs with each other. Since she tends to end up in particular jobs at specific points in time, she explains that certain jobs are suitable at that point in time and she relates this to the stage that her children are at the time. She says:

I took a leave and I guess I never wanted to go back full-time ever again until my kids are..and that was a conscious decision. And the realization that I may not go as far as anyone goes professionally while my kids are at this stage. (72:1057)
P4 feels that motherhood is a temporary, albeit important, stage of life and that work must be accommodated to suit it.

It became clear in the interview that P4 valued her relationships with others, as well as her own time for herself. She said that she valued work because it co-ordinated the social with her personal. She also valued fitness for the purposes of her own physical well-being, as well as for the social connection. P4 said that she had the need for financial independence which she received from her work, to a degree, as well as financial support from her husband and parents. She described, in detail, support also from her family, baby-sitter and husband. P4 seemed to rely mainly on herself, though, in that she said she would rely on others only in an emergency and only unless absolutely necessary.

In describing her way of coping with both work and motherhood, P4 described the need for flexibility in both areas. She noted that since both are intertwined, a balance has to be struck between the two. She takes into account that each one spills over into the other and focuses on the positive when she says that having her own children helps her relate to children at work. She explains: "Because I go in and I relate to the kids about hockey and baseball and Ninja Turtles, or whatever, you know, Jurassic Park" (15:233). In addition, she says, that makes her children a part of her work experience by familiarizing them with it:

And my kids are actually fascinated that I go in to see kids at school, cause they really relate to that...and they love all my assessment tools and my perceptual-motor stuff and they've tried it all. I've tested them all. But, like, I've really made them part of it. (16:247)
As a result, she says; "I think my kids are proud that I work. Like they'll often take my badge and they'll wear it. I think it's a positive thing, as a model for your kids, to work" (63:931).

Organization is a key factor in helping P4 cope with the anxieties of co-ordinating work and motherhood. She establishes routines in her household such as reading time with the children that are at suitable times to allow her to both work at home, as well as not feel the guilt over not being involved with the children enough. She organizes the nature of her work commitments so that it all fits together ("And I do all these things cause I just feel, professionally, it's really important but everything sort of revolves around my home life and what I am doing with them" (5:72); "Yeah, so, like, it's sort of fitting in and it's a two year commitment so that's fine") (23:350). P4 always is well prepared so as not to appear disorganized and not put together.

Her other means of dealing with anxieties are the following; she tends to devalue those who support her ("And she (the babysitter) just didn't know how to cope with it (child's nightmare)" (4:61); "I never would want to rely on my family to babysit" (40:596); "He's (husband) always said to me; "You can't count on me to be around unless I really need to be around" "(42:626)); and she tends to rationalize feelings of fatigue as due to waking up earlier to walk and denies that her working affects her children. P4 doesn't really really see a relationship, it seems, between her needs having an impact on her children, although the reverse doesn't apply. She tends to overidealize the role of motherhood, including the impact that her mother has had on her ( "I don't know if this is why I work but I know, growing up, my mother always wanted us to have professions and to have our own money and to be independent") (39:580) and passed these values onto her own children. Her mother, she says; "always encouraged us to do what whatever we wanted" (46:691) and yet, " she sort of made my sister and I. both take modelling lessons. I guess
poise and that was very important too " (46:696), which ultimately resulted in an unresolved conflict between herself and her sister, which she feels badly about until this day. P4 was unable to relate how this greatest conflict related to her being a mother and working. P4's mother, according to P4, passed on the dual message that both work and motherhood are critical which she has been closely emulating with the help of her nanny, as her mother did.

P4 summarizes her situation by providing the image of needing to find a good fit between employment and motherhood. She relates this to feeling "together" and of looking competent. She has always trusted that Mother gives the proper guidance to the child in finding the value of work. P4, on the way, though, had difficulty in establishing priorities between her needs, her sister's and her mother's and probably this was due to the blurred boundaries and projected needs of others in her history. As a result, she is still struggling to establish the boundaries between her children's and her own needs and consequently opts to minimize her commitment to work but still retain its impact through engaging in a multitude of part-time jobs. She is in the process of working towards integrating work and motherhood but is experiencing difficulty "doing both a hundred percent ".

Summary of P5

P5 is a forty year old woman, who grew up in Toronto with her mother and older brother. Her father passed away when she was four years of age. She describes her childhood as being that of a struggle financially and of her mother always working to make ends meet. She does not discuss her feelings of loss regarding her father.
P5 has her Masters in Social Work and works full-time for a School Board, as well as operating her own private practice part-time. Her husband, forty-three years of age, is a vice-principal in a school. The couple have two children, a boy and a girl, ages thirteen and 10.5 years. Pregnancy and deliveries were described as fine. P5 took maternity leave after her first child, after which she worked part-time for four years. Her reasons for working are for "financial, intellectual reasons and because it makes me feel useful in a different way". She says that she likes working but would prefer part-time work rather than full-time.

P5's story falls basically into five broad areas; the motherhood/work experience as defined by time; the self's experience with work and/or motherhood; the self's experience with the motherhood experience; the self's experience with the work experience; and the self in relationship with others.

Time is referred to in many ways by P5. Generally, she discusses time expenditure on various tasks:

Well, I think the first thing that I would need to address is the degree of stress involved in trying to do it all, and it really does mean trying to do it all, trying to take care of your children physically and emotionally, trying to help them when they have a little problems and help them, spend some time when they need you and are asking for it and, at the same time, I do a little bit of private practice at night. (1:10)

She claims that she has no time for many things, as well no time for rest ("Yeah, you know I don't kind of sit down and, it has an impact with my kids too, practically speaking, you know.") ; and
that her days are never-ending, like a circle. She also uses time to describe special moments with her children in the form of a "special time":

And when they are feeling like, you know, we haven't spent enough time. Can we spend some special time together? So, we do spend some, one on one, time. I might take out my son for lunch and my husband will take my daughter out to a movie. (41:614)

P5 says that mothers need more time, that there is too much needing to be done for the time period:

Yeah, yeah, it's trying to, it is finding a place, it is like, the dry cleaner is situated on the route between two of my schools, it is trying to fit everything into somehow get it done and there is, you know, like if it isn't sort of working so well because there is too much for the time period. (46:688)

Demands exceed the amount of time available ("The demands exceed, from everywhere, exceed the amount of time available ").

P5 also compares half-time with full-time work. She says that working part-time is ideal in that there is less burnout, it is emotionally easier because you can engage in many tasks if you are working half-time, there is more fulfillment, and there is more of an emotional break if one works half-time:

But, in all fairness, when you are there half time, you don't burn out at the same rate, you know. You come home to your children, you are doing totally different tasks, but that touches you in different ways and that, um, and I felt, um, fulfilled me in very different
ways and, um, and were very very important to me so it gave me a, not only financial, break but very much a kind of a stress and emotional break because it is a different stress, a different kind of effect on me physically and emotionally in my head and every which way. So, in effect, it was, I think, it is probably easier to put that much in (laughs) half time than to do it full time every day. I mean, I am working full time now and I have put a lot into my job and, you know, it's not a nine to five job. I put a lot into it but, I think, when you are half time, you, it's emotionally easier to do. (16:225)

Yet, it is difficult to fit in housework when working part-time and one has to make sacrifices financially if half-time.

She relates working part-time with the level of children's dependency on Mother:

When the kids were really little, obviously they are much more dependent on you physically and emotionally and, in terms of time, they want you there more and they need you there more. Um, we had a babysitter for both kids. Uh, it's financially a greater cost, I suppose, but the major thing is really the degree of dependency, the stage the kids are at and the plan to be there. (26:372)

P5 also dealt with competition at work between full-timers and part-timers since part-timers seem to put in more work, considering the amount of time they should be working ("I felt that if you doubled it I was producing more").
Regarding the self's experience with work and/or motherhood, P5 discusses "fitting it all in", balancing and juggling work and motherhood, and what happens when work and motherhood meet. She explains:

When. I think it, for me, when I am either tired or not feeling well and the demands are kind of coming from everywhere and the greater, the one end or the other, and the interaction between the two, usually the most stressed out. It isn't always a high pitched level of stress, but sometimes it gets to be that way. (58:874)

She talks about having to hold things in her head too much, physical as well as emotional tiredness. She elaborates; "The most tired is the supposedly quality time that I have with them in the evenings, um, um". Work demands do not spill over into motherhood, although she claims she is overloaded.

P5 deals with the self experiencing motherhood in the following way. She discusses the great role that food preparation plays in her life, as mother, but not for herself as a person ("I don't take lunch all the time, but I take lunch from time to time and from time to time, I don't ,you know"), and how motherhood is a creative process:

And, um, the creativity and trying to get done what needs to be done, flipping it in here there and everywhere, organizing around to, somehow, you do what you can to get it all done and use whatever help that is offered to you to do this, to accomplish this.

She describes how she cleans obsessively at odd hours of the day ("Washing the floors at 11:00 on Saturday night" (laughs)), how mothers are always stressed out financially and how they have
to work to survive. She recommends organization in motherhood as a method of coping better with all of the demands of motherhood and work. P5 also elaborates on her feelings of anger and of having a short fuse when she is tired:

When I feel most tired, um, I still do what needs to be done, I mean, you know, if they need help with a test or they just kind of want to sit with me more, I sit with them for ..., still do that, um, my fuse is shorter though, so if they get into a little fight, two of them and your fuse tends to be shorter in terms with having to deal with that. (5:76)

She says that, as a mother, she needs to fulfill her children's needs, and uses a metaphor for this in the form of a term, which she calls her "degree of maternal psychic availability":

Dinner would be ready and it would be a nice dinner rather than a quick kind of reheated dinner and they would be kind of ready to rush off and play and I say; "Wait a minute, I want to hear on what's happening, what your day, don't you need right me right now, you know" (laughs) And, sometimes, when they did want to spend some time with me, I mean, I was certainly more able to be available. I had a lot more energy and whatever to be more available. I think it is the degree of availability we are taking about you know. It's on a continuum and, I think, I was certainly more, you know, I was further along on the continuum in terms of being able to give to them. (6:94)

She speaks of how important the mother's own early experiences are in influencing how well she will mother and how beginnings generally are difficult for her, particularly the beginning
stages of motherhood. She deals with feeling envy for those mothers who are self-indulgent and can give to themselves more than she can:

You know, the people that I work with that are single and, whatever, you know, they really don't have a clue as to, you know, how much. I remember, I'll get back to your question (laughs). I remind myself, I had a someone I was friendly with at my old job at the time, not anymore but she is a single woman and I remember calling her one morning. I guess it was Sunday morning and it wasn't early, okay. In my house, you know, uh, you know, we are up fairly early but it wasn't very early. It was, like, mid morning or something but, I guess, on an absolute scale, Sunday morning, it was probably ... She said; "I can't talk to you now, I am having my breakfast, I'll call you back". I hung up and thought; "You can't talk when you are having breakfast". I mean... (laugh). You forget what a warm meal really tastes like (laughs). Of course, I mean you can't talk when you are eating. (37:540)

She concludes that the way mothers deal with this experience and of work is really quite subjective and an individual thing:

I think everybody sort of handles it in their own way, depending on where they come from and what resources they have and what their skills are. I mean you know I am sure that there are people who handle it much better than I do but this is me and this is how I do it and I think I do it well but there are a lot of other ways of doing it. (59:886)
Regarding the self and the work experience, she feels pressure inside herself more than she does from the outside:

Yes, but um, when I was there, I felt a lot of internal pressure, nothing from the outside, in terms of people I worked with, but a lot of internal pressure to produce and to show them they had made the right decision and I was, I was. They, in fact, ended up, sort of when they would look at statistics and those kinds of stuff, well how come P5 can do this half time and we look at what they do, double? I mean, this is the kind of thing that was said, you know, like, you know, something is wrong, you know, it almost, you know, in effect, they did start to do a little bit of that. (14:196)

She evaluates herself based on others' perceptions of her competence.

Finally, she deals with many relationships in her life, the most prominent, it seems, to be her relationship with her mother. She discusses her mother as lonely and her having minimal contact with her:

My mom's on her own, she's lonely, she has been for so many years, she gets out but she doesn't have a car. Um, yet, the best I manage, it's like literally a one or two minute conversation, all day, well not every day, but almost, pretty much, and a visit anywhere from twenty minutes to maybe an hour once a week which, it's as much as I can give her, you know. (laughs). (2:28)

Her mother is dependent upon her and needs a great deal of involvement from her, which she cannot give. While she would be agreeable to do her mother's errands for her (caretaking), her
mother wants more control over her own life and also more of a relationship with her daughter.

She says that she has no time nor energy for her mother. As she discusses her mother, she notes that her mother did a job in the past which she, herself, could not cope with and that she was the ideal of the working mother ("She got me a job as a teenager and that was my first time summer job and, uh, after sitting there in tears because my feet were killing me, after..."). She says that she cannot measure up and that her stresses are far less than her mother's were, being a single working mother, who was widowed when her children were quite small:

Well, when I do that, my most stressful day just doesn't compare. I mean, there were times when, you know, it would be snowing in the winter and it would be late at night, and you know, she had no car and she walked home, like you know,... kind of thing, just to get home and I remember several occasions, .. I mean it was just awful.

So, but it was a way of life. It was, it was, it was what had to be. (35:511)

She often connects and compares her life to her mother's. She finds that her mother is sympathetic to her difficulties but then she minimizes the difficulties she has since, in her opinion, no amount of stress can ever aspire to reach the heights of her mother's, anyway. As a result, she seems to need to emulate her mother's workload and feels her life gives her mother satisfaction since it is better than her mother's was ("She knows that her kids have achieved and it has given her satisfaction..."). Sadly, P5 regrets that she was selfish as a child and did not do enough for her mother, which she feels guilty about:
I wasn't very helpful to her as a kid and my mother was not the kind of mother to, sort of, demand that kind of help...she was the one who had to take care of her family and do all of this, you know.

She missed her mother since she was never at home and had to do everything on her own ("As long, from the time that my father got sick, when I was four, so I can't remember my mother being home, really). P5 regards work as a survival issue, as she compares her life to her mother's.

