ROLE CONFLICTS AND COPING STRATEGIES
OF WOMEN SEEKING CAREER COUNSELLING

By
VALERIE GRACE WARD
B.A. (Honours), Acadia University, 1974

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
(Department of Counselling Psychology)

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

The University of British Columbia
October 1984

© Valerie Grace Ward, 1984
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Counselling Psychology

The University of British Columbia
1956 Main Mall
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1Y3

Date October 9, 1984
ABSTRACT

This study investigated the role conflicts and coping strategies of women seeking career counselling, by means of the Critical Incident Technique (Flanagan, 1954). On a questionnaire developed by the author, 39 subjects were each asked to provide a total of four examples of conflict situations and how they dealt with them: one interrole conflict situation which they consider they handled effectively; one interrole-ineffective situation; one intrarole-effective situation; and one intrarole-ineffective situation. For the two conflict situations handled ineffectively, subjects were also asked to describe, by hindsight, how they would like to have handled the situations.

A total of 93 critical incidents of career-related role conflicts and coping strategies were used as a basis for developing classification schemes for Role Conflicts and Coping Strategies. The 40 examples of desirable strategies identified by hindsight were used to construct a classification scheme for Hindsight Strategies.

The procedures followed and the decisions made in the process of analyzing the critical incidents were described, and the central themes which emerged in categorizing each group of incidents were summarized. Results of the analysis were then presented, in tabular as well as narrative form, with illustrative examples of each category. For the Role Conflict categories, central issues or themes in the conflicts were also noted for each category. Coping Strategies were described in terms of behaviours associated with each category. Hindsight Strategies were presented in terms of the values and behaviours associated with each strategy.

When two independent raters were asked to classify a large sample of incidents into the categories, all three classification schemes demonstrated high levels of reliability. The small number of incidents which were classified differently by raters were examined to identify areas for potential refinement of the classification schemes.
The discussion of results included a summary of patterns which were evident in the structure of role conflicts, and an identification of the criteria and constructs subjects seem to apply in the assessment of coping effectiveness. A comparison was also made between desirable coping strategies identified by hindsight and the strategies actually utilized by subjects which were considered to be effective. The study concluded with a comparison of the findings of the present study with those of previous researchers, a discussion of both theoretical and practical implications of the study, and suggested directions for further research.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER I. SCOPE AND FOCUS OF THE STUDY.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background of the Problem</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Problem</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questions</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definition of Terms</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delimitation of the Study</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justification of the Study</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-Cultural Influences and the Female Sex Role</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Female Sex Role: A Historical Overview</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factors Shaping Contemporary Attitudes</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towards Women's Roles.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptions of Role Conflict</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Conflict as a Function of Sex Role Expectations</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Conflict as Psychological and Practical Problems of Role Management</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Transitions and Role Discontinuity.</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empirical Studies of Role Conflict.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research on Sex Role Conflicts</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies of Role Conflict and Variables Related to Role Strains</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategies for Coping with Role Conflict: Classification Schemes and Empirical Studies</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall's Model of Coping with Role Conflict</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empirical Studies Utilizing Hall's Model.</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlin and Schooler's Research on &quot;The Structure of Coping&quot;</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combining the Coping Models of Hall and Pearlin and Schooler: A New Approach.</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coping with Role Transitions</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Conflict and Coping Strategies of Dual-Career Couples</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

(continuation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter III. METHODOLOGY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Measuring Instruments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Client Survey: Women's Employment Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaire on Role Conflict and Lifestyle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Critical Incident Technique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Validity and Reliability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sampling and Data Collection Procedures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics of the Sample</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of Critical Incidents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame of Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category Formulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generality Versus Specificity of Behavioural Descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decisions to be Made in the Course of Analysis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER IV. RESULTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dilemmas and Decisions Made During the Process of Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame of Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separating Out Career-Related Incidents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superordinate Categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category Formulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Selection of Levels of Generality-Specificity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classification Scheme for Career-Related Role Conflicts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intrarole Conflicts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee Role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrole Conflicts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career and Parent Roles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career and Partner Roles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managing Two Work Roles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career and Family Member Roles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career and Friend Roles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Categorizing Coping Strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classification Scheme for Coping Strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coping Strategies for Intrarole Conflicts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee Role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Role</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE OF CONTENTS
(cont'd)

CHAPTER IV. RESULTS (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coping Strategies for Interrole Conflicts</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career and Parent Roles</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career and Partner Roles</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managing Two Work Roles</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career and Family Member Roles</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career and Friend Roles</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Categorizing Hindsight Strategies</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classification Scheme for Hindsight Strategies</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindsight Strategies for Intrarole Conflicts</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions)</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee Role</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Role</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindsight Strategies for Interrole Conflicts</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career and Parent Roles</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career and Partner Roles</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managing Two Work Roles</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career and Family Member Roles</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career and Friend Roles</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Rater Reliability Check</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER V. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS. . . . 279

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Limitations of the Study</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics of the Sample</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Collection Procedures</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responses to Secondary Research Questions</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patterns Which Were Evident in the Structure of Role Conflicts</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differences Between Coping Strategies Judged Effective Versus Ineffective</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coping Strategies with Mixed Effectiveness Ratings</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factors Which Influence the Perceived Effectiveness of Coping, Depending on the Roles Involved in the Conflict</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparing Hindsight Strategies with Coping Strategies Judged to be Effective</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship of Findings in the Present Study to Previous Literature</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Conflicts</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coping Strategies and Coping Effectiveness</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical Implications</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE OF CONTENTS

(continued)

CHAPTER V. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS
(continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recommendations for Further Research</th>
<th>309</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Potential Further Analysis of Data From the Present Study</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential Further Directions for Research on Role Conflict and Coping</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary and Conclusions</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Client Survey: Women's Employment Project, with Cover Letters</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Questionnaire on Role Conflict and Lifestyle, with Cover Letters</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Variables</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Some Potential Research Questions for Further Analysis of Data in the Present Study</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 1</td>
<td>Background Information on Subjects</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 2</td>
<td>Employment Status by Student Status</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3</td>
<td>Marital Status by Parental Status</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 4</td>
<td>Decisions Regarding Marginally Career-Related Incidents</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 5</td>
<td>Career-Related Role Conflicts by Superordinate Category</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 6</td>
<td>Illustration of the Process of Editing Incidents for Clarification</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 7</td>
<td>Classification Scheme for Career-Related Role Conflicts</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 8</td>
<td>Number of Incidents Rated Effective Versus Ineffective by Coping Category</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 9</td>
<td>Classification Scheme for Coping Strategies</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10</td>
<td>Hindsight Strategies for Career-Related Role Conflicts, by Superordinate Category</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 11</td>
<td>Classification Scheme for Hindsight Strategies</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 12</td>
<td>Distribution of Role Conflict Incidents Used for Reliability Ratings</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 13</td>
<td>Distribution of Coping Strategy Incidents Used for Reliability Ratings</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 14</td>
<td>Distribution of Hindsight Strategy Incidents Used for Reliability Ratings</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 15</td>
<td>Reliability of Role Conflict Categories</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 16</td>
<td>Reliability of Coping Strategy Categories</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 17</td>
<td>Reliability of Hindsight Strategy Categories</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 18</td>
<td>Illustration of the Structure of Role Conflict Situations</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 19</td>
<td>Construct Dimensions in Subjects' Assessment of Coping Effectiveness</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have provided me with support and assistance during the various stages of this project. I would firstly like to express my appreciation to Dr. Sharon Kahn for contributing significantly to my growing interest in the psychology of women, and more specifically, in conducting research on role conflict. Her teaching played an important role in my recognition of the value of feminist approaches to research. I am grateful for her patience and support as my principal advisor on the project over the three and a half year period from its conception to delivery.

I would like to thank Dr. Larry Cochran for sparking my interest in the Critical Incident Technique as a research method and encouraging my use of this method to study role conflict. I also appreciate the useful suggestions provided by Dr. Bob Conry in the development of the Client Survey: Women's Employment Project.

I am also very appreciative of the assistance provided by B.C./Yukon Region of Canada Employment and Immigration Commission. I would like to thank the Education Leave Committee and Regional Director General for granting me six weeks paid education leave to work on this project during the summer of 1983. I would also like to thank Al St. Onge, staff of the Word Processing Centre, Kim Perrin, Maureen Brown and Susan Whittemore for providing various kinds of administrative support to the project. Finally, I am very appreciative of the support of L. Bert Sabiston in allowing me flexibility in work arrangements to enable me to complete this thesis in the face of my own role conflicts.

For the long hours spent typing the many pages of this thesis, I am very grateful to Terry Jones, Diana Hevey and Lisa Rudrum. I would also like to thank Gisela Theurer and Phil Mondor for their time and prompt attention to the rating task, under the pressure of impending deadlines.
I would like to congratulate my friends and colleagues for their endurance. To those who had faith when I had doubt, to those who humoured me and took me seriously, to those who encouraged me to make time to play in the face of occasional overload conditions - my heartfelt thanks. With their help, I discovered that there are many ways of learning about role conflict and coping, and that in order to be able to study everyday life, one must remember also to live it.

In remembrance of times past which contributed significantly to my ability to undertake this study, I would like to express warm appreciation to Dr. Herbert Lewis and his colleagues in the Philosophy Department at Acadia University (1970 - 1974). There I was inspired and taught (to have the courage) to think, to wrestle with abstractions, and to enjoy the challenge of "conceptual mapping." Through my studies in phenomenology, I came to appreciate the value of grounding such analysis in real examples from everyday experience.

Last, but definitely not least, I would like to thank the women who participated in this study for their interest in the research. Ultimately, it was their willingness to share their experiences which made this study possible.
CHAPTER I
SCOPE AND FOCUS OF THE STUDY

Background of the Problem

Adult life, for both women and men, involves a continual process of change and evolution in significant life roles. Over the course of one's life, decisions are made and events occur which establish, sustain and change the structures of our lives in domains of work, relationships, family and leisure. The roles that we play and the role choices that we make have significant consequences in shaping our experiences and personalities: (1) they define the behaviour expected of us by others; (2) they are the major sources of our feelings about ourselves; and (3) they expose us to experiences which can affect our later attitudes, feelings and behaviour (Sales, 1978; Schlossberg, Troll & Liebowitz, 1978). The task of managing multiple roles is one of the complex challenges of human existence, a process which is often characterized by conflict.

The concept of role is most frequently understood as the set of expectations that arise from the positions that one holds in society; a position (sometimes called status) is a collectively recognized category for classifying people (Biddle & Thomas, 1966; Linton, 1936). Some positions, such as employee, are achieved, as a result of one's effort, behaviour or choices. Other positions or roles are ascribed, based on personal attributes, such as gender, age, ethnic group membership, and race, which are accorded a particular significance by society (Davis, 1949; Sarbin & Allen, 1968). The mere "possession" of any of these personal attributes accords one involuntary membership in a group, with a corresponding set of expectations. Despite the fact that generally we have no choice about which gender, age or ethnic group to identify ourselves, we are expected to behave in ways that are appropriate to our ascribed roles of gender, age, and so on.

Ascribed roles can carry as many, if not more, expectations or demands
as achieved roles. Often the expectations of ascribed and achieved roles come into conflict with each other. Sales (1978) describes the dilemma which arises when an individual's ascribed status conflicts with their achieved status:

A young person who holds a position of power and authority, a black who enters a high-status profession, or a woman who pursues a career may be discomforted in having two positions that involve such competing expectations for their behavior. In each case, their work demands behavior that is incompatible with the submissiveness expected by their ascribed age, race or sex role. Even if they attain personal comfort in their jointly-held roles, they may meet other people who are disconcerted by the inconsistency in their various positions. (p. 158)

Gender or sex role is perhaps the most significant of all personal attributes in terms of the range of other role expectations it carries, affecting virtually every aspect of life. Every woman today experiences expectations associated with the ascribed status of the female gender role. Being female carries critical implications for the achieved roles to which one is expected to aspire. Neugarten (1968) describes a "social clock" or timetable of expected role patterns throughout the life cycle, based on one's gender. Marriage and motherhood have traditionally been the key roles which are expected of females to be successful in society as a woman. Engagement in these two roles has traditionally been the most significant socially prescribed developmental task for women in early adulthood (Sales, 1978).

Every woman today also has to contend with the contradictory or incompatible expectations as to what behaviour is appropriate for a woman which arise during this period of social change. The Women's Movement has urged women to consider a much wider range of role options, including establishing a career and enjoying the satisfactions of autonomy and achievement which were not formerly viewed as appropriate for women. Although a greater range of role and lifestyle options are available today than ever before, the potential for role conflicts in women has never been greater (e.g. Fitzgerald & Crites, 1980; Frieze, Parsons, Johnson, Ruble & Zellman, 1978).
As Sales (1978) points out, despite the range of options now available to women, if one chooses to deviate from the traditional path, one must face social consequences:

Regardless of whether one follows or deviates from the role pattern defined by society, one is always aware of the synchronies and asynchronies between our own lives and the "ideal-typical" life we are expected to be living at any age period... Non-adherence to life cycle sex role norms is a major source of stress for the non-traditional woman. Unmarried women past their middle twenties, childless women past thirty, and mothers who work when their children are young risk social disapproval for holding non-normative roles. (p. 163)

The conflict described above, between others' expectations and one's own behaviour for the non-traditional woman, is one example of role conflict (based on non-adherence to life cycle sex-role norms). Role conflict can also be defined more broadly as any situation in which incompatible expectations are placed on a person because of position membership (Gross, Mason & McEachern, 1958; Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek & Rosenthal, 1964).

The demands or expectations associated with various roles can originate in self and/or others (Levinson, 1959). One has expectations of oneself, for example, as a parent and as an employee. At the same time, one's children, spouse/partner and work associates carry expectations for one's behaviour in these roles. All of these demands and expectations can come into conflict in a number of ways.

Perhaps the simplest form of role conflict is intrarole conflict, or conflict within a role, where one's own and other people's expectations for one's behaviour in that role come into conflict (Hall, 1972). An example would be the woman who perceives her job very differently than her supervisor does, and they have ongoing disagreements as to what projects she should be permitted to undertake.

Interrole conflicts or conflicts between roles (Hall, 1972) can become much more complicated. We have "my expectations of myself" in Role A and Role B, and we have "others' expectations of me" in Role A and Role B. Conflicts can
arise in the following cases: (1) my expectations of myself in Role A conflict with my expectations of myself in Role B (we could call these "self-self" conflicts); or (2) others' expectations of me in Role A conflict with others' expectations of me in Role B ("other-other" conflicts); or (3) combinations of self and others' expectations of me in Roles A and B conflict ("self-other" conflicts), e.g. my expectations of myself in Role A conflict with others' expectations of me in Role B.

The above construction of potential types of interrole conflict is, of course, hypothetical. Expectations of self and others are rarely totally distinct, separate or clear. Often, they are not explicitly communicated or acknowledged. Although we are unlikely to encounter many "pure" examples of the hypothetical types of interrole conflict cited above, it is important to be alerted to the possibility that these different forms of conflict might be perceived, experienced and handled quite differently, depending on how the expectations come into conflict. Such an approach to role conflict warrants much closer examination than it has received to date in the literature.

The kinds of interrole conflict that are generally referred to in the literature are well illustrated by the categories used in a study by Holahan and Gilbert (1979a). The six basic categories or types of conflict studied are defined simply in terms of the pair of roles involved in the conflict. The first type of conflict is Worker vs. Spouse, for example, wanting to be a "good" spouse vs. being unwilling to risk taking the time from your work. The second type is Worker vs. Parent, for example, spending most evenings on work-related activities vs. spending most evenings with your family. The third type is Worker vs. Self, such as wanting to be recognized at a high level in terms of your work vs. wanting to maximize your personal development. The fourth type is Spouse vs. Parent, for example, spending prime time developing and maintaining the relationship with your spouse vs. spending prime time developing and maintaining the relationship with your child. The fifth
type, Spouse vs. Self, would occur, for example, when the lifestyle you prefer differs from the lifestyle preferred by your spouse. Finally, the sixth type is Parent vs. Self, for example, the issue of giving priority to your family vs. giving priority to yourself (Holahan & Gilbert, 1979a).

It is clear from the above examples that many issues of role conflict involve clarifying one's values and priorities in relation to one's life roles. It is also clear that all of these role conflicts can be felt and acted out intrapsychically, interpersonally, or both (Deutsch, 1969; Nevill & Damico, 1975b).

Role conflict has also been conceptualized in terms of situational factors, the difficulty in managing the external time and energy demands of multiple roles. This phenomenon has been referred to as role overload, where it becomes impossible to try to meet all the demands of one's roles (Paloma & Garland, 1971a,b; Rapaport & Rapaport, 1971, 1972). Role overload has most often been cited as a dilemma for women who attempt to combine paid work and family roles. This phenomenon is understood to occur, at least in part, for married women due to the fact that childrearing and homemaking are still generally considered to be the wife's duty (Bernard, 1975b; Clark, 1976; Rapaport & Rapaport, 1969). The single parent who is employed, or a student, might experience overload even more acutely in the absence of a partner who (at least, potentially) could share in time-consuming childrearing and homemaking responsibilities.

The preceding discussion highlights some of the diversity of approaches which have been taken to the problem of role conflict. If we allow our definition of role conflict to encompass both the practical and psychological problems associated with the ascribed and achieved roles of women, we will have to understand role conflict as taking a wide variety of forms, ranging from relatively minor inconveniences of time management (such as how to get dinner on the table while the phone is ringing, children are fighting, the sitter is late and you are late for an evening meeting) to major life decisions and transitions (such as whether to have a child or take a promotion).
This research study rests on the belief that a woman's ability to deal successfully with role conflicts is important to her experience of psychological health or well-being (e.g. Basow, 1980; Gray, 1980a). Although taking on a variety of challenging life roles may well be a significant basis for women's psychological health in itself (Barnett & Baruch, 1978a; Birnbaum, 1975), the more roles one is involved in, the more role demands will need to be balanced, and the more role conflicts are likely to be experienced.

This study also proceeds from the premise that a much clearer understanding of role conflict is needed than presently exists in the literature (Fitzgerald & Crites, 1980). Definitions should be refined based on empirical research, that is, rooted in women's own descriptions of conflict situations which they have experienced. At the same time, we need a better understanding of the ways that women cope with the conflicts they experience, based on their own descriptions and their own assessments of the effectiveness of their coping strategies.

The Problem

The purpose of this study is to investigate the nature of the conflicts women experience in managing their life roles and the ways that women deal with the conflicts they experience. Using a mail questionnaire format, "critical incidents" (Flanagan, 1954) of role conflict and coping were systematically collected from clients seeking career counselling at the Women's Employment Project, Vancouver, B.C.* Critical incidents collected across a number of individuals were used as a basis for developing classification schemes for (1) types of role conflict and (2) strategies used for coping with these conflicts. Strategies women identified by

* The name of the Women's Employment Project (W.E.P.) was officially changed to "Women's Employment Counselling Unit" in April 1981. Since all of the subjects in the sample visited the counselling unit prior to the name change, the former name (W.E.P.) has been used in the questionnaire. To avoid confusion, the name "W.E.P." will be used consistently throughout the present study.
hindsight as ways that they would like to have coped with conflict situations were also collected and categorized into a comprehensive classification scheme, (3) hindsight strategies.

The three classification schemes were then examined for significant patterns and relationships to one another. Comparisons were made between coping strategies judged effective versus ineffective for various types of conflict. Hindsight strategies were compared to coping strategies actually utilized by women which were reported as effective.

A final step of this study was to examine the three classification schemes in relation to current research literature on women's role conflicts and coping strategies (outlined in Chapter II). The themes and implied relationships which emerged from this analysis are then used as a basis for a discussion of suggested directions for further research.

Questions

The specific questions which this study addresses are listed below. The primary questions relate to the basic descriptive data to be yielded by the study (outlined in Chapter IV). The secondary questions are intended to provide a focus for a discussion (in Chapter V) of the patterns which emerge from taking an overview of the descriptive data, and examining the implications of these patterns in terms of potential areas for further research.

Primary Questions

1. What types of career-related role conflicts are experienced by women seeking career counselling?
2. How do these women cope with the conflicts they experience, i.e. what types of coping strategies - both effective and ineffective - are used to handle or resolve these conflicts?
3. What kinds of ideal or desirable coping strategies do women identify by hindsight for conflict situations which they consider they handled ineffectively?

Secondary Questions

1. Does the nature of role conflicts differ depending on the role or roles involved in the conflict or do conflicts associated with different roles cluster into similar patterns?

2. a) How do coping strategies judged effective compare and contrast with those judged ineffective?

   b) Are there some strategies which are effective in some situations and ineffective in others?

   c) What factors appear to differentiate coping judged effective versus ineffective?

   d) Do these factors differ depending on the role(s) involved in the conflict?

3. How do desirable coping strategies identified by hindsight compare to coping strategies actually used by women which were judged to be effective?

Definition of Terms

The significant terms which were used in this study are defined below in terms of the manner in which each has been operationalized for purposes of the present study. Each of the variables used in the study is also described in summary form in Appendix C, along with a listing of the source of data for each.

Critical Incident

The meaning of the term "critical incident" follows the definition Flanagan (1954) uses in his article outlining the development, principles and status of the Critical Incident Technique. "By an incident is meant any observable human activity that is sufficiently complete in itself to permit inferences and predictions to be made about the person performing the act. To be critical, an incident must occur
in a situation where the purpose or intent of the act seems fairly clear to the observer and where its consequences leave little doubt concerning its effects" (p. 327).

**Role**

The term "role" is understood in terms of Levinson's (1959) definition of role as a process. The three components of the role process as described by Levinson (1959) are: (1) structurally given demands (i.e. norms and expectations that guide, impede or support the functioning of a person in a specific position); (2) personal role conception (i.e. the person's inner definition of what she or he is supposed to do); and (3) role behaviour (i.e. the way in which persons act in accordance with or in violation of a given set of organizational norms).

The notions of "roles" and "role conflicts" are introduced in the Questionnaire on Role Conflict and Lifestyle (see Appendix B). It is assumed that subjects will be familiar with the term "role" due to its common use in everyday speech, but for purposes of clarification they are referred to the list of life roles (including Daughter, Employee, Friend and so forth) provided in the questionnaire.

**Role(s) in Conflict**

**Role(s) in conflict** refers to the roles selected by subjects for reporting incidents of role conflict. **Roles in conflict** (plural) refers to roles selected for interrole (between roles) conflict reports, and **role in conflict** (singular) refers to the roles chosen for intrarole (within a role) conflict reports.

**Role Conflict**

"Role conflict" is defined in the present study as interpersonal or intrapsychic conflicts which arise when a woman struggles with conflicting expectations or demands on her in a given role or pair of roles (Holahan & Gilbert, 1979b). In the first type of role conflict situation, there is conflict between different sets of expectations for one or more different roles. These can include conflicts between
a woman's multiple expectations of herself, or a conflict between expectations of herself and others' expectations of her. The second type of role conflict arises in periods of social change, when one's own and others' definitions of role expectations are ambiguous and lack specificity. The conflict in this case is between demands of the former "role model" and the emerging one, sometimes conceptualized as a conflict between traditional and contemporary values.

**Interrole conflict** is defined by Hall (1972) as "conflict arising from multiple roles" (p. 473). **Intrarole conflict** is defined in terms of conflicting expectations within a particular role (Hall, 1972, p. 473).

**Career-Related Role Conflicts**

The term "career-related" is used in this study to identify conflicts women described which were directly associated with their current or potential paid work roles (usually employee) or student roles. A wide range of conflicts associated with career decision-making (when the career role is in transition) are also included in this category.

Career-related conflicts can occur within an existing or potential career role (intrarole conflicts) or between a career role and other roles, such as parent, partner, friend or family member (interrole conflicts). Role labels in the Questionnaire on Role Conflict and Lifestyle which are covered under the "career-related" category include Employee, Employer, Professional, Student, and potentially Self as a Self-Actualizing Person.

**Coping**

**Coping** is defined in the present study in its broadest sense as any manner (effective or ineffective) of responding or reacting to a role conflict situation. Coping can occur on intrapsychic or psychological levels as well as on an interpersonal level.
**Coping Strategies**

Coping strategies refer to behavioural descriptions of coping methods. The word "strategy" need not be taken to imply a process of careful planning and deliberation, since even impulsive responses or reactions to a conflict would be subsumed under the term "coping strategy." As Hall (1972) points out, "coping," in the strict sense of the term, refers only to the act of dealing interpersonally with the objective reality of a situation. Other methods such as altering one's feelings or perceptions in response to a situation are sometimes referred to as "defenses" (e.g. Haan, 1977). However, since the interest in the present study is in all of the ways that women deal with role conflict situations, in order to differentiate strategies in terms of effectiveness and ineffectiveness as judged by women experiencing them, the classification of coping strategies needs to include defenses as well as more active or interactive coping methods.

**Hindsight Strategies**

Hindsight strategies are coping behaviours identified by subjects in retrospect as preferable to behaviours that they actually utilized in specific role conflict situations. Hindsight strategies have been generated in the present study for situations where an individual describes herself as disappointed, upset or regretful about the way she actually handled a situation. For these incidents, subjects were asked to report how they would like to have handled the situation.

**Degree of Conflict**

Degree of conflict in the present context is defined in terms of the ratings assigned to conflict situations. Subjects are asked to rate the degree of conflict experienced on a seven-point scale from (1) no conflict to (7) high conflict.

**Effectiveness of Strategies**

The effectiveness of coping strategies is measured on a seven-point scale
from (1) not at all effective to (7) completely effective. Effectiveness ratings were obtained for coping strategies used in each of the conflict situations described by the subject.

**Demographic Characteristics**

The seven demographic characteristics to be measured in this study are defined briefly below.

(1) **Age**

For the **age** variable, subjects are asked to specify their year of birth. (It was assumed that subjects who were reluctant to "admit" their age might be less reluctant to give year of birth.) Age was obtained by subtracting the year of birth from 1982, the year the data were collected.

(2) **Marital Status**

For **marital status**, subjects were asked to indicate which of the following categories applied to them: Single, Married, Divorced, Separated, Widowed or Living with Partner. Since they were instructed to check all the categories that applied, decision rules were established to make categories mutually exclusive. The term "Living with Partner" was used for unmarried women only. Any subjects who indicated "Married" but not "Living with Partner" were classified as "Separated." Those who were divorced but remarried were classified as "Married."

(3) **Parental Status**

**Parental status** refers to the state of being a parent (Yes or No), and the number of children living at home in categories of Preschool, Elementary School, Secondary School and Other.

(4) **Educational Level**

**Educational level** is defined as the highest level of education/training successfully completed.
(5) **Occupation**

Occupation was collected only for persons involved in paid employment. Unemployed subjects who were actively seeking work were asked to state the occupational field in which they were looking for work.

(6) **Employment Status**

Employment status involved the classification of subjects into Employed Full-time, Employed Part-time, Student Full-time, Student Part-time and Not Employed or Student. Since it was recognized that various combinations of employment and student roles might also occur (e.g. employed part-time and student part-time; employed full-time and student part-time; two part-time jobs), the possibility was left open to develop additional categories, depending on the frequency with which these combinations occurred.

(7) **Income**

Income is defined in three categories: (a) the subject's gross earned income in the past year (before deductions); (b) the gross earned income of the subject's spouse/partner in the past year (before deductions) and (c) the gross earned income of both spouses/partners combined. "Family income" as defined by this third category will provide an indicator of the couple's financial capacity for choosing certain options for coping with role conflicts. Hiring outside help in caring for children or the household would be examples of coping strategies which may be restricted to upper income groups.

Data are also yielded in this study for two additional variables. Although analysis of these data is beyond the scope of the present study, they are listed below as potential variables for further analysis of data collected in the present study or for future research.

**Role Rating**

Two types of role ratings were collected in the present study. The first
of these is the subject's assessment of the extent to which she values each of her life roles in relation to her other roles. The second rating is the amount of time and energy she invests in activities related to each role. Both value and time/energy dimensions are rated on a seven-point scale from 0 to 7. A rating of 0 indicates that the role is not applicable in the woman's present lifestyle. On the role value scale, a rating of 1 means that a role is "not at all important" and 6 means "very important." On the time/energy scale, a rating of 1 denotes "no time or energy" and 6 means "most of my time and energy."

Discrepancy of ratings refers to the extent to which differences exist in the ratings an individual assigns to a given role on value and time/energy scales. Both "positive" and "negative" discrepancies could be examined, i.e. role value greater than time/energy and time/energy greater than role value.

**Delimitation of the Study**

The present study was conducted using clients of the Women's Employment Project, Vancouver, B.C., a career counselling centre for women. The generalizability of the findings in this study is limited to women seeking career counselling who share common characteristics with the subjects in this sample. A summary of the significant demographic characteristics of the sample is provided in Chapter III. It is assumed that if other women seeking career counselling exhibit characteristics such as age, marital status, parental status and employment status which are similar to this sample, so might the conflicts they experience and the coping strategies they use reflect similar patterns.

Characteristics of the subjects in this sample tend to support the assumption that the majority, if not all, of the subjects were working or seeking work out of economic necessity to support themselves and their families. It can thus be assumed that their pursuit of career counselling services was not to decide whether or not to have a career or seek employment, but what kind of career or employment to
seek and how to proceed with career plans, taking into consideration the demands of their other life roles, such as parent, partner and so on. Within the limits imposed by sample size and the number of incidents reported, it seems reasonable to assume that the role conflicts and coping strategies of women in this sample might be typical of those experienced by other women in similar positions.

None of the research on role conflicts to date has involved the study of clients in a career counselling context. Since the range of potential role conflicts experienced by women seeking career counselling is virtually unlimited, the present study can be construed only as a first step, or starting point, in investigating these conflicts. The categories of conflict and coping which emerge from this study should be seen as providing a basis - and a vocabulary - for potential further investigation of role conflicts among clients of career counselling agencies.

**Justification of the Study**


There are many books now available about woman. She has been studied as a child, as a teenager, as a parent, as a wife, as a widow, as mentally sick, and much else besides. She has been studied as the writer of novels, as a character in novels, as a leader of men, as a general statistic, in fact, as an object.

Our main purpose is to study woman as subject. To see what she has to say for herself rather than what others say about her. We are concerned with what it means to a woman to be a woman. . . Our second purpose is to make people aware of how uncommon it is to actually ask women what they think about themselves. . . We hope that anyone interested enough to read this will be encouraged to go out and make their own enquiries and so fill this gaping hole in our knowledge. (Fransella & Frost, 1977, pp. 9-10)

One gaping hole which exists in the literature on role conflict is the absence of descriptive studies on women's experience of role conflict and their assessments
of the methods they use for dealing with these conflicts. Given the frequency of references to role conflict in literature on the psychology of women, it is surprising and unfortunate that no comprehensive model of any kind has yet been developed to classify types of role conflict.

The most refined approach to the classification of conflict types has been in terms of particular role pairs in interrole conflict. In a study by Harrison and Minor (1978), for example, conflict type is defined by role pair, such that wife, worker and mother roles combine to form three types of role conflict: wife-worker conflicts, worker-mother conflicts, and mother-wife conflicts. Similarly, intrarole conflicts could be broken down by role in conflict, e.g. wife conflicts, worker conflicts, and mother conflicts. Although such labels may be useful in talking globally about role conflicts, much more refined descriptions are needed for any real understanding of the nature of role conflicts, and to provide a useful model for further research and applications.

Hall (1972) has pioneered this form of model-building in a study of strategies used by married women in coping with role conflicts. Hall's model is the most detailed, comprehensive model of coping strategies which has been developed to date, and as Fransella and Frost (1977) suggest, it has been built based on women's perceptions of their own experience. Since the present study will also attempt to build a model of coping strategies, but in a manner which differs in some significant ways from Hall's approach, Hall's model is discussed in some detail in Chapter II.

For the present purposes, it is important to note that one of the significant problems in Hall's approach to gathering information on coping strategies is that his questionnaire asked subjects to generalize about their own patterns of behaviour in conflict situations. Although the classification scheme developed by Hall (1972) makes a substantial contribution to our understanding of the process of coping with role conflict, developing a new model inductively from a collection of critical
incidents (Flanagan, 1954) will very likely suggest new or alternate categories and enable a more precise description of behaviours associated with each type. The present study will also yield other useful information which is beyond the scope of Hall's studies, such as whether coping strategies differ for interrole and intrarole conflict, and whether different strategies are uncovered if single, divorced, separated and widowed women are also studied, as well as women who are unmarried but living with a partner.

The two basic principles of the Critical Incident Technique described by Flanagan (1954) highlight the advantages of the technique as a means of developing classification schemes for various types of behaviour: (1) "Reporting of facts regarding behavior is preferable to the collection of interpretations, ratings and opinions based on general impressions" (p. 355); and (2) "Reporting should be limited to those behaviors which, according to competent observers, make a significant contribution to the activity [in question]" (p. 355). The "activities" being examined in the present instance are role conflicts and effective versus ineffective coping activity; the "competent observers" are the subjects assessing and describing their own behaviour. Having subjects report only recent and outstanding incidents will ensure that the incidents are well-remembered and that sufficient accurate detail is provided to enable the salient features of role conflict and the critical coping behaviours to be identified (Flanagan, 1954).

The philosophical perspective which forms the basis for the present investigation is George Kelly's construct theory (1955, 1970). Fransella and Frost (1977) describe the usefulness of this approach to research in the psychology of women. "From the philosophical standpoint of construct theory, there are no facts in life. There are only individuals' interpretations of these facts. And the interpretations will depend on a set of construct dimensions that each individual possesses. Behaviours construed as aggressive may be seen by one woman as coming from a liberated human being, but by another as a fundamental negation of
womanhood. So the construct theorist tries to understand others by looking at life through their eyes" (p. 11).

This study will examine role conflict and coping strategies through the eyes of women experiencing these conflicts. Both the critical incidents selected and the manner in which they are described should suggest certain key constructs, meanings and interpretations, that women apply in the assessment of their own conflicts and coping behaviours.

By allowing women to "speak for themselves" and devising categories of role conflict and coping from descriptions and constructs used by the women themselves, it is hoped that the present study will point to fruitful directions for development of theory. In effect, the approach of the present study is to proceed as much as possible from a "blank state," that is, minimizing the number of assumptions applied to what the phenomena of role conflict and coping are all about. The descriptive categories which emerge from such an approach can then be compared to previous theoretical conceptions of the phenomena, as well as the findings of recent research studies.