Regarding her relationship with her husband, she mentioned that he is supportive to her and shares tasks with her at home. She says he is better with their children than a babysitter. She perceives her children's role as to study hard, not to work as she did as a child, the need for children to be successful, but that they should help with housework. She said that children seem to know what their needs are and should be encouraged to verbalize this, which she does, she and her husband, with their children:

And they know to who, if they feel they haven't, sort of, spent enough time with their dad lately, they spend some special time with you, you know, or with me, or if I feel that one or the other seems, like, left out, do you want some special time? (laughs). And they will say to me; "Yeah, okay". Or then the other one will pipe up; "But, then, I have to have special time with Dad or with Mom, you know. That's okay. They know what their needs are and they share. (43: 360)

P5 emphasizes the help she gets from friends over family:

Oh, when other people are willing to, kind of, pitch in and kind of give more. I mean, if I have a friend or daughter's best friend's mom, whenever I needed a kind of, you know, my
babysitter was off when she was pregnant for a couple of weeks or whatever, went on holidays, after school, people are kind of willing to offer their help. (56:840)

Finally, she discusses the issue that someone must lose for the other to gain in relationships. For example, she feels that children are the priority over the marital couple or over her husband, specifically ("My kids' needs come first and they probably get addressed a whole lot better than my husband's needs than, say, a wider circle, you know"). P5's experience of being a working mother is coloured by her mother's experiences and her own deprivation as a child. She is struggling with both the need to financially provide in the work arena, as well as being the all-nurturing mother. As a result, she moves from dealing with the pieces one bit at a time in an attempt to integrate it all. She is, also, like P3 caught in the middle between the two places. However, instead of becoming depressed, she becomes angry when she feels depleted.

**Summary of P6**

P6 is a 42 year old mother of three children, ages 13, 10 and 7. She is also working as a Vice-Principal for a school board full-time. Her attitude towards work is very positive. She began working when she was 12 years of age as a result of a family crisis involving her father, as did her mother, on a full-time basis. P6 took over her mother's responsibility of cooking as well as working. P6's husband has a fairly flexible schedule, although she describes herself and her nanny as the major caretakers of the children.

P6 began the interview by stating that she did not classify herself as either a mother or someone who works but rather as having a family and balancing both. For her, work was
something she always did and she returned to work after maternity leave to guarantee her status at the school she was working at. Initially, work for her was a necessity when she was sixteen as a result of the family crisis and she was used to balancing work and school. She never wanted to take out a loan for university because she "wasn't prepared to owe money to anybody" (3). She says that she "didn't consider it an undue hardship" (3) although her choices were limited.

Regarding her present day situation, she says that she has always worked and considers her work a career. She says there is mutual awareness between herself and her children in that they are aware of her needs and she-theirs, in contrast to the secretive nature of her parents with their children. She has difficulty, for the most part, remembering her past experiences such as her mother's job. She does say, though, that her parents had high expectations for their children with no support behind it:

Yes, and they weren't unrealistic expectations and they weren't not achievable...everything was achievable, um, in retrospect, I would have liked, actually, to have had more support in certain areas as opposed to not having anything said at all. (6)

She, then, recalls that there was no encouragement "not at school, not at home" (9). In her present relationship with her father, she expresses anger over his lack of respect for her educational and work needs, rather emphasizing her having a family in a stereotypic way ("I busted my buns for this degree...but the most important thing in his life was that you married and you had kids" (7). She also becomes upset when her husband acts in a stereotypic way such as expecting her to pack his suitcase for a holiday or when he forbids her to do something she wants to do such as take a course. While support lies in help from her husband in the way of errands and
understanding from her children, she speaks of support and understanding from her work environment in that "what you see is a lot of support for each other so that you can balance your home with your job" (12). From the work environment, she describes life as a continuum where the people at work are at a different stage of life than she is and they have other demands in that their children are older and they're at a more established level.

A recurring theme that occurs throughout the transcript is that of balance, balancing family needs with personal needs, balancing school with work, balancing one's needs as an employee with those of one's employer, and of course balancing work with motherhood. The way she balances, she says, is through not splitting her roles, but rather through combining the two since work is part of life. The key to balance, she says is through organization and through the family members supporting and understanding each other ("They are aware of my needs and I'm aware of their needs") (4). Work, she says, is necessary in her life in that "it helps me focus on the balance that is necessary in anybody's life, including my own" (13). Schedules also help set up a balance. She also focuses on balancing peace of mind with job and family ("The things I've looked at in terms of balancing are my peace of mind with the job and the family. To me, the outlay financially (for the nanny), is worth the peace of mind") (26). What is out of balance, she says, is her lack of a social life, which she says is a temporary thing.

She speaks of prioritization, which she says lies at home. ("I am home for dinner every night, um. If my kids need me during the course of the day, I'm there and I do not work from seven in the morning till seven at night") (11). Clear boundaries are set. She also sets out her expectations into priorities, such as what is a luxury and should not be required such as holidays versus actual needs:
I don't want to teach my kids that they have to go away on every holiday because that's not a reasonable expectation. They will not be able to afford that in this economic climate that we have, so I don't want them to see that as something that is a norm. (27)

In this way, she balances her financial situation with the family's activities.

In discussing mothers working, she devalues those who do not work because she feels that work structures her life and stimulates her. She feels it is important for one "to give back to the community" even if it is work in a volunteer capacity, although she says she "can't imagine that's satisfying" (14). Everyone should work, she says, and be responsible. It is important, she says, to do "something that takes you beyond yourself" (30). Mothers, she says, should work when their children are in school. She describes her need to learn, and love for being with children in the work environment. When she is not busy, she says she is lethargic and "you don't get anything done" (15). When she is at home, she feels it interrupts her children's routine (18) and she is rigid about not interfering with what they've already set up (19). Even though she is at work, she says, she, as a mother, is not replaceable by a nanny and that her children are reliant on her for cooking their meals. She describes the necessity for her children to also be self-sufficient as well as dependent and supported (22). She is certain that her early experiences, she says, have influenced her outlook on expectations for her children.

In speaking of mothers, she says of her mother, that she worked full-time as a result of the family crisis, upon which she chooses not to elaborate. She lost her status as the second eldest child when her sister left home, which left her all the responsibility that the mother would have had, had she not have been working. P6 describes how she needed nothing from her parents and
was basically self-sufficient. In describing her relationship with her mother today, she speaks of guilt over not doing as much for her children as her mother did in the way of baking birthday cakes and the like. She concedes that, although her mother is critical sometimes, she is supportive. Her mother-in-law, on the other hand, she says, cannot commit to work and does not understand that nannies do not replace mothers. In discussing her parents, what seems to stand out is her emphasis on being part of a community, which gives her a sense of belonging and security. She also seems to feel the connection with her parents, as she describes similar personality traits and a sense of being unique in describing her own personality traits.

She concludes the interview by saying that people who succeed in combining work and motherhood are those who do not undermine their own structures (47), who have a consistency in their decision making and structure to maintain a balance, as well as clear expectations for their children. She says that if one can manage at home, one can manage what's happening at work as if one is a mirror of the other. She focuses on the prioritization of either work or the family but says that even though others may be needy, one has to be able to postpone things, always giving everything to others, once again relating this to balance (48). It is important to be connected to her children, she says, to understand them well enough to get things back on track when things break down (49) and to communicate with their school. She concludes by saying that it is important not to be an expert in one's children's education and to allow others the respect to pursue their areas of expertise.

P6 looks at work and motherhood as reflections of each other, as well as a complement to each other. As a result of her early childhood experiences related to loss, P6 has looked towards the work environment to provide her with supportive connections to complement her need to be
self-sufficient. She attempts to deal with the balance in a holistic way and generally views life experiences on a continuum of time. She is operating closer to an integrated state in combining work with motherhood.

Identification of Three Fluid Stages of the Working Mother's Experience

Even though the six summaries of the working mothers demonstrated that each participant is unique with regards to her own experiences and feelings, it became possible that there might be a structure operating here that may classify each mother into one of three stages of her experience of combining employment with motherhood. The stages appear to be of a fluid nature in that they are not fixed and an individual may move to and fro within each of the three stages, depending on her reactions to her experiences. The way an individual interacts with her life experiences relates to her perception of her first relationship to her mother as a prototype of future relationships. The three stages derived from the participants' experience of combining employment with motherhood appear to be: the working mother who splits the employment/motherhood experience into two separate experiences with a greater emphasis on one over the other; the working mother who takes both the work and motherhood experiences into account and integrates the experience of employment/motherhood; and the working mother, who is in an intermediate phase between the two stages in combining work and motherhood.

The characteristics of the three fluid stages of working/motherhood experience would be as follows. The "splitting working mother" might experience a sense of depletion and "feeling at loose ends". Often, she chooses between focussing on either work or motherhood and cannot successfully integrate the two at once. She experiences a dichotomy in many other areas, which
might involve either focussing on herself or her children, on her husband or her children, her mind or her body. As a result of the splitting that goes on, this type of mother will feel disconnected or isolated. The "integrating working mother", on the other hand, does not split her experiences but attempts to combine, balance and "fit it all in". She strives towards being both connected with others and yet apart from them while focussing on her own needs. She recognizes that both work and motherhood are intertwined. The working mother in the transitional or intermediate phase is the one who is oscillating between the splitting and integrating positions. She is grappling with spillover from the work milieu to the motherhood one and the reverse. This phase is critical because it serves as a bridge between the two milieus and between feeling separate and connected. If the working mother in this phase can deal effectively with the space between work and motherhood, it will operate as a form of solace or comforting place for her. However, if she experiences the space as a wrenching gap between being apart and together, then she will likely revert back to the characteristics of the splitting mother.

Two of the three stages that I am describing, the "splitting working mother" and the "integrating working mother", may be clearly related to, and elaborated upon, through applying Klein's Object Relations Theory by noting the positions in child development, as described in Chapter 3, which are the Paranoid- Schizoid and Depressive Positions. The splitting characteristic that I am noting, in this context, seems characteristic of the Paranoid Schizoid Position in that the integrity of the mind is disrupted and there is a sense of depletion on the self and fragmentation. The integrating quality derived above is characteristic of the Depressive Position, which involves an attempt to integrate ambivalence towards important others. The third stage that was derived from this research, is the working mother within an intermediate phase, between the two
afore-mentioned phases. Since the transitional phase is the place where one would practise how to balance states of being alone and together with others, this intermediate phase might be considered a developmental step towards resolving states of separation and loss and would operate throughout the lifespan as a bridge between dependence and independence. "Transitional relatedness" provides through the transitional act, a form of soothing reminiscent of the comforting maternal object (Horton, 1981). The way the individual deals with the space within the intermediate phase in the movement between splitting and integrating will define the nature of this phase.

Therefore, if we examine where the participants fall within the three phases, the classification might appear as follows. P1 is the participant who would fall into the first stage of the splitting working mother and who splits the employment/motherhood experience into two. She has the similar early childhood experience of loss as does P5 and P6., but her reaction and treatment of the loss is what differentiates her from the others. The way she deals with loss depends a great deal on her incapacity to deal with death at such a young age when her father died, as well as her perception of her mother's incapacity as both a mother and financial breadwinner. There appears to be a relationship between her perception of her mother as absent and her tendency to emotionally spill over. Because of her lack of supports in childhood, as well as presently, she has had only herself to rely on and subsequently, has adopted a false strong front. As a result, she is left feeling empty and alone and resorts to concrete and obsessive behaviors to control her anxiety, such as excessive cleaning activities. She strives towards others with little success except in the work milieu, while having to deal with the anxiety of separation and loss of her children in the process. She responds in an either/or way whereby she cannot integrate effectively the two
experiences. She is unable to engage in any interests of her own and so is unable to move into the transitional mode.

P6 is the participant who falls within the second stage, the integrating working mother. She focuses on balance rather than on splitting the employment/motherhood experience, and attempts to combine the two "since work is a part of life." She achieves this balance through connections with family and colleagues, as well as a strong sense of her own needs separate from others. P6's mother was supportive in her absence, as she helped support the family through her husband's illness quite effectively. P6 has engaged in many activities, despite conflict with other family members, that have served her own interests.

P3, P4, P2, and P5 seem to fall into the third stage, the intermediate stage, which is actually the stage between the first two, with P3 and P5 showing more splitting qualities, and P2 and P4 more integrating ones. Because all participants must go through the transitional stage upon moving from work to motherhood and back again, their perception of life experiences will determine the ease with which they move out of that phase into a more integrated state or slip back into a splitting one. In addition, their ability to use other objects, people and activities as a transitional influence will determine their degree of success in moving from states of dependence and independence.

P3 is lacking greatly in her connection with others and so she feels isolated. Through work, she is establishing contact with others even while believing and trying to change a belief that she learned from her family that girls need not work. However, integrating work and motherhood is an overwhelmingly depressing task for her and so she remains in a state of transition between the two. Her perception of her mother was of a neglecting nature and as a result, there is a great deal
of emotional spillover and lack of containment by others. Her child’s nanny is also perceived in an ambivalent way as being selfish and threatening her own ability as a mother. She has dealt with these conflicts by adopting a strong facade of well-being and obsessively shopping.

P5, like P3 is overwhelmed with the task of integrating work with motherhood, but due to her personality type in relationship with the nature of her early family dynamics, she tends to become angry rather than depressed. In her state of transition, she oscillates between stressing one mode over the other and/or "trying to fit it all in", which works adequately for her because of the support she has from her present family. She has had to adapt to an absent mother by being self-sufficient at too early an age and controls her environment by obsessively cooking and cleaning. P5 has been using a private practice in her home as a bridge between work and motherhood.

Within the transitional phase but closer to a more integrated state, P2, has had to deal with too much or too little parental involvement in early childhood. She is struggling to integrate work and motherhood, as well. She neither wants to be too connected nor too distanced from others. Spillover from work to motherhood is closely monitored and controlled whereas it is respected when it moves from motherhood to work. Subsequently, she attempts to balance the two and falls closer towards a more integrated state in the intermediate stage between a splitting working mother and an integrating one. She tends to use other people, in the way of her friends, husband, and colleagues, as a means of transitionally relating to others and balancing separateness with connectedness.

P4, because of lack of separation from her mother, has had blurred boundaries between herself and others. She is still struggling to overcome, perhaps, her fears of separation in her
attempt to establish boundaries between herself and others. Paradoxically, though, she seems to react by stronger connections with her family and minimal separations. She also is very sensitive to others' perceptions of her and tries to be what others (e.g., her mother) would like her to be. P4 notes the benefits of spillover from the work domain to the motherhood one and is striving to integrate work and motherhood. She realizes that both work and motherhood are important for her and that they are intertwined. She uses the children's nanny as a good transitional object, enabling her to integrate work with motherhood, and physically move from one to the other comfortably.

Having presented in this chapter a summary profile about each participant and then deriving a general classification in which each might fall based on the interview data with an application of Object Relations Theory, I will, in the next chapter, draw from the participants' interview material recurring core themes for the purpose of examining in greater detail the experiences of working mothers. Once again, the psychoanalytic theory will be applied in order to deepen the understanding of the findings and to clarify them.
CHAPTER 7

THE RESULTS: GENERAL THEMES

The results have been presented in two different chapters: Descriptive-Interpretive Summaries and General Themes.

In this chapter, the results will be presented in the form of central themes, as well as categories and properties, falling under those categories, as explained in chapter 5. Quotations from the actual interviews will be used to support the derivation of these themes and categories. The last chapter's results were presented as summaries of each of the participants in order to provide a more holistic approach to the working mothers' lived experience. While last chapter's results presented a general classification of the types of working mothers there might be, the present chapter will examine in greater detail the main themes prevalent in the interview data and attempt to further clarify the meaning behind these findings.

The original question that this research addressed was: what is the experience of being a working mother like and under what circumstances and in what ways does the emotional well-being of this individual become affected?
**Determination of Central Categories**

At this point, I will outline what the central categories that grew out of the interview material were and then divide each theme into a section, providing quotes that clarify the presence of that theme. The seven central categories that were derived from the interview data in this study consisted of the following:

1. the working mother's feelings of isolation and/or the yearning for others
2. the working mother's ability to balance work and motherhood with her own needs
3. the ability of the working mother to find a bridge between work and motherhood
4. the working mother's early relationships and losses
5. the working mother's present relationships and support systems
6. the working mother's sense of emotional and physical well-being
7. the working mother's perception of time as affecting her sense of self

**Central Categories and Sub-categories**

A further breakdown and elaboration of the categories subsumed would appear as sub-categories as follows:

1. The working mother's feelings of isolation and/or the yearning for others
2. The working mother's ability to balance work and motherhood with her own needs
   a. the role of prioritization in balancing work and motherhood
   b. the experience of balancing work and motherhood
   c. the working mother's feelings of being controlled and/or in control
3. The ability of the working mother to find a bridge between work and motherhood
a. the degree of spillover from work to motherhood and the reverse
b. the working mother's perception of space as it relates to her sense of self and others

4. The working mother's early relationships and losses
   a. the fit/lack of fit between mother and child
   b. the experience of loss and the way with which it was dealt

5. The working mother's present relationships and support systems

6. The working mother's sense of emotional and physical well-being
   a. degree of feeling tired, depressed, torn, and guilty
   b. the ability to integrate or break down subjects of discussion/information
   c. the working mother's body image

7. The working mother's perception of time as affecting her sense of self
   a. connection to time
   b. time and organization

An Elaboration of the Central Categories and Sub-categories

This section will elaborate upon the central categories and sub-categories generated by the data and refer to the words of the participants, themselves, to further understand them.

1. The Working Mother's Feelings of Isolation and/or The Yearning For Others

In this context, the participants, in their own way, describe feelings of needing to connect with others, alternating with the need to be alone, and if excessively feeling disconnected or alone, the feeling of isolation.
P1 describes how isolating it was for her when she had a tutoring business at home:

I ran a tutoring business. So, I stopped for three weeks in March toward the end of March and then, I went back to teaching in September and then, when I had my daughter and she was born at the beginning of September, so, I took a full year off and I stopped for three days before my tutoring business which was flying that year. I have an office in the house. Well, actually, I enjoyed it, private tutoring very much, just working with the one. The preparation is as much. Oh yes, work. There is a lot of preparation. The rewards are even more so because, usually, you get kids who can't read and I teach them how to read. (I enjoy) working in the school because it (tutoring) is isolated. Tutoring is isolated and people always cancel. (45/677)

She then proceeds to describe how isolated she feels having her family living in another city:

Well, that's why I get frustrated at times because I think, (longingly); "Oh, wouldn't I like it if somebody would just come or have Friday night dinner at someone's house, or some place to go for holidays". My mother gets sick. She has had two heart attacks. How do I deal with that there, three-thousand miles away? Well, I have an aunt there and one cousin and my brother is there and my sister-in-law is very good but I can't just fly. (52)

P1 elaborates how alone she feels because she spends so much time on her own with the children while her husband works:

The interaction with my husband.... because he does come home quite late often... it depends on his job situation, if he is on the site or if he is in the office or what. So that,
right now, he is finishing off a building. So, he is out more than if he wasn't finishing a building. He would be home earlier. He is now trying to get home by 8:00. And the last few nights he has been able to but by then dinner is done and you know the dishes and everything are finished then. He eats alone and sometimes, the kids will just sit and talk to him while he is eating. We try and make time when we just sit and talk. He sails. So, sometimes we'll go out sailing and we'll just talk. You don't have to do a lot of talking, You know what has to be addressed and you can do it in twenty to twenty-five minutes. We don't talk about each other's work very much. More so about his. Very little about mine. Like, I am not sure if he would know what school I am at. It's never been an interest to him. Maybe, he just doesn't. He can't relate to it. It's just such a foreign thing to him what I do. (27)

P1 describes how important it is, though, for her to have someone to talk to:

I have a partner. So, the partner and I talk. We talk about it constantly. We talk about many many other things. She has an excellent sense of humour..we are both protective over each other. Like, we will cover for each other. She had to go out of town, had to, it was necessary for her husband's business that she be there and she phoned in sick for three days because there is no way that they would let her go. It is just almost sisterly. Not motherly. More friendly, you know, and we were going off in the morning and we say; "Okay, now at 10:30 we will finish with this because that is all I am going to take there and we are going to go for coffee and we are going to do this and we are going to do this". (27)
P3 describes how she missed social contact with others after she went on maternity leave:

She (her doctor) said; "Do you miss work?" I remember and I said; No, not really". I might miss, you know the social...you know maybe you should try and get back into an exercise program. You know, make arrangements to go out with a friend. That's another thing, you know, getting back to, you know, about seeing my girlfriends for lunch here and there and I never used to do that a whole lot. Maybe, I was just at home all the time and taking her with me everywhere and feeling that you know that huge responsibility. Maybe, I thought that I wasn't doing this for myself. But, I never admitted it or it never was something I would have thought that I really need more time for myself. I never thought of it. Maybe, it was there and I never noticed it. (53)

She elaborates how isolated she felt as a new mother when she says:

And I was very wrapped up in that, and I don't think I missed work. I remember speaking to friends from work, who were calling me, say; How you doing", and I missed seeing them. I missed, maybe, the social contact. That, I did. You know, sometimes, I'd feel so housebound. For sure, especially, my daughter's born in October. So, she was born in the winter and two of us together, you can't seem to go out without help, you know. And I didn't have help, and I was protective. Like, it didn't, I probably could have called up various people to babysit, but I didn't. I was nervous to leave her, too. Like, you know I didn't know who to trust and the only person I really trusted was the nurse that I had, initially. My parents don't live here. They live in Ottawa, and um, my in-laws, my
daughter is the fifteenth grandchild (laugh). Well, they're older and I just didn't have the
type of ..... Well, once she babysat . Um, probably I was feeling, maybe I didn't recognize it
Um, but maybe, I was feeling a little, like I need stimulation besides the baby. (54)

P3, as a working mother, like P1, also describes feelings of isolation when she feels
misunderstood or neglected by her husband:

He says; "Every time, you come home from the Y, you tell me how great you feel". He
goes; "Why don't you just go more regularly? And then, the more regular you go, it won't
be like a big ordeal to get there". So, then, we end up talking about this whole
discussion about exercise and the Y and it's not even really what I wanted to be talking
about because I'm really talking about a million other things. And I'm tired of evenings
and I wouldn't mind a little extra help in the evenings, too. So, sometimes I'll get home
later than 6:00 and then I say getting everything in, as well. Got my last errand done.
Everything done. Get home at 6:00 and then, she's, (the nanny), out the door and my
husband will call and say, or I know in advance, but sometimes, I don't always know,
you know, or I'm ... I mean, he's also working really hard, too. He's got a lot of late
meetings, you know. Yeah, coming home. So, that hasn't been, sort of, all year but the
last little while, I've been feeling it more. I guess, because extra burden I have work in
keeping. Maybe, I'll do more tomorrow? I could go in the ... , again. I could do that
and then it, sort of, never happens and then, I'm just really tired and he never comes
home and does it for me. (88)
P2 describes her sense of feeling isolated when she describes how after having children, she did "not wanting to be just at home" with them. She says:

There is some frustrations, like any job, but I felt that, when I had my children, that I didn't want to just be at home with them. It was agreed that I would get depressed or worried and I think, keeping my hands in my field is very important to me. Also, being with other adults and doing what I do, I do gain satisfaction from it. I think that is why I continued working. (1)

When she comes to work (part-time), she again describes feeling isolated because she doesn't feel a part of the department and feels she is out of touch (35) because she is missing out on information. She describes the following:

I felt like, when I came back to next week like Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and then, Thursday and Friday, I felt like I was not as...yes, but, also, that I wasn't as part of the department, sort of. I felt like I was missing out on certain things. That bothered me at first...Something may have come up on Friday that I didn't have any awareness of and yes, I just felt like I was not. (36)

P2 communicated this sense of isolation to her co-workers as well as internally resolved this issue. She continues:

Yes, but that has changed over time too. The people I work with are very busy trying to keep me in touch if something is going on at the end of the week or they needn't call me about few things. Also, I just realize that there are certain things like there are certain
workshops, certain things, that I just cannot be involved in because it is days that I am off. I just think okay that's fine. (36)

Unlike P1 and P3, P2 speaks of her husband in the following way; "And it certainly helped when my husband made his change. That was almost two years ago. That was great. It was like a relief, it was like a burden off of my shoulders."(37).

P4's sense of isolation is described in her feeling "far away when there is an emergency situation" and she is working. She describes the situation; " And he (the baby) was fine but I remember that feeling of, like, just being so, so far first of all I felt and it isn't even that far but I felt like it was in an emergency" (4) . Her descriptions of disconnectedness also seem to come forth when she describes her not wanting to commit to job offers. Her explanation for not wanting to commit is that she needs "to do things a hundred percent or not at all " (10). Yet, she will undertake less pressing commitments because she says; "Children and work are mothers' responsibility" (2). P4 describes her husband's contribution in the following way:

And he will back any decision that I want to make. Like I remember applying for the job in the student position and he just said: "You know anything you want to do, I'm behind you one-hundred percent." So, I have that kind of support at home. (42)

However, she continues:

Yeah, like he's always said to me; "You can't count on me to be around, unless we really need me to be around". Like, I had a meeting very early in the morning. Well, he stayed home to put the kids on the bus. That kind of stuff is no problem. Or, at night, if I have a
meeting or the nanny can't be here, he'll be home because he knows someone has to be here. But, he says to me, on a daily basis: "You can't expect me to be home, every night, so you can work or you know, do whatever". And that was a clear understanding that we have right from the beginning. (42)

P4. describes her need for connection with her children and how important it is for her to be involved in their comings and goings by explaining:

But, I always, like, go through their knapsacks and make sure everything is in, and when I don't, I kind of, especially with the older ones, if they were .. They make sure that certain things were done or put in their knapsacks or whatever, and then, I usually like to be here to wave them off. And once they're gone, I start my thing. And then, when they come home, um, hopefully, I'm here when they come home and if not, I'm usually not that late. And then, we start getting organized for dinner, and you know, the bed routine and all that but as they're getting older, it's easier. (33)

P5 describes her conception of the need for both connection and apartness from her children by introducing the researcher to a "continuum of degree of availability" (7), which is a measure of what a mother can give her children dependent upon her degree of availability, which she describes, is dependent upon her physical state, and not so much on her work status. This availability is also dependent upon the stage the child is at (7), as well as the mother (10). She explains:
Dinner would be ready and it would be a nice dinner, rather than a quick kind of reheated dinner and they would be kind of ready to rush off and play and I say; "Wait a minute, I want to hear what's happening, what your day. Don't you need right me right now, you know?" (laughs) And, sometimes, when they did want to spend some time with me, I mean, I was certainly more able to be... I had a lot more energy and whatever to more available. I think it is the degree of availability we are taking about, you know? It's on a continuum and I think I was certainly more, you know, I was further along on the continuum in terms of being able to give to them. But you know, I don't think, I don't think they are on the bottom end when I am working, you know. I don't think it's that serious. I would kind of almost like availability and you know, being sort of physically okay and exhausted and you know rung out and tired and that kind of degree, you know. I don't think it is kind of an either or situation in terms, um, a wonderful... and another terrible. It's not a black and white situation. (9)

When P5 discusses isolation, she does so only in terms of her mother feeling lonely. She says:

My mom's on her own. She's lonely, she ... So many years, she gets out but she doesn't have a car. She, you know, she can't get out if, you know, the weather is, you know, bad at all. But I don't, I don't blame her. But I don't have usually an evening a week where, and if I do, I kind of just want to just flop down and be with my family. But, I mean, I just don't have to go and to.. And so she ends up, sometimes, paying this fellow who does some handiwork for her to kind of take her and get the heavy stuff or she will let me buy some of the heavy stuff for her. (18)
P5's connections are primarily with her nuclear family (husband and children) and she receives support from her husband in the way of cooking for the family and providing "special time" for its immediate members, as required. She describes this in the following way:

In terms of, like, my husband. and I try to co-ordinate that. And in terms of the kids' needs and in terms of how much I am away, and they will always sort of want me in terms of"mommy, let's sit down " and let's see when I can spend some special time together.(41)

P6 focuses on her needs for connection with others, particularly on the importance of being part of a community. She describes this need for connection as stemming from her father's values:

My parents are .. They're very fine people. People tell you that, all the time . Again, the community people know who I am. They tell me; "Oh, you're so and so's daughter" . Um, and you're proud . Well, you know, it's .. I'm pleased that they're well thought of and that's important to them, so, it's important to me.