Results of this study will also have implications for counselling practice by providing a comprehensive description of counselling issues which are increasingly prevalent and important in the lives of women clients, and providing a point from which to begin to investigate and explore alternate counselling interventions. The case examples and classification schemes could also prove useful in the training of counsellors, as stimuli for examining the beliefs, values and assumptions that we bring to our work with female clients.
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The subject of women and role conflict has gained increasing attention in recent years in both academic and popular literature. In the popular press, we find a proliferation of self-help articles and books for women on how to juggle multiple roles, usually focussed on managing a career in addition to other roles. Some examples of such writings are a recent book by Russell and Fitzgibbons (1982) entitled Career and Conflict: A Woman's Guide to Making Life Choices and Working Woman magazine. A related set of articles and books has appeared on the subject of role management for dual-career couples, providing tips on topics ranging from household to relationship to career and family management. A recent book by Hall and Hall (1979), The Two Career Couple, and two articles in the June 1984 issue of Ms. magazine, "The Two Career Couple and How They Do It" and "Commuter Marriage: The Toughest Alternative" are examples of recent popular writings on role conflict and coping from the perspective of the "working couple."

There has also been a growing body of popular literature which examines the female role in more general terms and encourages women to break out of the constraints imposed by traditional expectations of self and others, such as The Cinderella Complex: Women's Hidden Fear of Independence (Dowling, 1981) or Kiss Sleeping Beauty Goodbye: Breaking the Spell of Feminine Myths and Models (Kolbenschlag, 1979). Other writings analyse the changes in women's roles and implications of these changes for men, such as the recent special issue of Esquire magazine (June 1984), "A Celebration of the New American Woman: Professional, Lover, Competitor, Mother, Daughter, Activist, Partner."

Other themes covered in popular writings related to role management include survival tactics on the job, how to be upwardly mobile and compete in traditionally male occupational fields, effective parenting, open marriage, enjoying being single,
and the mother-daughter relationship. In short, most of the literature providing advice to women on successful life management in some way touches on ways of effectively handling and making decisions about one or more life roles.

Along with the abundance of advice for women is a growing body of academic research on women's roles and how they handle their multiple roles, especially associated with careers, and how they feel about or evaluate the strategies they employ. Theoretical writings and studies on the subject can be found in academic fields of counselling psychology, social psychology, developmental psychology, organizational psychology, sociology, anthropology and women's studies, as well as literature in fields of medicine and health on stress and lifestyle. Some of this array of research, mostly related to counselling psychology and social psychology, will be outlined in this chapter, but, as this review will also show, there are a great many questions which remain to be explored.

This review of the literature will begin with a brief historical perspective on the evolution of the female sex role in Western culture, as a context for understanding the contemporary woman's experience of role conflict. The discussion which follows will summarize the ways which role conflict has been conceptualized or defined, the instruments which have been used to measure role conflict and coping, and the results of recent empirical studies. A survey of research on coping strategies will also be included, as well as evidence concerning the effectiveness of various coping strategies as judged by the women themselves.

Socio-Cultural Influences and the Female Sex Role

One of the features which characterizes recent research on the psychology of women, as well as the theory and practice of feminist counselling, is a recognition of the impact of socio-cultural influences - including attitudes, beliefs, values and stereotypes - in shaping women's psychological development (Gilbert, 1980; Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1976; Rawlings & Carter, 1977; Stanley & Wise, 1983;
Sturdivant, 1980). In setting out to investigate women's experience of role conflict, it will be helpful to view both the subjects to be studied, and the research itself, as operating within a socio-cultural and historical context. An understanding of this context will set the framework for an exploration of the conflicts women experience as well as the criteria they apply in evaluating their methods of coping with these conflicts.

**The Female Sex Role: A Historical Overview**

A number of authors have taken a historical approach to understanding the development of the female sex role (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1978; Fransella & Frost, 1977; Fullerton, 1972; Kolbenschlag, 1979; Trofimenkoff & Prentice, 1977). Since the present review will permit only a brief look at historical conditions which influenced the evolution of women's roles, the summary which follows will focus primarily on the overview provided by Fransella and Frost (1977) in their book, *On Being a Woman: A Review of Research on How Women See Themselves*.

Fransella and Frost (1977) present a brief but illuminating discussion of the way in which the evolution of economic and family life has shaped the roles of women. As the economic structure of society changed, so did the nature of family life and the definition, meanings, and expectations of women's roles, particularly the roles of mother, "housewife" and worker.

The authors begin with an analysis of socio-economic conditions and life in pre-capitalist societies.

In pre-capitalist societies, such as feudal England, and in the early stages of capitalism, work and family life overlapped a good deal. The household was a basic unit of production. In other words, the home was a place of work. Roles were usually segregated by sex and age. But men, women and children all took part in the production of goods for exchange and for sale, as well as for immediate consumption by the family. There was no clear distinction between the role of worker and the role of family member. So it is unlikely that a woman was able to think of herself as 'housewife' or 'mother' instead of worker, since the two were not separate. Thus the kinds of conflicts and arguments that we have today would not have arisen. (Fransella & Frost, 1977, p. 16)
With the advent of capitalist production and industrialization, a radical change occurred in the nature of work and family life, and the relationship between the two. The central place of work moved from the home to the factory, where labour power was exchanged for wages. The spheres of family life and "productive work" became separate. As Kolbenschlag (1979) points out, although a division of labour along gender lines is evident in most societies, past and present, industrialization exaggerated and radicalized the divisions between "men's work" and "women's work," men's roles and women's roles.

At first, women as well as children did participate in work in the factories and farms; they were useful as a ready source of cheap labour. But, as increasing industrialization (the development of efficient "labour-saving devices") brought rising unemployment and lower wages, many women were forced out of paid employment into a new kind of dependency. For others, it became necessary to work for low wages to supplement their husbands' incomes.

Fransella and Frost (1977) summarize the impact of industrialization in shifting the economic structure of society and devaluing the work of women. The crucial change was that work came to be defined as labour power which could be sold for a wage which, in turn, could buy other commodities necessary for the worker and his family. Work done in the home was increasingly restricted to the service and maintenance of the worker and producing children. And it was no longer seen as 'real' work. Long, hard, and often unpleasant but necessary domestic work could not be sold directly for a wage and so was, in a sense, devalued. At the same time, the family became more and more a private world to which people withdrew. (p. 17)

With the new separation between work and family came a shift in the division of roles between the sexes. Man became the "breadwinner" and woman the "dependent" homemaker, whose responsibilities were now restricted to domestic work, children, and the private personal life of the family. Among the new middle classes or merchant classes, in particular, it became fashionable for the woman to remain at home as a sign that the husband was providing well for the family.
For the working classes, there was often no choice; the wife had to work outside the home out of economic necessity. But the "life of leisure," for middle class women, was in many ways not an enviable position, as their new role significantly undermined their sense of personal power and self-esteem. "Being at home, as a housewife and mother purely, now had a new meaning. For it meant being non-productive, economically dependent, and isolated and apart from society" (Fransella & Frost, 1977, pp. 17-18).

Fransella and Frost (1977) point out that views about the role of women in the work force tend to change over time according to "the interests of the state." During times of war, for example, women were needed to do the jobs that men were not available to do. In such times, governments often provided support for women working outside the home, such as free child care services and arranging work hours to suit the needs of women. But after the war, when jobs again became scarce, those services were withdrawn to make way for men to assume their previous responsibilities. What is apparent from these observations is that beliefs about "a woman's place" and the roles which are appropriate for women are rooted in social and economic systems. Historically, these systems have been designed to preserve the interests of government and industry, which happened to be dictated largely by the needs of men. "Only when there is demand for women's labour as, for example, in wartime, does a 'woman as worker' come to be seen as desirable and find its way into official ideology and practice" (Fransella & Frost, 1977, p. 18).

The vantage point of history allows us the benefit of being able to step outside and examine social structures with some measure of detachment. A more difficult task is to understand the present social reality which serves to shape the definition of women's roles. Social structures which exist today are more difficult to identify since they form the environment in which we are immersed and generally take for granted. As Fransella and Frost (1977) point out:
One of the things that prevents women from seeing new possibilities is that many of the basic assumptions that people make about women's roles are not explicitly verbalized. . . It may be very difficult in practice to flout norms which are spoken, but it is much more difficult even to question norms which are not articulated at all. (p. 15)

Factors Shaping Contemporary Attitudes Towards Women's Roles

Contemporary ideology and values concerning the roles of women have been shaped by a number of developments, including (1) greater control of fertility and childbearing; (2) a drop in the infant mortality rate; (3) increasing life expectancy, declining birth rates, and a downward trend in the size of families; (4) the financial pressures of continuing inflation; (5) increasing separation and divorce rates; (6) greater access to education and job opportunities; and (7) the Women's Movement (Lewis, 1978; Pearson, 1979). These factors are described briefly below in terms of their impact, particularly on the career and family roles of women.

Improved birth control methods have given women a much wider range of choices than ever before about whether and when to have children. The greater availability and efficiency of contraception has meant that more women can avoid becoming pregnant repeatedly during their fertile years. At the same time, medical advances have resulted in a drop in the infant mortality rate, making it unnecessary to produce so many children. A related trend has been a growing number of women and couples choosing not to have children and a decrease in average family size.

An increase in life expectancy has also made important changes in the lives and roles of women. As childbearing and childrearing years now form a smaller proportion of a woman's lifespan, more time, energy and supports are available to women for the development of other abilities, interests and roles.

The financial pressures of continuing inflation have pushed more and more married women into the paid workforce. Increasing separation and divorce rates have also prompted adult women to return to paid employment to support themselves
and their families (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1978). These trends have resulted in women's increasing need for salaries which are higher than those available to them in traditional fields of clerical, sales and service occupations. Growing numbers of women are moving into professional and technical fields and a range of other occupations which have been traditionally dominated by men (Statistics Canada, 1983a). Women are taking advantage of a greater range of training and educational opportunities than ever before (Statistics Canada, 1983b; 1984a,b).

Finally, the Women's Movement has had a profound effect on attitudes towards the roles of women, specifically in opening up alternatives to traditional lifestyles. The major concerns of the movement have been to break down the sex-typing of jobs; opening up job opportunities for women; fighting discrimination against women in terms of equal pay for equivalent work; and encouraging women to work outside the home (Lewis, 1978).

Although the reaction of some to the injunctions of the Women's Movement has been to cling more firmly to their right to enjoy a traditional lifestyle, the outcome today, as feminist attitudes increasingly blend into the mainstream of popular culture, is the acceptance of a belief that having the choice is most important - above all, that a woman should be able to choose a lifestyle which is in keeping with her own set of values. As Barnett and Baruch (1978a) point out, "One need not necessarily endorse the values and goals of contemporary American culture to advocate that women be equipped to compete on its own terms if they so choose" (p. vii).

Conceptions of Role Conflict

The conflicts faced by contemporary women as they struggle with the limitations of sex role stereotypes has been widely documented in the literature on the (career) psychology of women and the psychology of sex roles (e.g. Bardwick, 1971; Basow, 1980; Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson & Rosenkrantz, 1972;
Farmer, 1978; Fitzgerald & Crites, 1980; Frieze et al, 1978; Heckerman, 1980; Horner, 1972; Williams, 1977). Research in these areas repeatedly makes reference to role conflict or "home-career conflict" as rooted in sex role expectations which stifle a woman's capacity to choose meaningful, fulfilling options for herself.

Although the new cultural imperative seems to be that most women will combine marriage with a job or career (Williams, 1977), those who are successful in the world of work may be regarded as acting inappropriately in terms of their sex role. This conflict is seen as rooted in the incompatibility of qualities traditionally associated with the wife-mother role, such as nurturance, emotionality and people orientation and those associated with success in the professional world, such as aggressiveness and rationality (Stake, 1979b). Several studies have shown that women who do combine marriage, motherhood and career often experience guilt and anxiety and sometimes social disapproval (Centra, 1975; Holmstrom, 1971; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971).

Brodsky (1975) goes so far as to say that role conflict is inherent in sex role stereotypes, and that, in fact, many of the symptoms women bring to counselling and therapy can be understood as constrictions imposed by the female role. As outlined by Mahrer (1967) and Sturdivant (1980) such symptoms include, "'feelings of being limited, anxious and angry, with strong feelings of personal and social inferiority'; the pain of an 'inability to determine things for oneself, being unable to set one's own goals'; distancing of oneself from one's own needs and feelings (engendered by women's orientation to pleasing others); and the 'pain and hurt' of arrested development and of being blocked in the growth process (Mahrer, 1967, p. 278)" (Sturdivant, 1980).

Most of the research on role conflict in some way addresses the issue of expectations associated with the female sex role. For some, gender identity issues are described as the context for conflicts related to role management (e.g. Darley, 1976; Salwen, 1975). For others, sex role conflicts are viewed as one of the types
of role conflict, as distinct from other types (e.g. Nevill & Damico, 1975a,b, 1977, 1978). The sections which follow will outline the various ways that role conflict has been conceptualized or defined, firstly those which view role conflicts as a function of female sex role expectations, then others which focus more on the other psychological and practical problems of role management, including concepts of role overload, role strain and role discontinuity.

Role Conflict as a Function of Sex Role Expectations

The concepts of role conflict defined by Nevill and Damico (1975a,b, 1977, 1978) highlight both the psychological and practical problems of role management, as well as the influence of sex role expectations. For this reason, their concepts form a useful starting point and will also serve as a frame of reference for the subsequent discussion. Although the aspects of Nevill and Damico's definition related to sex role conflicts will be highlighted here in more detail, other aspects of their definition of role conflict pertaining to the psychological and practical problems of role management will be returned to in the following section.

Nevill and Damico (1975a,b, 1977, 1978) present a very general definition of role conflict as "difficulty conforming to role expectations." A role is defined as a set of ideals or standards for a person behaving in a given capacity. Following Deutsch (1969), Nevill and Damico (1975b) identify two forms which role conflict can take: (1) interpersonal conflict and (2) intrapersonal conflict. Interpersonal conflict for Nevill and Damico, is an event which occurs between two or more persons, and arises primarily when there is a discrepancy between role expectations and role behaviour, and the individual deviates from an expected norm of behaviour for a given role. Intrapersonal conflict, by contrast, is seen as occurring within individuals, and arising in two types of situations: (1) when an individual is attempting to satisfy multiple sets of expectations, such as the employed mother attempting to be provider, nurturer and companion; and/or (2) during periods of social change, when role definitions are ambiguous and lack specificity, and the
individual is faced with a lack of congruence between expectations of the former role model and the emerging one.

Although the authors do not articulate it as such, the two major types of role conflict which Nevill and Damico identify are based on a distinction between the psychological experience of conflict (intrapersonal conflict) and the event which occurs between two or more people (interpersonal conflict) when role expectations differ between individuals or when expectations are not met.

The definitions of role conflict which most frequently appear elsewhere in the literature relate most closely to the two types of intrapersonal conflict which Nevill and Damico describe. Generally, "interpersonal conflict" would be seen as a possible product, symptom or manifestation of role conflict, as role conflict has generally been construed as a psychological experience, not an interpersonal event. Although conflicts experienced psychologically will often be "acted out" interpersonally in discussions, arguments, even physical fights, the acting out can perhaps more clearly be seen as a behavioural response to the experience of conflict rather than the conflict itself.

According to Nevill and Damico (1978), particularly important among roles in defining the appropriate behaviour of individuals are sex roles, namely the prevailing images of how a male or a female should behave to be a "real man" or a "real woman," truly masculine or truly feminine. Such sex role standards are seen as heavily value-laden and specific to a societal context. Assuming clarity of role definitions, the expectations for one's behaviour - as male or as female - would seem to be relatively straightforward and social pressure to conform to these standards assumed to be fairly great. Given ambiguity of sex role expectations, the experience of (intrapersonal) role conflict would be compounded and aggravated by the search to identify what these role expectations are and how to resolve the expectations which are contradictory.

One example cited by Nevill and Damico (1978) where intrapersonal role
conflict may be most salient for women is in making vocational choices. Such conflicts arise from the start for women as they contemplate occupational choices, given the incompatibility of traditional feminine role expectations or characteristics (e.g. talkative, tactful, gentle) with the requirements of most professional occupational roles (e.g. persistence, aggressiveness, emotional attachment). Authors such as Farmer (1978) and Stake (1979) describe this kind of role conflict as a significant inhibiting influence on women's achievement motivation.

Southall (1959) and Johnson and Johnson (1976) introduce the concept of role proliferation to highlight, in a similar way, the inherent incompatibility of role demands. Johnson and Johnson (1976) discuss the concept of role proliferation within a review of the literature on the transitional problems of women who aspire to high commitment careers. The term role proliferation (Southall, 1959) is defined as "a situation in which the individual encounters an accumulation of roles, rather than a transitional sequence from one role to another... an additive combination of disparate and dissociated roles, e.g. mother-housekeeper and chemist or full-time medical student and National Football League middle linebacker" (Johnson & Johnson, 1976, p. 15). According to Johnson and Johnson, role proliferation creates a problem due to the deep commitment required "to both role expectations which constantly pose competing concerns or demands." The fact that the competitive demands can in part be attributed to the female gender role is documented in their review of theories concerning gender identification and family organization, as well as the social psychological literature on women's roles and two-career families.

Basow (1980) cites an empirical example from a study by Pines and Solomon (1978) which illustrates the double bind women face in choosing home and/or career. Researchers showed a videotape to a group of male and female college students depicting a competent, intelligent woman who had both a husband and a child. When the woman was portrayed as choosing to pursue a career in addition to her parenting and homemaking responsibilities, she was regarded as less feminine and less likeable
than if she stayed home. Yet when subjects viewed the scenario of the woman deciding not to work outside the home, she was judged to be less competent. This "no-win situation" would seem to require a woman to choose whether she wishes to be perceived as feminine and likeable (staying at home) or competent (work outside the home).

Bardwick and Douvan (1971) similarly highlight the dilemma women confront, given that qualities needed for success in the work role are incompatible with those required for the family role.

The very characteristics that make a woman most successful in family roles - the capacity to take pleasure in family-centered, repetitive activities, to sustain and support members of the family rather than pursuing her own goals, to enhance relationships through boundaryless empathy - these are all antithetical to success in the bounded, manipulative, competitive, rational and egocentric world of work. (p. 236)

Under these circumstances, the working mother could choose to live with a "split personality" and a more challenging "masculine" occupation, or to resolve the conflict by opting for a more "feminine" occupation, where the characteristics demanded for the job more closely resemble her parent/homemaker qualities. The predominance of women in fields such as teaching, social work, nursing and secretarial work is seen by some authors (e.g. Bardwick & Douvan, 1971; Berger, 1977; Fodor, 1974; Kolbenschlag, 1979; Mead, 1949) as evidence of women resolving sex role conflicts by choosing types of work where "feminine" characteristics such as nurturance and empathy, are required and valued, and one's competence is measured in relation to these displayed qualities. It is no accident that the traditionally female types of work are also, like mothering and homemaking, the low-paying, low status occupations.

Darley (1976) discusses the role conflicts experienced by working mothers in terms of the stresses of trying to maintain memberships in two separate reference groups, which operate according to very different standards and expectations.
The strains and insecurities associated with the combined role of wife/mother and career woman... derive in part from the tendency for people to make inferences about an individual's personality from his/her behavior. Whether or not a woman combining the two roles is aware of the inferences being made about her, she suffers the effects. If she is unaware of them, she is nonetheless likely to be derogated as a mother and thus treated less cordially by her neighbors, and also likely to be taken less seriously at work, in which case her performance on the job may actually be impaired. If though, as is often the case, she is aware of the kinds of inferences, i.e. personality judgments, that are being made about her, the self-doubt and internal tension she must sustain are further increased. (p. 91)

Darley goes on to say, however, that it is generally only mothers who choose to work that receive the negative social sanctions. A woman who works to support her family out of economic necessity may be seen as virtuous, but if a woman works because she enjoys it, she is usually assumed to be somehow lacking in the womanly qualities that make for good wives and mothers.

Salwen (1975) perceives role conflict essentially as a conflict between two sets of values. Conflict is defined as intrapsychic conflict, where one internalizes two wishes, impulses or images that are inconsistent with one another. Salwen (1975) describes the predicament which the "new woman" faces. On the one hand, the new woman holds traditional values, believing, as she was taught to believe, in the primacy of marriage and motherhood; on the other hand, she is exhorted, through the Women's Movement, to the obligations and rewards of independence and fulfillment through meaningful work.

Faced with a sense that the traditional role is not enough, yet uncertainty about the untried and untested new values, Salwen says, the new woman is likely to be inhibited in her action, guilty over the actions she does take, and in dread of her future. Such women she regards, not as isolated neurotics, but rather as healthy women who are genuinely struggling with contradictory injunctions during a time of real societal change. The women, for example, who have followed the traditional marriage and parenting route "are the ones who were caught in the
change, having become what they were raised to be, only to be told and shown by the Movement that such a role would lead to unhappiness" (Salwen, 1975, p. 431).

But those who break from the traditional pattern also face ambivalence. In the absence of acceptable role models, the non-traditional woman may fear that, in her steps toward autonomy, she will become more "like a man" (i.e. more insensitive, dominating, calculating, competitive or self-serving, contrasting the traditionally "feminine" side of these polarities). Being "more like a man" presumably means being less likable or lovable, and therefore lonely and isolated, or even ostracized. Salwen (1975) cites an example of a non-traditional woman who experienced such a role conflict.

One woman, a lady carpenter, was very upset one evening by the arrival of some old friends. Since she had seen these friends last, she had become more of a talker and less of a listener. Moreover, she really wanted to tell them to leave after a short while because she wanted to use the evening to plan for a building project she was to begin the next morning. These wishes were less than conscious to her, so upon their arrival, she took no action but only knew she was unexplainably depressed to see her old friends. She could not become fully conscious of, and act upon, her wishes, because she really felt that to do so would be to behave selfishly and like a man. (p. 431)

We can understand this example, from Salwen's perspective, as a conflict between old and new sex role expectations. Her former "womanly" role was to be more of a listener, with fewer strong interests of her own, to take less initiative and to be more "sociable." This type of role conflict would be conceptualized, in Nevill and Damico's (1975b) terms as intrapersonal conflict of the second type, a lack of congruence between expectations of the former role model and the emerging one. Alternatively, we could view it as an individual attempting to satisfy multiple sets of expectations (Nevill and Damico's first type of intrapersonal conflict) - the expectations, in this case, being her own and her friends'. Her friends expect her to fulfill her former friend role (also consistent with her former sex or gender role). She expects, in her current carpenter (work) role, to plan for her building
project. Yet in her ("feminine") friend role, she expects herself to be quiet about her own wants and not to disappoint her friends.

Sturdivant (1980) would interpret the carpenter's conflict as an inevitable result of her striving, through a natural tendency to want to utilize her talents, to develop her potential, in a social environment where, in many ways, such behaviour is still viewed as unacceptable for women.

If neurosis is defined as a 'compulsive' drive to satisfy contradictory needs or attitudes, then neurosis is inevitable for women who seek self-actualization outside the traditional female role. Thus anxiety and/or neurotic conflicts in women may be interpreted as being due to conflict between social pressures to fill the stereotyped female role and their own natural tendency toward realization of their full human potential. (p. 122)

The only way a woman can succeed in a non-traditional occupational role and not be the object of criticism and questioning, according to Sturdivant (1980) is to do so in addition to fulfilling traditional expectations. Mannes (1963) succinctly describes the irony, and some of the absurdity, of this situation: "Nobody objects to a woman's being a good writer or sculptor or geneticist if at the same time she manages to be a good wife, a good mother, good looking, good tempered, well dressed, well groomed, and unaggressive" (p. 123).

A related but different realm where role conflict has been addressed is in the psychology of women in sports. As Harris (1979) points out, the low participation rate and the high dropout rate of women in competitive sports can be partially attributed to the perceived dissonance or disparity inherent in the traditional conceptions of femininity and athleticism. A central factor in this problem for women, as seen by Harris, is the female's relentless pursuit of male approval. "Many theorists working with the psychology of women feel that the status of the female can be explained not as in the nature of the female but as a manifestation of the male ego. Males have traditionally defined the concept of femininity and have emphasized the importance of the feminine image. A girl's desire and motivation
for competitive experiences in sports may be totally stifled by male disapproval, either directly or indirectly. From an early age girls are taught to direct their behavior toward pleasing the male; it frequently seems that the only attitude of competitiveness that they are permitted is toward other females for the position of favor from males. In short, the female's identity is related to her role and relationship to the male" (p. 197). We can thus see that the woman who aspires to success in competitive sports is likely to experience role conflicts associated with her choice of a non-traditional role.

Women who defy tradition in their affectional/sexual preference and lifestyle have also been subjects for research in recent literature on role conflict (Shachar & Gilbert, 1983). The lesbian in the workplace is likely to experience many of the stigmas associated with nonconformity to traditional role expectations.

Being heterosexual typically is not considered relevant to career competency and qualifications. Being homosexual, on the other hand, can become an issue, whether covert or overt, once it is known. Thus, although working lesbians engage in the same roles as heterosexual women, because of the negative social status ascribed to homosexuality, they may face unique conflict situations in the work environment (Shachar & Gilbert, 1983, p. 244-245).

To summarize the impact of sex role conditioning on female vocational aspirations and role conflicts, Bardwick and Douvan (1971) describe the inescapable bind which all women today must confront:

Frustration is freely available to today's woman: if she participates fully in some professional capacity, she runs the risk of being atypical and non-feminine. If she does not achieve the traditional role she is likely to feel unfulfilled as a person, as a woman. If she undertakes both roles, she is likely to be uncertain about whether she is doing either very well. If she undertakes only the traditional role, she is likely to feel frustrated as an able individual. Most difficult of all, the norms of what is acceptable, desirable, or preferable are no longer clear. As a result, it is more difficult to achieve a feminine (or masculine) identity, to achieve self-esteem because one is not certain when one has succeeded. When norms are no longer clear, then not only the 'masculine' achieving woman but also the non-working traditionally 'feminine' woman can
feel anxious about her normalcy, her fulfillment. (p. 238)

Role conflicts associated with the "inevitable ambivalence of womanhood" can be seen as laying the groundwork and setting the stage for the myriad of other psychological as well as practical problems which emerge for women as they attempt to handle multiple roles.

**Role Conflict as Psychological and Practical Problems of Role Management**

After Gross, Mason and McEachern (1958) and Kahn et al (1964), Sales (1978) defines role conflict as "any situation in which incompatible expectations are placed on a person because of position membership." Sales (1978) describes this situation in terms of the discomfort of being forced to disappoint others in some way.

[Role conflict] creates difficulty for people because it inevitably forces them to violate someone's expectations for them, either by (1) choosing to comply fully with one set of expectations while ignoring others; (2) by seeking a compromise whereby they conform to only a part of each set of expectations; or (3) by avoiding choice through escaping from the situation (Biddle & Thomas, 1966) (p. 159).

This definition is virtually synonymous with Nevill and Damico's (1975a,b, 1977, 1978) "interpersonal conflict." The only difference is that, for Nevill and Damico, the conflict arises as a result of a person deviating from an expected norm of behaviour for a given role, whereas for Sales (1978), the conflict situation is one of anticipating having to disappoint someone. Both place the "locus" of the conflict in the interpersonal arena, rather than "within the self." As we examine these definitions more closely, however, a further ambiguity arises. The first kind of "intrapersonal conflict" described by Nevill and Damico seems to be the "inner experience of conflict" which occurs concurrent with the "interpersonal conflict," when an individual is attempting to satisfy multiple sets of expectations, such as the employed mother attempting to be provider, nurturer and companion. It would seem that every role conflict has both an interpersonal and an intrapersonal
dimension. The conflict is experienced in some way "within the self" and interactively with others. The distinction which Nevill and Damico make between intrapersonal and interpersonal "types" of conflict may be a misleading or artificial one. If we return to the individual's experience of a conflict situation, both elements could be seen as given structurally as part of the conflict.

The concept of **role overload** introduces yet another angle on the phenomenon of role conflict. The term "role overload" has generally been used to refer to situations where the role demands are not inherently contradictory, but rather result from the logistical problems of allocating time and energy when one is managing a complex repertoire of roles (Bernard, 1975; Hoffman & Nye, 1974; Sales, 1978). The most often described candidates for role overload are married women (particularly professionals) with children who also work outside the home (e.g. Astin, 1969; Clark, 1976; Epstein, 1973; Gray, 1980a; Heins, Martindale, Stein & Jacobs, 1977; Rossi, 1967).

The concept of **role strain**, defined by Goode (1960) as "felt difficulty in meeting role demands" is very similar to what Sales (1978) refers to as "role overload" (and what others, such as Nevill and Damico, define as "role conflict"). Difficulty in meeting role demands is seen by Goode as a normal problem of managing a diversity of role relationships and obligations. The central issue is seen as finding a way of making one's whole role system manageable and how to apply one's energies and skills to reduce role strain to some bearable proportions.

One consequence of role overload is that many women find their careers restricted by family responsibilities (Gray, 1980a). Sometimes, taking time out for the birth of children can result in career setbacks (Rossi, 1967). Elsewhere, Paloma and Garland (1971a,b) highlight the difficulties experienced by a married woman with children in competing with male colleagues who are not burdened with such a diversity of role demands. Problems of role overload are seen by some authors (Astin, 1969; Bernard, 1975b; Clark, 1976; Heins et al, 1977; Rapoport & Rapoport,
arising for married women largely due to the fact that homemaking and childrearing responsibilities generally are still considered to be the wife's duty. The disadvantage this places upon women is described by Reuther (1977):

> When women gain the right to enter a profession, it is still very hard for them to compete with men on an equal footing, since they are also presumed to be in charge of [the] domestic support system. Even the childless or unmarried woman is handicapped in relation to a married male on the job who has a wife who cleans his house, cooks, shops, and plans the household, thus freeing the man for full-time attention to the 'job'. In this system woman's work remains invisible and unpaid. It is this double bind that is the primary reason why so few women have been able to take advantage of work opportunities even when, theoretically, they are open to them in industrial societies. (p. 71)

The working mother faces the strain of essentially holding down two jobs - one inside and one outside the home (Basow, 1980). The inevitable role strains which arise in this situation are aggravated by the lack of institutional support for women who attempt to handle multiple roles. As Rohrbaugh (1979) points out, "In spite of the general encouragement for (or tolerance of) women working outside the home, there are few institutional supports for this role change. Even if she has the ideal personality [and competencies] for a given job, a working mother still has difficulty arranging for child care, food preparation, laundry and other homemaking tasks" (p. 173).

In addition to the career restrictions caused by factors such as limited time, other "practical problems" of role conflict which can arise for the married professional woman are those associated with the often-assumed primacy of the husband's career and geographical limitations (Gray, 1980b). Such problems experienced by dual career couples - for example, the question of choosing a geographical residence, taking into consideration the career opportunities for both partners - have received increasing research attention (Bernard, 1975a,b; Holmstrom, 1971; Wallston, Foster & Berger, 1978).

Another way of conceptualizing or defining role conflict has been put forward
by Douglas T. Hall (1972). Hall views roles and role conflict in the context of a
type of role identity, described by Levinson (1959). This perspective incorporates
both the psychological and practical problems referred to in the definitions of role
conflict described earlier, and offers a way of incorporating both the intrapersonal
and interpersonal dimensions of role conflict (viewed as "types" of role conflict
by Nevill and Damico). Another reason for examining Hall's definition of role conflict
in some detail is the fact that Hall's model of coping with role conflict (Hall, 1972)
has been widely quoted and the subject of a great deal of subsequent empirical
research. Few authors, if any, have offered any critique of either Hall's definition
of role conflict or his method of researching women's experiences of role conflict.
His model of coping strategies has received all of the attention (e.g. Gray, 1980b;
Harrison & Minor, 1978; Shachar & Gilbert, 1983).

The following section will review Hall's concepts of role and role conflict
and examine them from a number of vantage points. The concepts of role-making
and role-taking described by Stanley and Wise (1983) are summarized as a way
of critiquing Hall's concepts and gaining further insight into the nature of roles
and role conflict. The views put forward by Stanley and Wise (1983) are also useful
in reconciling some of the apparently contradictory or ambiguous elements of the
preceding definitions, specifically concerning the "locus" of the conflict ("within"
the person or between persons), the place of sex role expectations in role conflict,
and how the individual's perception of the conflict and situational factors influence
the experience of role conflict.

Hall's model begins with a definition of career as a person's changing identity
over time. Identity is defined as a person's perception of self as related to his
or her environment. The term subidentity is used to refer to that aspect of the
total identity engaged when a person is behaving in a given role.

A married woman, for example, may typically have subidentities of wife,
mother, homemaker and employee. These subidentities may overlap to varying
extents, and the central area which they all have in common is called the **core identity**. Individuals will vary in the degree to which subidentities overlap (size of the core) and the degree to which subidentities are congruent with roles.

Following Levinson (1959), Hall defines **role** as a process consisting of three components related to a person in a given social position: (1) **structurally given demands**, which are the norms, expectations, taboos, responsibilities and sets of pressures and facilitating factors that channel, guide, impede or support a person's functioning in a position; (2) **personal role conception**, which is one's inner definition of what someone in a given social position is supposed to think, feel and do; and (3) **role behaviour**, which is the way in which members of a position act (with or without conscious intention) in accord with or in violation of a given set of organizational norms.

The manner in which these three components interact to comprise the role process is described by Hall (1972): "The role process then consists of a set of structural demands being placed upon the individual in a given social position. On the basis of both one's perception of these demands and one's own personality, a person formulates a definition of what demands he or she should try to meet in his position. Based upon this personal definition she decides how to behave (p. 473)."

In breaking down role conflict into subcategories, a fundamental distinction made by Hall (1972) and others (e.g. Holahan & Gilbert, 1979b) is between interrole and intrarole conflict. **Interrole conflict**, or conflict **between** roles, is defined as the experience of anxiety or tension when the demands of two (or more) roles conflict with one another. **Intrarole conflict** or conflict **within** a role, occurs when the way that an individual defines the expectations of a particular role differs from either what is realistic for the person in that role or how others define that role.

Due to the fact that women are often in a position of juggling a number of different subidentities, they are often in a predicament Hall (1972) describes
as chronic role conflict, where they experience a number of mutually competing demands from role senders (people who communicate role expectations). The competing demands most often are between different roles (interrole conflict) rather than within a role (intrarole conflict); for example, a woman is more likely to experience conflict between her employer's expectations and her children's, than, say, within a set of expectations her children have of her. One of the factors most frequently cited to account for the conflict is insufficient time to meet all role demands – a situation described as role overload.

One of the difficulties with Hall's conceptions of role and role conflict is that people are described in very reactive terms, the external demands come first, then one's feelings and reactions to the demands, then a response to the demands in behaviour. It ignores the fact that we are also proactive in making choices about roles (such as partner and career roles), and we have ideals and principles that we apply in making role choices (even though a clear conception of a given relationship or role would usually evolve only through experience and interaction).