Connection to P6 in the work domain, specifically, is the need to communicate with others and to allow others the opportunity to demonstrate their expertise:

It's hard, it's very very hard, but I always go in and say, you know, with these kids and it's getting tougher as they get older .. and I say, you know, you are the expert and know your child and education. You are the expert in primary education. I'm not. I'm a secondary person. (51)
She speaks of the importance of "moving beyond the self towards others" in the following way:

Yes, something that takes you beyond yourself, something that allows you to contribute to society. I think that's important. So, whether you're contributing in a paid position or contributing in an unpaid position, you're giving back. I think that's important. I think it's wonderful if you can do that and go to the club. But I think that you have to have something. There has to be something that's ..., that benefits somebody else other than yourself ..., that gives .. you give to society. (30)

She never actually speaks of feelings of isolation. What she focuses on, other than her need to reach out to others, is more of the sense of being a pioneer as a mother in the work force when she has to deal with sporadic old-fashioned views from specifically her husband. She describes her husband as regressive in the following circumstance:

Well, it's not .. it's sort of .. we went on vacation this Christmas .. Uh, we have to pack. Okay, let's pack. You pack. It's really your job. It goes back to the old traditional roles and that annoys me. You know, he's really good but occasionally .. Can recall one time, when I was going to take the second course, the principal's course. The second course was offered during the year and it involved some Saturdays. It was during the summer course and I was going to a meeting downtown so my husband drove. He was working at home. So, he was driving me and I said to him;" I'm thinking about taking the next course. It's during the year but it's on Saturdays". And he says;:" Well, what do you mean it's on Saturdays? I don't think you can do that or I don't want you to do that". Something along .....and I turned to him and I said: "You know, this is not something I'm asking
permission. This is sort of, in order for me to complete this program, this is the course I have to do and now, how are we going to work together to accommodate that and that is the end of the dialogue. But he did come home and he said; "You're right, you don't have to ask my permission to do that". It has to be a discussion, but we have this regression where he says; "No, you can't do that". Then, I go; "Wait a minute, I'm not asking permission here. Let's talk about this". And he'll come home and say; "I have to work later. Yeah, you know, just tell me what days you're working and I'll accommodate my schedule to your needs". So when he regresses, it drives me wild. Basically, he has very old ideas, outmoded ideas about women. He can be very sexist. He can be very chauvinistic and that drives me crazy. (42)

She concludes this segment by saying:

Well, he never applies it to me, you know. You don't think that way about me. How can you speak that way about anybody else? There's no question that I have a career, that we accommodate each other and we support each other in our careers, that each is important to us but we both... It doesn't happen very often. It's just, sort of, you know, we've often, sort of, analyzed. We're not... we don't argue very often but the tension builds up or whatever, and then, it happens, and then that's the end of it and it'll be over with. So, you figure it if you're looking at it that way. (42)

2. The Working Mother's Ability To Balance Work and Motherhood With Her Own Needs

The subcategories subsumed under this category are;
a. the role of prioritization in balancing work and motherhood

b. the experience of balancing work and motherhood

c. the working mother's feelings of being controlled or in control

a. **The role of prioritization**

Most of the participants in this study prioritized motherhood over employment as an attempt to balance their commitments. However, often there was conflict in the words of the participants, who simultaneously prioritized work over motherhood.

P1 prioritizes work over motherhood because of financial necessity. She explains:

Work has to come first because you cannot say; "I'm not going in tomorrow", but you can say to your child;" I'm not taking you to a movie tomorrow". So, you have.. the work has to come first because you are being paid for it. You have an obligation to it and if you don't do it well, you are going to be let go and then you don't have a job and you don't have a source of income. So, many times, work has to come first. When my children are sick, I end up getting a baby sitter to come to the house because I have to go to work. (12)

She also adds that "It's just different priorities and materialistic things ..Because I think I didn't have as a kid, I want more materialistic things as an adult" (47). P1 also speaks of her coping with job and motherhood overload in terms of the only way to survive. She explains; "It is just no other way. That's a way of life, it is a way of survival. You have to be responsible to be organized as that is the only way we are going to survive and we are all going to get there."

P3 describes her family as being the priority. She elaborates:
You know, the only things I know that are in my life which I do consider as a priority. I truly do, even though probably hour per hour last month, I probably spent more time with my work-related things. But that, you know, emotionally, you know, I do. My house, my family is my priority. So, if I was working full-time, I don't know. I probably, I don't know if I would have stayed. (19)

She explains that marriage and children were valued more than work in her family-of-origin and she deduces that work is not as high a priority as children (49).

P2 says that, for her, motherhood is the priority but it is not enough. She explains:

I am sort of a homebody and I liked coming home at lunch or after school. But I, she (her mother) must have worked just a few days a week. I can't remember. She certainly didn't work full time. I didn't resent it or anything but I liked being at home better. But, I knew certain days she would be working and I also thought it was kind of good that she is not just a mother. I mean it sounds awful to say that but that she did something else, too (talked faster). (47)

P4 organizes her priorities accordingly; "Children first, work second, and household tasks, last" (3). She explains that "children are the priority" (2), yet she has always worked after having children.

Regarding prioritization, P5 does not speak openly about whether she prioritizes motherhood over work or the reverse. Rather, she speaks about how children's needs come before husbands' needs (2) and how her nuclear family comes before her mother. Regarding work, she makes it
clear that financially mothers need to work full-time (13) and like P1, that mother's work is a matter of survival. She elaborates:

I am not a single mother (like her mother) struggling with kids on my own, trying to manage to get out and do groceries with two little ones hanging on to me and no car and barely surviving, kind of thing. You know, I am not working the way my mother was working with the stress of a really sick husband and two kids growing up. (36)

According to P6, the priority is the family, as her father conveyed. She elaborates that for her father, motherhood was more important:

When I, um, during the last year of working on my Masters, I was pregnant and um, I missed my graduation because I had my daughter. My father brought me a present for graduating. He brought me a book. So, that tells you where his priority ... he's very proud of me, that I completed my Masters ..but the priority was a family. So, you know, you look at it and you say .. I was very touched that he bought me a present. I was very touched that he was so proud and ... but the most important thing in his life was that you married and you had kids. (7)

Her own priorities, she says, are expressed in the following statements:

You also have to, when you're coming to a question of balance at this point, I think you make very clear statements about where your priorities are. Coming into this position and demands of human resources, um, I was asked to come into the job and my response was; "You need to know where my priorities lie before I say yes because you may not want me
in that position." And my statement is; "My priorities are home." I am home for dinner every night. If my kids need me during the course of the day, I'm there and I do not work from 7 in the morning till 7 at night. (11)

P6 believes that mothers should work when their children are in school (31) and that work is a part of life (35).

b. **The experience of balancing work and motherhood**

Many of the participants in this study dealt with their experience of keeping work and motherhood in balance. P1 did not refer at all to this experience but rather to a need for organization in both the work and motherhood domains as a way of surviving the chaos. She says;" Well, what makes it work for me and I have said it before is that I am organized. Certain things are done on Mondays..."(47). She also refers to organizing the housework as a means of balancing the two, without actually discussing or mention that she is doing that. She says:

- It is very organized and a certain amount is done every day rather than saving it all up.
- Never, never save up. Something every day. I mean, the kitchen floor has to be washed every night and it is washed every night. (40)

P3 openly discusses what it is like for her "to be a balanced person". She speaks of the need for stimulation in the following statements:

- But , um, I think that probably for a balanced person, it's nice to have a little bit. I think, if you feel really good, yourself, you would probably be able to offer more to your own husband and your children too, and you can .... Personally, I know that it is a little hard to admit but at the same time, I'm still admitting it, cause it's the truth, I think, and it goes
back to sort of that premise. I have, just that, I always say; "I don't know if I'll always do it, but I'd like to always work in some capacity or have something outside of the home because I think that it would just be something for me, something extra, something, an extra stimulation, um, and it sort of makes me feel like a normal person". (55)

It is very important for P3 to not have "all work and no play" (60).

P2 discusses what "balance" means to her in the following way:

You certainly have to balance. Like, if, for example, I have work I generally don't take it home. I might have to, sort of, balance one of my ... at home and spending time with my children. There is a lot of balancing, I find. Like, my older daughter goes to Hebrew school some days, so there is helping her with homework, is an activity both my husband... Like, in fact, last night I had to just do some little computer for her because she had current events today so that is an activity. It takes time. (21)

She speaks of the conflict of wanting to be in two places at once (26) and ultimately accepting that "you can't do everything" (27). She concludes that you cannot combine but rather you have to give up certain things (36).

P4 speaks of the need to balance both work and motherhood in the following way; "The professional life stuff with me is important.....and so I try to balance the two" (20). She explains that "work commitments depend upon homelife" (5) and so she attempts to make her children part of her work experience. She says; "My kids are actually fascinated that I go in to see kids at school, cause they really relate to that .....and they love all my assessment tools .." (16).
P5 elaborates in great detail the difficulties with "doing it all" and keeping it all in balance. She says:

Well, I think the first thing that I would need to address is the degree of stress involved in trying to do it all and it really does mean trying to do it all, trying to take care of your children physically and emotionally, trying to ... When they have a little problems and help them, spend some time when they need you and are asking for it and at the same time, I do a little bit of private practice at night. Trying to excel in my job and doing the laundry and not have a cleaning lady. I don't even do the cleaning until summer time when I do my major stuff. Cooking and just the basic shopping, things that have to be done. (2)

Organization is a means of maintaining a balance for P5, as well as a way of fitting everything in. She discusses how she cooks, in bulk, has her husband help with the cooking, does small errands throughout the day as time permits, and plans ahead (20-22). She concludes:

I think everybody, sort of, handles it in their own way, depending on where they come from and what resources they have and what their skills are. I mean, you know, I am sure that there are people who handle it much better than I do, but this is me and this is how I do it and I think I do it well, but there are a lot of other ways of doing it and I think probably what it requires is some organization and creativity and how it is all get to be done. We create a sort of culture in our own family, the "special time", that kind of stuff. So, we do it in our own ways and other people may have their different...I think, people sort of have to find their own way with it. (59)
For P5, "fitting everything in" is more important than allowing one thing to take priority over the other (60).

P6 speaks a great deal of the need for a healthy balance between work and motherhood. She doesn't label herself as a "working mother" but rather, she says; "I don't really use either terminology in my day to day experience. I just .. I have a career .. I have a family and I balance both." (1). She speaks of the need for organization to maintain a balance (2) and of balancing her family's needs with her own from the time she was a teenager. She explains:

In terms of balancing, I knew that if I needed so much money to go to school next year, I could work this much and if it meant that I could work at a camp during the summer because they pay you so much less at a camp, but I wanted the fun of being at camp. I had to make a decision as to whether that would be an appropriate job at that particular time. So, that was that kind of balance.(5)

Later on, she speaks of work as a way to balance herself in the following way:

I think that I'm a better parent as a result of working because, um, it helps me focus on the balance that is necessary in anybody's life, including my own. There isn't a conscious shifting from one mode to the other. It happens. I don't know how it happens. I need to hear about each child's day. I need to look at what, you know, what the schedule is, what we're doing. Um, we set up a balance. Dinner every night is the whole family. Everybody sits down together. There's a discussion with each child about the day. There's a discussion about what's on for tomorrow. So, there's that overlay of organization that balances what's going on. It's not the perfect route because everybody has their ups and downs. (13)
She concludes by saying that when things get "off track", she tries to "get things back on an even keel" through communicating with others in a "low-key" way (49).

c. **Being controlled and/or in control**

All of the participants discussed their variations on this theme in the context of balancing motherhood with employment with their own needs.

P1 speaks of the lack of choices she has and how she feels controlled by the environment, namely superiors at work and other family members' schedules. She, particularly, speaks about the loss of control she experienced when her father died and she and her family's lifestyle was totally altered (42). She describes these feelings as follows:

My father died when I was five, so that is why she went back to work when I was six and my brother was...I was five turning six, like, a month later and my brother was seven turning eight a month later. Our birthdays are very close, so, she had no choice, and we moved from a very, very big home into a one bedroom apartment. But kids don't...but, you know. (42)

P3 speaks of the lack of control or rather the permeability of her boundaries when she discusses how overwhelming work is for her and how she has the inability to limit the workload. She explains:

But, I guess, I felt pressure. This kid's really needy, you know. This principal's, you know, on your back and this teacher's on, you know. This kid really needs something. Can't you
just squeeze him in? Maybe, we can get him serviced earlier or referred outside and
maybe, one by one, each of these assessments, I feel, I could do. Okay, I'll squeeze that
one in, I'll squeeze that one in. (2)

When control doesn't come from the outside, she explains, it is self-imposed when she says:

Well, I have said that a number of occasions, but I never feel good, I guess maybe it's my
type of personality...feeling bad, you know. You know, like you want to take on
everyone's child and you want to do your best and you want to show that you're working
hard and, um, the other thing is, when you go to several schools and they don't really
appreciate the fact that you're in different schools. (5)

One can sense her feelings of helplessness when she asks for help such as her load to be made
lighter and the environment does not respond.

P2 speaks about how she dislikes having decisions made for her at work by her superiors. She
finds it demeaning, which to her suggests that she lacks intelligence. She explains:

Someone that tries to make decisions for you, for the department without consulting...
they think that they know so much when they...actually, this fellow is not all that bright
and isn't as, believe it or not, a psychologist...well, it sort of feels like demeaning to a
certain degree and that, you know, I feel that I have enough intelligence to make
decisions or to, at least, to be co-operative in that decision. I mean, certain things I
can't because I am not involved but things that affect us, we.. (15)
With regards to motherhood, she describes feeling controlled by the environment when she describes how "society demands working, looking after children and everything else"(8).

P4 speaks about having control over her choices whether to work or not but clarifies that she does not actively seek work but is offered positions. She explains:

"Everything sort of revolves around my home life and what I am doing with them and so, I have had offers to call. It can be supervisors of department and things like that but I don't take them because I don't want to commit that kind of time..."(5)

There is a paradox, however, when she says; "If I can't do it 100%, then I really don't want to do it." (9) because she chooses not to commit 100%! Later, it becomes clear that her primary reason for working is financial when she says;"Um, and at that point, it was like it wasn't really even a choice. It was like I had to go back to work and I had to find something that would suit my needs. Um, and it worked, I mean it worked really well". For P4, the choices she makes are determined both by what the environment dictates as well as by her own needs.

P5 speaks a great deal of the lack of choices she has and that demands seem to come from one end or the other (motherhood or employment). The reasons for the lack of control in employment is financial. (13). She also speaks about the interaction between internal and external pressure in the form of competition at work between full-time workers and part-timers as well as the internal pressure from within to produce. She explains:

"When I was there, I felt a lot of internal pressure, nothing from the outside, in terms of people I worked with, but a lot of internal pressure to pressure to produce and to show them they had made the right decision and I was, I was. They, in fact, ended up, sort of,"
when they would look at statistics and those kinds of stuff, well, how come P5 can do this half time and we look at what they do, double? I mean, this is the kind of thing that was said. You know, like, you know something is wrong, you know. It almost, you know. In effect, they did start to do a little bit of that. Like, myself and one other full time person, you know, would be working very hard and the others would be working but they wouldn't put that kind of pressure on themselves. So, the two of us, in particular, because I was half time ...(14)

P6, like P5, speaks of work as sometimes outside of one's control. She says it is a financial necessity rather than a choice. She explains:

We went through a family crisis when I was 16 .. it was no longer a choice but it became a necessity and you balanced it. You went to school, you went to work. Ah, in order to go to university I needed to work, ah .. I didn't need to .. I support... I could have applied for a loan but I wasn't prepared to owe money to anybody. I worked and I managed it and I didn't consider it an undue hardship. It limited my choices. (2)

3. **The Ability of The Working Mother To Find a Bridge Between Work and Motherhood**

   a. **The degree of spillover**

   All of the working mothers refer to "spillover" from motherhood to employment or the reverse, suggesting a relationship between the two.
P1 tried to introduce a tutoring business into her home, P5, a social work practice. P1 found it isolating to only integrate the two while P5 persisted after her day job. She does attest, though, that there was no spillover from work to homelife when she says; "I didn't bring home any more work than I would have and I didn't bring much home except before holidays and that kind of thing" (14) However, the emotional spillover is quite clear when she reports:

When I feel most tired, um, I still do what needs to be done, I mean, you know, if they (children) need help with a test or they just kind of what to sit with me more, ... sit with them for..., still do that, um, my fuse is shorter though, so, if they get into a little ..., two of them and your fuse tends to be shorter in terms with having to deal with that..(5)

P4, like P1 tried to link work with motherhood by practising diagnostic testing on the children or applying work knowledge to them. P6 spoke indirectly how her work involvement spilled over into her direct involvement with her children when she spoke of the need for the mother to be attuned to the children (49). This ability, she resolves, is due to the skills she acquired in her profession. She elaborates:

Yes, you know, I have to make fast decisions .. yes, I have to respond .. I'm constantly responding to people in need .. that's the nature of the job. Everybody that I deal with wants something from me and you have to be able to say .. um, yes but and I'll get to it. You have to, you know, these are not like, crisis. If I were in a different profession, maybe it would be different but if there's something at home that's .. I won't have calm to deal with this stuff, so, I think, to me the priority is managing my home and keeping it from ... and recognizing that, you know, the child rearing skills better be pretty good in
order to deal with the ups and downs and recognizing and sort of being tuned to the ....

Coming back to school, my youngest was very, very cranky for a couple of days and we’ve been trying to get her sort of back on track and, last night, we were just talking away. I said: "You know, we really have thought about her. We'll sit with you .. we'll read some more stories but you're tired". And the first thing, you know, she's crying at me .. she's tired, but you know, being really attuned to them and ..(49)

P2, on the other hand, notes a connection between her motherhood role having an impact or spillover effect on her work. She says; "I certainly feel it adds to my professional empathy or whatever you want to call it to have children because when I talk to parents, I mean, that makes a difference because I am a parent too (18). The spillover effect for her from work to motherhood is not a positive one as is the reverse. She says:

People I talked to, they are saying," What are you doing to yourself, you are trying to do too much?" And, myself, just thinking about it, I did a lot, I thought that. I realized that I was getting run down and I was getting sick a fair amount and nothing was making me happy.. like, I wasn't happy at home because I was thinking too much about work and at work, I was thinking ;"Oh wow, I should be doing this with my children". (37)

P3, like P2, experiences a great deal of stress in the spillover effect from work to motherhood. She talks about "rushing at work and on days off because there is leftover from the week when she was working" (22). She attempts to keep work away from her homelife, however, because she says her house is too small, "basements are far away but not comfortable"(24) and because
her daughter would know she's home (25). She explains that she feels torn about wanting to do her work and guilty for not spending the time playing with her daughter (25).

b. The working mother's perception of space as it relates to her sense of self and others

All of the participants refer to the concept of space in some capacity in the sense of providing some distance between themselves and others. The conception of the working mother's space often also involved her own relationship to the space within herself.

With regards to space and distance from others, P1 often speaks about not having enough space for her work in the way of "tight accommodations" (7), not enough freedom in the way she teaches (10) and no room for her needs such as painting and bookclubs. P5 speaks of her conception of "a degree of maternal psychic availability" (7) as the space between herself and her children. P3 spoke of "wanting something of her own" (78), a space for herself.

Many of the participants envied or devalued the free space they perceived other non-working mothers had. For example, P5 speaks about how over-indulged other women can be when they can't speak on the phone and eat breakfast at the same time (37). P6 says; "I see people who don't work. I know where many of them fill in their time .. like, a lot of parents will go in and work at the school .. um, I can't imagine that's satisfying" (13). All participants speak of the space between themselves and their mothers in the form of overinvolvement or underinvolvement. P6 and P2 talk about their mothers' lack of openness and the lack of space between themselves and their mothers. P6, more generally, speaks of the mother's being home as disruptive to the children's routine (18) while P2 speaks from personal experience of mothers controlling their
children and force-feeding them when she says; "I mean even the fact my younger daughter is not a good eater and I tend to push her more than I should. And I was pushed as a child. I was a terrible eater "(50).

With regards to the participants' intrinsic relationship to space, space was also connected with the experience of "filling up gaps". P2 and P5 speak of gaps in memory with regards to mother's absence. P2 couldn't remember what arrangements her mother had made while she worked (47) while P5 had difficulty remembering that her mother was forced to work due to her father's illness (30). P1 speaks about filling up the gaps with material things while P6 filled the space with other activities when her children were in school. P3 and P5 filled the gaps with grocery shopping and concerned themselves with getting this done regularly. P6, P4, and P3 speak about how they, themselves, fit into their family constellation with P6 taking over the eldest and responsible position when her sister moved out, P4 questioning whether her needs or her sister's come first and P3 feeling as if she did not fit into her family because she was alienated from the family business for not being male.

4. The Working Mother's Early Relationship and Losses

a. The fit/lack of fit between mother and child

In discussing their early relationships with their mothers, many of the participants spoke of the similarities and differences between themselves and their mothers in their own ways. Often, there was a sense of a dichotomy between one's own innate personality style with the maternal
influence on this style. There appears to be a questioning by the participants as to how much of their experiences is attributed to themselves and how much to their mothers' experiences.

P1 juxtaposes "an innate talent for teaching" versus copying one's mother and not being as good at it when she says:

But I think ... that's a talent... why can some people sing? I can't sing at all. I can't carry a tune, I can't do anything in that way. I can't dance or anything like that but I can draw. I think it is almost like something innate in you that you have seen a certain thing and you know it needs to be done. ....One of them, her mother's a teacher. Because her mother's a teacher does not make her a good teacher. (3)

Later, she, in a more personal vein, compares her experience as a working mother to her mother's working experiences. She compares herself to her mother when she says that she thought she would never work when she had children (40) as her mother didn't work while she waited to have children, after which she had to. To P1, working is a necessity, as it was to her mother. P5 has a very similar experience as P1 of emulating her mother's need to work for financial reasons and often compared herself to her mother as never measuring up in the way of being a hard worker in the following way:

I am really not working, you know. When you really compare, you want to look at it on an absolute level. I am not a single mother struggling with kids on my own, trying to manage to get out and do groceries with two little ones hanging on to me and no car and barely surviving kind of thing. You know, I am not working the way my mother was working with the stress of a really sick husband and two kids growing up. I mean, now
relatively speaking, this isn't, uh, on an absolute scale. But, when I am in it, when I am in it and I am sick a bit and there is a lot of pressure at work and I am running around and I have to come home... (36)

P6 also felt a pull between her own needs and the family's needs but managed to co-ordinate her needs so that it wouldn't conflict with the family's. She was very self-sufficient and expected very little from her parents "other than room and board" (35).

P2 dealt with the struggle between what comes from within and what is exerted from the outside in her early childhood. She would mention that her personality was such that she "would open herself up too much" and then proceeded to say that both her mother and eldest daughter have this trait as well. She explained how she was working toward not being as controlling as her mother was and in this way trying to keep the boundaries between herself and her mother more distinct. P3 tries to differentiate what comes from herself and what has been imposed by her mother's values. She speaks of her mother's belief that marriage and family were valued more than work but she is able to note that this is a generational difference and that she, herself, is more work-oriented although" work is not the biggest thing" in her life (84). P4 doesn't deal as much with this issue of differentiating what comes from within with that from without. She speaks of her mother in the following way; " Well I guess one thing that's interesting for me, in terms of I don't know if this is why I work, but I know growing up, my mother always wanted us to have professions and to have our own money and to be independent" (39) , which she succeeded in doing, from her perspective. She also noted the generational differences between herself and her mother in that her mother did not have the "opportunity to be independent due to the times"(43).
It is critical for P4 to take seriously what her mother encourages her to do despite her own discomfort and feelings of guilt over depriving other members of her family of their turn to shine (47).

b. **The experience of loss and the way in which it was dealt**

Each of the participants experience loss, either in the form of losing one's father to death (P1), to illness (P6, P5) or to work (P2, P3, P4). In the process of losing one's father to death or illness, it is also important to point out that these participants also then lost their mothers to work (P5, P6, P1). In the case of P2, there was the loss of the father to work and then the mother followed him.

In discussing the experience of the loss of the father to death or illness, the cases of P1, P5 and P6 will be addressed.

**P1's experience of loss was as follows:**

My father died when I was five so, that is why she went back to work when I was six and my brother was...I was five turning six, like, a month later and my brother was seven turning eight a month later. Our birthdays are very close, so she had no choice, and we moved from a very very big home into a one bedroom apartment. But kids don't...but, you know. (43)

P1 does not deal directly with the feelings of loss related to the issue described above but in more indirect form such as when she describes feelings of depression surrounding her children's
eventual growing up (34) and feelings of conflict when she describes her mother's alternating support and disapproval of her working.

P5's experience of loss was as follows:

It was a necessity. I had a very sick father ... and he was, basically... and it was a necessity of life. She worked very much, seven days a week. She worked Saturdays and Sundays twelve and fourteen hours. You know, so I mean, I, she, sometimes, will say; Well, I know you are working so hard ". And, she .. Mom, this isn't anything compared to what you did. This is a piece of cake. ... You know what I mean. (30)

P5 expresses a lot of guilt over her life not being as difficult as her mother's and like P1, doesn't really deal very much with the loss of the father. Both P1 and P5 have a difficult time spending time and devoting energy to their mothers.

P6's experience of loss was a follows; "We went through a family crisis when I was 16 ...it was no longer a choice but it became a necessity and you balanced it. You went to school, you went to work" (3). And yet, the conflict seems to arise when P6 says that, although she had to work out of necessity for the family, her parents did not encourage work (9). She seems to have lost her father to illness, her mother to work, her birth order from middle child to eldest as her sister moved out of the home, and the recognition of her own needs to others.

The loss of one's self-worth is seen in the cases of P2 and P3. P2 was given the message by her mother that "motherhood is not enough", that the mother should be home when the children are young, and that she shouldn't be too committed to work like her father was, which resulted in her becoming physically ill and guilty for trying to be a "supermom " and "superprofessional". P3
also felt a conflict between her parents' valuing marriage and children more than work for her and yet showing the value of work for her brothers alone. To add to the confusion, she says that her father was moved by her graduation from university, which indicated a value for education yet not practically speaking as he excluded her from the family business because she was female. She, as a result, finds herself in conflict over whether work is an important thing in her life or not, thereby feeling the loss of an authentic sense of herself. Perhaps, the loss also might entail, since not actually verbalized by P3, the loss of the parents as sources of emotional support.

P4 speaks the least of loss except in the context of losing one's security financially. She describes how "mothers need to have something to fall back on" (61) in times of uncertainty. She is supported by the fact that both parents always encouraged financial independence and so she is quite resilient with dealing with this loss. Her difficulties lie more with how to integrate the two pictures, "needing to do things a 100% or not at all" (9)! She alludes to loss when she describes motherhood as transitory (72) but never really faces it head on.

5. The Working Mother's Present Relationships and Support Systems

All of the participants discussed the need for someone to connect with in a supportive capacity. While many of the participants (P1, P3, P6,P4) felt an insufficient amount of support from their husbands, others (P2, P1, P6) noted an important connection in their relationships with female co-workers and superiors at work. Of her relationship to an older female colleague, P1 says:
We are both protective over each other. Like, we will cover for each other. She had to go out of town, had to. It was necessary for her husband's business that she be there and she phoned in sick for three days because there is no way that they would let her go...It is just almost sisterly. Not motherly. More friendly, you know... (31)

Of her female co-workers, P2 says; "And, luckily I work with some...three other women, well there is more than that.. but other women that are really very supportive and ..." (15). Although all of the participants required the support of nannies or babysitters at some point, their perception of them as a support was very individual. Most of the participants treated having a nanny as a support with ambivalence (P3, P1), as inadequate whereby other supports were needed (P4, P6) or as a transitory support when the children were younger, with the husband taking over as a support when the children were school-age (P5, P2). With regards to mothers as a support, many of the participants found them as supportive yet critical (P6,P2, P3), while P4 and P5 found their mothers as supports in an emergency situation. Sadly, P1 recognized not enough supports for herself ("There are none for me") (very sad) (49), while P5 and P6 spoke of their children as supports to them. P5 explains her children's support in the following way:

But now, if someone is coming over, or whatever, the kids will help out, as well, you know ..in between times, when we are having company for dinner or something and I need the main floor vacuumed and the bathroom cleaned up. They have their own jobs that they do and they will do all of that, as well.(44)
P6 explains her situation as follows; "On the weekends they're expected to make their beds and expected to keep their rooms tidy .. uh, they're expected to help clean up. The newest .. has been on Fridays when the nanny is gone." (22). P2 and P5 used friends and neighbours as supports while P3 used her doctor as a support.