Stanley and Wise (1983) offer a distinction between role-making and role-taking which will be useful to examine in contrast to Hall's (1972) description of the role process. From their perspective, Hall's notion would be seen as akin to "role-taking" approaches put forward in conventional role theory (e.g. Frankenberg, 1966). The "role-taking" view of social reality is described by Stanley and Wise (1983):

[In the 'role-taking' approach,] role is seen in functionalist terms and this approach is frequently referred to as role theory. Role theory, like functionalism, describes a determinate reality in which absolute order exists and prediction is possible. It believes that role content is generally agreed upon and that this content is internalized and then enacted. And role theory goes further than this, for it has been argued that people are the roles they inhabit (Frankenberg, 1966). Such arguments suggest that no distinction exists between 'self' and 'roles', because those roles combine to 'make up' the person. (pp. 101-102)
Stanley and Wise (1983) caution against this "role-taking" approach to gender roles, as if role expectations were imprinted then followed. This view is seen as simplistic and overdeterministic.

"Role-making," on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of situations, personality and context in influencing events and behaviours. Such an approach is related conceptually to George Kelly's construct theory (Kelly, 1955, 1970). Stanley and Wise (1983) describe the "role-making" approach.

This approach doesn't see the 'role' as anything which is 'internalized'; nor does it accept that any consensus about 'role content' exists, apart from a few specific exceptions. Instead it sees 'role' as something which can be constructed and analysed only after the event. Only after something has happened can we know what has happened, and even then 'what has happened' may seem very different to the various participants within it. (p. 101)

This role-making approach is appealing as it allows for individual variations and views humans as active in making role choices. However, it also raises the question of how to understand women's conflicts associated with the female gender role, for example, the notion so often put forward (e.g. Horner, 1972) that women have "internalized" societal injunctions about appropriate female role behaviour. Stanley and Wise (1983) offer a useful viewpoint on this question, drawing on the research of Komarovsky (1973) on role strains which men experience, based on role obligations of the male gender role.

We believe that 'roles' aren't internalized, do not 'become' the self. Instead we argue that the clusters of norms, attributes and so on that are referred to as 'gender' exist and are related to as stereotypes - as simplistic and stereotypical representations which people relate to in a myriad of ways. These are not, in themselves, 'reality' as people experience it; they are but one facet of what people construe this as. (pp. 103-104)

An example of such a stereotype for women would be visions of the ideal wife and mother, the traditional dream of the blissful world of marriage and
motherhood. This dream is captured in a quote from Maggie Tripp (1974), "The American ideal was to catch a man before you were too old, say twenty-two, and to take a deep breath, disappear into a suburban ranch house and not come up for air until your children ('a boy for you a girl for me') were safely married" (p. 53).

Stanley and Wise (1983) elsewhere elaborate on the notion that structures of social reality for women, embedded in what we usually refer to as "roles," are ultimately dependent on the individual's perception of herself and the demands placed upon her, and these will vary from situation to situation. This notion has important implications for women's experience of "role conflict."

The main point we want to emphasize here is that what we often construe as fixed and immutable, gender socialized in someone, should rather be seen as situationally variable (p. 105). . . 'Structures' aren't inherently anything. . . what relationships are like depends on the people involved in them. What may be totally liberating for one person may be totally the opposite for someone else. And what may liberate at one point in a person's life may come to be seen differently at another. (p. 75)

This suggests that what is experienced as conflict for one person may not even be construed as such by another. Stanley and Wise also use this viewpoint to argue that some feminist writings have gone too far and oversimplified the situation by arguing that "the family" as an institution or social structure is responsible for the oppression of women. One cannot deny the fact that women experience "oppression" differently, and thus one cannot assert that there are "real" conditions of oppression outside of the experience and understanding of individuals or groups of women.

If we aren't feminists, then we experience expressions of sexism as mundane and routine - they aren't "expressions of sexism" unless we construct them as such. They are instead part of the ordinary ongoing activities of our everyday experience. An example concerns the opening of doors for other people. This might be simple politeness or an expression of sexism. Which it is will depend on a number of things, including who opens the door for whom, and how we attribute their motives for doing so. In other words, what this behaviour 'is' depends on our construction of it. (Stanley & Wise, 1983, p. 132)
Thus they argue that the most valuable approach to researching women is to be concerned with exploring in great detail why and how people construct realities in the way that they do. Conflict, for Stanley and Wise (1983), arises when people construct reality differently. "Alternative constructions of reality... lead to differences, to conflicts, in negotiating everyday life" (p. 132).

**Role Transitions and Role Discontinuity**

One final concept which will prove useful in investigating women's experience of role conflict is the notion of **role discontinuity** (Benedict, 1938; Sales, 1978). This concept is used to describe the conflicts associated with role transitions. Sales (1978) summarizes the way in which role discontinuity comes about for women.

Social scientists who attempt to study women's adult roles over time must contend with complex role patternings that have little parallel for men (Ginzberg, 1966; Maas & Kuypers, 1974)... These shifting role demands require continued adjustments for women. At each transition point, they have to learn new behaviors that must be meshed with other pre-existing role obligations... If the expectations of a new role are incompatible with the expectations of a previous role, an individual experiences stress in making the transition. This stress is called **role discontinuity**. (Benedict, 1938) (p. 160)

One source of stress which can compound the problem is when people in one's social network refuse to acknowledge or accept a change. Examples of such difficulties are when parents continue to expect compliance from their adult children, the newlyweds whose friends resent their decreased socializing, or new parents whose friends cannot understand their new reluctance to make social engagements.

Because of the major shift in their role commitments over time, women tend to experience role discontinuity more frequently than men. Sales (1978) illustrates the difficulty of some of these transition points:

After marriage, a woman usually takes on a larger portion of household duties. If she has a child, she is plunged into a new role that demands skills and efforts for which most women are unprepared. At later points of her life, such events as job re-entry, the end of her mother role as children leave...
home, and widowhood may force a woman to radically reorganize her life. Less dramatic changes in role performance are required as children develop and role involvements shift over time. (pp. 161-162)

As Sales (1978) notes, what may be particularly difficult are the role transitions which result in the loss of a valued role, more so than situations where a new role is added to an otherwise stable role repertoire. In leaving a job to raise a child, for example, one would experience loss of both the satisfactions of work and the social contact. In cases where the role loss is imposed by external factors, rather than individual choice, the stress is heightened.

Women confront a number of... losses in later adulthood when their parent role atrophies as their children leave, or the death of their husband terminates their marriage role (Bernard, 1975b; Lopata, 1973). These transitions are painful for many women because they may demand major readjustments in living patterns that have been prime sources of gratification during most of their adult life. (Sales, 1978, pp. 162-163)

Sales (1978) is but one example among a number of authors interested in developmental approaches which examine women's role transitions over the lifespan (e.g. Alpert, 1981; Richardson, 1981; Rossi, 1980; Van Dusen & Sheldon, 1976). Authors such as Richardson (1981) and Alpert (1981) have offered theoretical frameworks which can be applied to future research studies. Avery (1979) is in process of coordinating a large-scale research project investigating the critical events in women's lives. Such perspectives have the potential for making a valuable contribution to our understanding of women's experience of role conflict. Although an in-depth examination of life stage factors is beyond the scope of the present study, some of the research which looks at women's conflicts in relation to age or life stage will be outlined in the upcoming section on "Empirical Studies of Role Conflict and Variables Related to Role Strains."

A growing number of empirical studies have been conducted in recent years to investigate women's experience of role conflict and the variables related to
role strains. The section which follows will outline some of the approaches which have been taken to research based on the preceding definitions of role conflict.

**Empirical Studies of Role Conflict**

**Research on Sex Role Conflicts**

The empirical studies described in this section are intended to provide only a brief illustration of some of the approaches which have been taken to studying, operationalizing or measuring sex role conflicts. Related studies are abundant in the social psychological literature on women and gender roles (e.g. Frieze et al, 1978).

One example of a research study which has been conducted based on a definition of role conflicts as "sex role conflicts" is a study by Powell and Reznikoff (1976), where the experience of (sex) role conflict is assumed to be the result of the discrepancy between personal needs, such as the need for achievement, and cultural role expectations (e.g. cultural injunctions such as "a woman is supposed to put others' needs first"). Powell and Reznikoff measured the sex role orientation of their subjects on a continuum from Self, or contemporary, sex role orientation to Other, or traditional, sex role orientation, using the revised Fand Inventory. The degree of conflict subjects experienced was inferred based on the relationship between scores on sex role orientation (Self or Other orientation), a Need for Achievement scale, and a measure of psychiatric impairment. One set of characteristics which seemed to predispose women to psychological distress (role conflict) was a combination of high Self orientation and high need for achievement. This combination of characteristics is less socially acceptable for women, whereas for men, being self-directed and ambitious is not only tolerated but encouraged.

Another example of a study which construes role conflict in terms of sex role conflicts is an investigation by Beckman (1978) of sex role conflict in alcoholic women. In her study, women were measured on scales of masculinity-femininity
(using the femininity scale of the California Psychological Inventory and the Bem Sex Role Inventory) and in terms of performance on sentence completion and drawing tasks. Sex role conflict was inferred from the discovery of patterns of "unconscious masculinity-conscious femininity." For Beckman, similar to Powell and Reznikoff (1976), the concept of role conflict stresses a discrepancy between personal (albeit unconscious) needs or wants and the cultural role expectations associated with being female in our society.

Davidson (1978) studied role strains experienced by women medical students by analysing the case records of 25 such women who sought psychiatric consultation at a medical college clinic. Davidson defines role strain as "the built-in conflict that results from the woman's having to choose between the demands placed on her by her profession and those that stem from her obligations as a woman/mother/wife and from her identity as a female" (p. 903). Role strain was considered to be present when part of the psychiatric problem presented was conflict about her functioning as a woman, mother or wife as she pursued medical education.

The majority of problems women medical students brought to the psychiatric service were associated with role stress (rather than academic difficulties, for example). First and second-year students used the service three times more often than those at later career stages, consistent with previous research which showed that role identity-career conflicts emerge early in women training for non-traditional occupations. A frequent complaint of the married women students in Davidson's study, particularly those in dual-career marriages, was marital dysfunction and a loss of interest in their partner. Married women who had sexual relationships with classmates, residents and/or attending staff were particularly vulnerable to anxiety and guilty depressions, although when such relationships went well, the women tended to feel stable and secure. It was when such sexual relationships ended, according to Davidson, that these women would "collapse."

Davidson also found examples of "sexual role stress" which would seem to
arise due to the vulnerability of being female and presumably unwanted in what is still seen as a "male" profession.

Some male residents and attending staff are exquisitely sensitive to the sexual vulnerability of this type of woman - they bait a woman student with teasing and unflattering remarks about her 'real' femininity and then actively move to involve her in a sexual relationship. In a variation of this maneuver the male physician 'courts' the woman student by saying she is far more attractive and sensual than the run-of-the-mill woman medical student - what is she doing in medical school anyhow, with all her sexual charm and attraction? (Davidson, 1978, p. 906).

A related dilemma which Davidson found in some of the women medical students was a "sudden" desire to become pregnant at a point when the timing or life situation did not seem right. Although recognizing that the issues of whether and when to have children are real ones for professional women, Davidson found that the "sudden" urge was often evidence of the woman's need "to reassert her womanhood in response to some bludgeoning she has received in the environment" (p. 906).

Another study (Roeske & Lake, 1977) investigated the role conflicts experienced by women medical students through a questionnaire inquiring about personal and family characteristics, their career aspirations, and whether and when they planned to have children and what importance, if any, they attributed to having female physicians as instructors and role models. The authors found that the first and second year students, in particular, were acutely aware of an identity crisis as a woman. This concern related both to the anomaly of being a woman in a male-dominated profession and whether it would be possible to effectively combine a demanding career with family roles.

There appeared to be a sequence of three specific conflicts which women addressed over the course of their training: (1) whether a woman must possess the traditional characteristics of masculinity in order to become a physician; (2) whether the woman has sufficient knowledge and skill to function as a physician;
and (3) whether physician and mother roles can be effectively combined. Roeske and Lake concluded from the questionnaire results that the women medical students apparently preferred to resolve the first two "identity crises" first before contending with the conflict between profession and motherhood, and that this seemed to be related to their desire to excel in each role. Female role models were seen as having a potentially valuable role to play in helping women with some of these adjustments.

Finally, Fodor (1974) presents an illuminating discussion of sex role conflicts which women bring to behaviour therapy, covering a range of symptoms from achievement-related conflicts, such as work blocks, phobias and anxiety attacks, to depression, sexual problems and delinquency. The behaviour therapy interventions which Fodor describes are based on an understanding of these symptoms in terms of the fundamental dilemma described by Broverman et al (1970): "the conflict of having to decide whether to exhibit positive traits considered desirable for men and adults and have femininity questioned or to behave in the prescribed feminine manner and accept second class adult status" (Fodor, 1974, p. 6). The symptoms which the women exhibited can be construed as ineffective ways of coping with sex role conflicts, and behaviour therapy is clearly one way of helping women to "integrate behavioural polarities" when exaggerated adherence to sex role stereotypes blocks them from healthy development and effective management of life roles.

**Studies of Role Conflict and Variables Related to Role Strains**

Rather than focussing exclusively on women's experiences of conflict and/or how they cope with these conflicts, most researchers have also investigated variables which might be related to role strains (e.g. Holahan & Gilbert, 1979a,b; Stake, 1979b). What these studies have in common is a focus on one or more of the supportive or inhibiting factors which can affect either (1) the type and degree of role strain that individuals experience, or (2) their ability to cope effectively with the strains they do encounter. Many of these factors fall into the categories
of social resources and psychological resources, as defined by Pearlin and Schooler (1978).

Some early studies (Bailyn, 1972; Rostow, 1965) focussed on the importance of strong cooperative links between partners in dual-career families. Astin (1969) demonstrated the importance of support of significant others for women to successfully undertake ambitious careers. Kaley (1970) looked at the attitudes toward married professional women which are held by women's professional associates, and gained evidence to suggest that such attitudes may be a significant barrier to women's resolution of career-related conflicts. Bailyn (1963) widens this scope even further in examining the impact of the attitudes of neighbours, one's husband's colleagues, and the parents of one's children's friends.

Hall and Gordon (1973) looked at the levels of conflict and satisfaction that women experience in their life roles as a function of actual versus preferred "career status." "Career status" or career choice is defined by Hall and Gordon in three categories: full-time homemaking, part-time employed, and full-time employed. The authors hypothesized that women performing activities they choose to perform would be more satisfied than women whose roles did not match their preferences. This hypothesis was supported by findings showing that a woman's role performance and attitudes are less positive if she works out of economic necessity rather than by choice. When preferred work activities matched present work activities, subjects showed the greatest satisfaction.

A number of other trends were evident in Hall and Gordon's results. Although more women expressed a preference for part-time work than any other category, those preferring and doing part-time work had lower satisfaction than those in other categories. They tended to have the greatest number of salient roles and more home-related conflicts than others. Working women generally experienced more conflict than housewives, particularly in the non-home arena. Despite the fact that women working full-time experienced more time conflicts than the other
two groups, they also experienced significantly greater satisfaction. Housewives, who had the fewest salient roles, had a relatively high incidence of self-related conflict. For all groups, home pressures were the most important contributors to experienced conflict.

In a 1974 study, Gordon and Hall investigated the influence of women's perception of the male stereotype of femininity on their experience of role conflict. From the results of this study, they concluded that women who attributed to men less stereotyped views of femininity experienced significantly fewer conflicts than those who expected male disapproval due to a perceived incompatibility between femininity and employment. The woman's style of coping and satisfaction level was also shown to be related to her self-image, such that satisfaction and successful coping tended to coincide with a positive self-image.

Hall (1975) examined the pressures from work, home and personal roles and the self-image of married women in relation to age and "stage of the life cycle" (Lopata, 1966). Life stage proved to be a stronger predictor of conflict than either age or number of roles. During the peak childrearing stage, women's work activity and pressures declined. As children grew older, work activity and pressures increased. Home-related pressures tended generally to increase over the life cycle.

Hall was also able to reach some conclusions about the sources of conflict occurring at various life stages. Not surprisingly, the presence of children was the most significant influence on the nature of role pressures experienced by the women. The pattern of self-related pressures was a mirror-image of work pressures, reaching a maximum during the peak childrearing stage and dropping sharply in the "full-house plateau" (which starts when the youngest child enters school and ends when the first child leaves home). Hall concludes from this pattern that most work activities may also fulfill women's needs for self-expression.

The number of roles performed and the presence of conflict tended to increase with each successive life stage. However, the number of roles had more impact
than did life stage on the presence or absence of conflict. Self-image was not related to either age, stage or number of roles, and therefore Hall concludes that the significant role changes that occur during the careers of married women do not appear to generalize to the woman's overall view of self.

Although Hall's study (1975) indicates that role pressures seem to increase over the lifespan, he does not address the question of coping skills in his study, such that the evolution of these skills over the lifespan are also examined. The mere presence or absence of conflict is not, in itself, a sufficient indicator of experienced stress (McCubbin, Joy, Cauble, Comteau, Patterson & Needle, 1980). One's ability to cope with conflict or pressure is also likely to increase with each life stage.

Holahan and Gilbert (1979a) looked at the relationship between the type and degree of interrole conflict experienced in dual career couples in relation to gender, parenthood, level of career aspirations, spouse's emotional support of career pursuits, and attitudes towards the roles of women. Their sample consisted of 28 couples, 10 without children and 18 with children, where both partners were employed in professional occupations. The role conflict questionnaire measured conflict between pairs of four different roles: Professional, Spouse, Parent and Self as a Self-Actualizing Person, for a total of six conflict categories. Each conflict category contained items in the form of problem statements, which subjects rated on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (causes no internal conflict) to 5 (causes high internal conflict). Other variables measured were attitudes towards women, self-esteem, life satisfaction from each major role, career commitment and demographic variables.

To the authors' surprise, their predictions of gender differences in interrole conflict and the hypothesized correlations between these gender differences and other variables were not supported. However, one important exception was that for men, high level career aspirations were negatively related to role conflict,
whereas for women high level career aspirations were positively related to role conflict. Consistent with Hall's findings (1975), Holahan and Gilbert (1979a) found that the presence or absence of children factor had a critical influence on one's entire pattern of role conflicts. The fact that there were not more striking gender differences exhibited is attributed both to the particular strengths of the women studied and the environmental supports they received - a combination which unfortunately may be relatively rare in the population at large:

It appears that the women in the present sample are placing a high priority on their careers and are involved in highly egalitarian marriages, in which their spouses are strongly supportive of their career goals and probably share in home management and child care. It is also possible that conflict for women is alleviated by assistance in home maintenance and child care from outside sources (Holahan & Gilbert, 1979a, p. 463).

For other women in their sample, low spouse support, traditional sex role attitudes and low self-esteem were correlated with high degrees of conflict.

In a second study using a similar role conflict questionnaire, Holahan and Gilbert (1979b) explored the differences in experienced conflict between women who considered their current employment as a job versus a career. All 41 of their subjects had bachelor's degrees, were employed full-time at a large university, were married, and had children. Holahan and Gilbert hypothesized that the greatest role conflict would be experienced by those who perceived their employment as careers, rather than jobs, due to the greater involvement and personal investment in career pursuits. They also expected that the career group would demonstrate higher self-esteem and agentic qualities, which have been shown in previous research to be factors in successful role management. Attitudes towards work and life satisfaction were also measured.

Those who placed themselves in the "job" group tended to be employed in clerical positions, while those in the "career" category typically had jobs requiring more technical skill (e.g. systems analyst, editor, and lab technologist). As predicted,
the levels of work commitment and work aspiration were significantly higher for the career group. The career group also reported a higher degree of spouse support than those in the job group.

Contrary to prediction, the job group reported more role conflict on all six role conflict scales. For two of the categories involving the Self role, these differences reached statistical significance: Parent vs. Self and Spouse vs. Self conflicts. The career group reported significantly more life satisfaction with all four roles than the job group. Holahan and Gilbert suggest that one implication of these findings may be that women who view their work as a "job" may be less willing than "career women" to relinquish the responsibilities and associated rewards of their roles as wives and mothers to undertake as many activities for their personal benefit. However, both groups tended to have high self-esteem; although career women demonstrated somewhat higher self-esteem than the job group, the difference was marginal. There were also no significant differences between groups in agentic qualities that would facilitate the management of multiple roles. The authors conclude that variations in spouse support, work commitment, and the nature of the job situation do seem to influence the level of role conflict experienced by married working women with children.

In a related study, Stake (1979b) examined the relationships between role factors, self-estimates of competence and career commitment. Low self-esteem and conflicts concerning marriage and family versus career were expected to have an inhibiting influence on women's level of career commitment. Those with greater self-confidence as well as non-traditional sex role attitudes were presumed to be more able to assess options and set priorities, and thus choose workable, realistic goals. Self-estimates of competence (as measured by Stake's Performance Self-Esteem Scale) were expected to moderate the relationship between women's role factors and career commitment.

Ability to resolve conflicts between home and career was not measured
directly by Stake, but rather was inferred from a combination of role factors, particularly levels of family and career commitment. If those with high self-esteem also proved to be those with high family and career involvement, they were assumed to have developed ability to resolve home-career conflicts. Those with families who had low career involvement and low self-esteem were inferred to have difficulty resolving conflicting demands of home and career. Stake found, as predicted, significant positive relationships between women's self-estimates of competence and (1) levels of career commitment; (2) (inferred) ability to deal effectively with role conflicts; and (3) non-traditional sex-role attitudes.

Some of the significance of Stake's findings come to light as she compares the results of the female sample with those of an equivalent group of male subjects. The fact that no relationships were found in the male sample between level of career motivation and family factors suggests that it is only women who must struggle to combine the duties of home and career, as most men, even when both partners in a couple are working, do not assume major homemaking or child care responsibilities. As Stake points out, as long as we continue to assign women primary responsibility in the home arena, home-career conflicts will continue to be largely a "woman's problem."

In a related study which focussed on external supports as a factor in career commitment, Tinsley and Faunce (1980) did a comparison of career and homemaker-oriented women and found that the variables which were most significantly related to degree of a woman's career orientation were enabling or situational factors. Family restraints or encouragements were strongly correlated with level of career involvement. This finding supports the results of previous studies which indicate that family/social supports can become critical factors in the resolution of career-family conflicts.

One analogue study investigated women's role perceptions and role conflict using projective measures, where pictorial stimulus cues were used to elicit
descriptions of imagined conflict (Richardson & Alpert, 1976; Alpert & Richardson, 1978). This approach views role perception as a variable related to expectations of conflict, which in turn is related to role choices, which in turn are related to role conflicts people actually experience once they have made role choices. Although such a study could be criticized for being several steps removed from directly measuring the phenomenon, it is worthy of mention as an alternative approach which has been taken to investigating role conflict.

Using a variation of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), Richardson and Alpert used pictorial stimuli of women in marriage, work and motherhood roles to measure the effect of role stimulus on subjects' degree of perceived role conflict. Subjects were asked to tell a story in response to each of the stimulus cues, and then the content of these stories was analysed for the presence of conflict.

The marriage role cue presented a living room scene with a couple engaged in a conversation. The work role scene was a woman seated before a cluttered desk in an office, and the motherhood situation was a woman standing at a window while a young child reaches out to her in the background. Subjects were asked to describe what led up to the event, what was happening in the picture, and the outcome of the story. Stories were then coded for presence or absence of conflict, conflict themes and outcome (positive, negative, ambivalent or uncertain).

From the results of this study, the authors conclude that the method tended to yield intrarole rather than interrole conflicts, as subjects seldom mentioned other roles in addition to the ones depicted. The mother-child image, however, did elicit some stories involving relationship with a male adult. The greatest amount of conflict was perceived in the marriage or male-female role, followed closely by the motherhood role. Work roles exhibited the least amount of conflict, which the authors attribute in part to the fact that their sample were highly educated women and, as graduate students, were perhaps less preoccupied with job-related conflicts.
Outcomes of the stories shed a different light on women's perceptions of their role conflict. The lowest number of positive outcomes were associated with conflicts in the mother role, where themes of passivity were prevalent. The mother role was thus viewed as the most problematic for these women. Although conflict was often apparent in the male-female relationship stories, they were often successfully resolved. Many of the work role conflicts were also successfully resolved, but there was also a relatively high number with negative or ambivalent outcomes. Internal blocks to achievement tended to be depicted more often than external constraints, which Richardson and Alpert interpret as motivational conflicts associated with achievement.

Age and role status of the women proved not to be significant factors in role perceptions. However, the homogeneity of the sample and the small sample size (93 subjects) are seen as possible explanations for this lack of differences. Further research would be needed to examine this question more closely, as well as to identify the relationship between role perceptions and actual role experiences of women, and how these perceptions affect the role acquisition process.

Nevill and Damico (1974, 1975a,b, 1977, 1978) undertook a series of studies to investigate women's experience of role conflict in relation to the variables of family size, marital status, age, and occupational status. All of these used a common questionnaire, developed in 1974 by the authors (Nevill & Damico, 1974). To develop the questionnaire items, they selected 30 women from the university and the local community, and asked them to list any role conflicts they faced as women. About half of these women were married and some had children. The conflicts listed yielded a total of 252 problem statements, which were grouped into the following eight categories: Time Mangement, Relations with Husband, Household Management, Financial, Child Care, Expectations for Self, Expectations of Others, and Guilt. The questionnaire was built around these eight categories. Under each heading was a brief "statement of the problem" and, for some items, illustrative examples
were provided. A seven-point Likert-type scale was used to measure how much conflict subjects experienced in each category.

The questionnaire was administered to groups of women from various service, educational and church organizations, as well as faculty and secretaries at the university, resulting in a large sample of 518 subjects. Analysis of the demographic data indicated that the group tended to be well-educated, and many were in professional occupations.

Two categories stood out as significantly higher conflict areas: Expectations for Self and Time Management. (The Expectations for Self item on the questionnaire reads as follows: "Every individual has goals and hopes, yet cannot always measure up to these goals. When you fall short of what you want to be, how much conflict does this situation cause you?"

The Time conflict item is: "Many people find that the demands on their time are difficult to meet, for example, how does one find time to satisfy needs for privacy, household obligations, and social commitments? To what degree do you experience time conflicts?") Two of the other highest categories differed significantly from chance: Household Management and Guilt. (The Household Management item stressed the time-consuming burden of housework and resentment sometimes associated with the amount of effort it requires. The Guilt item dealt with feelings concerning inability to meet the demands and pressures associated with all of one's commitments.) Conflict in the remaining four categories was relatively low. Thus Nevill and Damico (1974) concluded that the greatest role conflict and stress experienced by women seemed to revolve around her image of herself.

Subsequent analyses of the data from this sample are used as a basis for Nevill and Damico's later articles (1975a,b, 1977, 1978) on the variables related to women's experience of conflict. Their study on family size (1975a) showed that Child Care was a high conflict area for those with children, in addition to the Time Management and Expectations for Self categories previously discussed. The number
of children had a significant effect on several role categories, especially Child Care. Generally speaking, the greater the number of children, the greater the stress experienced in relation to Child Care. With the advent of the first child, a certain level of Child Care conflict was reported. The levels of conflict in this area actually lessened somewhat when the second child was born, but with each succeeding child came increased stress in the Child Care domain.

Another trend that was evident in this analysis was that conflicts in Relations with Husband tended to increase with number of children, but the only point of significant difference found was that between having no children versus three or more. There was also a tendency in the direction of greater stress in the areas of Time Management, Expectations for Self and Expectations of Others as family size increased, but it did not prove to be statistically significant.

In examining marital status as a variable, Nevill and Damico (1975b) expected to find significant differences in level of conflict experienced in all eight categories, depending on one's marital status. In all of the role conflict categories but two (Expectations for Self, Expectations of Others), marital status did prove to be a significant variable. In all six areas where marital status was significant, married women experienced significantly more conflict than never-married or formerly married women. (The latter two groups were not significantly different from one another.) Surprisingly, formerly married women who had children not only expressed less role conflict in the area of Child Care than did married women who had children, but also did not differ significantly from the never-married women who had no children. However, the biases of the sample toward highly educated women with relatively well-paying occupations suggests that the single mothers could afford the kind of child care they wanted, and thus, presumably were less conflicted. For married women, by contrast, education and income did not appear to effect the level of Child Care conflicts experienced. This suggests the possibility that a more complex set of conflicts may result from the combination of wife, mother and
worker roles than is measured by Nevill and Damico's questionnaire. Where a single mother with financial resources can afford to be efficient about meeting child care needs without a great deal of guilt, perhaps "family togetherness" expectations for married women may be greater and paying for child care may be less frequently considered as an option.

In their 1977 study, Nevill and Damico looked at the effect of age on the experience of role conflict. In four of the eight conflict areas, age proved to have a significant effect: Relations with Husband, Financial, Child Care, and Guilt. Women in the 25 to 39 age range had the greatest conflict in Relations with Husband, Child Care and Guilt. The authors explain the relative absence of conflict in other roles as a result of the late 20's and early 30's being a stabilizing period where women have more time to develop themselves, marital relationships have stabilized and children are generally old enough not to need constant attention. During this period, many women seek expanded involvement in work, education or community pursuits, yet according to Nevill and Damico, would tend to feel unsure whether a decision to pursue their own goals would be at others' expense (i.e. husband and children). Financial difficulties were most evident in the under 25 age group, and the 25 to 39 group had more financial conflict than the over-40 group.

The final study undertaken by Nevill and Damico (1978) examined the effect of occupational status on role conflict. Status level was measured on a five-point scale from (1) professional, technical and kindred workers, to (4) operatives and kindred workers, and (5) not employed outside the home. Occupational status proved to have a significant effect in all but two of the role conflict categories, attesting to the importance of occupation as a contributor to role conflict, regardless of the specific nature of the conflict.

Lowest levels of conflict were reported by those at either end of the spectrum, professional/technical and not employed groups. Level 2, the "managers, officials and proprietors" had more Time Management conflicts than either professionals
or homemakers. Not surprisingly, professionals had less financial conflict than the managerial group. The managerial group had much higher Expectations of Self conflicts than homemakers. Household Management and Guilt categories showed no significant differences between occupational groups although professional women and homemakers tended toward the lowest levels of stress in these two categories. Overall highest levels of stress experienced were the women at level 2, managers, officials and proprietors.

Conflict in the Child Care category showed an interesting trend. Levels of Child Care conflict increased as occupational status decreased. Professionals had the lowest level of Child Care conflicts and homemakers the greatest conflict. Although this finding counters trends in their previous results, it makes sense in view of the fact that dedicating a greater proportion of time to child care would naturally seem to result in a greater preoccupation with Child Care issues. The category covers a full range of child care issues, not just obtaining care for children while the parent is absent.

Nevill and Damico (1978) found no significant interaction between occupational status and other demographic variables of age, marital status, number of children and education level for any of the eight role conflict categories. However, occupational status did have a significant relationship to the levels of conflict experienced in six of the categories. Nevill and Damico conclude that professionals and homemakers appear to be balancing their roles with greater aplomb. Those women who have neither the career status rewards of the professional nor the personal fulfillment of the woman who chooses full-time homemaking and childrearing appear to face the most difficult problems.

Nevill and Damico (1978) summarize from the themes in their findings two basic kinds of stress that women experience most often. First, there are the conflicts, disappointments and self-recreimations associated with not meeting up to one's expectations of oneself. (These are reflected in the Expectations of
Self and Guilt categories.) The second kind of conflict relates to a woman's concept of self as an effective, competent person, able to use her time and energy efficiently in managing her own environment (Time Management and Household Management categories). These issues of self-image or self-concept are seen by Nevill and Damico as highly significant to women's career decision-making.

Information yielded in studies such as those by Nevill and Damico can be used, as they suggest, to alert women to the possible occurrence of conflicts, which they may wish to consider, avoid or in some way influence by their occupational choice. However, conflict reduction should not be taken as the sole objective of those who would provide counselling or assistance to women. A number of authors have pointed out that certain levels of conflict should be expected as a normal part of life, and that healthy functioning and development needs to include the acquisition of skills for coping with conflict (Sales, 1978; Smith, 1981). Therefore, research which includes an emphasis on coping and coping effectiveness will be important to examine in relation to the concerns Nevill and Damico raise about the reduction of conflict. Perhaps effective coping does not always reduce conflict, but rather serves to make the conflict manageable and thereby reduces stress.

**Strategies for Coping with Role Conflict:**

**Classification Schemes and Empirical Studies**

Goode (1960) was one of the early authors to investigate and label the ways that individuals can cope with role strains or role conflict. The four major coping strategies that Goode identified were (1) compartmentalization; (2) establishment of a hierarchy of importance; (3) mutual support from status spheres; and (4) delegation of roles. However, authors such as Johnson and Johnson (1976) have pointed out that since such studies were conducted in the context of male employment, they may have limited applicability to women.

Compartmentalization, for example, as a coping strategy, involves keeping
roles and related concerns totally separate. Many working mothers, according to Johnson and Johnson (1976), have difficulty putting family concerns behind them on the job, as they have been socialized to place primary importance on their mothering and homemaking roles and to view children and household matters as their first responsibility. "Establishing a hierarchy of importance" is similarly viewed as more difficult for women, as they generally do not have the same support at home that men do to enable them to place home and family demands in the background.

The opportunity to cultivate "mutual support from status spheres" (generally work colleagues) may also be more difficult for women, particularly for those in professional or other non-traditional work environments. Workplace friendship networks tend to be developed and maintained along same-sex lines (Johnson & Johnson, 1976), and the women who are alone or in a small minority in a male environment often experience feelings of isolation, and are sometimes related to by male co-workers in more sexual terms than as friend or colleague (e.g. Davidson, 1978). Finally, Goode's fourth strategy, the delegation of roles, can be problematic for women, given the difficulty of finding good domestic help and child care, and the disapproval they sometimes receive from others for neglecting or "abandoning" the children.

Hall's Model of Coping with Role Conflict

Douglas T. Hall (1972) presents a useful model of coping with role conflict which highlights the interplay of intrapsychic and environmental sources of conflict and the ways that one can cope with these conflicts. Hall's model of coping is logically derived from Levinson's (1959) three levels of the role process discussed earlier, each level being a potential target for coping or intervening in the role process.

The first type of coping, called structural role redefinition, involves altering external, structurally imposed expectations held by others (one's role senders). This
concept is similar to Goode's (1960) notion of "role bargains." An example of this type of coping would be to negotiate a revised set of expectations for a given role, such as a woman who bargains with her employer to end work at 3:00 p.m. so as to be able to be home when her children return from school. Hall identifies six categories of Type I coping, as follows:

I. Structural Role Redefinition

A. Eliminate (or add) particular activities within roles. Do not give up or add entire role, only certain components of it.

B. Role support from outside role set. Employing outside help to assume certain role activities.

C. Role support from member of role set. Receiving help from role senders (usually family) in performing activities necessary to meet role demands.

D. Problem solving with role senders. Collaborative redefinition of roles. Moral support from or problem solving with role senders in deciding how to resolve role conflicts.

E. Integrate roles. Increase overlap among roles in a way that each contributes to the other.

F. Change societal definition of woman's roles. Changing general social expectations as opposed to the expectations of specific role senders.

The most important feature of structural role redefinition (Type I) coping strategies is that they all involve active negotiation with role senders (those in the environment who impose demands) and reaching agreement on a new set of expectations. One deals with the objective reality of the situation rather than just one's thoughts or feelings about it.

Hall's second type of coping is personal role redefinition, that is, changing one's personal concept of role demands received from others. In contrast to Type I coping, here one changes one's attitudes and perceptions of role demands, rather than changing the demands themselves. An example of this type would be setting priorities among roles and within roles, such that one makes sure certain demands
are always met, such as the needs of sick children, and others can take second place, such as housekeeping demands. Another type in this category would be to adopt the attitude that role conflict is an inevitable fact of life and that one can only bear up and hope it decreases eventually. The seven categories Hall identifies under "personal role redefinition" are as follows:

II. Personal Role Redefinition

A. Establish priorities for roles or within roles. Rank activities in order of importance.

B. Partition and separate roles. Devote full attention to a given role when in that role. Attempt to minimize simultaneous overlap of roles.

C. Overlook role demands or reduce standards. Choose not to meet certain role demands.

D. Change attitudes toward roles or develop a new attitude which helps reduce conflicts.

E. Eliminate roles. Withdraw from an entire role area.

F. Rotate activities from one role to another. Handle each role in turn as it comes up.

G. Develop self and own interests. See personal interests as valid source of role demands.

The third type of coping is reactive role behaviour, which is attempting to improve the quality of one's role performance so as to better satisfy demands of all role senders. This type of coping can be understood as "trying harder to please all of the people all of the time" (a strategy which is common among overachievers and "pleasers"). The assumption underlying this approach to coping is that role demands are fixed and unchangeable and that the main task is attempting to meet them - a passive or reactive orientation toward one's roles. Only three categories are listed under "reactive role behaviour":

III. Reactive Role Behaviour

A. Plan, schedule, organize better. Increase efficiency of role performance.
B. No conscious strategy. No attempt to control role demands or own responses. Passive orientation toward role conflicts.

C. Working harder to meet all role demands. Do all that is expected. Work harder, devote more time and energy inputs to role performance.

Of the three types, only Type I strategies are considered coping in the strict sense of the term, i.e. dealing with the objective reality of the situation. The other two types are defenses, i.e. altering one's feelings or perceptions in response to the situation.

Since Hall's initial article (1972) appeared describing his coping model, numerous studies have been conducted using his framework to examine women's coping behaviour, satisfaction and coping effectiveness. These empirical studies will be reviewed next, before proceeding to describe the final two approaches to classifying coping (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978 and Elman & Gilbert, 1984).

**Empirical Studies Utilizing Hall's (1972) Model**

Hall (1972) began his studies of role conflict in married women with the expectation that, since research has shown that role conflict is a negative experience, people generally strive to reduce feelings of conflict. Eliminating conflict at its source in the environment - redefining the actual expectations of others - was seen as likely to provide the most long-term relief and therefore prove to be the most satisfying coping strategy. The other two types implied wasted energy involved in distorting expectations of others or performing under role overload conditions.

In Hall's initial pilot study, three groups of college-educated women were asked to identify their most salient and prominent life roles, and to list any conflicts or strains that they experience or have experienced between roles. These conflicts were coded into categories, based on the sources of pressure which produced them: home (for example, wife or mother role), non-home (employment, volunteer work), self (personal desire for free time to develop other interests such as sports, for
instance, or to take courses) and time.

Coping strategies were obtained by asking the following open-ended question: "How do (did) you attempt to deal with these conflicts?" Responses to this question were grouped into sixteen strategy categories, under the three broad categories of structural role redefinition, personal role redefinition and reactive role behaviour. Satisfaction was measured by the question: "Overall, how satisfied do you feel with your career?"

Following the pilot, Hall conducted a more systematic study to test the validity of the coping strategies and the relationship between coping and satisfaction. The questions on role conflict and coping were basically the same as those used in the pilot. Satisfaction was measured with the following general question: "Overall, how satisfied do you feel with your roles in life?", indicated on a five-point scale from "dissatisfied" to "extremely satisfied."

In Hall's pilot study on role conflict and coping strategies, he found that satisfaction was positively related to the number of Type I strategies employed, that neither of the other two types was significantly related to satisfaction. In the second sample he found a similar link between the number of Type I strategies used and level of satisfaction, and also showed that Type III coping was negatively related to satisfaction.

In breaking down results by employment status (employed full-time, employed part-time and "housewives"), the negative effects of Type III coping were shown to be most strongly felt in part-time employment, consistent with the findings of other studies which have investigated the stress experienced by part-time workers (e.g. Hall & Gordon, 1973). Generally, though, the relationships between coping and satisfaction for all three groups were very similar.

It is clear, however, that satisfaction with one's career or satisfaction with one's roles in life is not equivalent to finding specific coping strategies satisfactory or effective. Also, since there is no distinction made between coping used for
specific kinds of role conflict (e.g. home, non-home, self), such that role conflicts are paired with specific coping strategies, the trends noted by Hall can be seen only as very global indicators of what kinds of coping might generally be associated with satisfaction.

Hall did suggest that a useful direction for further research would be to consider under what conditions each type of coping is successful. In situations of intrapsychic conflict, coming to terms with one's own attitudes is the core problem. He postulates that in such a situation a person must begin with Type II, Personal Role Redefinition - that is, clarifying and accepting her own attitudes and perceptions - and only then confront her role senders (Type I). Other questions, he suggests, which remain to be explored are whether and how people change coping strategies. Does one type logically precede another, e.g. does IIA, Establishing priorities, logically precede IA, Elimination of certain role activities? Do people rotate strategies, using different ones at different times?

Harrison and Minor (1978) used Hall's model of coping strategies to investigate the relationship between type of conflict, choice of coping strategy and overall satisfaction with role performance among black working wives with children. Types of conflict were conceptualized as combinations of two of the three roles of wife, mother and worker - in other words, wife and worker conflicts, mother and worker conflicts and mother and wife conflicts. Interrole conflicts were expected to be focal for these women, given Hall's (1972) conclusion that the major role problem faced by women is interrole (conflict between roles) rather than intrarole conflict (conflicting expectations within a role).

Harrison and Minor hypothesized that women would use different strategies - Hall's Type I, II and III - for different types of conflict. Specific hypotheses were that satisfaction would correlate with the use of Type I strategies for wife-worker conflicts, the use of Type II strategies for mother-worker conflicts, and the use of Type III strategies for mother-wife conflicts. They also expected to find a
relationship between career satisfaction and professional versus non-professional job status and husband's approval/disapproval of her working.

The measure of role conflict which Harrison and Minor used was a single question, which was asked in relation to each role pair, e.g. "Do you see conflicts between your role as a mother and a wife?" Responses to this item were indicated on a five-point scale: never, every now and then, occasionally, often, or always. Nothing more specific about the conflicts was explored.

Harrison and Minor did find some significant relationships between type of conflict and coping strategies utilized: (1) In wife and worker conflicts, 64% chose Type I strategies, that is, negotiating with husbands and employers regarding conflicting role demands; (2) In mother and worker conflicts, the majority (46%) used Type II, altering their own perceptions and attitudes, e.g. reducing standards for performance in mother or work roles; (3) For mother and wife conflicts, few used Type III (only 15%), the rest used either Type I (44%) or Type II (41%), suggesting that it may be almost impossible in many mother-wife conflicts to simply try harder to meet all demands; one must either alter one's expectations or negotiate with sources of the demands.

Harrison and Minor (1978) also looked at the relationship between choice of strategy for specific types of conflict and level of overall satisfaction with role performance but found no significant relationship. There did prove to be a significant relationship between professional and non-professional job status and career satisfaction, with the professional group clearly more satisfied. In fact, the greatest influence on career satisfaction was whether or not the subject was a professional. Perhaps surprisingly, husband's approval or disapproval of her working had no apparent effect on her level of career satisfaction.

One important thing to note about this study is that this sample of black working women varied in their choice of coping strategy as the identity of role senders changed. The authors speculate that this change relates to the primary
importance of motherhood to these women, in spite of the fact that they are working. Therefore, when the mother role is involved in the conflict - whether with worker or wife roles - priority is accorded to the mother role. Children's role demands appear not to be discussed or negotiated; instead the mother tries to meet all the role demands of children and puts other role demands in second place.

Despite the variation in strategies used by the women in Harrison and Minor's study, almost half of them were satisfied with the way they handled their role conflicts. This suggests that the women have accepted the need to adapt by using different strategies for different situations. The socialization process leads women to expect to give priority to some roles and negotiate role demands for others. As a result, Harrison and Minor believe, the women perceive themselves as having adjusted to multiple demands in the best possible way. They are coping in the traditional way (priority to motherhood), accept this as the reality of their lives, and are satisfied.

In a subsequent study, Harrison and Minor (1982) used a similar methodology to explore the relationship between marital status, interrole conflict, coping strategy and satisfaction in a sample of black working mothers. Based on Hall's assertion that the level of conflict experienced, coping strategies and coping satisfaction were in part a function of the number of roles a person performed, Harrison and Minor wished to compare the methods that single and married working mothers used in handling mother-worker conflicts. Their specific hypotheses were that there would be an interaction between marital status and type of coping strategy on satisfaction with (1) the mother role, and (2) the worker role. Thus the emphasis of their second study was narrower and more focused than their 1978 study; in this case, they looked only at mother-worker conflicts and they replaced their former global satisfaction measure with two more specific (but still general) questions: "Overall, how satisfied do you feel with your career?" and "How satisfied are you with your role as a mother?" Each of these satisfaction items were scored
on a three-point scale from "strongly dissatisfied" to "very satisfied."

Harrison and Minor (1982) found that there was a significant interaction between marital status and coping strategy on satisfaction with the mother role. The majority of single employed mothers used Type III strategies, and those who did were satisfied with their performance in the mother role. Married employed mothers, by contrast, tended to use Type II strategies more frequently, and were also satisfied with their mother role performance. A smaller percentage of the married women also chose Type III, but these tended to be less satisfied with their mother role than those who chose Type II. Half of the women who used Type II strategies (personal role redefinition) coped consistently by prioritizing the mother role.

Satisfaction with the mother role was also examined in relation to marital status and coping strategies and no interaction effect was evident. However, single mothers were significantly more satisfied with their worker role than married employed mothers.

The authors conclude that their findings do support the hypothesized relationship between marital status, coping strategy and satisfaction with the mother role. In cases of conflict between the mother and worker role, the married women did not attempt to change the expectations of role senders but rather redefined internally how they would respond to the expectations. Single mothers, by contrast, did not attempt to change external demands or their own perceptions of the conflicts, but rather attempted to improve the quality of their role performance so they could better satisfy the demands of all role senders. Both groups were satisfied with their performance in the mother role.

The greater satisfaction with the worker role among single mothers is interpreted by Harrison and Minor as an indication that a greater number of options are open to those with fewer roles. The absence of a wife role apparently made it possible to adopt a style of coping that maximized satisfaction in both roles.
Consistent with the findings in Harrison and Minor's 1978 study, married working mothers more often found themselves in a position of having to choose to assign priority to one role over others, and, as previously, it was the mother role that was accorded this priority.

Gray (1980a,b, 1983) conducted a study of 232 married women doctors, lawyers and professors to investigate their attitudes toward their roles and how they cope with role conflicts. Coping strategies were classified into the sixteen categories identified by Hall (1972). Gray looked at the linkages between specific coping strategies and satisfaction, thus yielding more precise information than previous studies which looked only at satisfaction associated with each of the general types (I, II and III) as a whole.

Gray collected her initial data by means of a questionnaire which she developed for her study. Items were based on information obtained in a pilot study containing open-ended questions. The questionnaire on which the main study was based contained 64 fixed-choice items and one open-ended question. One set of questions looked at personal attitudes towards roles. Such questions represented an attempt to examine women's experience of conflict in more detail than any of the previous studies using Hall's model. Specific attitudes examined in these questions include feelings about having or wanting children, feelings about actual or potential child care arrangements, effects of her employment on children, feelings about household chores, and the relative importance of roles. Another set of questions looked at attitudes of significant others, such as husbands, families and colleagues.

The final set of questions of Gray's questionnaire measured the coping strategies that women utilize. To develop the coping items, Gray translated each of Hall's sixteen strategies into behaviour statements with which one could indicate agreement or disagreement (on a four-point scale), such as "Family members share household tasks with me."
Satisfaction was measured by only one item on Gray's questionnaire. Subjects were asked, "How satisfied are you with the way you have dealt with possible role strains in your life?", and to indicate a response on a four-point scale ranging from extremely dissatisfied to extremely satisfied.

Gray found strong positive associations between satisfaction and strategies of having family members share household tasks, reducing standards within certain roles, and considering personal interests important. Negatively related to satisfaction were overlapping roles, keeping roles totally separate, attempting to meet expectations of all, eliminating entire roles, and not having any conscious strategies for dealing with role conflicts.

From the results of her study Gray (1983) concluded that professional women today demonstrate a much more serious commitment to their careers than indicated, for example, in Paloma's study (1970), over a decade earlier. The women in Gray's study appear to have worked out a variety of ways of overcoming limitations on their professional involvement, such as hiring outside help to assist with chores, sharing responsibility for household tasks with family members, and a lesser number (14%) were considering not having children.

Gray concluded that no one way of coping was right for every woman; rather each had to decide how to balance her roles within the context of her unique situation. Although flexibility and a constant re-evaluation of needs may be necessary, it appears that the challenges of managing a complex repertoire of roles, for most of the professional women in Gray's study, were well worth the rewards.

Finally, one of the most recent studies to examine coping from the perspective of Hall's model (1972) is Shachar and Gilbert's study (1983) of the role conflicts and coping strategies of working lesbians. Shachar and Gilbert noted that all preceding research on women's work-related role conflicts focussed exclusively on the experiences of heterosexual women. The first purpose of their study was to investigate the salient areas of role conflict among a sample of working lesbians.
In contrast to most previous studies which have restricted their investigation to conflict between roles, Shachar and Gilbert examined both interrole and intrarole conflict (i.e. conflict within a particular role). They were particularly interested in the question of whether the women perceived their lesbianism as influencing their experience of interrole and intrarole conflicts. A second purpose of their study was to ascertain whether self-esteem appeared to be a factor influencing the conflicts these women experienced and the coping strategies they employed.

The authors note that although Hall initially proposed that Type I strategies were the most adaptive, as they involved dealing directly with the source of the conflict, subsequent research studies (such as Harrison and Minor, 1978) do not support this view. Shachar and Gilbert point out that Type I strategies may not always prove to be the most functional. "Lesbians... whose personal identity may be in conflict with role demands may find a strategy which redefines their internal perceptions of a role (Type II) to be as functional a strategy as one which restructures the external role demands (Type I)" (p. 246).

Rogers' (1961) self theory provides a conceptual framework through which Shachar and Gilbert understand some of the potential conflicts of lesbians. Adaptive development, according to Rogers, requires the accurate perception and subsequent integration of social expectations with personal values. Because heterosexuality is such a pervasive social expectation in our society, those whose sexual preference differs from this norm and whose personal values do not conform to the majority may experience psychological and possibly interpersonal conflicts, Shachar and Gilbert summarize the potential role of self-esteem in affecting the nature and extent of role conflicts that lesbians experience:

The social expectations for sex-appropriate sexual preference may conflict with lesbians' personal values. That is, if society's and important role senders' beliefs about sexual preference do not correspond with what individuals want for themselves or with how they think others want them to be, then, according to Rogerian theory, psychological conflict results. .. Individuals who have achieved a congruence between their personal values
and social expectations feel a greater sense of self-acceptance and self-competence than those who have not (Rogers, 1961), and thus may experience less conflict in their interactions with various role senders. (p. 246)

Shachar and Gilbert expected that those with high self-esteem and a stronger sense of self might be more likely to actively negotiate with role senders (Type I) and/or employ the strategies that focus on personal role redefinition (Type II). Two hypotheses were tested pertaining to both interrole and intrarole conflict: (1) subjects using strategy Types I and II would report less stress due to role conflict and greater satisfaction with coping than would subjects using Type III, and (2) subjects using strategy Types I and II would report higher self-esteem than would subjects using Type III.

Two kinds of data were collected in their study by means of a questionnaire developed by the first author: (1) descriptions of role conflicts, and ratings on two aspects of the conflict - stress level and degree of lesbian contribution; and (2) strategies for dealing with conflict and coping satisfaction. Self-esteem was measured by a second instrument, the Texas Social Behaviour Inventory (Helmreich and Stapp, 1974).

Although Shachar and Gilbert do not highlight this fact, the questions used in their study to elicit descriptions of role conflict and coping were phrased in such a way that specific situations were provided by subjects rather than generalizations about the kinds of conflict they usually experience or how they usually cope. Similarly, the ratings of degree of conflict and coping satisfaction were situation-specific, in contrast to previous studies which used much more global questions (such as Hall (1972), "Overall, how satisfied do you feel with your roles in life?"). An approach which is based on specific situations yields much more precise information about conflict, coping and satisfaction than provided in responses to more general questions, and is similar in method to the present study using the Critical Incident Technique (Flanagan, 1954).
Shachar and Gilbert classified the role conflict data in terms of the role or role pair involved in the conflict. Coping strategies were placed by raters into Hall's three major coping categories.

By far the most frequent category of interrole conflict reported was between lover and work roles. Other common but less frequent types were between work and political activist roles, lover and daughter, and lover and political activist roles. Stress associated with their interrole conflicts was generally high and they perceived their lesbianism as contributing moderately to the conflict. Central themes expressed in interrole conflicts related to the allocation of time and energy between roles and the conflict between the needs or interests of role senders (e.g. lover or employer).

The most frequently mentioned areas of interrole conflict were in the work role, the daughter role and the lover role. Self-esteem levels and conflict ratings did not differ between subjects reporting the three kinds of intrarole conflict. Conflicts in the work role tended to focus on feeling socially unacceptable in a heterosexual, male-dominated work environment. Daughter role conflicts typically concerned the pressure of parental expectations which they did not want to meet. Unlike interrole conflicts, subjects perceived their lesbianism as contributing substantially to their intrarole conflicts. However, the levels of stress experienced in the two kinds of conflict (interrole and intrarole) were similar, as were the levels of coping satisfaction.

Several patterns were evident in the data on coping strategies, coping satisfaction and self-esteem. Reactive strategies (Type III) were used more frequently for conflicts within a role than for conflicts between roles. However, as predicted, those who used Type III strategies for intrarole conflicts reported lower satisfaction with their coping than those who used Type I or Type II. Contrary to prediction, the subject's level of self-esteem appeared to be irrelevant to either the level of experienced stress or the type of coping utilized for intrarole conflicts.
Active negotiation (Type I) strategies, were more often used for interrole than for intrarole conflicts. Subjects who used Type III strategies for interrole conflicts reported lower self-esteem than those who used strategies of personal role redefinition (Type II). (Although the self-esteem levels associated with use of Type I were also quite high, the differences in self-esteem in those using Type III vs. Type I was not statistically significant.) Contrary to prediction, self-esteem did not prove to have any relationship to the level of stress experienced in interrole conflicts.

In reviewing their results, Shachar and Gilbert note a number of trends in the role conflict and coping of the working lesbians in their sample. Worker-lover conflicts were the most frequently reported interrole conflicts. The nature of worker-lover conflicts were not perceived by subjects as particularly related to their sexual orientation. It would appear that the conflicts associated with managing a work role and a partner relationship which lesbians experience are similar to those of heterosexual women. Strategies involving active negotiation and altering one's perception of the situation proved to be the most popular for these interrole conflicts and were also associated with the highest self-esteem.

In contrast to interrole conflicts, subjects perceived being lesbian as highly related to their conflicts within roles. The most frequent themes expressed in conjunction with work and daughter roles were concerns about not wanting to meet the expectations or demands of role senders because of one's sexual preference. Some of these women, for example, were working in environments where being known as a lesbian could jeopardize their job security and career development. Others were contending with pressures from parents to get married and have children, conflicts which in some cases seemed to be complicated by ambivalence and contradictory values.

Reactive (Type III) strategies were used for intrarole conflicts almost as often as active negotiation (Type I) strategies. Type III strategies seemed to be
necessary when a lesbian found herself in a no-win situation with regard to parents' or employers' expectations. If she chooses a Type I strategy and discloses her lesbianism, she may risk either loss of affection or employment. If she chooses a Type II approach and tries to change her perception of the role, she may increase the strain by maintaining a heterosexual image. Avoidance may indeed prove to be the most effective strategy for some kinds of conflicts. However, Shachar and Gilbert point out that such strategies may be effective politically, but appear not to be very satisfying personally. Environmental realities apparently influence the choice of coping style more when expectations conflict within a role than when conflict arises between roles.

One of the comments Shachar and Gilbert make in conclusion is that their study was limited by the fact that respondents were not asked to rate the effectiveness of their coping strategies. They point out that effectiveness and satisfaction with coping may represent separate dimensions. In an effort to get at this dimension of coping effectiveness, the present study will replace the previous rather vague and global measures of satisfaction with a measure of perceived effectiveness of specific coping strategies in specific conflict situations.

**Pearlin and Schooler's Research on "The Structure of Coping"**

Pearlin and Schooler (1978) undertook one of the most ambitious single studies of role conflict and coping to be found in the literature. Their study is valuable, to the present purposes, for a number of reasons: (1) the research was conducted using both male and female subjects, enabling gender comparisons to be made of conflicts, coping and coping effectiveness; (2) classification schemes were developed in the study for both role conflict and coping; and (3) complex statistical analyses were undertaken to enable the assessment of the relationships between a number of factors, including conflict, coping strategies, coping effectiveness, gender and age characteristics, and psychological resources such as self-esteem and self-mastery. Both the concepts applied and the results obtained in Pearlin and
Schooler's research will have potential importance for the present study. By reviewing their approach and their findings here in some detail, it will be possible (in Chapter V) to compare them with the findings of the present study.

The term coping is used by Pearlin and Schooler (1978) to refer to "any response to external life strains that serves to prevent, avoid or control emotional distress" (p. 3). Coping is thus understood, by definition, as inextricably linked to the life strains experienced by people and the state of their inner emotional life. The domain of life strains investigated by Pearlin and Schooler are the everyday problems experienced by a cross-section of people (2,300 in total) in "typical" life roles. Their investigation was directed to "the persistent life strains that people encounter as they act as parents, job holders and breadwinners, husbands and wives. By strains we mean those enduring problems that have the potential of arousing threat, a meaning that establishes strain and stressor as interchangeable concepts" (p. 3).

By analysing data yielded through unstructured interviews, Pearlin and Schooler developed (and refined through factor analysis) a series of structured questions to elicit specific information for a questionnaire on role conflict, coping and coping effectiveness, to be used in subsequent interviews. The authors provide only a partial listing of the factors identified and the myriad of questionnaire items yielded by their role conflict data. The four major conflict categories they report are listed below with examples of the subtypes under each of the role strain categories. (Each of these subtypes corresponds to a number of items on their questionnaire.)

I. Marital Strain
   A. Non-acceptance by spouse
   B. Non-reciprocity in give and take
   C. Frustration of role expectations

II. Parental Strain (pertaining to parents with children aged 16 to 21)
   A. Deviations from parental standards of behaviour
B. Non-conformity to parental aspirations and values
C. Disregard for parental status

III. Household Economics Strain
A. Standard of living brinkmanship (i.e. living "on the brink" of one's financial capacity)

IV. Occupational Strain
A. Inadequacy of rewards
B. Noxiousness of work environment
C. Depersonalization in the work environment
D. Role overload

For each of the strain items, a corresponding set of questions was developed to measure emotional distress. In assessing emotional distress, Pearlin and Schooler rely on subjects' reported experience of emotional upset as their indicator of stress. They focus only on unpleasant feelings of which people are aware, rather than inferring any kind of unconscious conflict processes. The authors define emotional distress as follows:

Not all... unpleasant feelings necessarily represent what we regard as stress. Emotional stress, as we conceive of it, is primarily distinguished from other negative states by its specificity. It is specific in two related aspects: by being determined by particular strainful and threatening circumstances in the environment and by being a condition that has clear boundaries rather than an enveloping, total state of the organism. (p. 4)

The concept of emotional distress is thus distinguished from severe anxiety or depression, which are more intense and enduring, as well as more global and diffuse.

Coping is described by Pearlin and Schooler in much more detail than role conflict categories. First, however, they make an important distinction between social resources, psychological resources and specific coping responses. People's coping responses, or what people do, are distinguished from what is available to
them (resources) in their coping repertoires. **Social resources** are represented in the "interpersonal networks of which people are a part and which are a potential source of crucial supports: family, friends, fellow workers, neighbors and voluntary associations" (p. 5).

**Psychological resources** are defined by the authors as "the personality characteristics that people draw upon to help them withstand threats posed by the events and objects in their environment. These resources, residing within the self, can be formidable barriers to the stressful consequences of social strains" (p. 5). The three main psychological resources which were measured by Pearlin and Schooler are self-esteem, self-denigration and mastery. "Self-esteem" and "self-denigration" are opposites and reflect the extent to which one holds positive versus negative attitudes towards the self. "Mastery" concerns "the extent to which one regards one's life choices as being under one's own control in contrast to being fatally ruled" (p. 5). Other aspects of personality that were measured, representing potential psychological resources for coping, include denial, general tendency toward escapism, and dispositions to move toward or away from people when troubled. However, these last four factors were deleted from later analysis, as they proved to have no significant impact on coping efficacy.

**Specific coping responses** are defined by Pearlin and Schooler as "the behaviors, cognitions and perceptions in which people engage when actually contending with their life problems. The psychological resources represent some of the things people **are**, independent of the particular roles they play. Coping responses represent some of the things that people **do**, their concrete efforts to deal with the life strains they encounter in their different roles" (p. 5). The authors also stress that although an individual's coping responses may well be influenced by their psychological resources, psychological resources and coping responses are conceptually and empirically independent.

Analysis of subjects' responses to the coping questions yielded a total of
17 factors, which Pearlin and Schooler describe under three major types of coping responses. These coping responses are categorized by the nature of their functions: (1) responses that change the situation out of which strainful experience arises; (2) responses that control the meaning of the strainful experience after it occurs, but before the emergence of stress; and (3) responses that function more for the control of stress itself after it has emerged.

The first type of coping, responses that modify the situation, would seem to be the most direct coping method, as they are aimed at altering the conflict at the source. Three of Pearlin and Schooler's seventeen factors clearly fit within this category: (a) negotiation in marriage; (b) the use of punitive discipline in parenting; and (c) optimistic action in the occupational role. Two of their other factors could be seen as potential preparatory actions to modifying the situation: seeking of advice in marital and parental roles.

Despite the fact that this type of coping would seem at face value to be the most effective or desirable coping response, since it eliminates or deals with the problem at its source, comparatively few of Pearlin and Schooler's subjects reported using this strategy. The authors speculate on possible reasons for this:

First, people must recognize the situation as the source of their problem before they can mobilize action toward modifying it, and such recognition is not always easy. Next, even when the sources are recognized, people may lack the knowledge or experience necessary to eliminate or modify them. Third, actions directed at the modification of one situation may create another unwanted situation, resulting in an inhibition of the coping action. Finally, some of the most persistent strains originate in conditions impervious to coping interventions, thus discouraging individual ameliorative coping efforts. (p. 6)

Pearlin and Schooler's second major category of coping response is responses that function to control the meaning of the problem. Such responses can be effective in neutralizing the threat posed by the event. Lazarus (1966) has pointed out the influence of perceived meaning to the experience of threat. "The way an experience is recognized and the meaning that is attached to it determine to a large extent
the threat posed by that experience. Thus, the same experience may be highly threatening to some people and innocuous to others, depending on how they perceptually and cognitively appraise the experience" (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978, p. 6).

This second type of coping was by far the most prevalent in Pearlin and Schooler's sample. One example of coping mechanism under this category is the making of positive comparisons. Basically, this strategy involves alleviating the perceived hardship of one's situation by adopting an attitude of "counting one's blessings," or comparing one's situation to others' and realizing "we're all in the same boat." Comparisons can also be made from a temporal frame of reference, for example viewing the current situation as an improvement over the past or a forerunner to an easier future. The making of positive comparisons is a category which applied to all four of the coping response categories (Marital, Parental, Household Economic and Occupational).

Another coping mechanism under the category of responses that function to control the meaning of the problem is selective ignoring. Such a coping response essentially involves looking for the positive side to an otherwise negative situation and thus "trivializing the importance of that which is noxious and magnifying the importance of that which is gratifying" (p. 7). Two strategies which are similar to selective ignoring entail a hierarchical ordering of life priorities, the substitution of rewards in the occupational arena, and the devaluation of money in the arena of household economics. Both of these help a person to avoid stress by viewing the strainful experiences as occurring within the least valued areas of life.

The third major type of coping, like the second, is geared to managing stress rather than attempting to alter the stress-provoking situation. In this case, rather than altering one's perception of the stressful event itself (as in the second type), one adopts a philosophy that makes the suffering tolerable, such that one can "convert the endurance of unavoidable hardships into a moral virtue" (p. 7). Pearlin
and Schooler offer a number of examples of this type of coping which came out in their exploratory interviews, all of which are familiar examples of "conventional wisdom": "try not to worry, because time itself solves problems; accept hardship because it is meant to be; avoid confrontation; those who are good-naturedly forebearing will be rewarded; take the bad with the good; just relax and difficulties become less important; everything works out for the best" (p. 7).

Four of Pearlin and Schooler's seventeen factors can be viewed as functioning primarily for stress management. The first two are strategies in the realm of marital conflict: emotional discharge (the "expressive ventilation of feelings") vs. controlled reflectiveness (e.g. thinking over marital problems or reading books or magazines about how to get along in marriage); and passive forebearance (avoiding spouse, giving in and compromising one's position, keeping hurt feelings to self) vs. self-assertion (openly recognizing problems and moving toward conflict resolution). In the parental arena, a stress management factor is potency vs. helpless resignation, where resignation that the child is beyond influencing relieves the parent of a sense of failure and guilt. Finally, in the arena of household economics, optimistic faith in one's financial future can relieve stress by adopting the attitude that things will get better if one only waits.

In evaluating the effectiveness of coping, Pearlin and Schooler sought a way of addressing the fact that there is great variation in the stress people feel in response to life strains, such that a given conflict situation might be experienced quite differently by two different people. It is here that their measures of emotional distress come into the picture.

The effectiveness of coping behavior... cannot be judged solely on how well it purges problems and hardships from our lives. Instead it must be judged on how well it prevents these hardships from resulting in emotional distress. Indeed, our criterion for weighing efficacy is simply the extent to which a coping response attenuates the relationship between the life strains people experience and the emotional stress they feel. (p. 8)
The variables used in the analysis of coping effectiveness include the life strains people experience in each of the four conflict areas, their psychological resources, the coping responses they utilize and the emotional stress they feel. Results indicated that there are indeed distinct differences in which strategies are perceived as effective, depending on the roles involved. Specific differences in effectiveness appeared to exist between what coping responses work effectively in close interpersonal relationships and those judged effective in the more impersonal role domains.

With relatively impersonal strains, such as those stemming from economic or occupational experiences, the most effective forms of coping involve the manipulation of goals and values in a way which increases the distance of the individual from the problem. On the other hand, problems arising from the relatively close interpersonal relations of parental and marital roles are best handled by coping mechanisms in which the individual remains committed to and engaged with the relevant others (p. 18).

In analysing whether specific coping responses varied in their degree of effectiveness, Pearlin and Schooler found that "most effective" and "least effective" responses could be identified in all role strain categories except occupational, but the effect of any single coping mechanism was rather modest. One unexpected finding was that self-reliance was found to be a more effective coping response in reducing stress in marriage and parenting arenas than was seeking help or advice from others. From this the authors draw an interesting conclusion.

This unexpected finding reminds us that help-seekers are not necessarily the same people as help-receivers, for the most effective copers may be those who have the capacity to gather support from others without having to solicit it. At any rate, it is evident that we do not yet know the conditions under which help from others can be effective. (p. 10)

In economic and, to a lesser extent, occupational roles, Pearlin and Schooler found that the most effective types of coping involved the manipulation of goals and values. In the economic realm, reducing the importance of monetary success
seems to buffer the effect of financial difficulties. A related coping response which appeared to be effective for occupational conflicts was the "substitution of rewards," such that intrinsic rewards of work are devalued in favour of such extrinsic rewards as pay and fringe benefits. In other words, some occupational conflicts can best be handled by distancing oneself from the conflict, placing secondary importance on work, and focusing only on the tangible benefits of the job as a means to enjoyment in other arenas of life.

In the realms of marriage and parenting, however, distancing strategies appear to be least effective. What works in these situations is making a more direct attempt to resolve the problem.

In marriage it is a reflective probing of problems, rather than the eruptive discharge of feelings created by the problems, that is among the more effective responses. Similarly, the most effective type of response to parental strains is not resigned helplessness, but the conviction that one can exert a potent influence over one's children. (p. 11)

Pearlin and Schooler found that the trend in coping effectiveness described above in terms of engagement/disengagement in problem-solving in marriage, parenting, money and work arenas, occur independent of the intensity of role strains. Disengagement appears to be consistently effective in work and financial domains, whereas active involvement works best in marriage and parenting, regardless of the magnitude of the problem.

Psychological resources proved to play an important role in influencing the degree of emotional distress one experiences when faced with a conflict. Most important was freedom from negative attitudes towards the self; second was the possession of a sense of control over the forces impinging on one; and third was the presence of favourable attitudes towards the self. Pearlin and Schooler were also able to analyse the relative influence of psychological resources and coping responses utilized and found that in situations where individuals have little direct control - finances and job - psychological characteristics are more helpful in lessening
emotional distress. In close interpersonal relationships of one's marriage and parent roles, "it is the things one does that make the most difference."

Having a varied repertoire of coping responses was found to guard one more effectively against emotional distress than utilizing a narrower range of coping alternatives. The one exception, again, was in coping with occupational problems, where the diversity of one's repertoire of coping responses had no bearing on the degree of emotional distress one experienced.

Finally, Pearlin and Schooler looked at whether differences in role strain, coping responses and coping effectiveness could be detected based on sex, age, education or income. Three of the coping responses which proved to be most common among women involved selective ignoring, a response which, in marriage and parenting, clearly proved to exacerbate stress. Males were also clearly much better equipped with psychological resources and employed more of the effective responses than did females. The authors speculate that this difference between the sexes, "the greater inclination of women to psychological disturbance... is a consequence not only of having to bear more severe hardships, but also of their being socialized in a way that less adequately equips them with effective coping patterns" (p. 15).