6. The working mother's sense of emotional and physical well-being

   a. Degree of feeling tired, depressed, torn and guilty

   All of the participants described feelings of "being together" at some points, while at other times, feeling tired, "torn", "frazzled", and guilty. They each described their feelings of coming apart and/or together in their individual ways.

   P1 describes her experience of working and being a mother as exhausting and when she ignores her states of tiredness, she then gets sick ("I get sick, then I get sick and I get, twice now bronchial pneumonia, that is what I get") (22). She becomes very defensive after she describes this tiredness and says; "And I mean everybody gets sick, everyone gets two or three colds a year" (22). She also feels depressed at the thought of losing her children when they grow up, as she says in the following way; "But it is also depressing that you know I quite like this age that my kids are at you know. I don't want them to be in university. I can't imagine me a mother of a child in university and I am not a young mother" (34). P1 seems to deal with feelings of falling apart with obsessive cleaning of the house several times a day alternating with keeping herself busy with many activities.
P2 described feelings of depression, illness and tiredness particularly when she was a new mother and more so when work figured back into the equation. Regarding motherhood, P2 describes feelings of depression, being worried all the time about the children, feelings of "being driven crazy by the children" (23), overwhelmed and sad. She describes the exhaustion as follows; "I remember being exhausted and that is probably one reason we waited so long to have our second child was just the thought of starting over and being tired again" She felt that "taking the children out to a babysitter is horrible and leads to exhaustion" (24). With regards to combining work and motherhood, she says that she is tired "from the demands of being a mother, working and everything else that goes along with it" (9). P2 describes feelings of guilt for getting to work later and for not being at home with her children when they are ill.

P3 also describes going crazy when she feels torn between work and motherhood. She is also tired when she is not working and is mothering. She describes herself as having "no energy", tired and fatigued after work and tired getting up in the morning. She describes herself as going to bed earlier and earlier (47). Sometimes, she finds her life meaningless which is apparent in the following comment; "What's the difference if I have any energy left?" (76). P3 deals with the feelings described above with either depression or filling the days with activities to busy herself. P3 expresses feelings of guilt when she is has a day off and she doesn't spend it with her child "because this is my day to be with her, you know" (25).

P5 describes a lack of energy for her own mother (2), as well as for her children. She says she lacks energy to push them with their homework (3). She describes herself as becoming angry when she is tired in the following way:
When I feel most tired, um, I still do what needs to be done, I mean, you know, if they need help with a test or they just kind of want to sit with me more, ... sit with them for ..., still do that, um, my fuse is shorter though. So, if they get into a little... , two of them and your fuse tends to be shorter in terms with having to deal with that. (5)

Like P1, P5 will deal with states of being frazzled with obsessive cleaning of the house at odd hours of the day. P5 expresses a great deal of guilt over not having helped her mother with the housework when she, herself, was a child.

P4 discusses tiredness at the end of the day and "crashing from fatigue" (35). She explains that the "tiredness is related to postponing work and giving into the children's needs first" (68). It is also related to "physical fatigue" since she explains she gets up at 6.20 a.m. almost everyday to walk for 40-45 minutes. She also relates that she retires an hour earlier than she used to and this, she explains, is due to her early rising in the morning, which she claims makes her feel more fit! P4 expresses guilt in her recollections of having competed for her mother's attention with her sister, as well as discussing how she resolves guilt feelings about working through work flexibility (22).

P6 does not discuss tiredness as a regular occurrence. She does, however, refer to a "lethargy" she experiences when she is not busy. As she explains, "I balance my life better when I'm busy. When I'm not busy there's a lethargy that's creeps in and you sort of .. you don't get anything done" (15). She deals with emptiness by filling it with activities.

b. The ability to integrate or break down subjects of discussion/information
Many of the participants raised the issue of their ability to retain information, to remember past events and their capacity to make connections at specific affect-laden points in their lives. It became very clear in many of the interviews that in emotionally stressful recollections, the participants had difficulty speaking in a coherent way. Both P1 and P5 went blank and repeated themselves often when they recalled their fathers' illnesses, while P2 could not remember when her mother went to work and in what capacity she worked. She says:

I am trying to remember (coughed). It is, maybe I was a bit older than that. Um, I thought it was okay. I kept, you see, it is even hard for me to remember what arrangements she must have made. I think we used to go to a neighbour's house. I mean, I again, I am sort of a homebody and I liked coming home at lunch or after school. But I, she must have worked just a few days a week. I can't remember. She certainly didn't work full time. I didn't resent it or anything but I liked being at home better. But I knew, certain days she would be working and I also thought it was kind of good that she is not just a mother. I mean it sounds awful to say that but that she did something else, too (talked faster). (47)

P3's sentences broke down when she relayed her feelings of stress over dealing with a friend's envy of her having help at home. She says:

In my mind ... I thought it was a silly comment. I mean, especially from somebody who has a lot of help anyways. So .. But (um) you know, it's different - I guess, when you were asking what makes people so .. about having help? Other people's comments, I
mean you know some people really truly don't care as to ... They can really not care and really mean it. (70)

It was also noticeable that there was a tendency for three of the participants (P1, P2, P6) to keep their subject of discussion "put together" or "broken down", i.e. present them in an idealistic way or a devalued way. This was particularly noticeable in P2's interview regarding the discussion that mothers are controlling but yet kind-hearted. This technique of idealizing and devaluing is used as almost a balancing effect for P1 in most areas. P6 does this, as well, particularly in relation to her father. Her father, according to her, either lacks respect for her personal needs (7) or is "very supportive of all his children" (43).

For others, such as P5 and P3, there was inconsistency and incoherence with regards to what the ideal work situation would be and conflicting information would be supplied, particularly in the area of whether part-time work is advantageous over full-time. For example, P5 said; "Part-time is best in that you have the mental challenge and still have the energy to do what needs to be done at home" (13) and then, later; "Mothers are overloaded at work when part-time"(16). This is certainly reflective of her internal state regarding combining work and motherhood.

Something else that is seen in the interviews with regards to pulling things together or breaking them down is the tendency to discuss "finishing off loose ends at any cost" (P4) while P3 has a need for continuity and has "to see things from beginning to end" (9). On the other hand, P2 describes "feeling torn between two places". This seems to happen when she wants to be at work instead of home and home instead of work. Since P2 cannot combine the two, she gives motherhood the priority even though "motherhood is not enough"(47).
c. **The working mother's body image**

Many of the participants referred to the importance of appearances, some on a more concrete level (P1) whereby "looking good" is critical to a strong sense of an authentic self (P2, P6). Somewhere in the middle, there is the need to look competent (P3, P4).

P1, when she discusses "looking good", explains that to her, being "skinny" means looking good. She adds that this makes her feel more competent (54) about herself and good about the fact that she is able to buy clothes, which she then rationalizes is necessary for work anyway. P2 focuses more on the need to look after herself and being recognized for her abilities. P6 also expresses the desire for others (father, husband, work superiors) to respect her needs, as well. P3 describes both the fear of being misunderstood and looking foolish, the need to show others that she is "part of the team" and exclaims that she "couldn't bear it " if they (work superiors) thought she wasn't hardworking (6). The physical component is stressed, according to P3, by her husband, who thinks that all sources of stress can be alleviated by exercise. P3 adds; "There are more important things to do than to focus on the body" (73). She struggles with what is right for her and what others say is right for her. P4 thinks that appearances are important in that she says:

Sort of, you know, what I feel is important is that appearance, overall appearance is generally important..Not that I feel people should be made up, but I'm much more aware of people. Maybe, it's professional maybe it's...but, I'm sort of aware of how people present themselves, whether they're neat, or put together, or just dishevelled, or..like, there's just something about putting yourself together that shows a person who is sort of together. (52)
P4 has "the need to appear together" (52). It is very frightening to P4 that she be "found out" and she elaborates; "If I'm unprepared or disorganized, I'm afraid of looking stupid" (54).

7. The Working Mother's Perception of Time As Affecting Her Sense of Self

Time seems to be a critical issue that arises throughout all the interviews, particularly regarding time and the participants' connection to it. In addition, the theme of organizing oneself and one's time reappeared consistently. Time organization seemed to make manageable the unmanageable for these working women.

a. Connection to time

P1, in discussing her connection to time, discussed the "endlessness of motherhood" (29) since work makes the time related to motherhood go faster (36). This seems to be a source of ambivalence for her in that she speaks of the overwhelming amount of time involved in motherhood and yet she wants the time of mothering young children to last (36). The time commitment from her husband, she describes as restrictive.

P3 stressed how time could not hold as much as what needed to be done since there is always a shortage of time. She discusses "overtime" at work and spillover from work to her homelife. She describes an internal commitment to time where she "holds time in her head" and is constantly aware of its impact on her life. She also is very sensitive to society's role as defining time for working women, such as herself.
P4 is exceedingly sensitive to time and work commitments, as measured by time dedicated. She discusses how she does not want to make time commitments to work on a long-term basis (17). She juxtaposes part-time with full-time when she speaks of "part-timers receiving benefits still" and how part-time feels like full-time (64). P4 constructs a continuum regarding time where she says that the quality of work gets better with experience, that certain jobs are suitable at certain points in time (8), that children do more for themselves as they get older, that stress decreases for mothers as their children get older, that mothers may not go far professionally when their children are young, and that work and motherhood are time-limited (23; 72). She is very much aware of generational differences where parents' time commitments to work were very much dependent on the times in which they lived, based on educational opportunity and societal expectations for women at the time. She is able to fill the generation gap with the idea that "parents give children hope for the future" by encouraging them "to be something".

P2 also looks at time as a continuum but in a slightly different way than P4 She abhors that "time goes by so quickly" and has great discomfort about how old she is getting. Because time goes by so quickly, from her perspective, she puts the brakes on it by working half-time (10) and recognizes that one's attitude towards work changes over time and that people have their limitations (36). She measures her commitment to work and to her children by the time she spends at each and notes that "work takes away the children's time", as does homework and the children from herself. As a result, she says; "There is never enough time to do everything" (22) and that what she wastes, she must make up in the form of time.

P6, like P4 and P2 discusses life on a continuum of time whereby there are different stages of life (based on the mother's age and needs as well as the children's) and the mother's ability to
contribute to the work environment relates to those stages (12). Continuity is critical to P6 and this is applied to the "breaking of the children's routine" by intrusive mothers who do not respect the stage that their children are at (18).

P5 also deals with work and motherhood on a continuum of time. She says that children are more independent as they grow older, how there are different stages of children's needs that are considered alongside the mother's needs, how there is linking of the daughter's experiences to her mother's, how the past has an impact on the present, how it is necessary for mothers to think ahead in time. She notes how "special time" is something that always seems to exist on the continuum of time and doesn't seem to be stage-related. It is, however, the most depleting time period for her, albeit the most important for her children. The idea that one gains while the other loses is prevalent also in relation to time when she says that there are time conflicts between the mother's needs, the children's needs and the husband's. P5, like P4 and P2, struggles with part-time versus full-time commitments. She says that part-timers don't burn out as quickly, are more versatile but part-time mothers make sacrifices financially and have to do more housework.

b. **Time and organization**

P1 discusses the organization of her time in relation to cleaning. She says:

Well, it has to be clean or it just...no one can find anything....just that, it is very organized...it is very organized and a certain amount is done every day, rather than saving it all up. Never. Never save up. Something every day. I mean the kitchen floor has to be washed every night and it is washed every night. (40)
At work, she is also an organized person who prepares lesson plans for when she is absent. She loathes tight scheduling, though, as she explains in the following way:

Yeah, I get fed up with the bells, you know. You are always on a bell schedule and you have to be there by a certain time and you leave at a certain time. That bothers me because sometimes I get into something and then it is disrupted and you can never go to the dentist or you are always regulated by an outside force. Like, people in business, if they need to have an hour and a half for lunch, they take an hour and a half for lunch if they are still discussing something. (6)

She longs for a looser schedule structure such as the one she has in the summer where she does not have to follow the school schedule but can choose when to do what needs to be done. She will not allow herself great gaps of empty time, though as is evident in the following words:

So, I fill it up with other things. Whether it is having things done around the house or for myself or whatever...And I like to stay home and I like to be alone and not do anything, just watch t.v. or watch a movie, rent a movie or read magazines. Not for long, but for a few times. (25)

P5 is very keen on the organization of her time and discusses how planning is important and how thinking ahead is critical, which are both ways of "fitting it all in" (22). She is very much aware of "trying to fit it all in" (1) and balancing work and motherhood. Her structure of organization never seems to include, according to her, enough "time for play", for her mother, or for eating lunch. P5 uses "organization as a way of fitting everything in" (20) but concedes that there is "too much to fit in" (46).
P6 maintains that there is a need for organization of her time, as well in order to maintain a healthy balance (2). This balance must include the family's needs, as well as her own, in addition to a balance between work and motherhood and one between employer and employee needs, as she discusses in terms of "the necessity to set boundaries" (11,13,16). She also describes different stages of life that mothers, employees, children go through and these serve as boundaries, as well. P6 feels that "organization balances" and work is a way in which she balances herself (13). The need for consistency and structure (47) is a part of her organizational structure.