Age, on the other hand, proved to be an irrelevant factor in effectiveness of coping. Education and income, on the other hand, did have a direct bearing on both self-attitudes of mastery and self-esteem and coping effectiveness.

The three groups, in summary, that appear to be at a disadvantage in the relative absence of personality characteristics and response repertoires which proved to help alleviate emotional distress are women, the less educated and the poorer. Unfortunately, as Pearlin and Schooler note, these are also the groups which tend to be exposed to the greater hardship. This observation lends some urgency to the need to understand the processes by which coping responses and resources are developed.

As a final note, Pearlin and Schooler observe that much of our coping is
directed toward finding ways of dealing with problems that we cannot avoid and situations where possible individual action is limited.

Such coping at best provides but a thin cushion to absorb the impact of imperfect social organization. Coping failures, therefore, do not necessarily reflect the shortcoming of individuals; in a real sense they may represent the failure of social systems in which individuals are enmeshed. (p. 18)

One domain of inquiry which was deliberately excluded from Pearlin and Schooler's study was the study of strains associated with role or status transitions which occur in the normal life cycle. Another area they excluded was the conflict associated with unusual and unexpected crises. Each of these areas has been examined by other authors (e.g. McCubbin et al, 1980). It is not possible, for the present purposes, to examine the extensive body of literature on coping with crises, but a brief look at one author's view of strategies for coping with role transitions will be helpful here. First, however, it will be useful to look at a recent approach to research on coping which combines some of the major features of the approaches previously discussed.

**Combining the Coping Models of Hall and Pearlin and Schooler: A New Approach**

Elman and Gilbert (1984) investigated strategies for coping with role conflict and coping effectiveness using an innovative method which combines aspects of Hall's model (1972) with some of the stress management strategies discussed by Pearlin and Schooler (1978). Elman and Gilbert make a distinction between problem-focussed coping strategies, aimed at changing the role conflict situation itself, and emotion-focussed strategies which serve to alleviate the emotional reaction arising from the stressful situation. In their view, Hall's three major types of coping are all problem-focussed. These three types and their definitions were adopted as coping categories in Elman and Gilbert's study, with one modification. Hall's Type III, Reactive Role Behaviour, is replaced by a category called Increased Role Behaviour, where one strives to meet existing role demands by such methods
as working more efficiently and planning time more carefully to try to fit everything in.

To the problem-focussed categories borrowed from Hall, Elman and Gilbert add two emotion-focussed strategies taken from a general stress and coping model developed by Lazarus and Launier (1978). The first emotion-focussed strategy is Cognitive Restructuring which refers to changes in attitudes which modify the meaning of the conflict situation for the individual. Examples of this strategy would be adopting the attitude that "it could be a lot worse" or "this is a natural feeling/reaction for working parents." (This category is the same as Pearlin and Schooler's (1978) second major category, responses that function to control the meaning of the problem.) The second emotion-focussed strategy which Elman and Gilbert refer to is Tension Reduction. This category includes such behaviours as changes in eating, sleeping or exercise patterns and/or overt expression of feelings about the situation. This last category of coping was not directly addressed by either Hall or Pearlin and Schooler.

Elman and Gilbert also investigated a number of factors related to choice of coping strategy and to coping effectiveness: self-esteem, career engagement, spouse support and social support. A questionnaire was mailed to a sample of married professional women who were employed full-time and had pre-school children. Like many previous studies, their questionnaire asked women about the conflicts they generally experience between parental and professional roles and their typical ways of handling these conflicts.

Coping was measured in their questionnaire by means of 39 items pertaining to the five coping categories. Subjects were asked to indicate on a seven-point scale how typical each statement was of the ways they cope with conflicts between parent and professional roles. Examples of items used under each of the coping categories are listed below.
Structural Role Redefinition - Try to develop a compromise solution with others involved.

Personal Role Redefinition - Reduce my involvements in one or more roles.

Increased Role Behavior - Try to work more efficiently so I can get everything done.

Cognitive Restructuring - Decide the areas causing me stress aren't that important.

Tension Reduction - Do something to take my mind off the problem.

To measure degree of conflict and coping effectiveness, Elman and Gilbert included two items which asked subjects to rate on a seven-point scale how much conflict they generally experience and how effective they generally were at handling conflicts between parent and professional roles. Other seven-point scales were used to measure career engagement, spouse support and social support.

Although Elman and Gilbert predicted that the greatest coping effectiveness would be associated with use of Structural Role Redefinition and Personal Role Redefinition strategies, this was not borne out in their results. Instead, they found that the highest degrees of coping effectiveness were associated with the use of Increased Role Behaviour and Cognitive Restructuring. As predicted, the personal and situational variables had significant positive associations with coping effectiveness. They also found that lower levels of conflict were associated with higher levels of self-esteem, career commitment and social support.

The strategies, in order of frequency of use, were Increased Role Behaviour, Cognitive Restructuring, Personal Role Redefinition, Structural Role Redefinition and Tension Reduction. Elman and Gilbert conclude that the women most typically used coping strategies in which responsibility for conflict reduction remains with the individual. With Increased Role Behaviour, an individual tries to "do it all" by working harder and more efficiently, and in Cognitive Restructuring and Personal Role Redefinition, one thinks about the situation differently or alters one's
conception of the role. Structural Role Redefinition and Tension Reduction strategies were endorsed significantly less than the three other strategies.

In Elman and Gilbert's view, the relative infrequency of structural change strategies may be in part attributed to the fact that the women in their sample are at early stages of their professional careers, and may feel they cannot ask for structural changes. The demanding and less secure nature of the early period of one's career may necessitate coping strategies which may be less typical at later stages of the career cycle. Also, the fact that the professional role is still considered non-traditional for women means that these women still face skepticism from others about their presence and their abilities in their chosen fields, as well as their ability to juggle family and professional roles. The authors also speculate that professional women with young children may feel a desire and an obligation to fulfill many aspects of the parenting role rather than delegating those responsibilities, out of a sense of guilt about their perceived neglect of the parental role. They may be less likely to modify their standards, self-expectations, or personal role conceptions, since to do so would be equivalent, for them, to a reduction in career involvement which they find unacceptable.

Elman and Gilbert also make an important point relating to spouse and social supports as factors in women's successful management of multiple roles. They point out that the most effective kind of role management may ultimately require an examination of the underlying assumptions and expectations associated with male and female roles and career-family involvement.

Unambiguous social support for the integration of professional and maternal roles can facilitate changes in personal (and perhaps stereotypic) views of home and family responsibilities. Indeed, an internal change in role definition may be a prerequisite to external change. Self-expectations may need to be altered before a woman is willing to ask others to assume some of the duties assigned to women on the basis of their gender or to change societally based expectations for her behavior and life goals. (p. 325)
The perspective which Elman and Gilbert bring to the problem of role conflict and coping serves as a reminder of the importance of the context with which this review began - the social and psychological issues associated with the female role - in understanding the role conflicts women experience and what it means for them to cope effectively with these conflicts. The authors note in closing that more sophisticated approaches to the measurement of perceived role conflict and coping effectiveness would be fruitful directions for further research.

**Coping with Role Transitions**

Sales (1978) provides a useful perspective on coping in examining the ways women cope with role transitions. Role discontinuity, or stress resulting from role transitions, can be eased, according to Sales, in four ways, each of which constitutes an effective coping strategy.

The first strategy is to **develop one's ability to adapt to changing expectations**. Flexibility will ease access into new roles and demands. The ability to respond readily to changing roles is one which may come easily to women, as they have been trained to place primary importance on the needs and expectations of others, rather than their own goals (Angrist & Almquist, 1975).

The second strategy Sales identifies is to **use available social supports to ease role entrance**. Such supports can take a range of forms from college orientation programs, to premarriage and childbirth courses to job training programs. The third related strategy is to **seek information about new roles from others**. Informal communications between women can often facilitate the transition, and friends or parents may offer assistance in clarifying the expectations for an unfamiliar position.

The final strategy that Sales suggests for coping with role transitions is to **ensure that these are other valued roles in one's repertoire** (Maas & Kuypers, 1974). The continuity provided by life roles which are in a stable pattern can lessen the otherwise radical change that can occur with the loss or addition of a significant
role. Thus a couple may find it easier to relocate to another community than a single person would; a woman may find it easier to return to the workforce while her children are still at home than having to cope with the double stress of loss of important functions in the parenting role and a new career role.

**Role Conflict and Coping Strategies of Dual-Career Couples**

A great many studies have been conducted in recent years on role conflict and role management of dual-career couples. Although an in-depth treatment of this literature is beyond the scope of the present review, a summary of some of the central themes of this research may be helpful here.

Skinner (1980) provides a useful framework from which to examine the body of literature on dual-career family stress and coping. The broad categories in which the studies are grouped are those related to: (1) the etiology of dual-career stress; (2) the impact of strain; and (3) coping strategies.

The first category focusses on the sources of dual-career family stress or role strain, including **internal strain**, arising within the family, and **external strain**, the result of conflict experienced by the dual-career family in relation to other societal structures. Research on internal strains has focussed on four main areas: (1) overload issues, including factors contributing to experienced stress; (2) identity issues, focussed essentially on gender or sex role conflicts experienced by high-achieving women; (3) role cycling issues, related to tying in the couple's role decisions to family needs through the different stages of family development; and (4) family characteristics as variables in experienced levels of role strain.

Research on external sources of role strain is grouped into three categories: (1) normative issues, or conflicts associated with traditional expectations of significant others who are outside the immediate family; (2) occupational structure, where issues such as inflexibility of work hours and geographical considerations are examined as sources of stress; and (3) social network dilemmas, including the relative isolation and the family insularity which can occur in overload situations.
Research on the impact of role strain in dual-career families is summarized by Skinner (1980) into three types: (1) those which focus on the marital relationship, in terms of adjustment, happiness and satisfaction, as well as topics like the division of labour in child and house care; this category would also include studies which look at the impact of various levels of career involvement of the female in the couple on the level of role strain experienced; (2) the study of sex differences in experienced role stress (indicating quite consistently that role strain occurs with more frequency and intensity for the women in dual-career families); and (3) effects of the dual career situation on children.

Skinner (1980) places the research on coping strategies into two very general categories: (1) coping behaviour within the family system, such as prioritizing role activities, compromising and mutual support; and (2) coping behaviours involving external support systems, as in hiring outside help for child care and/or home care, associating with others who have a similar lifestyle, and restructuring work arrangements.

The final subject area in the literature on dual-career couples which Skinner reviews briefly is counselling interventions. Some of the themes in this latter category are dissemination of information relevant to their lifestyle; marriage and family therapy; group support sessions; and the role of the practitioner in lobbying for institutional changes to support dual career couples.

Where relevant, studies on dual-career couples have been cited elsewhere in the present review. It is clear from the above summary that many of the perspectives and approaches applied in studying conflict and coping of women as individuals have counterparts in the study of dual-career couples and family dynamics.

**Conclusion**

The preceding review has summarized the approaches which have been taken
to the problem of role conflict and coping. We have seen that the female role itself predisposes women to certain kinds of role conflict. We have examined a variety of conceptual frameworks which have been offered to illuminate some of the psychological and practical problems of role management. A wide range of factors have been reviewed which influence the nature and extent of the conflicts women experience. We have also looked at some of the classification schemes which summarize coping alternatives and discussed which strategies seem to work best to reduce stress or resolve conflict.

Most of the research in this field has approached the issues of role conflict and coping by asking women to generalize about the conflicts they experience and the coping strategies they employ. None of the studies of role conflict described earlier developed any kind of detailed model of conflict types. Although much more attention has been paid to developing and evaluating models of coping, the two major models - Hall (1972) and Pearlin and Schooler (1978) - developed their models by asking general questions, rather than eliciting specific examples of conflict and coping situations. Much of the literature reviewed here has highlighted issues of career decision-making and the management of career in addition to other roles, yet none of the studies have drawn on clients of career counselling agencies.

In order to address some of the limitations of previous research on role conflict and coping, to build on their results, and to gather new information which can be used to assess previous approaches to the phenomena, the present study will depart from previous approaches in some significant ways. The methods used in the present study are summarized next in Chapter III.
CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

This chapter will describe the research methods which were used in this study, including measuring instruments, the research design, the critical incident technique, sampling methods and characteristics of the sample, and procedures followed in collecting the data.

Some of the procedures used in analyzing the critical incident data arose from decisions made during the process of analysis, in keeping with the inductive process of formulating categories using critical incident procedures (Flanagan, 1954). Since some of the specific procedures followed in the course of analysis grew out of the initial results of the study, these have been included in Chapter IV.

**Measuring Instruments**

Two measuring instruments were utilized in this study: (1) the Client Survey: Women's Employment Project; and (2) the Questionnaire on Role Conflict and Lifestyle. These questionnaires are displayed in Appendix A and Appendix B, respectively.

**Client Survey: Women's Employment Project**

The Client Survey: Women's Employment Project (W.E.P.) was designed by the author in order to develop a profile of the client population at the W.E.P. in terms of (Part A) demographic characteristics, and (Part B) counselling services utilized and degree of satisfaction with the services obtained. Only Part A of the Client Survey is directly relevant to the present study. Part B addresses the program evaluation needs of the W.E.P. (Canada Employment and Immigration Commission), and therefore results of this part are not included among the data reported here.
Variables from Part A of the Client Survey which are directly relevant to the present investigation include: Age, Marital Status, Parental Status, Education Level, Occupation, Employment Status and Income (see Appendix C). Responses on these variables were matched with subjects' responses on the Questionnaire on Role Conflict and Lifestyle.

**Questionnaire on Role Conflict and Lifestyle**

**Instrument Development.** The Questionnaire on Role Conflict and Lifestyle was developed by the author in order to collect "critical incidents" (Flanagan, 1954) of role conflict as well as descriptions of how these conflict situations were handled. These descriptions were used to develop comprehensive classification schemes for Types of Role Conflict and Coping Strategies. The role conflict examples recounted by the subjects included situations which they consider that they handled effectively, as well as those which were handled ineffectively. For situations they handled ineffectively, subjects were asked to generate alternate, preferable coping strategies to the ones they actually utilized, i.e. ways that they would like to have handled the situations. These descriptions were used to develop a comprehensive classification scheme for Hindsight Strategies.

Some aspects of the design of the Role Conflict questionnaire have been adapted from Holahan and Gilbert's Questionnaire on Role Conflict and Lifestyle (1979a,b). Specific features which have been adapted for this questionnaire include the notion of rating the importance of life roles, some of the definitions and examples, and self-ratings on a seven-point scale for degree of conflict and effectiveness of strategies.

Original aspects of the questionnaire design are, most importantly, the use of the Critical Incident Technique to investigate the problem of role conflict and coping, and the case examples used. Hindsight strategies also have not previously been collected, nor have comparisons been made between role value and time/energy
invested in role-related activities. The crucial advantage of the Critical Incident Technique over Holahan and Gilbert's technique is the reporting and rating of concrete incidents rather than generalized behaviour patterns. In this way, much more precise behavioural descriptions can be obtained, and much more refined conclusions can be reached about the "critical requirements" for effective coping in particular types of conflict situations.

**The Critical Incident Technique.** The Critical Incident Technique as described by Flanagan (1954) has been useful in research in counselling and psychotherapy, where "current techniques emphasize overall impressions, opinions and reports of single cases" (p. 354). By obtaining self-reported behavioural descriptions of a collection of single cases, both intrasubject and intersubject comparisons can be made. In the realm of individual psychology, intrasubject behaviour patterns can shed light, for example, on the standards women employ in evaluating their own behaviour in conflict situations. Looking at intersubject patterns of conflict and identifying coping situations which are problematic for large numbers of women will be instructive in developing counselling interventions and programs tailored to the expressed needs of the client group.

The Critical Incident Technique is designed "for gathering certain important facts concerning behaviour in defined situations" (Flanagan, 1954, p. 335). These facts are collected "in a rather objective fashion with only a minimum of inferences and interpretations of a more subjective nature" (Flanagan, 1954, p. 335). In order to ensure that subjects in this study understood the "defined situations" which they were asked to report, the meaning of role conflict was clarified in the questionnaire. The objectivity of reports was maximized by avoiding questions requiring interpretation of events such as "Why did this problem occur?" and focussing instead on descriptions of what happened (behaviour).

The Questionnaire on Role Conflict and Lifestyle has been developed according
to guidelines and procedures described by Flanagan (1954). As Flanagan notes, these procedures are intended as a flexible set of principles, to be modified to suit the needs of the investigation at hand.

The procedure Flanagan (1954) describes consists of five steps: (1) Establishing general aims of the activity being investigated; (2) Developing plans and specifications for the study; (3) Collecting the data; (4) Analysing the data; and (5) Interpreting and reporting of results.

The first step in the procedure Flanagan describes is establishing a fundamental orientation in terms of the general aims of the activity being investigated. In the present context, it does not seem to make sense to attempt to identify the aims of "role conflict activity." It makes more sense to think about the aims of coping activity, although the specification of aims in this case would rest on a set of theoretical assumptions about the nature of personality and human motivation, looking at coping, for example, in terms of stress or conflict reduction or a striving to maintain inner or interpersonal equilibrium. Alternatively, the aims of specific coping activities may be inferred retrospectively in examining coping styles. We can infer, for example, that coping behaviours designed to appease others might be differently motivated than behaviours where the subject clearly asserts her own needs and wants in dealing with others' expectations of her in a given role.

Looking more closely at studies where the Critical Incident Technique has been used, it seems that identifying the general aims of an activity is less important in studies of personality than in studies, for example, in a training context, where aims are more easily specifiable in terms such as "efficiency," "development," "production" and "service" (Flanagan, 1954, p. 337). The purpose of a study by Eilbert (1953), for example, was to develop a functional description of emotional immaturity and to classify immaturities into a comprehensive set of categories. Similarly, Flanagan (1978) wanted to develop an empirical definition of the quality
of life of adults and build a set of categories for classifying quality-of-life components. In cases such as these, the aim of the activity being investigated is less relevant to identify in planning the investigation. More useful would be to apply the results of the study in exploring motivational questions once the behaviours have been classified.

Both Flanagan (1954) and Andersson and Nilsson (1963) caution that the "criticalness" of a given behaviour in determining a "success" or "failure" outcome cannot be objectively established in situations where the aims of the activity can only be stated in very general terms. This is illustrated in Andersson and Nilsson's study on reliability and validity of the Critical Incident Technique in analysing the job of store managers in a grocery company (Andersson & Nilsson, 1963). In this study, critical incidents of successful and unsuccessful store managing were collected from four groups - superiors, store managers, assistants and customers. Since there was no specific statement of appropriate aims for store managers' activities, no objective criteria were available for assessing the criticalness of incidents reported. "The policy of the business enterprise was defined in very general terms. For that reason, the approval or disapproval of a certain behavior expressed by the person giving information must be taken as the only criterion of whether an incident was critical or not" (Andersson & Nilsson, 1963, p. 398).

The aims of store managing activity could perhaps be more clearly stated after the critical incidents had been collected. Both the problem situations selected and the remedial action described imply that certain assumptions are operating in the mind of the observer concerning the aims of the activity in question.

As a result of the ambiguity of aims for coping activity, subjects in this study can be seen as in the best position to judge the "criticalness" of conflict incidents from their own experience. More refined information was obtained by having subjects assign numerical ratings to their own experiences. The "Degree of Conflict" variable provides a quantitative means of discriminating the severity
of conflicts experienced. Similarly, "Degree of Effectiveness" provides a quantitative measure of the extent to which coping behaviour was judged successful or unsuccessful. What is not clear is the extent to which the subject perceives her coping behaviour as causing successful or unsuccessful outcome (causal attributions), or whether the subject assumes that luck or other uncontrolled factors had the decisive impact on the outcome. However, patterns of behaviour which are identified from the classification of incidents should suggest directions for further research to investigate the influence of causal attributions (e.g. Weiner, Russell & Lerman, 1979) on coping behaviour.

Developing plans and specifications for the study, the second step in Flanagan's procedure, relates primarily to the process of establishing validity and reliability. This second step will thus be described in the following section (Validity and Reliability) in terms of methods used to maximize the objectivity of data collected. Since the final three steps in Flanagan's procedure pertain to the collection and analysis of data and the interpretation of results, they will be discussed later in Chapter III and in Chapter V respectively.

**Validity and Reliability.** Since this instrument is new and has only been tested in a small pilot study, no validity has yet been established. However, establishing validity is less of a problem in research where behaviour is observed than in psychometric assessment. "Although [establishing validity] is frequently a significant problem in psychometric assessment, it is less so in intensive experimental [or descriptive] research because we are more likely to be observing the actual actions or characteristics of an individual and not inferring them from a test score" (Anton, 1978, p. 129). Validity is instead assured as much as possible by maximizing the accuracy of subjects' self-reports.

Flanagan (1954) points out two of the most important factors affecting the accuracy of subjects' reports. "The accuracy and therefore the objectivity of judgments depends on the precision with which the characteristic has been defined
and the competence of the observer in interpreting this definition with relation to the incident observed. In this latter process, certain more difficult types of judgments are required regarding the relevance of various conditions and actions on the observed success [or failure] in attaining the defined purpose for this activity" (p. 335).

Validity of the Questionnaire on Role Conflict and Lifestyle has been partially established in this study by minimizing the risk of inaccurate reporting in a number of ways. One factor serving to minimize this risk is that the focus of the investigation is on women's perceptions of their own experience and behaviour, and as such "subjective" self-report is appropriate; "objective accuracy" is less relevant in this study than "subjective accuracy."

The questionnaire asks subjects to report on extremes of behaviour, namely high conflict-highly effective coping and high conflict-ineffective coping situations. Since written questions and reports cannot elicit some of the subtleties which might emerge through personal interviews, subjects are asked to report behaviour judged as extreme or outstanding in terms of both effectiveness and ineffectiveness. The rationale for focussing on extreme incidents is described by Flanagan (1954), "It is well known that extreme incidents can be more accurately identified than behavior which is more nearly average in character" (p. 338). As a check on the extremity of reports, subjects were asked to rate degree of conflict experienced and degree of effectiveness for each incident and coping strategy reported.

Another procedure to maximize the accuracy of results is that subjects are asked to report recent incidents. This ensures that incidents are representative of actual happenings and distorted as little as possible by the passage of time and inaccurate memory. In addition, Flanagan (1954) notes that the accuracy of reports should be apparent from the data itself. "Evidence regarding the accuracy of reporting is usually contained in the incidents themselves. If full and precise details are given, it can usually be assumed that this information is accurate. Vague reports
suggest that the incident is not well remembered and that some of the data may be incorrect" (p. 340).

In a small pilot study, ten clients of the W.E.P. were requested to complete the Questionnaire on Role Conflict and Lifestyle and return it by mail. Results of the pilot sample indicated that concepts and instructions seem to be understandable to subjects, and the incidents reported fit the desired criteria.

In contrast to validity, the reliability of classification schemes is much easier to establish and to quantify. As Flanagan states, "Once a classification system has been developed for any given type of critical incidents, a fairly satisfactory degree of objectivity can be achieved in placing the incidents in the defined categories" (p. 335).

Reliability of the three classification schemes in the present study was established, as Flanagan and Andersson and Nilsson (1963) suggest, by having independent raters classify a sample of incidents into the classification schemes. About 70% of the incidents were selected as samples for measuring the reliability of each of the classification schemes (Role Conflicts, Coping Strategies and Hindsight Strategies). Each sample consisted of one prototypical example of each category, and a number of additional incidents from the larger categories, proportional to their frequencies.

The measure of reliability is the extent to which raters can correctly classify incidents into the schemes provided. Reliability is thus expressed in terms of percent agreement. Results of the reliability measures in this study are summarized at the end of Chapter IV.

**Design**

The present research study falls into the category of "descriptive research" (Borg & Gall, 1979, p. 405), or more specifically the method of systematic data collection entitled "survey research." This study addresses both of the objectives
of survey research described by Borg and Gall (1979): (1) to collect information, and (2) to explore relationships between different variables.

The method to be used in the present study would be considered a "cross-sectional survey," since the information will be collected essentially at one point in time. For purposes of this study, demographic variables were actually measured several months prior to collecting information on role conflict and coping. However, little change was expected to occur on demographic variables in the time between administration of the two questionnaires.

Relationships between variables in the study were examined in terms of "time-bound association," since measures, for example, of type of conflict and coping strategies occurred at a single point in time, namely the time when the questionnaire was administered. Although time-bound associations may be noted in relationships between variables, no causal relationships can be inferred from these associations.

**Sampling and Data Collection Procedures**

The target population of this study was women seeking career counselling at the Women's Employment Project, Vancouver, British Columbia. This centre is operated by the federal government (Canada Employment and Immigration Commission), and offers women a variety of employment services, such as information on occupations, the labour market and training opportunities, vocational testing, and career counselling for individuals and groups. A list of the major services available at the W.E.P. is provided in Part B of the Client Survey: Women's Employment Project (Appendix A).

One of the services offered by the W.E.P. which is unique among the federal centres in British Columbia which provide employment services (Canada Employment Centres) is the availability of personal counselling, that is, counselling focussed on exploration and problem-solving across a range of lifestyle, relationship and
personal issues. Although many of the conflicts or difficulties clients bring to personal counselling are not, strictly speaking, "career-related," many of them have a critical influence on career decision-making, for example, weighing the potential effects of career decisions on family, friends, lifestyle and so on.

A total of 2,054 women visited the W.E.P. during the first thirteen months of its operation, from the time the centre opened in May 1980 to the end of June 1981. For the Client Survey, a "cluster sample" was chosen, consisting of 851 clients who visited the W.E.P. during the period from September 1980 to February 1981. This sample constituted about 41 percent of the total W.E.P. clients during that thirteen-month period.

The cluster sampling method is appropriate in this instance, as indicated by Borg and Gall (1979): "In cluster sampling the unit of sampling is not the individual but rather a naturally occurring group of individuals. Cluster sampling is used when it is more feasible or convenient to select groups of individuals than it is to select individuals from a defined population" (p. 187).

A relatively large sample of 851 clients was chosen in order to allow for the possibility of a low response rate to the first questionnaire, the Client Survey: Women's Employment Project, and still have a sufficient number of responses for a useful evaluation of the centre's services. Although the analysis of the evaluation results was beyond the scope of the present study, participation in the role conflict study was predicted on return of a completed Client Survey questionnaire, where subjects were also asked to indicate whether they were willing to participate in further research (see Appendix A).

The Client Survey: Women's Employment Project was mailed to the 851 clients in October 1981, along with a cover letter (Appendix A), outlining the purposes of the program evaluation, as well as the role conflict research. Several weeks later, a follow-up letter (Appendix A) and second copy of the Client Survey were sent to the non-respondents (except the 146 or 17% whose questionnaires were
respondents marked, "moved, no forwarding address," "not at this address" or "no such address"). A total of 339 completed Client Surveys were received, a response rate of just under 40 percent.

Of the 339 respondents to the first questionnaire, 250 subjects or 74 percent indicated that they were willing to participate in the second phase of the research. The majority of these 250, 170 or 68 percent, indicated that they preferred to have the second questionnaire mailed to them. The remaining 32 percent (80 women) stated that they would prefer to meet with the researcher in small groups and discuss the subject before completing the Role Conflict questionnaire.

In July 1982, the Questionnaire on Role Conflict and Lifestyle and cover letter (see Appendix B) were mailed to the 170 subjects who indicated a preference for this method of participating in the research. Several weeks later, a follow-up letter (see Appendix B) and second copy of the questionnaire were sent to non-respondents. In both cases, stamped, self-addressed envelopes were enclosed with the questionnaire.

A total of 36 usable questionnaires were received (21% of those mailed). Several others completed only the role rating sections. Some wrote only a note or letter, describing why they chose not to complete the questionnaire and/or provided general observations, thoughts or feelings about role conflict. Only those who gave at least one specific example of a role conflict situation and how they dealt with the situation were included as data in the present study.

Three meetings were also set up at a local community centre for subjects who indicated a preference for this method of participating in the research. This yielded an additional ten usable questionnaires.

The 46 usable questionnaires were then reviewed to separate out those which contained career-related incidents, since the present analysis was to be restricted to career-related conflicts. The seven questionnaires which provided no career-related incidents were thus excluded from the study, resulting in a total
of 39 subjects and 93 critical incidents of role conflict and coping. A breakdown of these incidents by conflict type is included in Chapter IV.

Code numbers were used to identify subjects on both questionnaires, so that responses on the Client Survey could be matched with subjects' responses on the Questionnaire on Role Conflict and Lifestyle. Demographic data on the 39 subjects was thus extracted from information contained in the first questionnaire. A summary of the characteristics of the sample is provided in the following section.

**Characteristics of the Sample**

Demographic data on subjects is outlined in summary form in Tables 1, 2 and 3. Table 1 gives frequency distributions for each of the major characteristics of subjects which were collected in the study. Tables 2 and 3 show cross-tabulations of variables which were likely to pertain most directly to women's experience of role conflict: Employment Status by Student Status (Table 2) and Marital Status by Parental Status (Table 3). Some of the main characteristics of subjects which are highlighted in these tables are summarized below.

Table 1 indicates that, of the 39 subjects in the sample, the majority (64%) were employed: 17 full-time and 8 part-time. Fourteen subjects or 36% were not employed, and of these only 5 were actively seeking work. Fifteen of the subjects were students: 9 full-time and 6 part-time, and 3 were planning to begin a program of studies within the next six months.

Table 2 shows that the largest group of subjects (30.8%) were employed full-time and not students. The next largest group (23.1%) were full-time students. Next in order of frequency were the 12.8% who were employed part-time and not students; and the 10.6% who were neither employed nor students (probably seeking career counselling with the intention of returning to the work force). Those who were combining work and student roles (perhaps the most likely candidates for role overload) represented 12.8% of subjects. Three of the subjects (7.7%) were
Table 1
Background Information on Subjects (n = 39)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed Full-time</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed Part-time</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not employed</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actively seeking work</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(10.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not actively seeking work</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(25.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Full-time</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Part-time</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will be student within 6 months</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not a student</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation (Employed only, n = 25)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial, Administrative and Related</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Sciences and Related</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching and Related</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine and Health</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artistic, Literary and Performing Arts</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Related</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and Related</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects' Annual Income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$0 - 4,999</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>48.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000 - 9,999</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000 - 14,999</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000 - 19,999</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,000 - 24,999</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25,000 - 29,999</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table continued...)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Partners' Annual Income (n = 10)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under $10,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000 - 19,999</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,000 - 29,999</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30,000 - 39,999</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$40,000 or More</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Indicated</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 10 or Less</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational (Post-Secondary)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's Degree (Complete or in Progress)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Graduate (Complete or in Progress)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Indicated</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 34</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 44</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 54</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 - 64</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital Status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated or Divorced</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living with Partner (Not Married)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parental Status (Age of Youngest Child Living at Home)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Children</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youngest Child Pre-school Age</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youngest Child Elementary School Age</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youngest Child Secondary School Age</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youngest Child Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parental Status (Number of Children Under 18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living at Home, n = 14)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Child</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Children</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2

Employment Status by Student Status
(n and % of Total)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student Status</th>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>Not Employed</th>
<th>Employed Full-time</th>
<th>Employed Part-time</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not a Student</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 (10.6%)</td>
<td>12 (30.8%)</td>
<td>5 (12.8%)</td>
<td>21 (53.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Student Full-Time</td>
<td>9 (23.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9 (23.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Student Part-Time</td>
<td>1 (2.6%)</td>
<td>2 (5.1%)</td>
<td>3 (7.7%)</td>
<td>6 (15.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Will Be Student Within 6 Months</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (7.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (7.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>14 (35.9%)</td>
<td>17 (43.6%)</td>
<td>8 (20.5%)</td>
<td>39 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3
Marital Status by Parental Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Parental Status</th>
<th>Age of Youngest Child</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pre-School</td>
<td>Elementary School</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Children</td>
<td>13 (33.3%)</td>
<td>2 (5.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated or Divorced</td>
<td>5 (12.8%)</td>
<td>3 (7.7%)</td>
<td>4 (10.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>2 (5.1%)</td>
<td>1 (2.6%)</td>
<td>2 (5.1%)</td>
<td>1 (2.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living with Partner</td>
<td>2 (5.1%)</td>
<td>1 (2.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22 (56.4%)</td>
<td>7 (17.9%)</td>
<td>6 (15.4%)</td>
<td>1 (2.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
employed full-time and planning to become students within the next six months. Only one subject was a part-time student and not employed.

Although annual income of the subjects ranged up to $30,000 per year, the majority (11) of those reporting income (22) earned less than $10,000 per year, while 9 earned between $10,000 and $20,000 per year. The 17 subjects who did not report an income were added to the $0-4,999 category of annual income, making a total of 48.7% of subjects in the lowest income category.

Although education levels of the subjects in this study range from grade nine to doctoral degrees, the majority were quite well educated: only 3 subjects had less than grade 12, while 28 (about 72%) had at least some post-secondary education or training, and 12 of these 28 (about 31% of subjects) had education beyond the level of a bachelor's degree. (Given the corresponding income levels of this group of subjects, one could surmise that a number of the employed women may be "underemployed," not utilizing their full level of education, skill or ability in their jobs. This may, in fact, be one of the significant reasons that they are seeking career counselling.)

The subjects in this study range in age from 21 to 57 years, with a mean age of 34.3 years. Two thirds of the subjects fell between the ages of 25 and 39 years.

Almost 75 per cent of subjects were currently either single (15), separated or divorced (14). Seven (18%) of the subjects were married and three were single but living with a partner.

About 44% of the women (17) were parents. Eight of these had pre-school children at home, 7 had elementary school aged children at home, 3 had secondary school aged children at home, and 4 had other children (generally post-secondary) living at home. Table 3 shows that, of those with children living at home (17 subjects), the largest group (7 subjects) had a youngest child who was pre-school age. However, almost as many (6 subjects) had a youngest child who was elementary
school age. Only four subjects had teenage or older children as the youngest child living at home. A total of 11 subjects were single parents (not living with a partner), representing 64.7% of the parents in the sample.

Of the 14 parents with pre-school and/or school aged children at home, only 3 of these had a combination of pre-school aged and school-aged children. The average number of children among the 14 parents with pre-school and/or school aged children at home was 1.5 (7 subjects had one child, 6 had two children and one had three children). Only 5 of the 14 parents with school-aged or younger children at home reported using daycare services, either cooperative, community or private.

Of the 14 parents with pre-school and/or school-aged children at home, only 4 were currently married and living with their partners (husbands). Nine of these women (about 65%) were single parents (7 through separation or divorce, 2 never married). One woman was divorced but currently living with a new partner and the children. Of these 14 parents, 8 were employed (5 part-time and 3 full-time) and 4 were students (3 full-time and one part-time). Three of the employed mothers were also part-time students. Two of the mothers in the sample were not employed.

The majority of subjects (56.4% or 22 subjects) had no children. Most of those (18 subjects) were either single, separated or divorced. The four other subjects without children were living with partners; two of these were married.

Data Analysis

The section which follows outlines the important considerations in analysis of critical incidents, as described by Flanagan (1954). The application of these principles and procedures to the present study is also summarized.

Analysis of Critical Incidents

The purpose of the analysis of data collected in the present study by means
of the Critical Incident Technique is to provide a functional description of role conflict and coping activity in terms of specific behaviours. The efficient summarization and description of data will facilitate the effective use of results for many practical purposes, while sacrificing as little as possible of the comprehensiveness, specificity and validity of the data.

Flanagan (1954) identifies three primary problems involved in the analysis of critical incident data: (1) the selection of the general frame of reference that will be most useful for describing the incidents; (2) the inductive development of a set of major area and subarea headings; and (3) the selection of one or more levels along the specificity-generality continuum to use in reporting the behaviours. Each of these problems is discussed below.

**Frame of Reference.** The most important consideration in selecting a frame of reference for reporting the data is that of the uses to be made of the data. Other considerations are ease and accuracy in classifying the data, relationship to previously developed definitions and classification systems, and issues related to interpreting and reporting.

It is hoped that the classification schemes for role conflict and coping which are developed out of the present study will be useful for a variety of purposes. The investigation of the experience of role conflict in its various forms ideally will contribute to both a theoretical and practical understanding of role conflict and the strategies women judge to be most effective in coping with role conflicts. Practical applications to counselling will include implications for the design of developmental, preventive and remedial programs intended to assist women in dealing with anticipated or existing conflicts. Preventive programs would be particularly important for women in periods of role transition, where taking on a new role or dropping one requires new coping skills (Schlossberg, Troll & Leibowitz, 1978). Mothers, for example, who anticipate re-entering the work force or
educational system after several years dedicated to full-time childrearing could be assisted in anticipating the role conflicts which are most likely to occur and the family adjustments which will probably be required (Brooks, 1978). A program for re-entry mothers could be developed based on the results of the present study to address issues related to the management of work and family roles (e.g. Astin, 1977; Farmer, 1975; Gray, 1980a; House, 1980; Shelton, 1976).

In order to maximize the usefulness of the classification schemes developed for role conflict and coping strategies for both theoretical and practical purposes, the frames of reference adopted should be applicable to identifying, measuring and training in the competencies required for effective coping (Klemp, 1979). Each type of problem situation (role conflict) will likely require specific competencies, although some generic competencies may apply to successful coping across situations. The classification schemes developed should facilitate the translation of findings into practical applications such as developing competency-based programs. As such, the terminology should be as free as possible of specialized or technical jargon, yet precise enough to be accurately descriptive.

In order to prevent systematic bias in the formulation of categories, no previously developed classification schemes for role conflict or coping strategies will be utilized in the present context. Instead, relationships to previously existing models will be examined and discussed once the categorization has been completed.

**Category Formulation.** Flanagan (1954) describes five steps which should be followed in the formulation of categories to classify critical incidents. These steps will be applied in the present study toward the analysis of incidents of role conflict, coping and hindsight strategies.

The five steps of the analysis outlined by Flanagan are as follows: (1) Sort a relatively small sample of incidents into piles that are related to the frame of reference selected; (2) Briefly define each category and classify additional incidents into these categories; during this process, note any needs for redefinition and the
development of new categories; (3) Modify tentative categories as indicated and continue the process until all the incidents have been classified; (4) Divide the larger categories into subgroups and place together incidents that describe very nearly the same type of behaviour; (5) Re-examine definitions for all the categories and major headings in terms of the actual incidents classified under each.

Generality Versus Specificity of Behavioural Descriptions. The final step in the analysis of critical incidents is to determine the appropriate level of generality-specificity to use in reporting the data. This involves weighing the relative merits of the simplicity achieved with a small number of categories versus the elegance and specificity of a more elaborate system. According to Flanagan (1954), a general classification scheme might consist of about twelve broad behavioural categories, whereas a more detailed system might contain as many as several hundred categories. The judgment as to the appropriate number of categories is to be determined according to the needs of the particular study. It was difficult to estimate in advance the number of categories which would be appropriate in classifying role conflicts and coping strategies. It would seem that somewhere between twenty-five and fifty categories of role conflict and coping would provide a suitable balance between generality and specificity for the present purposes.

Flanagan (1954) presents six guidelines for establishing major headings and subheadings and describing behaviour at the selected level of generality-specificity. These guidelines, briefly, are as follows: (1) The classification system should be clear-cut and logical with a discernible and easily remembered structure; (2) Headings should be stated in terms which are meaningful to the reader without the need for detailed explanation; (3) Categories should be homogeneous, that is, headings should be parallel in content and structure; they should be neutral in character, not defining either unsatisfactory or outstanding behaviours; (4) Headings of a given type should all be of the same magnitude or level of importance; (5) Headings
should be selected such that the summarization of findings in terms of them will be easily applied and maximally useful; (6) The list of categories should be comprehensive and cover all incidents having significant frequencies.

**Decisions to be Made in the Course of Analysis**

It is clear from Flanagan's description of procedures to be used in analysing incidents that many decisions about category formulation must be made during the course of analysis. Information yielded at each stage of analysis is used to gradually refine the categories and their definitions.

Since decisions arising during the process of analysis grew out of the initial results of the study, they will be summarized next, in Chapter IV. Following a description of these decisions and the rationale for each will be the classification schemes for role conflict, coping strategies, and hindsight strategies with definitions and illustrative examples of each.
CHAPTER IV
RESULTS

The main purpose of this chapter is to summarize the results of the analysis of critical incidents. However, it will be useful first to outline some of the dilemmas which arose and the decisions which were made in the process of analysing the critical incidents. One reason for doing so is to enable potential replication of the study, to leave open the possibility of retracing the steps, perhaps making different decisions, and coming up with alternate ways of analysing or presenting the data in this or related studies. Making explicit the decisions made in the present study is also a way of, as much as possible, remaining "true to the phenomena" of role conflict and coping strategies as experienced by the women in the study.

Stanley and Wise (1983) point out how "being true to the phenomenon" necessarily involves explicitly acknowledging the role of the researcher.

'Be true to the phenomenon' is an axiom often stated within the naturalistic approach [to research]. It suggests that we should attempt to represent reality as it is experienced and lived by the people we carry out research on. But the only way that it is really possible to do this is for those people themselves to present their own analytic accounts of their own experiences. . . Researchers should [also] present analytic accounts of how and why we think we know what we do about research situations and the people in them. . . we should be much more concerned about presenting ourselves and our understandings of what is going on, by examining these in their context. (p. 167-168)

In other words, just as the context in which a subject's conflict and coping occur is important to understanding their meaning, so should decisions made in the process of analysing the data be acknowledged as important influences on the final form which the results assume and the conclusions which are reached.
Dilemmas and Decisions Made During the Process of Analysis

The decisions made during the process of analysing data in the present study are summarized below under three headings: (1) the selection of the general frame of reference that will be most useful for describing the incidents; (2) the inductive development of a set of major area and subarea headings (category formulation); and (3) the selection of one or more levels along the specificity-generality continuum to use in reporting the behaviour. These headings correspond to the three problems in the analysis of critical incidents which Flanagan described (1954), as outlined in Chapter III.

Frame of Reference

Two issues arose at the outset in setting the general frame of reference for describing the incidents. The first task was to separate out career-related from non-career related incidents. The second issue was to decide what kind of superordinate categories would provide the most useful framework for later analyses and applications.

Separating Out Career-Related Incidents. A total of 163 critical incidents of interrole and intrarole conflict, generated by 46 subjects, formed the initial pool of conflict items (an average of 3.54 incidents per subject). These incidents were to be sorted into two categories: career-related and non-career related. The basic criterion for considering an incident "career-related" was whether one or more career roles were centrally highlighted in the subject's description of the conflict situation. To be "career-related," it was essential that the conflict was attributed by the subject primarily to career wants, expectations or demands, including conflicts between career and other roles.

Career-related roles included three given to the subjects in the Questionnaire on Role Conflict and Lifestyle: Employee, Student and Professional (no subjects
reported conflicts in the Employer role); as well as some labelled by subjects as "Self as a Self-Actualizing Person" conflicts, but which highlighted career issues. Other roles involved in career-related conflicts were those subjects defined themselves, listed under the "Other" category in the role ratings section of the questionnaire (section A), namely Job-Seeker, Tradesperson, Breadwinner and Provider. The number of incidents which were clearly career-related, at this preliminary stage of analysis, was 87.

Thirteen incidents were identified as marginally career-related. In these cases, a career role was not the primary focus in the subject's description of the conflict, yet in deciding what to do about the conflict, she was clearly taking into consideration the likely impact of alternate courses of action on her career role.

Table 4 summarizes the rationale and decisions made in relation to each of the marginally career-related incidents. It was decided that six of these incidents should be included in the career-related category. The remaining seven incidents were classified as non-career related and were thus excluded from subsequent analyses.

One interesting point that becomes clear in reviewing the decisions made in relation to the thirteen marginally career-related incidents is that boundaries are often not clear between roles involved (or not involved) in a conflict situation. Career conflicts often have spillover effects in personal relationships, and vice versa. Conflicts which are "acted out" in one arena sometimes appear to originate in an entirely different role or roles, and such original sources of conflict are sometimes not explicitly addressed by the parties involved.

Adding the six incidents from the marginal to the career-related category resulted in a total of 93 career-related incidents. This represented 57% of the total (163) incidents reported.

**Superordinate Categories.** The second issue related to selecting a general
### Table 4

Decisions Regarding Marginally Career-Related Incidents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incident Number</th>
<th>Career-Related</th>
<th>Rationale for Decision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10-2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Conflict occurs during period that subject is unemployed and looking for work, but relates mainly to disagreements with partner over household matters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106-4</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Conflict concerns desire to celebrate after completion of exams; sister wants her to attend niece's birthday party. Could be a broader issue in relationship with sister, but arises in this case due to the student role.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168-3</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Conflict of not having enough time to spend with son, having to cook and clean. Son spends 8 ½ hours a day with a babysitter. The problem arises since she is working all day as student.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191-1</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Subject describes conflicts with family which arise since she hasn't chosen traditional roles (could be work or other). Description of conflict is too vague and ambiguous.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>531-3</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Pressure from mother for subject to visit her in Winnipeg. Subject mentions having no money to travel, since she is not working, but when working she wants to holiday elsewhere. Issue seems to be ongoing problem with mother, which apparently occurs regardless of her work situation/status.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>539-2</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>New role of employee requires her to make arrangements for getting her horses ridden. She no longer has time to ride them herself due to work demands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>539-3</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Conflict concerns personal business of house she owns jointly with mother. New husband feels he should take over house matters; subject disagrees. Conflict is more a partner issue.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incident Number</th>
<th>Career-Related</th>
<th>Rationale for Decision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>567-1</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Subject is interested in travelling to Australia/New Zealand. She wants to go with boyfriend, but this conflicts with his preoccupation with his career. Primarily a partner/leisure issue; career association is only with partner's career.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>677-1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Subject feels pervading self-doubt regarding her actions and priorities, always feeling that she should be studying when doing other things. May be broader than career (student) issue, but subject describes effects as felt primarily in student sphere.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>677-2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Subject describes process of questioning what she should be doing with her life, but in very vague terms, not specific to career. Description is too ambiguous.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>711-2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Issue described is wanting to escape from demands of being a parent and student, but information provided is not specific enough.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>721-4</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mother pressures her to visit more frequently, while subject is preoccupied with studies. Issue with mother seems to be broader than studies, but strongly manifest in mother not valuing/respecting subject's &quot;trying to be somebody in this world.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>744-1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Incident described makes reference to parent, student and leisure/self roles. She is interested in taking a gymnastic course, but student and parent commitments make that difficult.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
frame of reference for describing the incidents was to decide what kind of superordinate categories would be most useful as a basic structure for classifying role conflicts. Given that virtually all of the previous research on role conflict has stressed the salience of the role or roles involved in the conflict, and examined types of conflict and coping in relation to which roles are involved, it was decided that there would be clear advantages to retaining the "role(s) involved" as the first criterion in setting up the classification schemes. It was apparent that such distinctions would be necessary to enable the results of the present study to be compared with those of previous researchers.

The decision concerning superordinate categories was also appropriate in view of the specific questions (in Chapter I) which this study was intended to address. Secondary Question number one, in particular, highlights the roles involved in the conflict as a central feature, or general frame of reference, for the analysis: "Does the nature of role conflicts differ depending on the role or roles involved in the conflict, or do conflicts associated with different roles cluster into similar patterns?"

Since coping strategies have also been most often discussed in the literature in relation to the roles involved, it was decided that the superordinate categories for coping and hindsight strategies needed to take a parallel form to the conflict types. The most general level for classifying coping strategies was thus tied to roles and conflict types, for example, "Coping Strategies for Career-Parent Conflicts." Such a method of organizing coping types was also necessary to answer Secondary Question number 2d, "Do the factors which differentiate coping judged effective versus ineffective differ depending on the role(s) involved in the conflict?"

**Category Formulation**

One issue that became apparent early in sorting incidents into superordinate categories was that use of the Self as a Self-Actualizing Person category would be problematic. It was clear that subjects had interpreted the category a number
of ways and that it would be desirable to place the conflicts subjects labelled as "Self" conflicts under other superordinate categories, if possible.

One example will be useful here to highlight some of the decisions made in reclassifying the "Self" incidents. One case where the "Self" role was used for interrole conflicts was labelled as an "Employee vs. Self" conflict by the subject. The conflict described took place on the job, where the demands of the subject's superiors began to violate her sense of personal values. She wanted a job/career involvement which would be consistent with her personal values. Given the fact that, in her perception, there seemed to be no opportunity to change the circumstances of her current job situation, her dilemma became whether, when and how to leave the job and find a new one. A career transition (at least a job change and possibly a change in career direction) was thus prompted by her desire to get away from the negative aspects of her current job.

One way of classifying the above conflict situation would be to consider it an intrarole conflict within the employee role, where her expectations of herself (and the job) differ from those of her superiors. However, the career transition element of this situation seemed to make it significantly different than the other on-the-job conflicts in the Conflicts within the Employee Role category.

To place this incident in an interrole conflict category, Employee versus Self, was another alternative, but as mentioned previously, to do so would serve to blur the boundaries between interrole and intrarole conflicts. Conflicts subjects described as interrole conflicts with the Self and another role were not sufficiently different from intrarole conflicts (where expectations of self differed from expectations of others).

The way out of this dilemma was to recognize that a fundamental distinction needed to be made between conflicts associated with day-to-day management of a relatively stable role (or roles) and those which were associated with a process
of changing a role, or role transitions. Given that there was some evidence to suggest that role transition themes might be a common thread across conflict types, the 93 career-related incidents were reviewed with this distinction in mind.

At least four general kinds of role transition situations could be found among the incidents: (1) a current role and a potential role are in conflict with each other; (2) uncertainties associated with initial stages of acquiring a new role; (3) letting go of a role which is no longer wanted or needed (by choice) or dealing with involuntary loss of a valued role; and (4) a role has disappeared, and no new role has yet taken its place (typically characterized by feelings of loss and being "in limbo").

The largest group of conflicts involving role transitions - in fact, the largest of all the superordinate conflict categories - was Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions). These conflict situations included students who were discontent with their student role and considering a change or making decisions as they moved into the job market, other dilemmas which arose for non-students in the process of job-hunting, and a variety of other issues which came up as career changes were contemplated. Most of the conflicts subjects labelled under "Self as a Self-Actualizing Person" - both interrole and intrarole - could be subsumed under this new intrarole conflict category of Career Transitions.

Intrarole conflicts were thus divided into three superordinate categories:

I. Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions) (26 incidents)

II. Conflicts within the Employee Role (13 incidents)

III. Conflicts within the Student Role (8 incidents)

The latter two categories above reflected conflicts associated with relatively stable employee or student roles, where no reference was made in the conflict described to any desire or intent to change job or career direction.

Some of the other cases under the "Self" category seemed to relate more
to role overload kinds of problems, such as how to manage one's career and find time to address one's own needs in addition to those of others. In many cases, these "Self" conflicts were tied to partner or family issues, such as the desire to spend more time relaxing and enjoying life with partner or family. Most of these conflicts could be subsumed under Career-Parent or Career-Partner interrole conflict categories.

Sometimes subjects seemed to use the Self role as a "catch-all" or "miscellaneous" category, where it seemed as if many of the subject's roles were in turmoil or flux, and open for reassessment. Most of these incidents could be readily subsumed under the Career Transitions category.

Other role transitions were described in partner and parent categories. In some cases, for example, the career role was relatively stable and the partner role was in transition. In others, the partner role was relatively stable and the career role was in transition. Sometimes both roles were described as relatively stable, and in other cases both career and partner roles were in transition.

In reviewing the group of conflict situations where role transitions were evident, it was clear that a change in one role seemed often to have impact on other roles. This seems to result from the fact that lifestyle changes are implied in most role transitions, and that other relationships are often affected by these changes.

Given that role transitions were apparently significant in interrole as well as intrarole conflicts, it seemed desirable to incorporate this distinction, where applicable, in categorizing interrole conflicts. This distinction proved to be useful and could be readily incorporated in both Career-Parent and Career-Partner conflict categories. The only difference was that for interrole conflicts, the conflicts associated with role transitions are distinguished at the level of basic categories, whereas for intrarole conflicts, this distinction is made at the superordinate category level. (This is due to the fact that the "roles involved in the conflict" is the first
criterion for classifying conflicts. When only one role is involved in the conflict, the question of whether the role is in transition is most salient. When more than one role is involved in the conflict, the fact of one role being in transition is necessarily secondary to the roles themselves in classifying the incidents, because both transitional and non-transitional conflicts have to be incorporated into the classification schemes.)

After separating out Career-Parent conflicts (21 incidents) and Career-Partner conflicts (14 incidents), the remaining interrole conflicts fell into three small categories: Conflicts Associated with Managing Two Career Roles (Employee vs. Other Career Role) (4 incidents); Conflicts Between Career and Family Member Roles (i.e. Sister, Daughter, Aunt) (4 incidents) and Conflicts Between Career and Friend Roles (3 incidents). A summary of all of the conflict types, both intrarole and interrole, by superordinate category, is provided in Table 5.

Another question which arose during the process of category formulation was where to place the dividing line between conflict situations and coping strategies. Subjects were asked on the questionnaire to describe their conflict situations and what they did (or how they handled the conflict). In the two cases where subjects were asked to describe conflict situations they handled effectively, subjects themselves separated the conflict from the coping strategy. For the two examples of conflict situations handled ineffectively (one interrole and one intrarole example), subjects were asked to describe "your conflict situation and how you handled it" all in one narrative. For this latter group of situations, the dividing line between conflict and coping had to be made by the researcher.

In some cases, it seemed that the dividing line between conflict and coping had to be set arbitrarily, and in other cases it seemed more clear-cut. Decisions made in each case had to be consistent with the subjects construction of the situation - what the central problem was from the subject's point of view. The level of precision
Table 5
Career-Related Role Conflicts, by Superordinate Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict Type (Role(s) in Conflict)</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intrarole Conflicts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Career Transitions)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflicts within Employee Role</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflicts within Student Role</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interrole Conflicts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflicts Between Career and Parent Roles</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflicts Between Career and Partner Roles</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflicts Associated with Managing Two Career Roles (Employee vs.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Career Role)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflicts Between Career and Family Member Roles (Sister, Daughter,</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aunt)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflicts Between Career and Friend Roles</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>93</td>
<td>100.1*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Total exceeds 100% due to rounding.
possible in making such decisions was dependent in part on the ability of the subject to conceptualize and articulate the salient features of the situation (from her point of view). As with any "eyewitness reports," individuals varied in their ability to recall specific events and their ability to observe and report significant features of an event. Some subjects provided considerable background information and detail, while others were very brief and to the point. (One example of a conflict described in very brief, but clear, terms was, "I am a cancer nurse and suffered 'burn-out' after four years of it." This was a Conflict Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role, or Career Transition.)

Separating the conflict from the coping strategy was difficult in some cases where it seemed to require artificially arresting what is in reality a process. A conflict is experienced and some initial action is taken. The consequences of this initial action may reveal new aspects of the conflict or create new conflicts. Further action may then be taken to deal with the whole problem, part of the problem, or several problems at once. To further complicate the matter, conflicts can be conceptualized on many levels. For example, a frustrating experience in the student role may be conceptualized as "having a bad day," having a problem with an instructor which needs to be addressed, or as a "last straw" which triggers a desire to change one's program of studies, or to change career direction entirely.

With the incidents subjects provided in the present study, the conflict and coping strategy were separated after the fact, based on the information provided by the subject. This required staying as close as possible to the meaning or interpretation of events described by the subject. Examining a collection of similar incidents often pointed to constructs used across subjects, and these were used, where possible, in category formulation.

Since conflicts and coping strategies were classified separately, it was sometimes necessary to edit the subject's description by adding a phrase for
clarification of the conflict which was implicit in the coping strategy. This was done, for example, in cases where subjects stated a reason why the coping was effective which suggested new information about salient aspects of the conflict. In other cases, information that the subject included in the conflict was really part of the coping strategy, and incidents were edited accordingly. The editing of incidents was only done where necessary for clarification. An effort was made to stay as close as possible to the subject's wording, so as to retain as much as possible of the meaning and "flavour" of the incidents, as reported by the subjects.

Table 6 illustrates the kind of process which was involved in editing some of the incidents. This particular example serves as a useful illustration due to its relative simplicity, and the fact that it highlights three of the issues and procedures in data analysis described earlier: (1) where to place the dividing line between conflict situation and coping strategy; (2) adding phrases or information to the conflict situation which the subject described under the coping strategy; and (3) editing out information which the subject provided under the conflict situation which was more appropriately part of the coping strategy.

Once the preceding decisions were made to "refine" the critical incident data, some fundamental questions remained concerning category formulation. These questions were tied to Flanagan's third issue in data analysis, namely the selection of an appropriate level or levels along the generality-specificity continuum to use in categorizing incidents. A summary of these questions and the decisions made in relation to them is provided next, in the following section.

**The Selection of Levels of Generality-Specificity in Categorizing Incidents**

The level of generality-specificity which was possible in classifying incidents was affected by two factors: (1) the frequency of incidents in each superordinate category; and (2) the amount of detail which subjects provided in the incidents. For superordinate categories with larger numbers of incidents (13 or more), it was
Table 6
Illustration of the Process of Editing Incidents for Clarification

Conflict Type: Interrole - Effective
Roles Involved: Career (Student) vs. Friend

Original Version, As Described by Subject:

Conflict Situation:

My friend said that she needed to talk, she was obviously very upset. I said I was on my way to the library to study, but I said we could go out for coffee the next day and talk.

Coping Strategy:

We did talk and got everything out and made her feel a lot better. The test I was studying for I did well and my friend was happy as well as myself.

Observations:

The importance of the subject's need to study is only revealed in her description of her coping strategy, where she mentions having an upcoming test. One can infer that she was weighing the urgency of her friend's need against the urgency of her need to study, and that if her studying that day was of a more routine nature, she might have responded more immediately to her friend's request. The compromise solution she describes clearly took her own need to study for the test into consideration, and thus the fact of her upcoming test should be noted in the conflict situation. Also, her suggestion that she and her friend go out for coffee the next day is part of "how she dealt with the situation" and therefore should be part of the coping strategy rather than the conflict situation.

Revised Version:

Conflict Situation:

My friend said that she needed to talk, she was obviously very upset. I was on my way to the library to study for an upcoming test.

Coping Strategy:

In view of the importance of my studying, I suggested we could go out for coffee the next day and talk. We did talk the next day and got everything out and made her feel a lot better. It turned out that I did well on the test that I was studying for and my friend was happy as well as myself.
possible to summarize incidents under general (basic) categories, and incorporate more specific information into subcategories. This third level of categorization (i.e. sub-categories or subtypes of conflict and coping) was possible for four of the superordinate categories: Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions) (26 incidents); Conflicts within the Employee Role (13 incidents); Career-Parent Conflicts (21 incidents); and Career-Partner Conflicts (14 incidents). Since both conflicts and coping strategies had identical frequencies, the levels of categorization possible for coping strategies was parallel to conflict types.

For the smaller superordinate categories, namely Conflicts Within the Student Role, Career-Family Member Conflicts, Conflicts Associated with Managing Two Work Roles and Career-Friend Conflicts, it was only possible to group incidents into basic categories. In these cases, the richness of the data is best revealed through illustrative examples, rather than the categories themselves, and it is evident that further research would be necessary to attain a level of detail in categorization which would correspond to that provided in the larger superordinate categories in this study.

Finally, it was necessary to decide on the specific vantage points or frames of reference to use in classifying incidents. In reviewing the incidents, it was clear that the context in which the conflict occurred would likely be important to incorporate somehow in the classification scheme for Conflict Types. However, it seemed that there were at least seven possible ways to view or describe the context of the conflict:

(1) when and where the conflict occurred (e.g. "in the living room after dinner" or "during my third year in university");

(2) background events, e.g. long-standing conflicts with complex histories vs. unique (once only) conflict situations;
(3) who the conflict was with (or was it just "with self")?

(4) what happened (critical events or behaviours, e.g. an argument, or "he walked out. . . ")

(5) what the conflict was about; the content or perceived structure of the situation (e.g. "we were arguing about who should be responsible for certain chores" or "he was trying to get me to back down, but I refused");

(6) what the conflict meant to the subject (e.g. a crucial turning point in the relationship; "this was the last straw," "something had to give");

(7) the source of the demands or expectations which were in conflict (e.g. whose/what demands or expectations are in conflict? Are just her own expectations of herself involved, or do one or more other people's expectations also come into play? What are the perceived causes of the conflict from the subject's point of view (causal attributions) ?)

These seven possible points of view for classifying conflict incidents are not mutually exclusive or exhaustive. Any number of combinations of the above were possible. Further, it seemed important, in remaining "true to the phenomena," not to assume that the frame of reference which fit best for one type of role conflict (e.g. Career-Parent) would fit best for all types.

At this stage the last three points of view or frames of reference were of most interest. It was expected that the most useful categories would incorporate any or all of the following: the meaning of the event for the subject and its perceived structure (including the essential elements of the conflict and the subject's relationship to significant other(s) involved in the conflict) and the causes of the conflict from the subject's point of view. Decisions which were made in relation to the above - namely the specific frame(s) of reference to be used in classifying each group of incidents - are outlined in the three sections which follow. These sections describe
the classification schemes for role conflicts, coping strategies and hindsight strategies.

**Classification Scheme for Career-Related Role Conflicts**

The classification scheme for career-related role conflicts is summarized in Table 7. The section which follows contains a more detailed description of the classification scheme, including definitions of categories (except where headings seemed to be self-explanatory), an outline of the central themes which emerged in categorizing each group of conflicts, and examples of each category. The three superordinate categories of intrarole conflict are described first, proceeding from the largest group - Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role - to progressively smaller categories. Interrole conflicts are then summarized in a similar fashion, in order of frequency (i.e. the number of incidents per category).

**Intrarole Conflicts**

I. **Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions)**

   Number of Incidents: 26

   **Definition/Process:**

   Anticipating or in process of some kind of career change; conflict in deciding about personal career directions; deliberating on goals and strategies for achieving them; weighing advantages and disadvantages of alternative courses of action.

   **Central Themes in Categorization:**

   Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions) was the largest of all the role conflict categories. This group of conflicts is distinguished from other intrarole conflicts by the fact that
### Table 7
Classification Scheme for Career-Related Role Conflicts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Conflict Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Mean Conflict Rating</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions)</td>
<td>A. Discontent with current job and desire to pursue new career direction and/or develop other aspects of self</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.11</td>
<td>a) Demands of boss/job contradict all her personal aims and values, but doesn't want reputation of quitting or to lose rights to U.I.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Desire for job or career change focused primarily on getting away from negative aspects of current job. (Specific future direction uncertain.)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>A.1. a) Demands of boss/job contradict all her personal aims and values, but doesn't want reputation of quitting or to lose rights to U.I.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) Job is secure, but not enjoyable (pay is poor, little opportunity for advancement, and problem with co-workers). Apprehensive and uncertain about next career steps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c) Dislikes current job and looking for new one. Uncertain about whether to take offered job, unclear about desired career direction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d) Long hours of job result in exhaustion and little time to enjoy interests or social activity. Burned out, lonely and &quot;angry with life,&quot; decided to quit, but uncertain of next career steps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e) Job difficult due to ever-changing demands of bosses, training non-existent, communication poor, treated with indifference and lack of respect. After mastering difficult job situation, thinking about seeking better job.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Working full-time constrains ability to explore creative interests. Development of work-related health problems triggers decision to make job/career change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a) Working full-time constrains ability to explore creative interests. Development of work-related health problems triggers decision to make job/career change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) After several years, feels bored with job, decreased emotional/intellectual challenge and commitment. Wants to pursue new career direction (theatre, dance) which better fits with values and interests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</td>
<td>Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions) (cont'd)</td>
<td>Conflict Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Mean Conflict Rating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td></td>
<td>A. Discontent with current job and desire to pursue new career direction and/or develop other aspects of self (cont'd)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Desire to better integrate diverse aspects of self/roles (interests, work, political commitment, parenting) prompts career transition.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B. Unhappy, discontent in current student role, and considering potential change in career direction.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Unhappy in student role, but uncertain what new direction to take.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. More interested in learning about new subject of interest than in going to class.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C. Financial advantages of transition to working full-time weighed against freedom of current situation or having desired time to develop other aspects of self.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Working part-time allows time for developing creativity, but working full-time desirable or necessary for financial reasons.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</td>
<td>Conflict Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Mean Conflict Rating</td>
<td>Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions) (cont'd)</td>
<td>C. Financial advantages of transition to working full-time weighed against freedom of current situation or having desired time to develop other aspects of self. (cont'd)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.50</td>
<td>C.2. a) Wants financial independence and opportunity for developing career, but couldn't work full-time and pursue favoured sports (equestrian) activity (and care for and feed horses). b) Conflict between search for financial independence and developing professional role through student training and desire to develop other aspects of self through other activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Wanting to (re-)enter work force to attain financial independence, but working full-time would mean loss of time for other favoured activities.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D. Conflicts associated with assessing job prospects/potential jobs and the process of looking for work.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Looking for temporary work and needing money; whether to take second-rate job immediately available or hold out for something better.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>D.1. Agency offers temporary jobs which are not appealing, but would meet financial need. Prospect of better job would mean waiting and risk of not working.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Few jobs available in field of training; whether to wait for related job or take unrelated job and not use training.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>2. Jobs related to B.A. are preferable but scarce. Offered unrelated job which is immediately available, but would not draw on training in any way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Most jobs related to field of past training are not of interest to her; whether to seek related job or pursue further studies in area of interest.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>3. After graduation, discovered that she was not interested in jobs related to subject of studies. After taking unrelated job to pay off debts, needs to decide whether to take further studies or look for job related to past training.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Likes job and recent advancements in vocation, but wanting to return &quot;home&quot;, where no comparable job prospects exist now.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>4. Current job situation is very satisfying, but location is problematic. Strongly drawn to return &quot;home&quot; but finding comparable job opportunity there is extremely unlikely.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Finds self unmotivated in process of looking for work, as well as other aspects of life.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>5. Trying to look for work, but lacking motivation and not sure why; also feeling unmotivated in other aspects of life. Difficulty mobilizing energy causes inner turmoil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</td>
<td>Conflict Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Mean Conflict Rating</td>
<td>Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions) (cont'd)</strong></td>
<td><strong>E. Conflicts associated with &quot;having to prove self&quot; at early stages of career, self-doubts regarding ability to succeed in career role.</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Avoided challenging program entrance requirements due to fear of failing.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>E.1. a) Avoided writing entrance exams for M.B.A. program due to fear of failing and made up excuses for not pursuing program. Feels dishonest, disappointment and guilt.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Feeling of having to prove self in career-related project at early stages of career, feelings of self-doubt, inadequacy.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Not Indicated</td>
<td>2. a) Asked to write article on own career development to date. In talking with editor, feels self-doubt about ability, regret about missed opportunities, failure (when comparing self to others) and panic.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. Conflicts within Employee Role</strong></td>
<td><strong>A. Conflicts in relationship with boss/ supervisor (person(s) in authority)</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Internal conflicts/fears about assertion of wants to employer.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>A.1. a) Fear of being too aggressive with boss.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Being chastised by boss for inappropriate behaviour in face of bosses' unclear or contradictory expectations.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>b) Reluctant to assert self with boss, to ask for change in inconvenient work schedule.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Conflicts associated with challenging traditional sex role expectations, as woman in work role which is non-traditional for women, within work environment where traditional sex role expectations prevail.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>2. a) Contradictory expectations of two bosses result in being unfairly chastised.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Being blocked by boss from doing desired project.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>b) Angryly criticized by boss for not conforming to standard procedure, when expectations were never clarified in advance.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Conflict Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Mean Conflict Rating</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II. Conflicts within Employee Role (cont'd)</td>
<td>B. Conflicts in relationship with co-workers, subordinates or clients.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|                                                   | 1. How to deal with a co-worker or client who is antagonistic, aggressive or overly demanding. | 4         | 5.50                 | B.1. a) Co-worker is overly demanding of attention, disrupts work.  
|                                                   |                                                                  |           |                      | b) Co-worker dislikes her and personally antagonizes her.  
|                                                   | 2. How to deal with irresponsible behaviour of co-workers or subordinates. | 2         | 7.00                 | 2. a) Fear that subordinates are taking advantage of her reluctance to confront their irresponsible behaviour.  
|                                                   |                                                                  |           |                      | b) Co-workers' irresponsible/objectionable behaviour towards clients affects her work.  |
| III. Conflicts within Student Role                | A. Conflicts associated with challenging traditional sex role expectations, as woman student in field which is non-traditional for women, within environment where traditional sex role expectations prevail. | 3         | 6.67                 | A.1. Instructor, through discriminatory action, blocks her from gaining experience in area of career interest (which is non-traditional for women).  
<p>|                                                   | 2. Fear that unprofessional behaviour of younger female students (flirting, playing games with males) undermines professional relationship she wants with instructors (i.e. causes male instructors not to take women seriously). |           |                      | 3. Professional expectations of working in her trade/craft conflict with attitudes/expectations of male co-workers, who seem to see her always as a woman first, rather than as a professional co-worker. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Conflict Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Mean Conflict Rating</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| III. Conflicts within Student Role (cont'd)          | B. Frustration at having to take required courses or do required assignment, despite lack of interest or talent. | 3         | 6.00                 | B.1. Questioning value of specific course assignment stimulates broader questioning of appropriateness of career goal.  
2. Required to take courses which did not interest her as prerequisites for program entry.  
3. Disappointed in academic performance in required courses, despite disinterest in courses from outset. |
|                                                     | C. Instructor not available to assist with difficulties.     | 1         | 5.00                 | C.1. Instructor preoccupied with demanding student and not available for assistance. |
|                                                     | D. Having to meet unexpected financial requirements of educational institution | 1         | 4.00                 | D.1. Administration makes unexpected request for her to pay additional fees. |