P4 speaks of the need for organization, but more in terms of "not liking to feel disorganized". She feels that organization helps her cope with being busy. She also speaks of boundaries in time when she says that work and motherhood are "time-limited and not forever". Sometimes she feels the rigidity of this structure and says that time lines are stressful and that she hasn't enough time for friends.

P2 also responds to the rigidity of time when she says that homework takes time, work takes time away from the children and that children are demanding of her time. She speaks of the necessity of organization, of "their time, my time and if it fits together". She concedes, as P5 did, that "there is never enough time to do everything" (22). As a result, she talks about having to "make time" for herself and for her relationship with her husband. She organizes her time by "making lists" and calendars.

P3 struggles with no sense of structure in her time when she speaks about "overtime issue as a source of anxiety" and yet not putting in extra time will bother her to the extent that she won't be able to sleep at night. She describes the issue as being that there are "not enough hours in the day"(20). As a result, she tries to organize herself by "mentally making a timetable" of all the
things she needs to do and rushing to get everything done. She delineates certain days and times for certain people and activities. At the same time, she finds it difficult to follow the timetables and to be "on time" (58). She concludes that she needs more time and that practical suggestions from her husband on how to organize time don't work for her (71). She needs to spend her own time on her own terms.

From the participants' statements above, it appears as if the categories and sub-categories fall under two primary themes which are; The working mother's ability to separate from and connect to others and The working mother's sense of herself as feeling integrated and/or fragmented. In the context of the categories and sub-categories, they would appear as follows:

1. **The Working Mother's Ability to Separate From and Connect To Others**
   a. The working mothers' feelings of isolation and/or the yearning for others
   b. The working mother's ability to balance work and motherhood with her own needs
      i. the role of prioritization in balancing work and motherhood
      ii. the experience of balancing work and motherhood
      iii. the working mother's feelings of being controlled and/or in control
   c. The ability of the working mother to find a bridge between work and motherhood
      i. the degree of spillover from work to motherhood and the reverse
      ii. the working mother's perception of space as it relates to her sense of self and others
d. The working mother's early relationships and losses
   i. the fit/lack of fit between mother and child
   ii. the experience of loss and the way in which it was dealt

e. The working mother's present relationships and support systems

2. The Working Mother's Sense Of Herself As Feeling Integrated And/Or Fragmented
   a. The working mother's sense of emotional and physical well-being
      i. degree of feeling tired, depressed, torn, and guilty
      ii. the ability to integrate or break down subjects of discussion/information
      iii. the working mother's body image
   b. The working mother's perception of time as affecting her sense of self
      i. connection to time
      ii. time and organization

The theme of the working mother's ability to separate from and connect with others captures an overall dilemma of how to simultaneously be apart from and yet a part of other people's lives. The two primary themes appear to be intricately related, as will further be explained in the next chapter, in that the working mother's ability to separate and connect with others leads to her sense of feeling apart or together, herself, as a person, which then affects in a circular fashion how she relates to others once again. In the next chapter, the discussion section, I will comment on both Results chapters while applying the applicable literature and psychoanalytic theory to further
understand the dynamics of the working mother's experience of combining motherhood with employment.
CHAPTER 8
DISCUSSION

In this section, I will attempt to elaborate upon the results and to explain these findings through referring to literature sources related to the issue of maternal employment, as well as to apply the psychoanalytic theoretical literature to help clarify the material.

An Application of Existing Theory To the Research Results

These findings demonstrate that in combining motherhood with employment, mothers must cope with internal feelings in interaction with actual experiences; that the experience of loss has an impact on mothers' ability to integrate employment with motherhood; and that there is an intricate developmental interaction between feelings of separateness and connectedness in relationship with other people and events, which becomes felt when combining employment with motherhood.

Internal Feelings In Interaction With Actual Experiences

It became clear throughout the research that participants were struggling with what came from within themselves and what was imposed on them from the environment when they discussed their past and present experiences. For those participants who tended to split work and
motherhood (e.g. P1), they also tended to split the concept of whether their abilities as mother or as worker was determined by an inborn capability or was dependent upon what they had learned from their immediate familial environment. P1 says; "I think it is almost like something innate in you that you have seen a certain thing and you know it needs to be done... because her mother's a teacher does not make her a good teacher." (p. 3) However, for the more integrated working mother, there was more of a recognition that both qualities are at play and that innate abilities, as well as the environment interact. For example, P6 noted similar familial characteristics between herself and her father in the way of being stubborn, a community person, a person of integrity but is also very much aware of the impact that her childhood experiences have had on her present choices. There is an intricate interplay between the influences of the external and internal worlds in an individual's life. As a result, the internal world acts as a mirror to the external, as well as the reverse. As things come together or fall apart in the outside world, so does the individual feel apart or "put together" internally.

In fully understanding the complexity of the internal workings of the individual, one must recognize the impact of the parental relationship on the individual's life in conjunction with the internal unconscious workings of the individual. If there has been a disagreeable relationship amongst one's parents in one's early years, this concept will be internalized and become a source of anxiety when one struggles with which parent to identify as she separates, which was evident in the case of P3, whose father promoted very stereotypic views regarding women's success in the workforce, and whose mother promoted similar values regarding the passivity of women. In unconscious phantasy, this would translate as the daughter's envy of motherhood and the subsequent preoccupation with spoiling mother in an attempt to devalue her, which in turn
allows her to experience her own desires. The guilt that is felt as a result of this devaluation is concern for not being able to value mother's talents. Early relationships have an impact on the woman's later relationships, as well as on her feelings and attitudes when she herself, becomes a mother and she identifies with her own mother and perhaps re-enacts some unresolved types of behaviour, and emulates her mothering style, be it of a normal, intrusive or neglectful nature. P2 became aware of doing just this when she found herself force-feeding her daughter and had to make a conscious effort to recognize that this was her mother's style of mothering and that she did not want it as her own.

It appears as if most of the working mothers were struggling with whether they were good-enough mothers and expressed guilt over appearing too adequate. Often their internal objects, their "superego", had an exceedingly harsh character, which might be a way to feel as less of a threat to one's mother and for surpassing her. It, therefore, becomes clear that the development of the individual depends a great deal on the degree of harshness of the superego, which is modified by the influence of the external world. Perhaps there is also a relationship between the self-criticizing superego and the "death instinct" as demonstrated by P1, P5 and P6, who faced at an early age, illness and death, coupled with their own phantasies of destructiveness directed at themselves and others. As a result of the premature intensive presence of illness, P6 seemed to deny dependency on her parents and assumed a very competent self-sufficient role. For P1 and P5, separation, albeit for the purposes of working, might have been skewed, to a degree, due to this early relationship with death coupled with the death instinct.

**Impact of Experiences of Loss In Combining Work With Motherhood**
The role of the working mother's experiences with actual loss, as well as an underlying sense of loss, impacts upon her way of dealing with loss and her attitude towards work. In this context, this became apparent where the working mothers dealt with losses, in three with the loss of fathers to death or illness (P1, P5, P6). There were descriptions of the loss of mothers due to work (P1, P5, P6, P2) and those of the loss of a sense of self (P3, P2, P6) due to conflicting parental messages. It became clear that although some of the experiences of loss sounded very similar, loss is dealt with in a very particular way, depending upon the internal strength one has, one's personality type and one's present supports. Whereas P1 describes working as "survival" and P5 and P6 as "a necessity", the mothers' attitudes towards working is critical in what was transmitted to the daughter. In addition, if the conflicting parental message struck at the core of the individual's existence and identity as it did for P3, the sense of loss was enormous since she struck out on her own resulting in working against an internalized representation that women should marry and have children and not work whereas even though P2 and P6 were given mixed messages about mothers working, part of that message was that it can happen since their mothers worked.

In trying to engage in either employment or motherhood, the working mother has to go through a form of mourning process, whereby she experiences a sense of loss in order to move from one to the other and back again until she has successfully integrated the two modes of being. In this process towards integration, she loses an image or picture of what her identity is in relation to others in that environment. Every time she moves from motherhood to work, she experiences a sense of loss, a wrenching separation from the connections she has established in the work environment, as well as with her children in the motherhood domain. Simultaneously with this, she
also experiences the loss of a part of her self or the loss of her self as a person totally, depending upon how she deals with the discomfort of moving from one realm to the next. If the working mother has had an early experience of terrible loss, the separation anxiety will be enormous in that the present loss will reactivate earlier losses.

The difficulty in coping with the sense of loss comes into play mostly in two areas; when the working mother moves from the employment state to the motherhood mode and when she feels anxiety when she is involved in one area and cannot retain a strong sense of it and hold onto it while in the other experience. The two positions are connected in that if she felt that she could hold onto the one experience while in the other without it being lost forever, then there wouldn't be so much anxiety associated with the loss. This inability to hold onto the good is related to the individual's ability to engage in the process of symbolization, which is dependant upon the woman's early mother-child relationship. "The symbol is used not to deny but overcome loss" (Segal, 1957). If the symbol established is of a concrete nature in that the symbol is not very different from what is being symbolized, then all fears and anxieties will be associated with the original object lost and as a result, there is a great deal of rigidity imposed on oneself in relation to the environment. This is what occurs in those working mothers who split their experiences into dealing with one at a time and who engage in concrete and rigid activities to control their anxieties. When the individual has had "good-enough mothering", then there is an ability to deal with anxieties related to loss and that individual is confident that the loved object will return undamaged (Weininger, 1989). When there is a strong sense of a good internalized object, and a capacity to symbolize in a way that lessens anxiety and helps deal with the loss of the actual object, then the individual is working towards greater integration. This would represent those
participants who were integrating working mothers and those who were in the intermediate or transitional area of working towards integration. Through the process of mourning the loss of the idealized good mother inside oneself or rather, the phantasy of the perfect mother, can one then substitute a symbol representing that relationship, thereby leading to the integrative process.

The intermediate area between work and motherhood allows the space for this mourning and symbolization process to occur. It also might be the place where working mothers may "play" with integrating their dual role in a creative way. The intermediate or transitional space between work and motherhood is addressed by the participants in many different and yet similar ways, albeit as a place to bridge the two domains. Most of all, the participants recognized their babysitters as the link between work and motherhood, the way to move from one area to the other, as well as addressing the value of part-time work as the vehicle to achieve both. For P3 and P2, there was a great deal of ambivalence over their babysitters' support while for P1, P2, P3, part-time was a fallacy and just a means of getting paid half of the money for full-time work. P4 bridged work with motherhood by speaking of work as a short-term commitment and of job flexibility, thus enabling her to move freely from one area to the other, while P1 and P5 attempted to set up businesses in their home as a means of bridging the gap. Travel time during the workday when motherhood-related chores were conducted were also addressed by P1, P5 and P3. P5 spoke of the "special time", the creative and enjoyable space, that her family created for each other in their lives. The library was the bridge that P3 referred to as the space between work and home in that she was able to finish her work in a space that was near her home.

Sometimes the space between work and motherhood seems too broad and other times too narrow. For example, P2 spoke of her babysitter and also of herself being "homebodies" in a very
ambivalent way; "At first she tended to be a homebody so she wouldn't always take them out as much as I would have liked to and I liked her to.....I mean I again I am sort of a homebody and I liked coming home at lunch or after school..I liked being at home better.."(p. 45). Balint (1968) referred to the homebody's reaction to the other as "ocnophilic", whereby they need to feel in tune and connected with others. P3 also referred to herself as being "housebound" with her baby in the winter months but in a very stifling and constricted way ; "I remember speaking to friends from work who were calling me, say; how you're doing' and I missed seeing them. I missed maybe the social contact..you know sometimes I'd feel so housebound, for sure, especially my daughter's born in October so she was born in the winter and the two of us together, you can't seem to go out without help, you know" (p. 50) . P3 felt lost and abandoned without the connection to others and did not feel comfortable separating from her child and so denied the loss by remaining housebound". P6, on the other hand, does not need as much connection with others in her personal life and feels uncomfortable about mothers hovering around their children at home. She says: "You know, the kids have their routine..if you stop working and you're home, you're interrupting their routine because it's already established based on you working" (p. 18). She relates more closely to Balint's description of the "philobat", whereby she connects with the whole world rather than with particular people and is self-sufficient. P5 alternated between needing others such as her husband and mother for support and yet presenting an image of herself being exceedingly self-sufficient. She described the space between herself and others in terms of "psychic availability" which she describes in the following way," I had a lot more energy and whatever to be more available... I think it is the degree of availability we are talking about..it's on a continuum and I think I was certainly more you know, I was further along on the continuum in
terms of being able to give to them but you know I don't think, I don't think they are on the bottom end when I am working, you know, I don't think it's that serious...I would kind of almost like call it "psychic availability" and you know being sort of physically okay or exhausted and you know rung out and tired and that kind of degree .." (p. 7)

**Separateness and Connectedness In Combining Employment With Motherhood**

Although it appears that employment operates primarily on a separation track and motherhood on an affiliative or connectedness one, there are elements of each in both, as well. Individuals may use employment in order to complement the connections they feel they do not have enough of in the form of collegial support. For example, P1 found a female colleague who was supportive to her in both work and personal matters, as did P2 find a male superior, who related to her on both a personal and professional manner.

In discussing the feelings of isolation and/or the yearning for others that the working mother feels, it was described by the participants that this alternating need between connectedness and separateness exists. Winnicott (1958) explains that the roots of the capacity of an individual to be alone follows an aloneness in the nondemanding presence of the mother. He says; "In the course of time the individual introjects the ego-supportive mother and in this way becomes able to be alone without frequent reference to the mother or mother symbol" (p. 32). Thus, Winnicott establishes a relationship between solitude and relationship.

When the participants spoke of their ability to balance work/motherhood with their own needs, the psychological underpinning of this is the degree to which they can create a state of comfort or equilibrium between states of separateness and connectedness. It appears as if work, as
a state of separateness helps balance the individual and round them out. P3 speaks of work as giving her "something of her own", P4 of work as "something to fall back on", while P6 says that work "takes you beyond yourself", making you more whole. Steiner (1992) spoke about the equilibrium between Klein's Paranoid-Schizoid and Depressive positions, which are reflective of bringing oneself into balance. He describes a developmental continuum between the positions which is kept in equilibrium or balance. The dimension described is one of increasing integration, leading to a sense of wholeness in the self and in object relations.