**INTERROLE CONFLICTS**

| IV. Conflicts Between Career and Parent Roles | A. Child care demands inhibit career pursuits. | 10        | 6.33                 | |
|                                            | 1. Pursuing desired activities within current work or student role constrained by child care needs/responsibilities. | 5         | 6.60                 | A.1. a) Child's behaviour disrupts studying.  
b) How to arrange for care of children during work trip out of town (which is important to career).  
c) Increasing investment in work role at same time as children demand increased attention.  
d) Career progress disrupted by taking necessary time out for birth of child. |
|                                            | 2. Ability to pursue further education or take desired job constrained by child care needs. | 3         | 5.50                 | 2. a) Offered job she really wants, but proposed schedule conflicts with son's morning needs.  
b) Demands of caring for pre-schooler hamper ability to undertake desired educational pursuits.  
c) Whether to move to obtain work in view of potential impacts of move on children and self. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Conflict Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Mean Conflict Rating</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV. Conflicts Between Career and Parent Roles (cont'd)</td>
<td>A. Child care demands inhibit career pursuits. (cont'd)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|                                                   | 3. Ability to pursue desired career direction constrained by immediate financial need to support self and family. | 2         | 6.50                | A.3. a) Precarious financial position of current student status threatens ability to support children.  
b) Desire to pursue additional training towards more challenging career, but in difficult financial position, supporting children. |
|                                                   | B. Demands of career role limit time available to spend with children/self. |          |                     |         |
|                                                   | 1. Limited time to spend with child due to demands of studies and domestic chores (cooking, cleaning). | 2         | 5.50                | B.1. a) Children want mother to play with them in evening, but preparing meals and household chores consume most available time when she is not studying.  
b) Child in private school has more days off than public school children. How to occupy child on those days while mother is at work. |
|                                                   | 2. Concern about child's welfare during off-school hours while mother is at work. | 2         | 5.50                | 2. a) Child (10 years) objects to after-school care while parents are working, so is allowed to stay home on own until parent gets home. Soon becomes clear that child is lonely and watching too much T.V.  
b) Child in private school has more days off than public school children. How to occupy child on those days while mother is at work. |
<p>|                                                   | 3. Returning to work necessary to support family, but constrains ability to spend desired time with children/self. | 1         | 6.00                | 3. a) Concern about teenagers' lack of supervision while she is at work. Return to work is financial necessity, but time/energy outside office hours too limited for comfort. |
|                                                   | 4. Student and child care demands constrain pursuit of recreational and/or other interests. | 1         | 5.00                | 4. a) Desire to take course for health, recreation, enjoyment, but demands of part-time student role already limit time at home with small child. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Conflict Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Mean Conflict Rating</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV. Conflicts Between Career and Parent Roles (cont'd)</td>
<td>C. How to manage parenting, career and demands of other roles and avoid &quot;overload&quot;.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. How to pursue career and other interests and juggle family/house care responsibilities.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>C.1. a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Potential financial advantages of returning to work weighed against anticipated tension of &quot;spreading self too thin.&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>2. a) Staying at home preferred to allow for desired time with family. Returning to work would enable family to live more comfortably, but mother concerned about likely strains of over-extending self.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Managing parenting, part-time work and student responsibilities. In everything she does, gets feeling she should be doing something else.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>3. a) Juggling studies, parenting and part-time work makes it difficult to take time out for self. While engaging in one role, continuously distracted by the demands of other roles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Conflicts Between Career and Partner Roles</td>
<td>A. Maintaining established relationship with partner in conflict with career wants/needs.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6.09</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</td>
<td>Conflict Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Mean Conflict Rating</td>
<td>Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Conflicts Between Career and Partner Roles (cont'd)</td>
<td>A. Maintaining established relationship with partner in conflict with career wants/needs. (cont'd)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Her intensive interest/involvement in work/studies and partner's limited support or interest in her career pursuits combine to create tension/distance in relationship (cont'd)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Partners' wants/needs differ regarding geographic location of work.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.33</td>
<td>A.1. b) Feels rivalry with partner at her intense involvement in developing career while partner's career is declining or at impasse. c) On completion of intense work project, she feels let down and self-doubt, needs to talk. Partner wants sexual contact, but shows minimal interest in her feelings or work concerns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Partner's wants/demands present obstacle to her initiating or continuing desired career pursuits.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.50</td>
<td>2. a) &quot;Lover-at-home vs. transient tradesperson.&quot; Looking for work in trade requires travel and potential relocation. Little work option for her in community where partner works, work in partner's field is scarce everywhere else. b) Partner wants them both to move to pursue his vocational/avocational interests. She wants to stay where she is in job and they need her income for living expenses. (Also, she doesn't like moving and is afraid he won't want to stay once he's there.) c) Partners both established and happy in careers, but she still pulled to return &quot;home,&quot; where there are no job/career prospects now. Partner unable to help her deal with feelings, relationship deteriorating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) Partner's preoccupation with own interests and non-support of her needs/wants for self/career development prompt her to consider separation and return to work force.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</td>
<td>Conflict Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Mean Conflict Rating</td>
<td>Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Conflicts Between Career and Partner Roles (cont'd)</td>
<td>A. Maintaining established relationship with partner in conflict with career wants/needs. (cont'd)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.50</td>
<td>A.4. a) Partner cooperative in sharing child and home care responsibilities, but demands of her work limit leisure time with partner/family. b) Partner non-cooperative as she begins to pursue own career, relationship in jeopardy. Partner refuses to support/assist or share household responsibilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Juggling of career and partner/family/household demands creates feeling of &quot;overload.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. Potential partner relationship may interfere with career pursuits (conflict associated with anticipated lover/partner involvement).</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Attracted to potential romantic relationship with co-worker(s) but concerned that such involvement would undermine success, respect, comfort in work role.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.50</td>
<td>B.1. a) Attracted to instructor but fears that romantic involvement would undermine or destroy professional relationship (concerned about keeping respect, working in a male-dominated profession). b) Fearing complications of romantic involvement with co-worker(s), yet drawn to them due to shared interests, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Involvement in potential partner relationship may disrupt plans for further education.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>2. a) Former partner wants to resume relationship, but her plans for further training will require completion elsewhere.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Conflicts Associated with Managing Two Work Roles (Employee vs. Other Career Role)</td>
<td>A. Balancing job schedule/requirements with need for study time/attending classes.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>A.1. Employer asks her to work overtime. Conflicts with plans to work on student assignment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Takes time off from job to study, but needs more. Fears negative reaction from supervisor.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Having class right after work interferes with dinner.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 7 (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Conflict Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Mean Conflict Rating</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI. Conflicts Associated with Managing Two Work Roles Employee vs. Other Career Role (cont'd)</td>
<td>B. Conflict associated with scheduling freelance work in addition to job.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>B.1 Must attend meeting for freelance work during job hours. Call off sick and later receive questioning remarks from boss.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| VII. Conflicts Between Career and Family Member Roles (i.e. Sister, Daughter, Aunt) | A. Sister or mother does not appreciate, respect or value her career (student) pursuits, and requests/demands that they spend more time together. | 3         | 6.67                 | A.1. Younger sister demands frequent social contact and does not appreciate heavy demands of older sister's studies. Younger sister gets angry at being turned down, making it harder for the older one to study.  
2. Mother occasionally calls to ask why daughter never visits. Daughter resents that mother does not recognize importance of studies or value her daughter's career aspirations. |
| | B. Scheduling of two "special occasions" conflict - one to celebrate career achievement and the other a family gathering. | 1         | 6.00                 | B.1 Wants to celebrate student victory with boyfriend, but sister expects her to attend niece's birthday party. |
| VIII. Conflicts Between Career and Friend Roles | A. Managing time demands of work/studies and arranging social time with numerous friends. | 1         | 6.00                 | A.1. Onset of studies necessitates change in habitual pattern of contact with friends. New schedule makes it difficult to find time for all different groups of friends. |
| | B. How to attend to pressing demands of both work/studies and friend roles simultaneously, when friend is upset and wants or needs support, to talk. | 1         | 7.00                 | B.1. Friend is upset and wanting to talk. Subject has pressing need to study at that time. |
| | C. Asking favour of friends (care of her animals for extended period of time) during transition to working full-time creates resentment. | 1         | 4.00                 | C.1. Previous pattern of involvement in sport and care of animals must change due to demands of full-time work. Recruiting friends' assistance repeatedly during transition period begins to undermine friendships. |
a central feature of the conflict appeared to be a clear desire or need for a change in one's career status, and where the subject was in conflict concerning contradictory, incompatible or unclear expectations of herself with respect to this change. Although at first glance, many of these conflicts might appear to be similar to Conflicts Within the Employee or Student Role, the Career Transitions group were different in that they involved major role changes, such as taking on a new or expanded career role (e.g. a new job or program of studies) or dropping a role (e.g. leaving a job or discontinuing one's studies). Conflicts Within the Employee or Student Roles, on the other hand, could be seen as conflicts in maintaining an existing role. In the latter two groups of conflict, there was generally no indication that the subject was considering resolving an on-the-job conflict, for example, by leaving the job. The current role is instead taken as given and apparently not open for major reassessment at that particular point in time.

The conflicts in the Career Transitions category are also different from conflicts in some of the interrole categories, such as Career-Parent or Career-Partner, in that the issues that the subject is confronting appear to be relatively uncontaminated by the demands of significant others in her life. Instead, the subject tends to be weighing "what is best for me." Other examples in this category did take into consideration other roles in the subject's repertoire, such as accommodating needs for leisure or self-development in one's career choices. However, even in these cases, what remains significant and central to these conflicts is the subject herself - the direction she would like her life to take and the difficulties associated with undertaking career changes. (As mentioned earlier in this chapter, other career transition issues emerge under Career-Parent and Career-Partner categories, but given the salience of other roles, besides career, which were also involved in these conflicts, it seemed
most appropriate to classify them separately, with the other interrole incidents involving the same pair of roles.)

At the first level of categorization of Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role, it seemed important to differentiate the nature of the different career transitions that subjects described. The five basic kinds of transitions which were evident formed the five basic categories in this group. These basic categories, in order of the frequency of incidents, are as follows: (1) wanting to leave one's current job to pursue a new job or career direction (9 incidents); (2) feeling dissatisfied as a student and considering potential change in career direction (5 incidents); (3) weighing the possibility of full-time versus part-time work (5 incidents); (4) deliberating on issues which arise in the process of looking for a new job (5 incidents); and (5) establishing oneself at the early stages of one's career (2 incidents).

At the next level of categorization, the basic criteria which seemed to be most important in identifying subcategories were the specific themes or meaning of the conflicts for the subjects. The subcategories were formed to reflect both sides of the conflict, namely what appeared to be prompting the desire for a career transition and what were the main obstacles for the subject to implementing the desired change.

Basic Categories, Sub-Categories and Examples of Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role

A. Discontent with current job and desire to pursue new career direction and/or develop other aspects of self

1. Desire for job or career change focussed primarily on getting away from negative aspects of current job. (Specific future direction uncertain.)
Central Issues or Themes:

- Hours of work result in exhaustion and reduced enjoyment in off-work hours; irregular work schedule inhibits subject's ability to plan leisure time activities

- Job was misrepresented to subject from outset (i.e. if she had known realities of job from beginning, she would not have accepted it)

- Boss difficult to work with

- Expectations of boss contradict subject's personal values; job seems to require subject to change her personality in ways she finds unacceptable

- Alternative of unemployment unattractive, as subject wants "to settle down and work hard"

- Quitting job would affect entitlement to unemployment insurance benefits

- Continued stresses of job result in "burn-out"

- Job secure but pay is poor; little or no opportunity for advancement; supervisor has drinking problem

- Subject fears insecure position of having to start new job with new company

- Uncertain about what new career direction to pursue

- Subject decides to look for new job due to unpleasant aspects of current job, and to quit when she finds a new one

- Personnel agency tries to influence subject to accept job which she is not sure she is interested in; subject's lack of clarity about career goals makes decision-making difficult

Example (Conflict Situation 432-1):

Conflict rating: 7

Last fall I was so fed up with my nursing job that I handed in my resignation. There were several factors which prompted this decision. Our shifts are 12 hours, which meant that a working day or night was spent at work only. I was too exhausted on my
days off to get much enjoyment out of life. Because days off varied each week it was impossible to set up any weekly situations where I could develop an interest in other ideas or meet other people. So many times I had to forfeit social events because work interfered. I became burnt out with my patients, lonely, bored and angry with life. So, after deciding to quit, I was left having to decide what my next career step would be.

2. Desire for creative self-expression and dissatisfaction with current job (including related health problems) prompt career transition.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Hours of work constrain ability to explore creative interests
- Development of physical problems associated with conditions of work triggers decision to leave job
- Current job is secure and pays well, but after several years, subject begins to feel bored by job, decreased intellectual challenge and commitment
- In reassessing her interests and aspirations, subject feels drawn to challenge of new career which would better fulfill creative, artistic, emotional and physical needs and draw on values and knowledge which were developed in her previous profession

Example (Conflict Situation 56-1):

As a permanent, full-time teacher at a community college, I had a generous salary, job security and some administrative responsibility as co-ordinator of the English Department, in addition to teaching English composition and literature. After three years, I felt bored by bureaucratic details and their accompanying pressure and by decreased emotional and intellectual challenge and commitment. I was 35 years old and felt the need to (1) take risks and (2) try to "make real" the values and feelings of literature that were important to me. I've always been interested in theatre; I was a dancer for some years, and I wanted to take a chance at acting (or being involved in performance of some kind). I felt a great
lack of physical exercise in my teaching job and wanted something that involved my body as well as my mind. I also felt a need for creative emotional expression (that I was not able to apply to my teaching).

3. Desire to better integrate diverse aspects of self/roles (interests, work, political commitment, parenting) prompts career transition.

Central Issues or Themes:
- Divergent demands of multiple roles continuously conflict with each other
- Discomfort with role strains prompts career transition

Example (Conflict Situation 317-3): Conflict rating: 5

My interests, my work, my political commitment, my parenting were all at one time very divergent and at odds with each other. I didn't like this.

B. Unhappy, discontent in student role, and considering potential change in career direction.

1. Unhappy in student role, but uncertain what new direction to take.

Central Issues or Themes:
- Subject is continually questioning her motives for being at college, given her unhappiness in role, general feelings of depression
- Unclear about what career role she would be more comfortable in
- Spends considerable time contemplating career options which would be preferable
- Concerned that her discomfort is ultimately with self, not student role

Example (Conflict Situation 160-1): Conflict rating: 7

I am presently going to college in Massachusetts. I am constantly
questioning why I am here, and feeling unhappy in the role of student. However, it is difficult for me to know what role I would feel more comfortable in, that is to say, I am always thinking of things I would rather do (carpentry, commercial fishing, outdoor leadership, home stead ing), but I am afraid that it is ultimately myself I am uncomfortable with, and not studenthood.

2. More interested in learning about new subject of interest than in going to class.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Subject finds regular attendance difficult in present course of studies (upgrading), combining part-time studies with job
- Alternate program at college is of greater interest to her than attending class

Example (Conflict Situation 14-1): Conflict rating: 7

I found great difficulty in getting through my upgrading course at college. I was going on a part-time basis and also working. I found it difficult to attend regularly. At one point I took an interest in the film editing program which is offered at the college and found myself more interested in learning about that than going to class.

C. Financial advantages of transition to working full-time weighed against freedom of current situation or having desired time to develop other aspects of self.

1. Working part-time allows time for developing creativity, but working full-time desirable or necessary for financial reasons.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Current part-time work situation is appealing, as it leaves time for creative pursuits and experimenting with lifestyle/career options
- Subject begins to feel financial strains, as income from part-time
employment is insufficient to support desired standard of living
- Would need more money to finance desired travel (with partner)
- Resentment at prospect of giving up pleasures of current lifestyle to return to full-time work
- Pressures of possible full-time job would weigh negatively against freedom of current situation (working part-time)

Example (Conflict Situation 23-2):

At the present time I work only three days per week, which pleases me with regard to my developing creativity. Now, however, the financial cut-back which goes along with that is beginning to be a strain, as I would like to travel in the near future (which is part of a partner-relationship commitment) and feel I need more money.

2. Wanting to (re-) enter work force to attain financial independence, but working full-time would mean loss of time for other favoured activities.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Intensive involvement in sport is challenging and rewarding, but places considerable demands in terms of time (and lack of flexibility in schedule) and money
- Concern about missing opportunity for personal/professional development through career pursuit
- Desire for financial independence, but this would require change of lifestyle and loss of time for other favoured activities
- Ambivalence about potential gains and losses of career involvement and changing lifestyle results in reduced interest in and commitment to studies

Example (Conflict Situation 539-1):

A few years ago I was engaged in the sport of schooling and showing dressage horses. It was demanding of time (6 hours a day), personal flexibility (there wasn't any because of feeding schedules and regular
professional lessons, etc.) and finally money. I enjoyed the self-actualization and thrill of the whole process but felt I was missing opportunities for personal growth in a professional area. I wanted to be financially independent and couldn't be if I were to continue this sport. Furthermore, I felt a little selfish. My option would be to find a job full time and change my lifestyle. I had tried part-time work but the pay was low and job satisfaction and esteem limited.

D. Conflicts associated with assessing job prospects/potential jobs and the process of looking for work.

1. Looking for temporary work and needing money; whether to take second-rate job immediately available or hold out for something better.

Central Issues or Themes:
- Subject needs money in summer, so looks for temporary work through personnel agencies
- Job(s) immediately available are unappealing, but more attractive job would require her to wait
- Holding out for better job would mean risk of not working

Example (Conflict Situation 115-3): Conflict rating: 7

I was temping in the summer of 1981, trying to work with one particular agency who promised good money, had a good atmosphere, but didn't come up that quickly with jobs. An acquaintance suggested another agency, which turned out to give good money, but had a "hard-sell" attitude, came up quickly with jobs, but awful ones at that. The dilemma was clear: take the rotten jobs and get the money (which I needed) or wait until the agency I liked came up with them, at the risk of not working.

2. Few jobs available in field of training; whether to wait for related job or take unrelated job and not use training.
Central Issues or Themes:

- Subject seeks job related to studies at university, but few are available
- Unrelated job which is available is of less interest and would not draw on knowledge/skills acquired during training

Example (Conflict Situation 567-3): Conflict rating: 6

I graduated from U.B.C. with a B.A. and began looking for a job related to Psychology. I found there were few jobs in this field and I could wait for the kind of job I wanted or take something not related immediately. The unrelated job required no University training and I would not be using my degree at all.

3. Most jobs related to field of past training are not of interest to her; whether to seek related job or pursue further studies in area of interest.

Central Issues or Themes:

- After completion of training, subject discovers that jobs related to training are not of interest
- Considering further studies in field which is of greater interest, but financial needs require finding immediate employment
- After working for period of time at job which is unrelated to training and relieving self of financial obligations, subject must decide whether to go for further education in area of interest or to seek employment in field of previous training

Example (Conflict Situation 777-1): Conflict rating: 7

After graduating with a physical education degree I discovered that I liked the theory of P.E. but I did not like the P.E. jobs, i.e. high school teacher, fitness director, etc. During my undergrad years I worked a year in a bank and discovered that I like commerce (but not banking!). When I graduated I thought of doing an M.B.A., but in the meantime I had to get a job right away as I had purchased a condo and had payments to make. So I worked in the bank for
a year after graduation, quit, sold my condo and was in a dilemma—did I really want to go into commerce or should I do something in physical education?

4. Likes job and recent advancements in vocation, but wanting to return "home," where no comparable job prospects exist now.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Current job situation is very satisfying, but location is problematic
- Strongly drawn to return to "home" community, but finding comparable job opportunity there is extremely unlikely

Example (Conflict Situation 443-2): Conflict rating: 7

My extreme delight with my recent advancements in my vocation yet my almost despair about the location of my life in order to keep the job. I am a U.S. citizen, more patriotic than I would have ever thought and still prefer to live back in the U.S. even though I know the economy, etc. would prevent me from having my present job which is so very good in many ways.

5. Finds self unmotivated in process of looking for work, as well as other aspects of life.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Subject trying to look for work, but lacks motivation and not sure why
- Lack of motivation in other aspects of life as well (e.g. housekeeping, socializing) causes inner turmoil

Example (Conflict Situation 10-3): Conflict rating: 6

Although I've been trying to look for work, I've found that I'm just not very motivated for some reason. I don't seem to be motivated in any aspect of my life - looking for work, cleaning or socializing. This problem has been causing a lot of turmoil for me.
E. Conflicts associated with "having to prove self" at early stages of career, self-doubts regarding ability to succeed in career role.

1. Avoided challenging program entrance requirements due to fear of failing.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Entering possible program of studies would require completion of entrance exams
- Fear that she will fail exams prevents subject from attempting them
- Subject makes excuses to others about reasons for not pursuing program
- Feelings of disappointment and guilt at withdrawing from challenge and being dishonest with others

Example (Conflict Situation 777-2):

Conflict rating: 7

**I considered going into an M.B.A. program and to do so would have to write GMAT (entrance) exams. I avoided doing the exams because I was afraid of failing. To me, not writing the GMAT entrance exams for the M.B.A. program is practically the same as writing the tests and failing. I've always been afraid of failing (I finally realize it now) and therefore pushed myself to whatever limits I had to, in order to succeed. If I felt I was going to fail, I would drop out (which did not happen when I was younger, but began to occur more frequently as I got older). I see now that it was unhealthy not to fail and that not completing what I started out doing was actually a form of failure. All this M.B.A. business clearly brought to my attention what was starting to become a bad habit in my life (avoiding failing). The conflict that arose was that I was making up excuses and reasons why I hadn't gone in for the M.B.A. program. I was saying things like "I found an easier way to get into commerce." Not only was I not being honest with myself and other people about why I didn't go to school, I also always felt a sense of disappointment and guilt every time I thought about the M.B.A. program and what I was doing (working in sales).**
2. Feeling of having to prove self in career-related project at early stages of career, feelings of self-doubt, inadequacy.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Career-related project triggers anxiety, self-doubt, feelings of failure, regrets about missed opportunities
- Subject compares self negatively to others
- Comments of person to whom she is accountable for project prompt panic reaction

Example (Conflict Situation 755-4): Conflict rating: Not indicated

I was asked to write an article for a magazine about my career development so far - a benchmark article - talk with editor (woman). She is a keen business woman and I wonder if I'll ever be on top of this project I'm trying to do. Feelings of doubt and inadequacy, missed opportunities, failure (when I measure against classmates, peers, etc.). She says things that make me feel panicky.

II. Conflicts Within the Employee Role

Number of Incidents: 13

Definition/Process:

Employee's wants or expectations of self and/or other(s) in work environment differ from expectations of person(s) in authority, co-workers, subordinates, or clients.

Central Themes in Categorization:

In Conflicts Within the Employee Role, the role relationship of individuals involved in the conflict - supervisor, subordinate, co-worker or client - seems to be the first criterion which affects the way one perceives the conflict and the options available for coping with the conflict. In dealing with differences of opinion, for example, "speaking one's mind" has different implications
depending on whether the communication is employee to supervisor, supervisor to employee, co-worker to co-worker, or employee to client. The meaning of the situation seems to revolve, first of all, around the role relationship of the persons involved; this, in turn, has implications for one's perceived power to exert influence on the situation, and the way that one might go about responding to difficulties that arise.

In view of the apparent centrality of role relationships in Employee conflicts, the basic categories needed to address the question of who the conflict was with. Conflicts with person(s) in authority were the most frequent in this category (7 out of 13 incidents). The remaining six incidents involved relationships with co-workers, subordinates or clients, and all clustered around themes of dealing with others' offensive or irresponsible behaviour, or excessive demands. In examining these six incidents more closely, the structure of the conflict situations appeared to be similar, regardless of whether it was a co-worker, subordinate or client who was "causing the trouble." Conflicts in relationship with co-workers, subordinates or clients were thus grouped together under one basic category, as distinct from conflicts with persons in authority. The theme of the conflict was then used as the next level for categorization (i.e. sub-categories).

**Basic Categories, Sub-Categories and Examples of Conflicts Within the Employee Role**

A. Conflicts in relationship with boss/supervisor (person(s) in authority)

1. Internal conflicts/fears about assertion of wants to employer.

   **Central Issues or Themes:**
   - Building relationship with supervisor at beginning of job
   - How to win respect/trust of supervisor
- How to get what one wants without offending or alienating supervisor
- Fear of "coming on too strong"
- Supervisor insensitive to employee's needs
- Unclear about one's own rights as an employee
- Fear of rejection and/or criticism from supervisor and/or co-workers

**Example (Conflict Situation 432-3):**

Conflict rating: 7

Since I started working (nursing) half-time, my schedule stopped being on a master rotation, and instead was made out by my employer. Quite frequently she changed my schedule, sometimes with no warning, often with a few days notice, resulting in my having to cancel appointments and ending up with empty days where it was too late to plan anything. Also, since I work any 2 days per week, she frequently scheduled single days. Not only did it split up my week inconveniently, but since I sleep poorly before and after working days, it was tiring. As well as _being unsure_ just how much right I had to ask for changes, _I was reluctant to talk with my employer for fear of being perceived as always dissatisfied_ (true enough!), _or as making problems for her, or for the other part-time staff._

2. Being chastised by boss for inappropriate behaviour in face of bosses’ unclear or contradictory expectations.

**Central Issues or Themes:**

- Expectations of two different persons in authority (junior vs. senior levels) are contradictory

- Employee feels blamed unfairly for lack of communication or differences of opinion between her superiors

- Employee makes incorrect assumptions about "standard procedures" at early stages of job

- Employee operates autonomously and is later criticised for same
- Dealing with supervisor's angry outburst in face of conflict/misunderstanding

**Example (Conflict Situation 140-2):**

Conflict rating: 7

I was asked to attend a meeting re: doing some drawings for the school board. . . This was **O.K.'d by the vice-principal** and I attended by changing my schedule to fit. Later when I asked **the principal** if they had called to thank him he **said I shouldn't have gone and proceeded to harass me** for 10 minutes.

3. **Conflicts associated with challenging traditional sex role expectations, as woman in work role which is non-traditional for women, within work environment where traditional sex role expectations prevail.**

**Central Issues or Themes:**

- Ambiguity of job expectations
- Boss expects employee to do after-hours socializing with visiting male colleague, and she feels that expected role is not as professional colleague but as sex object
- Lack of respect and recognition from boss for her abilities, which she sees as related to being the only female in traditionally male-dominated department/profession
- Employee's desire for autonomy in job conflicts with conservative values and approaches of supervisor

**Examples (Conflict Situation 47-1):**

Conflict rating: 7

I have always prided myself as a person who challenged traditions, and leaned towards the non-traditional, both in professional and personal situations. So when I was hired by a conservative computer company to do both sales and marketing, I **found myself torn between two worlds.** My position was new in concept and definition to this company; and I **was the first female to be hired for such a role within any local computer company.** Yet a **conflict developed between myself - my assertiveness and "go-getter" attitudes and desire for autonomy - and - my boss and the capital "C" conservative value and judgment system I was exposed to.**
4. Being blocked by boss from doing desired project.

Central Issues or Themes:
- Employer unwilling to allow employee to take on desired professional activity/project

Example (Conflict Situation 719-4): Conflict rating: 6

I was asked to chair the Local Arrangements committee for a very large professional meeting which will be taking place in Vancouver. My employer was unwilling to allow me to take on this professional responsibility - which I very much wanted to do.

B. Conflicts in relationship with co-workers, subordinates or clients.

1. How to deal with a co-worker or client who is antagonistic, aggressive or overly demanding.

Central Issues or Themes:
- Co-worker disrupts employee's work with frequent demands and interruptions - she would like this behaviour to stop, but is afraid of upsetting co-worker if she brings up subject
- Employee feels discomfort with co-worker who seems to dislike her; confronting co-worker proved only to aggravate situation
- Lack of support from boss in addressing problem
- Desire to stay in job despite strained atmosphere
- Co-worker places considerable demands for support/friendship during personal crisis
- Aggressive client demands service beyond the scope of employee's authority/responsibility

Example (Conflict Situation 96-1): Conflict rating: 6

A co-worker is in the habit of coming up to my desk and pointing to me and work that is in her hand when I am on the telephone. Sometimes she doesn't even know I am on the phone and begins
to speak to me. I like this person. I don't know how to tell her in plain English that this habit I find really annoying. She is a very active, enthusiastic person. I don't want to bring her down.

2. **How to deal with irresponsible behaviour of co-workers or subordinates.**

**Central Issues or Themes:**

- Supervisor fears that subordinates are taking advantage of her reluctance to confront their irresponsible behaviour
- Co-workers' irresponsible/objectionable behaviour towards clients affects employee's work
- Lack of clear direction in workplace on how to deal with difficult clients
- Co-workers operate from different value system based on cultural differences
- Fear of asserting own position with co-worker and standing up for clients

**Example (Conflict Situation 432-2):**

Conflict rating: 7

One day at the end of a shift I felt "paranoid" that the staff who I supervise had been taking advantage of my reluctance to confront them with their irresponsible behaviour. There had been several incidents during the day, only one of which I had dealt with.

**III. Conflicts Within the Student Role**

Number of incidents: 8

**Definition/Process:**

Student's wants or expectations of self and/or other(s) within school/ university environment differ from expectations of instructors, other students or administration.
Central Themes in Categorization:

Most of the Conflicts Within the Student Role related to barriers or obstacles that students encountered in pursuing their program of studies. The first group of conflicts were attributed by subjects to being a woman in a field of education or training which is non-traditional for women. In such cases, problems were encountered based on what subjects perceived as discriminatory actions or lack of respect from instructors (male or female) or male students, or unprofessional behaviour on the part of other female students. The second group of conflicts dealt with the frustrations of having to take courses or do assignments which were of little interest, or which were difficult and unrelated (in the subject's mind) to her career pursuits. Smaller categories related to lack of support from instructors when needed, and having to meet unexpected financial requirements of the institution.

Since the Student category contained only eight incidents, categorization was only possible at the level of basic categories. (Another option which was considered was to create a number of subcategories, each consisting of a single incident. This option was seen as undesirable, as it would have introduced distinctions and levels of specificity in the subcategories which were inconsistent with classification schemes under the other superordinate categories.)

Basic Categories and Examples of Conflicts Within the Student Role

A. Conflicts associated with challenging traditional sex role expectations, as woman student in field which is non-traditional for women, within environment where traditional sex role expectations prevail.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Feelings of anger, frustration, disappointment when others create obstacles to the subject's learning and success in the student role

- Obstacles created by the actions of others are seen as arising due
to the clash between traditional and feminist values

- Instructor, through discriminatory action, blocks student from gaining experience in area of career interest (which is non-traditional for women)

- Fear that unprofessional behaviour of younger female students (flirting, playing games with males) undermines professional relationship she wants with instructors

- Professional expectations of working in her trade/craft conflict with attitudes/expectations of male students, who seem to see her always as a woman first, rather than as professional co-worker

**Example (Conflict Situation 56-2):**

Conflict rating: 6

During the second year of my theatre training, I had to work under a woman who had full responsibility for assigning production tasks for the shows we were presenting. She initially assigned me to run the lights, about which I was pleased, because I hadn't had an opportunity to do this work before. The next day, she reassigned me to costume assistant "because there's a man who hasn't been given a job yet." I was angry and disappointed.

**B. Frustration at having to take required courses or do required assignment, despite lack of interest or talent.**

**Central Issues or Themes:**

- Disinterest in aspects of course/program of studies and objection to specific course assignments

- Instructor seen as not empathic to student needs and student resents lack of support

- Enduring "sheer drudgery" of attending school in order to achieve end result (certification); no interest or talent for some of the required courses

- Desire to excel due to high standards for own performance

- Poor academic performance in courses which were not of interest results in disappointment in self
Example (Conflict Situation 742-2):  Conflict rating: 6

Shortly after the beginning of this term, we were called upon to memorize 10 Dewey Decimal System classifications and 20 Library of Congress classifications. The instructor felt we ought never to have to look them up again. I feel (partly because I have lost the facility to memorize at age 5) insulted by being asked to memorize and am generally strongly opposed to specifics. Now, unfortunately, library skills require a lot of these. In addition, this instructor appears to be a teacher with little empathy and I feel that we as students deserve better. This attitude of mine also creates a conflict.

C. Instructor not available to assist with difficulties.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Course work requires working independently, but student is uncertain about procedures
- Instructor preoccupied with other, demanding student; unable to get needed assistance/support from instructor

Example (Conflict Situation 96-5):  Conflict rating: 5

When I began my typing course eight weeks ago, I was not certain what to do in each class. Tape recorders/dictaphones are provided and most of the work is done on your own. I was really keen. But the girl taking a legal secretarial course talked almost non-stop to the teacher, so that every time I was uncertain about something, the teacher was talking to this student.

D. Having to meet unexpected financial requirements of educational institution.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Lack of clarity about amount of fees student has to pay
- Surprised (and seemingly offended) at institution's request for additional fees
Example (Conflict Situation 96-3):  
Conflict rating: 4  

I was called in for a small interview last week with the Admissions person, who "suggested" that I was owing the school money, on the basis that if I was to continue there I had to pay more. I was astounded at her approach.

Interrole Conflicts

IV. Conflicts Between Career and Parent Roles

Number of Incidents: 21

Definition/Process:

Weighing and balancing needs and wants of children/family and work-related self; how to find the time for fulfillment of own needs, and pursuit of own interests, in view of career and family responsibilities.

Central Themes in Categorization:

In examining the group of conflicts between career and parent roles, it was clear that, in some cases demands of the parent role were seen as interfering with the career role, and in others the demands of the career role were seen as interfering with the parent role. A third group of conflicts seemed to relate more to dealing with the sheer volume of demands from these two roles, and in such cases the central concern was how to find time and energy to "do it all" and avoid feelings of overload.

The distinctions above may reflect differences in values or priorities between subjects, or may simply reflect differences in circumstances. In any case, differentiating the three major types as basic categories seemed important, since this was consistent with subjects' descriptions of the manner in which the conflicts were experienced.