Within the context of balancing separateness with connectedness in work and motherhood, there is a need to pass through the in-between stage, as mentioned above, the intermediate or transitional stage, which is the bridge between the two domains. When the participants discuss their ability to bridge work with motherhood, they are referring to that intermediate space between separateness and connectedness. Spillover from work to motherhood and the reverse suggests that a bridge exists between the two, which may or may not effectively regulate a state of equilibrium. This spillover refers to the substitution of attachment from the mother to other objects, people and activities.

Just as there is a balancing of separateness and connectedness operating in the working mother's relationship with her environment, be it motherhood or employment, there is also the very same process operating internally within the individual, the balancing of the states of apartness or fragmentation and that of connectedness or being integrated. In the participants' descriptions of a breaking down of their emotional and physical well-being internally, one can apply Klein's descriptions of severe splitting of the ego, particularly in the Paranoid-Schizoid Position, which is described in terms of "going to pieces" or falling apart. When the participants
describe forgetting and the inability to connect information, it is helpful to look at Bion's paradigm on the linking of thoughts through the accumulation of abstract thoughts, which occurs with the mother containing the child's anxieties in a "maternal reverie". When memory breaks down, the container-contained relationship collapses, and the information becomes fragmented and it remains as unassimilated (Bion, 1962). Externally, in their descriptions of their body images, the participants described the need to look good and "put together". Winnicott (1960) developed the concepts, "false self" and "true self", which may be applied in this context. Compliance on the part of the individual in early childhood to a mother, who doesn't recognize her child in her own right, results in the beginnings of the development of a "false self", which covers the authentic or "true self". When the individual finds herself in circumstances whereby the environment doesn't accept her as she is, she needs to put on a show of being well put together, thereby explaining some of the participants' need to project an image of looking good, being fit, and appearing competent.

The participants all refer to their relationship with time and their organization and management of it. Time is a metaphor with which we describe the relations between things and which connects all of us (Keller, 1986). Time is dealt with as on a continuum, developing and in relationship or connection to another. At the most developed stage of psychical space, the subject is able to leave the object go free in time by acknowledging the difference between generations (Quinodoz, 1993). This acknowledgement is apparent in some of the interviews, where participants' mothers' choices regarding employment were respected due to generational differences (P4, P2). As the individual develops into a more integrated self, the inner core remains the same, thus enabling a sense of continuity in time (Masterson, 1988). With this sense of
continuity comes the ability to integrate one's past experiences and feelings towards them with one's present and future ones. Once this continuity exists for working mothers, then there would not be a fear of losing one's self while in either work or motherhood, but rather a sense that sometimes one may operate more in the working mode and other times in the motherhood one. There would be an acceptance of oneself in that one cannot be in two places in one time, that it is psychically and actually acceptable for working mothers to emphasize one role over the other at specific periods of time and that the neglected mode at that period of time is not lost but is merely "on hold" at that time.

In summary, the self has both aspects of separateness and connectedness and that both appear to operate in conjunction with each other in "mutual and persistent interplay" (Stechler and Kaplan, 1980). I would further elaborate that the two lines of development move along the continuum of time and is a developmental process, with the intermediate state between the two, the transitional or intermediate state, also evolving from a state of transitional relatedness to object relatedness. The aim of the interaction between these components would be to bring the self into a state of psychic equilibrium or integration. The environment acts upon this process, as do internal phantasies, which then affects this state of balance. When the equilibrium is disrupted, this is reflected in the working mother's inability to balance work with motherhood, as it likely also does in other areas that draw on the need to balance separateness with connectedness. The degree of success of integrating both components is dependent upon the individual's capacity to move with ease from the state of separateness to connectedness comfortably, moving through the transitional stage in a creative way. Sometimes the space between separateness and connectedness feels too broad and the individual might feel abandoned whereas others may feel the space as too
constricted and intruded upon. In order to move from states of separateness, one has to mourn the loss of connection before they can re-establish new connections. This work happens in the transitional state between the two areas, which is the area where mourning is worked through and where new creative activities are found to symbolically replace the lost object. The individual who finds a state of solace and comfort between the two states will find it an easier journey in the fluid movement from separateness to connectedness and the reverse. Combining motherhood with employment might be one of many developmental crises that may be addressed in this fashion.
CHAPTER 9
CONCLUSION

In this conclusion, I will discuss the practical and theoretical limitations of this study, as well as implications of this research, and will end with a conclusive statement regarding the issue of combining employment with motherhood.

Practical and Theoretical Limitations of this Study

Rich material was elicited from the participants in this exploratory study and hypotheses might further be generated from this from a Positivistic perspective. In this research, my aim was to elicit expressive material and to focus on the participants' subjective experiences. I was looking for the way that these participants make meaning of their lives through their words. As Belenky (1986) says: "It isn't the finding of the truth that's so wonderful. It is in the looking for it, the exploring, the searching". This study's aim was to communicate both similarities and uniqueness amongst participants. In the process, I found that the theoretical literature, no matter the orientation, speaks of similar tendencies in development, even while each orientation works within its own terminology. Although, this study drew mostly upon the psychoanalytic perspective, it in no way suggests that other orientations may not be considered for future studies in this area. I
have found that there is a great deal of convergence among the different theoretical bases, as mentioned in Chapter 3, for example, the cognitive-developmental attempt to study representational internal working models of self, other and relationship.

The researcher's role is to report the experiences and interpret them accurately in the presentation of the participants' experiences and feelings. Although my intent was to involve all participants in a dialogic way in the interviewing process, in the analysis, psychological connections were made by myself in a dialogic relationship with the theoretical literature and interview data.

One limitation of such a study is that there is always concern that the participants portray their actual experiences in an accurate way. Qualitative research can only be concerned with the appearance of truth or reality rather than "exact correspondence to actuality" (Polkinghorne, 1988). This issue is not so much of a concern in this context because the words of the participants reflected their reality.

In further study, there would be an intent to expand upon the exploratory work that has begun in this context. It would be fascinating to see whether the three stages that emerged in this context would also appear in other groups of participants or whether other stages also would be derived. In future work, participants might be selected from different social classes, from other cultures and of different ages. It might also be interesting to look at working women with a varying number of children and in different professions. It might be a consideration to administer a projective testing technique, such as the Differential Diagnostic Technique, to the working mothers to further ascertain their level of ego functioning and type of personality organization.
For future studies, it would be interesting to gain additional information pertaining to the individuals' interests, both new ones and those carried over from childhood. It would be interesting to look at the calming activities in which adults engage in order to fully understand how different individuals cope with states of separation and connectedness and the role that transitional phenomena between these two states play.

**Implications of this Research**

An important implication of this research is that there be a greater understanding of the employment -motherhood situation and that perhaps as a result of research such as this, more research will be conducted perhaps including husbands. If a hypothesis is drawn from this research that a woman's perception of herself as a working mother is related to her perception of her father's attitude towards working women and to his wife's role in the family, then it might be advantageous to also conduct quantitative research looking at this relationship as a complement to the qualitative approach towards this area. As a result of research done in the area of maternal employment, hopefully the significance of this issue might be reflected in creating courses, which will be given to educate working women, their husbands and employers, as well as in forming support groups for the working woman. In addition, due to the limited involvement of husbands in the home, more re-education is necessary for the purposes of creating an awareness of the significance of parental involvement in the family. An important implication of this research, as well, would be a reassessment of the "women's issues" research, on the one hand, as a separate field in itself versus the child development research on the other. It is necessary to view the "woman as mother" and child research in a more integrated way. Perhaps, the splitting of the
research into two reflects the fragmented experience of many working women at the present time. In addition, because the bodies of literature that were used to address maternal employment were of a fragmented nature whereby each operated independently of the other, it not only is helpful to search for the thread linking each but also to understand why this is the case.

To conclude, in order to fully comprehend the experience of working mothers, it is critical to have a deeper understanding of how states of separateness and connectedness interact, how early losses have an impact on this organization, and how a more integrated approach to this area would be all-encompassing enough to contain all the pieces of this puzzle. Only then can employment and motherhood be intertwined in a harmonious balance. "Two opposing drives operate throughout life: the drive for companionship, love and everything else which brings us close to our fellow men and the drive toward being independent, separate and autonomous" (Storr, 1988).
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A:

CONSENT FORM
Consent Form

I am a student at the University of Toronto and am doing a study on working mothers’ experiences and feelings regarding motherhood and working. I am interested in any aspect of your experience as a mother that you consider important or interesting to tell in order for me to understand what other mothers may/may not possibly be feeling and going through when they combine motherhood with employment.

I would like to tape-record what you say so that I don’t miss any of our conversation. I would not want to rely on notes and miss something or change something that you have said. It will also help me remember what you have said. If you do not feel comfortable saying something on tape, we could shut the tape-recorder off at that time. Anything you say will be strictly confidential. No one will hear this tape except for me, to which I will refer when I write this paper. All data will be stored in locked files and names will be deleted.

Should you find some of my questions difficult to answer, for whatever reason, it is perfectly acceptable to tell me so and they will be omitted. If you find some of the questions are inappropriate, perhaps this is because they are inapplicable to your circumstances. Since there are no right or wrong answers, please feel free to give me your honest opinions and feelings and discuss your experiences. Your ability as a mother will not be questioned nor will you be compared to other mothers. I also wish to assure you that in this study, neither employment nor motherhood is necessarily the correct approach.

Please feel free, at any time, to interrupt, ask questions,
ask for clarifications or discuss areas of concern to you in the area of "motherhood" or "maternal employment". Support will be given to you during the interview process by myself. In addition, your interview transcript and interpretations will be available to you for your feedback. Although I hope that you will be able to be involved in this study until the end, you are free to change your mind about being part of this research, at any point, should that situation arise.

Sincerely,

Linda Ennis (Ph.D candidate)

Participant's Consent:

Date:
APPENDIX B:

BACKGROUND INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE
Background Questions

General
A. Date of Interview
B. Place of Interview

Mother
1. Place of Residence
2. Place of Birth
3. Age of Mother—when children were born—
4. Age of children
5. Sex of Children
6. Mother's birth order
7. Marital Status
8. Nature of pregnancies
9. Nature of deliveries
10. Illnesses immediately after births
11. separations immediately after births
12. separations between mother and children
13. emotional maternal reactions during post-partum period
14. feeding experience (breast/bottle—who fed the baby & when)
15. major caretaker of children
16. early separations/losses when mother was a child
Fatat
1. Father's age
   - when children were born-
2. Father's birth order
3. Employment status of father—occupation
   - educational level
   - work schedule
   - level of flexibility

Employment status of mother
- occupation
- mother's reasons for working
- feelings about working
- when mother began working
- how long after having the children
- years of working (at each position)
- # of positions
- hours of employment
- educational level
- level of flexibility
- day-care/baby-sitting arrangements
- # of caretakers; length of stay of each
- level of financial independence/dependence
- level of occupational prestige
APPENDIX C:
AN EXAMPLE OF DATA CODING
An Example of Data Coding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narrative Unit</th>
<th>Preliminary Interpretation</th>
<th>Memos (higher level interpretations)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. "I felt that when I had my children that I didn't want to just be at home with them" | Mothering is not enough                            | a) motherhood as reflecting only a part of herself-discomfort re. being a part of herself-  
|                                                                                  |                                                   | b) not having enough to give as a mother?        |
|                                                                                  |                                                   | c) society imposing this value which she has internalized? |
| 2. "I think I would feel somewhat isolated at times from other adults ...and I know how I am, I get almost overly involved with my children if I am with them too much and they start driving you crazy.." | Motherhood is isolating                           | a) isolation- a break in continuity? a disconnectedness?  
|                                                                                  |                                                   | b) either disconnected or overly involved and intrusive. Is this reflective of her own experience of her mother? |
|                                                                                  |                                                   | c) children driving mother crazy (impersonal presentation)- falling apart? fragmenting? |
| 3. "I think a school age child, a lot of people don't realize it, need a parent home just as much as toddlers to talk about their day.." | Importance of motherhood for children              | a) paradox between the importance of motherhood for the child and how motherhood is not enough for the mother (Conflict of needs)  
<p>|                                                                                  |                                                   | b) needing a mother no matter the age- does she still need mothering because her mothering was not enough? |
|                                                                                  |                                                   | she seems to have too much unprocessed material she is dealing with and needs to feel more contained before she can deal with work or children |
| 4. &quot;When I feel like I've got so much at work that I have to get overwhelmed and overloaded done and there is much I look around the house and I think there is always so much to do..&quot; | Working Mothers are overwhelmed and overloaded    |                                                   |
|                                                                                  |                                                   |                                                   |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An Example of Data Coding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. &quot;I could be organizing the basement which is a mess.&quot; &quot;My husband makes the calendar out of the computer...I used to have it on the wall and if I didn't have that calendar, I am dead.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Mothers need to be organized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) organization - the idea is to be able to put something some place in order to feel some sense of order b) the basement might suggest some unresolved material from her childhood c) husbands organize their wives d) without order, she feels dead, she feels lost and apart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. &quot;There is never enough time to do everything...to get time for yourself and also time for you and your husband together...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time as a developmental process for Working Mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) is this reflective of a need for some boundary between herself and her children? b) differentiates between time by herself (aloneness) and with her husband (connectedness) c) sense of loss of self is giving too much to others d) seems to somehow relate to space and not enough enough of it for herself (yearning for what was once there?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. &quot;When I am at work, I generally don't think about the things at home because I try to push that out of my mind because I try to shut off my mind so I can work effectively...but no, at lunchtime, I'll mention something&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Splitting work and motherhood lunchtime is freetime (neutral time) which makes it okay for her to discuss motherhood since she is trying to do the right thing by not taking away from work time; speaking of the children at lunchtime might also alleviate guilt for having forgotten them throughout the day?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. &quot;She (nanny) tended to be a homebody so she wouldn't always take them out as much as I would have liked to and I liked her to...I am sort of a homebody and I liked coming home at lunch or after school&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother substitute as devalued for being a homebody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homebody- stay-at-home mothers which her mother and she devalues and yet as a child, she denies that she wanted her mother home when she came home. Also refer to J. Klein's work on a homebody being frightened by separation from their attachment figures and needing to hold on to people and ideas.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>