At the next level of specificity in categorization (sub-categories) came
the issue of current career roles versus potential career roles or career transitions. With current career roles (employee or student), most conflicts centred around logistics of attending to children's needs while also attending to career demands. In conflicts associated with potential career roles, the subject was generally weighing the possibility of pursuing a new job, career direction, or program of studies, taking into consideration the needs and demands of children.

Another central theme which surfaced here as a factor in conflict and decision-making was financial needs or pressures. When financial needs to support self and family were felt to be at a critical point, other career-related values and aspirations were clearly at risk of being compromised (in the interest of basic survival needs). This theme is also reflected at the subcategory level.

**Basic Categories, Sub-Categories and Examples of Conflict Between Career and Parent Roles**

A. Child care demands inhibit career pursuits.

**Definition:** Conflict experienced/described primarily in terms of a pull towards career role, and parenting demands as real or potential obstacle to pursuing desired career direction.

1. Pursuing desired activities within current work or student role constrained by child care needs/responsibilities.

**Central Issues or Themes:**

- Difficulty getting young child to sleep at reasonable hour
- Difficulty studying while young child is in vicinity (except when child is sleeping)
- Work trip out of town requires making decisions and special arrangements regarding child care
- Dealing with challenging work demands during period when children demand considerable attention
- Being forced to quit professional job due to non-availability of maternity leave results in multiple losses - job, self-esteem, professional growth

Example (Conflict Situation 168-1): Conflict rating: 7

I particularly wanted to study one evening for a test the following morning at college, but knowing that I wouldn't get my two year old son to bed before 11 p.m., I felt that it would be difficult to study after that time plus get enough sleep to feel alert the following day.

2. Ability to pursue further education or take desired job constrained by child care needs.

Central Issues or Themes:
- Schedule of offered job conflicts with needs of child's schedule
- Demands of parenting have led her to repeatedly postponing pursuit of her own interest - returning to university
- Offered job out of town, but reluctant to give up friends and support and presence of child's father in community; also reluctant to uproot child by moving, when offered job may not work out to her satisfaction

Example (Conflict Situation 317-1): Conflict rating: 6

I was offered a job I really wanted, but was supposed to start at 8:00 a.m. This conflicted with my son's morning needs.

3. Ability to pursue desired career direction constrained by immediate financial need to support self and family.

Central Issues or Themes:
- Precarious financial position of current student status threatens ability to support children
- Working part-time and being part-time student creates difficult financial situation

- Need to achieve stable career, job, income versus desire to continue with studies which are interesting and challenging

**Example (Conflict Situation 14-1):**

I have been **taking upgrading courses** at college to obtain my Grade 12 and also work at a part-time job. My situation financially has been **difficult** as I am a **single parent with two children** and receive no child support. I have spent a year **trying to decide whether to change my career** from hairdressing into something that offers more challenge. My courses are about two months off completion.

**B. Demands of career role limit time available to spend with children/self.**

**Definition:** Conflict focussed primarily on difficulty of meeting children's needs and/or constraints work role imposes on ability to tend to needs of children and self.

1. **Limited time to spend with child due to demands of studies and domestic chores (cooking, cleaning).**

   **Central Issues or Themes:**

   - Spending days as student, want to spend time with children in evening

   - Demands of cooking and domestic chores, as well as studies, make it difficult to find the time to spend with children

   **Example (Conflict Situation 168-3):**

   MY son, who spends 8½ hours a day, while I'm at school, with a babysitter, **wants me to play with him in the evening.** Most of my time is **taken up preparing dinner, washing dishes and other necessary chores.**
2. Concern about child's welfare during off-school hours while mother is at work.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Change in usual child care practice necessitated by intermittent or temporary change in parent's or child's schedule

- When mother returns to work for several months, ten-year-old child objects to idea of after school care; initial arrangement, giving child independence, proves unsatisfactory

- Need to plan activities during child's holidays from private school while mother is working

Example (Conflict Situation 56-3):

Conflict rating: 5

For four months, I returned to full-time teaching for very pressing financial reasons. My son was 10 and in school near our home. He did not want to go to after-school care, so I allowed him to have a key and to stay home on his own from 3:30 to 5 or 5:30 when my husband or I got home. After several months, it was obvious that my son felt a bit lonely and was watching more T.V. than he should. (We had just moved to a new neighbourhood, too.)

3. Returning to work necessary to support family, but constrains ability to spend desired time with children/self.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Return to work is financial necessity, but time/energy outside office hours is too limited for comfort

- Concern about teenagers' lack of supervision while mother is at work

Example (Conflict Situation 435-2):

Conflict rating: 6

Due to inflation and insecurity of my husband's job, I returned to full-time work. While our teenagers have outgrown baby-sitters, they still need supervision of sorts, and due to my employment, time and energy outside office hours is too limited for comfort.
4. **Student and child care demands constrain pursuit of recreational and/or other interests.**

**Central Issues or Themes:**

- Desire to take class for recreational interest conflicts with spending time at home as parent
- Current student role already requires considerable time commitment away from home

**Example (Conflict Situation 744-1):**

I am pretty much a health nut, who enjoys, immensely, taking dance (etc.) classes but find that doing this conflicts with spending time in the home as parent. I really wanted to take a rhythmic gymnastic course Thursday evenings but found I just couldn't justify doing this when I already spend three afternoons (1 - 1:30 - 3:30; 2 - 3:30 - 5:30) coaching a high school team. The coaching time is considered mandatory to help me get a permanent secondary teaching position and the other class would be recreational.

C. How to manage parenting, career and demands of other roles and avoid "overload."

**Definition:** Conflict focussed on difficulty of handling multiple demands of current or anticipated work/student role, as well as parenting and other roles and avoid overload (energies being too scattered, spreading self too thin, exhaustion, etc.).

1. **How to pursue career and other interests and juggle family/house care responsibilities.**

**Central Issues or Themes:**

- Irregular work schedule requires flexibility in house care and child care arrangements
- How to ensure that standards for household order are maintained
- How to find employment situation where she can use training,
be relatively flexible and independent, and support self and children
- Desire to pursue career and still have sufficient time for children
  and other interests
- Deciding on appropriate child care arrangements

**Example (Conflict Situation 14-3):**

Conflict rating: 6

I had to make a decision to find employment, to do what I am trained to do, to take a step to independence and support myself and children. I was hoping to find work where I could somehow be my own boss, so I could set my own hours and more easily arrange time with the children as well as find time to pursue some of my other interests. The idea of challenge and relative freedom of being independent in my work also appealed to me.

2. Potential financial advantages of returning to work weighed against anticipated tension of "spreading self too thin."

**Central Issues or Themes:**

- Staying at home preferred to allow for desired time with family
- Returning to work would enable family to live more comfortably, but mother concerned about likely strains of overextending self

**Example (Conflict Situation 435-1):**

Conflict rating: 6

To stay at home aiming to stabilise family, attempt to make ends meet, waive orthodontic treatment for elder child, do without a much needed extra room for projects, etc. (we live in non-basement house); or work full-time hiring sitter for out-of-school hours and school holidays, in order to provide above, and in turn reap various tensions that come with spreading myself too thin.

3. Managing parenting, part-time work and student responsibilities. In everything she does, gets feeling she should be doing something else.
Central Issues or Themes:

- Juggling studies, parenting and part-time work makes it difficult to take time out for self

- While engaging in one role, continuously distracted by demands of other roles

Example (Conflict Situation 677-1): Conflict rating: 7

I am currently a student, and working part-time as well as being the mother of a small child. It seems in everything that I do there persists in the back of my mind the thought that I should really be doing something else. If I am counselling someone, there is the thought I should be working on my course. If my baby is fussy, there is the thought I should be working on my course. If I take a moment 'for me', the baby cries.

V. Conflicts Between Career and Partner Roles

Number of Incidents: 14

Definition/Process:

Weighing and balancing conflicting demands of career and partner roles. Managing the effects of career role (i.e. demands and behaviour associated with the role) on partner role, and partner role on career. Reconciling conflicting wants and needs of self and partner.

Central Themes in Categorization:

The term "partner" was used in this set of categories, rather than "spouse" or "wife" in order to accommodate the conflicts of both married and unmarried women. This decision was based on the assumption that marital status was not necessarily central to the nature of conflicts in partner relationships, and that other factors (such as the duration of the relationship, the quality of mutual support, and so on) might be more significant. Treating this group of conflicts
together also provided a larger pool of items than would otherwise be possible if conflicts of married and unmarried women were classified separately.

The first criterion which emerged as important in dividing up conflict types in this category was whether the subject was in a relationship which was relatively established or stable, or whether the subject was considering the possibility of forming a new partner relationship. This distinction was incorporated at the level of basic categories (maintaining an established relationship vs. considering potential partner relationship).

At the next level of categorization, a number of themes emerged. In maintaining an established relationship, the partner's non-support of the subject's career pursuits was one frequent theme, reflected in disagreements, difficulties communicating and/or reduced sexual contact. In cases of disagreement, questions which frequently arose were, "which partner's wants will prevail?" or "what can be compromised?". Another set of conflicts related to logistical problems - in some cases, the career needs of the two partners differed and came into conflict (particularly related to geographic location); in other cases, juggling multiple roles resulted in feelings of overload which were somehow reflected in the partner relationship.

The conflicts involving potential partner relationships, or anticipated lover/partner involvements, were all concerned with the relationship having some kind of negative effect on career. For some, the dilemma arose due to the fact that the potential partner was a work associate and the subject feared that complications might result. Another case involved the fear that a new partner involvement would conflict with longer-range career plans which involved travel.

Basic Categories, Sub-Categories and Examples of Conflicts Between Career and Partner Roles
A. Maintaining established relationship with partner in conflict with career wants/needs.

1. Her intensive interest/involvement in work/studies and partner's limited support or interest in her career pursuits combine to create tension/distance in relationship.

Central Issues or Themes:
- Feeling tired after intensive period of career involvement, uncertainty and self-doubt concerning next career steps
- Intensive involvement in studies results in reduced interest in sex
- Partner upset at reduced attention and threatening involvement elsewhere
- Rivalry between partners regarding careers; partners at different career stages
- Not receiving desired support from partner

Example (Conflict Situation 755-3): Conflict rating: 6

Upon completion of a high energy project I feel let-down. Remobilization of energy, unsureness of next steps to continue flow of direction of career - trying to establish a centre - feelings of doubt about whether I CAN do it overwhelm me. Feelings of loneliness. My husband wants to make love. I feel depressed and want support. He is fed up. His interest in my problem minimal. We don't make love.

2. Partners' wants/needs differ regarding geographic location of work.

Central Issues or Themes:
- Looking for work in trade requires travel and potential relocation; little work option for her in community where partner works, and work in partner's field is scarce everywhere else
- Partner wants to move to pursue his vocational/avocational interests but she wants to stay in her job and present location
for financial and personal reasons

- Partners both established and happy in careers, but she wants to return "home" where no comparable job/career prospects exist now; he unable to help her deal with feelings, relationship deteriorating

**Example (Conflict Situation 433-1):**

I am expecting to have to travel indeterminately to find work as a machinist apprentice in B.C. due to the recession. My partner/lover is settled in one rural area with little option to relocate, due to his occupation. Conflict arises due to the fact that months of separation have already passed, and further pressure of this kind could disintegrate the relationship. Of course I want both - to be a machinist, but be with my partner also.

3. Partner's wants/demands present obstacle to her initiating or continuing desired career pursuits.

**Central Issues or Themes:**

- Partner temporarily postpones preferred career pursuit to support couple/family while she is getting established at early stages of career; he begins to express resentment and impatience, wanting his turn to pursue own career interests

- Subject wants to pursue further education, but time demands of studies would conflict with things partner wants to do

- Partner's preoccupation with own interests and non-support of her needs/wants for self/career development prompt her to consider separation and return to work force

**Example (Conflict Situation 755-1):**

Husband - "I want you to work at something that you enjoy and makes you feel productive." Later: "I have to keep up a job (he's retired from S.F.U. and now working elsewhere) so I haven't been able to do the book-writing I want to." I translate that as: "I
shouldn't be pursuing my slow evolving career, I should go out and get a job - now."

4. Juggling of career and partner/family/household demands creates feeling of "overload."

Central Issues or Themes:

- Involvement in multiple roles - student, employee, parent, partner, homemaker - creates feeling of overload
- Demands of multiple roles create obstacle to participation in partner's planned weekend away with children
- Whether to remain in partner relationship or separate and become involved in own career; partner's unwillingness to relieve her of current commitments means risk of overload if she adds career role to her repertoire

Example (Conflict Situation 166-1): Conflict rating: 6

Presently, I feel I'm in a bit of an 'overload' position. I am taking three fascinating courses (evenings) at U. Vic.; I substitute a couple of days a week; as well I have two young sons (7 and 5), one spouse, and 2 homes (city and Gulf Islands) to maintain. My husband had a 4 day week-end, took the children out of school, and wanted me to come along to our cottage, which we are presently building. I had a one day teaching assignment, course reading and assignments to do.

B. Potential partner relationship may interfere with career pursuits (conflict associated with anticipated lover/partner involvement).

1. Attracted to potential romantic relationship with co-worker(s) but concerned that such involvement would undermine success, respect, comfort in work role.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Attracted to instructor, but fears that romantic involvement would undermine or destroy professional relationship
- Policy of non-involvement with co-workers "learned through painful experience"

- Concern about keeping respect, working in male-dominated profession

- Fearing complications of romantic involvement with co-worker(s), yet drawn to them due to shared interests, etc.

Example (Conflict Situation 317-4): Conflict rating: 6

At my previous job I became romantically involved with a co-worker. When the relationship terminated, it became very stressful to continue working together. Co-incidentally, and, I felt at the time, very lucky for me, I was offered a new and better job. This eliminated the immediate conflict, but now I am left with a great fear of any involvement with people in my same line of work. (You never know with whom you may be professionally interacting.) The conflict is that, of course, these are the people who share my interests, etc.

2. Involvement in potential partner relationship may disrupt plans for further education.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Former partner wants to resume relationship, but subject fears that this involvement would disrupt her plans for further education and self-development

Example (Conflict Situation 696-1): Conflict rating: 7

After a period of living apart (for a year, at my instigation) my spouse asked me to move back in with him. At the time, I was about to return to school for vocational training, and I was concerned that living with him would conflict with my long-range career plans. I hoped to go to Europe eventually - within a year - to complete my training - and I was afraid that being part of a 'couple' again would keep me from fulfilling my own needs and aspirations as an individual.
VI. Conflicts Associated With Managing Two Work Roles (Employee vs. Other Career Role)

Number of incidents: 4

Definition/Process:

Balancing demands of job and demands of another career role (i.e. student or freelancer). Dealing with relative inflexibility in scheduling/time demands of one or both roles.

Central Themes in Categorization:

Given that this superordinate category represents only four incidents, observations which can be made and the categories developed are necessarily very limited. However, given that this set of conflicts is likely to contain features which are distinct from those of other superordinate categories, some comments and examples are warranted.

Conflicts Associated with Managing Two Work Roles fell into two basic categories: employee–student conflicts and conflict associated with scheduling freelance work in addition to a job. All of the incidents involved demands of the two roles competing for attention during a given time period, where it was apparently impossible to meet the demands of both roles simultaneously.

Basic Categories and Examples of Conflicts Associated with Managing Two Work Roles

A. Balancing job schedule/requirements with need for study time/attending classes.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Employer's request for subject to work overtime conflicts with subject's plans to work on student assignment
- Subject takes time off from job to study for exam, but still needs
more; feeling high anxiety in anticipation of exam, but expects difficulty getting more time off work

- Having class immediately following work interferes with dinner

**Example (Conflict Situation 106-1):**

Conflict rating: 7

Some time ago I was approached by my supervisor. She was asking if I would be interested in working some overtime in order for us to be able to get caught up on some of the office work. I wasn't interested, partly because of my basic intense dislike for work, but even more so because I had an assignment to do for my Social Psych. course, and I had planned to spend all day Saturday working on it. (I was to work Saturday.)

**B. Conflict associated with scheduling freelance work in addition to job.**

**Central Issues or Themes:**

- Meeting to discuss possible freelance opportunity has to be scheduled during job hours

- Calling in sick later results in questioning remarks from boss

**Example (Conflict Situation 140-1):**

Conflict rating: 4

I had an interview with a department at the university re: doing some drawing for them which may result in future freelance work but had to go during work hours. I also had to go for a re-check with my doctor. I scheduled the two things into one Monday morning and called a substitute for that day. My boss later "jokingly" accused me of playing hookey and assumes I am irresponsible.

**VII. Conflicts Between Career and Family Member Roles**

Number of Incidents: 4

**Definition/Process:**

Wants/needs or demands in work or student role conflict with demands of family member role(s) (i.e. sister, daughter, aunt).
Central Themes in Categorization:

Family member roles in this category pertain to relationships with members of one's family of origin or extended family. Conflicts associated with one's "immediate family" (i.e. one's spouse or children) are excluded from this category, as they have been covered previously under Career-Partner and Career-Parent Conflicts.

Like the preceding superordinate category, the small number of incidents in the Career-Family Member category will permit only limited observations to be made. Two basic kinds of conflict could be noted. Most of the incidents pertained to a lack of appreciation from family for the subject's career pursuits, and pressures from family members for the subject to spend more time with them. The other kind of conflict was a specific instance where the subject's career-related interest conflicted with family's expectations that she attend a special family event.

Basic Categories and Examples of Conflicts Between Career Family Member Roles

A. Sister or mother does not appreciate, respect or value her career (student) pursuits, and requests/demands that they spend more time together.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Younger sister demands frequent social contact and does not appreciate heavy demands of subject's studies; sister gets angry at being turned down, making it harder for subject to study

- Mother occasionally asks why daughter never visits; daughter resents that mother does not recognize importance of studies or value her daughter's career aspirations

Example (Conflict Situation 721-1): Conflict rating: 6

After a period of time out of school, I'm back getting my grade 12
at the community college. I like going back to school, and I'm a good student. I get along with the instructors and the other students. I do homework most every night, and write a lot of essays, especially on week-ends. The problem is my young sister (age 21) always wants me to go visit her, and to spend the week-ends partying with her. I love my sister very much, but I want to get my schooling over with, so that I can get into a trade like auto mechanics. I tell her how important this is to me, but she just gets mad, which makes it harder for me to study.

B. Scheduling of two "special occasions" conflict - one to celebrate career achievement and the other a family gathering.

Central Issues or Themes:
- Subject wants to celebrate student victory with boyfriend, but sister expects her to attend niece's birthday party
- Resentment at sister's expectations, but feelings of guilt about neglecting aunt/sister role

Example (Conflict Situation 106-4):

Two years ago in September I wrote my M.A. Comprehensives and had the oral exam at the end. They were spread over 3 days. The evening of the day I had my oral was my niece Karen's second birthday. I wanted to go out and celebrate my victory that evening with my boyfriend, but my sister Shirley was having a party for Karen, and I knew she expected me to be there. Shirley and I had talked about this sort of thing before, and she had let me know that she felt I was not the attentive sister she had expected me to be in regards to my aunt role. I resented her expectations, but felt guilty at the same time.

VIII. Conflicts Between Career and Friend Roles

Number of Incidents: 3
Definition/Process:

Wants/needs or demands of work or student role conflict with wants/needs in maintaining or developing friendships.

Central Themes in Categorization:

Although three incidents cannot be viewed as representing the diverse range of conflicts which might arise between career and friend roles, each of the incidents did seem to capture a distinctly different type of conflict. The first incident pertained to an ongoing issue of juggling study time with social time. The second was a specific instance of a friend seeking support at a time when the demands of studies conflicted. The third type of conflict was one which emerged as a result of the subject asking a favour of friends during the transition to working full-time. Each of these types was reflected as a basic category.

Basic Categories and Examples of Conflicts Between Career and Friend Roles

A. Managing time demands of work/studies and arranging social time with numerous friends.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Onset of studies necessitates change in habitual pattern of social contact with friends
- New schedule makes it difficult to find time for subject's many different groups of friends

Example (Conflict Situation 310-1):

Conflict rating: 6

I have regular nights out with friends that I have kept for years with certain friends. However, I also have school which occupies time as I have a lot of homework. The other problem which interferes is that I have a lot of groups of different friends who all want at least one night out with me a week. But I haven't got time for everything.
B. How to attend to pressing demands of both work/studies and friend roles simultaneously, when friend is upset and wants or needs support, to talk.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Subject's friend is upset and wanting to talk; this conflicts with subject's need to study at that time.

Example (Conflict Situation 310-2):

Conflict rating: 7

My friend said that she needed to talk, she was obviously very upset. I was on my way to the library to study for an upcoming test.

C. Asking favour of friends (care of her animals for extended period of time) during transition to working full-time creates resentment.

Central Issues or Themes:

- Previous pattern of time spent in equestrian activity had to change due to demands of full-time work; after deciding to sell horses, subject needed assistance with their care until they could be sold
- Subject recruited friends' assistance for extended period, which strained friendships

Example (Conflict Situation 539-1):

Conflict rating: 4

During the transition period from being a rider to starting a professional career (not associated with horses), I needed assistance in keeping my horses ridden. (Up to that time, I had spent a lot of time riding them, preparing them for competition and showing.) I asked friends to exercise my horses which they did but I had to keep asking this favour for a period of four months. That is a very long time to ask for help and I think I lost some good feeling and respect. I'm afraid no one realized my difficulty in keeping my new job together, construction on a new house I bought and working toward selling the horses (as well as riding them).
Categorizing Coping Strategies

The 93 incidents to be used for developing coping strategy categories consisted of coping methods which subjects described as effective, as well as those they considered ineffective. The number of incidents provided which subjects judged to be effective in coping with their role conflicts was 41 or 44.1% of incidents. The number of incidents considered ineffective was 36 or 38.7% of the total. Thirteen incidents (14%) were rated "4" on the seven-point scale of coping effectiveness, and would thus be considered neutral or ambivalent in effectiveness ("neither effective nor ineffective" or "partly effective and partly ineffective"). For the remaining three incidents, coping effectiveness was not indicated by the subjects. A summary of the number and percentage of coping incidents by effectiveness rating for each of the superordinate categories is provided in Table 8.

A decision was made to treat all of the coping incidents as one pool of items, rather than attempting to classify "effective" and "ineffective" strategies separately. Such an approach was desirable for a number of reasons. It was clear from previous studies which have developed classification schemes for coping strategies - particularly Hall (1972) and Pearlin and Schooler (1978) - that strategies considered effective for certain subjects or types of conflict might prove ineffective for others. Flanagan (1954) has also stressed that categories developed using the Critical Incident Technique should be neutral in character. In applying this principle to the present context, it would seem that the wording of coping categories should be such that their effectiveness or ineffectiveness could not be automatically inferred from the category titles themselves. Once all of the incidents had been classified into a single "neutral" classification scheme, the researcher could then review the incidents under each category in order to answer the research questions pertaining to coping effectiveness, particularly Secondary Question 2b, "Are there some strategies which are effective in some situations and ineffective in others?"
Table 8
Number of Incidents Rated Effective Versus Ineffective by Coping Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Category</th>
<th>Effective (Ratings 5-7)</th>
<th>Ineffective (Ratings 1-3)</th>
<th>Neutral (Rating 4)</th>
<th>Rating Not Indicated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Career Transitions</td>
<td>16 (61.5%)</td>
<td>5 (19.2%)</td>
<td>3 (11.5%)</td>
<td>2 (7.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(26 incidents)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Employee</td>
<td>5 (38.5%)</td>
<td>6 (46.2%)</td>
<td>2 (15.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13 incidents)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Student</td>
<td>2 (25.0%)</td>
<td>4 (50.0%)</td>
<td>2 (25.0%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8 incidents)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Career-Parent</td>
<td>9 (42.9%)</td>
<td>7 (33.3%)</td>
<td>4 (19.0%)</td>
<td>1 (4.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(21 incidents)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Career-Parent</td>
<td>5 (35.7%)</td>
<td>8 (57.1%)</td>
<td>1 (7.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14 incidents)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Managing Two Work Roles</td>
<td>1 (25.0%)</td>
<td>2 (50.0%)</td>
<td>1 (25.0%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4 incidents)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Career-Family Member</td>
<td>1 (25.0%)</td>
<td>3 (75.0%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4 incidents)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Career-Friend</td>
<td>2 (66.7%)</td>
<td>1 (33.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3 incidents)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>41 (44.1%)</td>
<td>36 (38.7%)</td>
<td>13 (14.0%)</td>
<td>3 (3.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(93 incidents)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Classification Scheme for Coping Strategies

Coping strategy categories and examples of each are outlined in Table 9, along with the frequency of incidents per category and subjects' ratings of coping effectiveness. The section which follows provides a more detailed summary of categories, including the central themes which were evident and the decisions made in classifying each group of incidents. Some general observations on the effectiveness of coping strategies for each superordinate category are also made at the beginning of each section.

At the basic category and sub-category level, some coping strategies were consistently rated as effective, others consistently ineffective, and others had mixed ratings. In order to present the highlights of coping behaviour in such a way that inferences can be made concerning the criteria subjects apply in evaluating coping effectiveness, the behaviours associated with each strategy are divided into those associated with effective, ineffective and neutral ratings of coping effectiveness.

Coping Strategies for Intrarole Conflicts

I. Coping Strategies for Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions)

Number of incidents: 26

Central Themes in Categorization:

As noted in the discussion of Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions), this group of conflicts was differentiated from other intrarole conflicts by the fact that the subject felt a need, or was required, to make some kind of structural change in her career role. In keeping with this characteristic of the conflicts, a central feature in distinguishing
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy Categories</th>
<th>Coping Strategy Types and Sub-Types</th>
<th>Mean Effectiveness Rating</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intrarole Conflicts</td>
<td>A. Compromise career goals/values by choosing in favour of job which meets immediate needs and hope or plan for longer-term achievement of career and related goals.</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Decide that advantages of current job outweigh disadvantages for now, stay in job and hope/plan to pursue desired career direction in future.</td>
<td>6.67 (7,6,7)</td>
<td>A.1. a) Seek counselling/analysis to assist in dealing with mood swings/despair. Stay with current job and defer move until future time when career opportunity is available in preferred location. b) Reassess advantages of current job and stay at job for now. Leave other career options open for future. (Also admit truth to self and others about real reason for recent career decision - fear of failing.) c) Consider quitting job, but decide against it. Raise concerns about job in candid discussion with employer. Refuse to comply with employer's request which violates sense of values. Leave job at employer's instigation and preserve rights to unemployment insurance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Accept offered job(s) which compromise(s) career-related goals and values to meet immediate need and hope/plan to pursue other career direction in future.</td>
<td>3.00 (1,5,3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Influence employer to improve status of current job as preferred alternative to changing jobs for now, but give up potential benefits of other job opportunity in the process.</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Classification Scheme for Coping Strategies
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy Categories by Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Coping Strategy Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</th>
<th>Mean Effectiveness Rating</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Coping Strategies for Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions) (cont’d)</td>
<td>B. Clarify career goal and potential effects of career on other aspects of life. Investigate and plan for implementing career goal in near future.</td>
<td>6 5.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|  | 1. Clarify career goal, investigate and plan for related education/training and plan/arrange finances for period of studies. | 3 5.67 (6,6,5) | B.1. a) Re-examine career direction, decide that real want is to pursue career in new field. Investigate educational/vocational training programs in field of interest and sources of financial support/assistance.  

b) Examine all roles to find way of making them more coherent. Seek counselling, identify and explore field of career interest. Pursue related training and employment and find compatible ways of pursuing other interests.  
c) Set out financial plan, enabling her to not work for several years. Apply to school, seek partner's support, pursue program. |
|  | 2. Look for full-time work which is consistent with career-related goals and values, provides job satisfaction and desired benefits. | 2 5.00 (6,4) | 2. a) Accept necessity of returning to full-time work but insist on "feeling comfortable" with job and having job satisfaction.  

b) Quit job and spend intensive period looking for (and finding) good job with good benefits. |
|  | 3. Forego or diminish involvement in other interests in favour of career pursuits. | 1 6.00 | 3. a) Choose to forego other interests in favour of career pursuits, but keep open option of reactivating other interests in future, if desired. |
|  | C. Continue previously full-time career on part-time basis to leave time for pursuit of studies and/or other interests and/or for benefit of one's physical/mental health. | 4 6.00 | C.1. a) Decide to continue previous career part-time, to be less fatigued, and to have more time to take courses and spend with friends.  

b) Situation was solved for her. Job was changed to part-time due to cutbacks and layoffs. Had already decided to go to night school and change jobs as soon as possible. |

---

Table 9 (cont’d)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy Categories</th>
<th>Coping Strategy Types and Sub-Types</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Mean Effectiveness Rating</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Coping Strategies for Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions) (cont'd)</td>
<td>Continue previously full-time career on part-time basis to leave time for pursuit of studies and/or other interests and/or for benefit of one's physical/mental health (cont'd)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.50</td>
<td>C.2. a) Suspend career and take period of time off to relax, then take part-time job and do occasional relief work (in same field as previous full-time work). b) Negotiate with employer to change job from full-time to part-time to relieve job-related health problems and to develop creative interests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Avoid dealing directly with conflict, seek temporary escape from conflict and/or remain at impasse.</td>
<td>1. Sleep or eat excessively to &quot;escape&quot; from conflict and avoid confronting unhappiness.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.00 (1,1)</td>
<td>D.1. a) Avoid dealing with conflict by spending a lot of time sleeping or eating. Feel badly about wasting time which could have been spent working and about gaining weight. b) Avoid confronting unhappiness by getting into pattern of sleeping through most days, only getting up for classes, then going back to bed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. &quot;Escape&quot; from career conflict temporarily by planning combined fun/work weekend out of town.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>2. a) Take weekend trip out of town for change of environment. Return to school at end of weekend feeling refreshed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Remain at impasse, with no solution.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>3. a) Conflict still in progress; no solution yet found.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Question or change planned program of studies/career direction due to changing interests or for health reasons.</td>
<td>1. Do not follow through with plans to pursue studies and new career direction, for health reasons.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>E.1. a) Pressure of preparing to challenge entry requirements for program of study coincides with development of health problems. Career plans postponed, re-evaluated. Decide on new field which draws on multiple interests, skills and experiences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coping Strategy Categories by Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</td>
<td>Coping Strategy Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</td>
<td>Mean Freq.</td>
<td>Effectiveness Rating</td>
<td>Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Coping Strategies for Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions) (cont'd)</td>
<td>R. Question or change planned program of studies/career direction due to changing interests or for health reasons. (cont'd)</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>E.2. a) Look at positive side of student experience and job prospects which appeal to sense of values. Continue this year as student and thoroughly evaluate career possibilities in summer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Plan to complete first stage of studies and re-evaluate career direction at that time.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>a) Slacken efforts in current program of studies and investigate other field of potential career interest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Slacken efforts in current program of studies and investigate other field of potential career interest.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>a) Skip class several times a week to investigate new area of career interest. Later feel guilty about not applying self to studies, taking so much time deciding on a career direction, and using children as an excuse for lack of progress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Talk about feelings/conflict with supportive person (without &quot;resolving&quot; conflict), then try to persevere with career goal in spite of conflict.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>a) Talk about self-doubts, feelings of panic, with sympathetic employer and gain some reassurance. Swallow doubts, press on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Talk about self-doubts, feelings of panic, with sympathetic employer and gain some reassurance. Swallow doubts, press on.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Not Indicated</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>a) Seek consolation, support, advice from employer on project and gain some reassurance. Continue to be undermined by self-doubt, but persevere with project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Seek counselling which enables release of pent-up feelings of frustration regarding studies/career (but provides no better understanding of how to deal with conflict).</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>a) See counsellor on campus to try to deal with depression. Get feelings out and feel some relief, but still have no better understanding of how to deal with conflict.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Coping Strategies for Conflicts within Employee Role</td>
<td>A. Attempt to change/resolve problem situation by discussing directly with other person involved in the conflict. If not resolvable at that level, discuss with person at higher level of authority.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.80</td>
<td>a) Repeatedly speak to immediate supervisor, with no success. When time is right, approach more senior person and eventually negotiate with both for desired autonomy in job.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Make direct request(s) to immediate supervisor, then given lack of success in achieving desired outcome, approach person(s) at higher level of authority.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>A.1. a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 9 (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy Categories by Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Coping Strategy Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Effectiveness Rating</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. Coping Strategies for Conflicts within Employee Role (cont'd)</strong></td>
<td><strong>A. Attempt to change/resolve problem situation by discussing directly with other person involved in the conflict.</strong> If not resolvable at that level, discuss with person at higher level of authority. (cont'd)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td><strong>A.1 b)</strong> Given lack of success in convincing immediate superior to agree to request, explain situation to executive board, who support decision and succeed in changing superior's mind in desired direction.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Make direct request(s) to immediate supervisor, then given lack of success in achieving desired outcome, approach person(s) at higher level of authority. (cont'd)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td><strong>A.1 b)</strong> Given lack of success in convincing immediate superior to agree to request, explain situation to executive board, who support decision and succeed in changing superior's mind in desired direction.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Clearly define limits with employer and refuse any requests which are beyond these limits.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td><strong>B.1 a)</strong> Feel hurt at harsh criticism. Find place to retreat and cry. b) Feel upset/cowed by angry criticism from supervisor. In future, conform to supervisor's (angrily expressed) expectations.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Take time to gather courage, then ask supervisor directly for desired change.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td><strong>B.1 a)</strong> Feel hurt at harsh criticism. Find place to retreat and cry. b) Feel upset/cowed by angry criticism from supervisor. In future, conform to supervisor's (angrily expressed) expectations.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Try to resolve problem directly with offending client, but in face of persistent conflict, seek assistance from person in authority.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td><strong>B.1 a)</strong> Feel hurt at harsh criticism. Find place to retreat and cry. b) Feel upset/cowed by angry criticism from supervisor. In future, conform to supervisor's (angrily expressed) expectations.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>B. Retreat within self to deal with hurt feelings, regret and/or self-criticism.</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td><strong>B.1 a)</strong> Feel hurt at harsh criticism. Find place to retreat and cry. b) Feel upset/cowed by angry criticism from supervisor. In future, conform to supervisor's (angrily expressed) expectations.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Feel hurt at criticism from person in authority, withdraw, keep feelings to self.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td><strong>B.1 a)</strong> Feel hurt at harsh criticism. Find place to retreat and cry. b) Feel upset/cowed by angry criticism from supervisor. In future, conform to supervisor's (angrily expressed) expectations.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Feel regret, self-critical, guilty about one's behaviour with person in authority or co-worker. Think about what one should have done differently.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td><strong>B.1 a)</strong> Feel hurt at harsh criticism. Find place to retreat and cry. b) Feel upset/cowed by angry criticism from supervisor. In future, conform to supervisor's (angrily expressed) expectations.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>C. Initially hold off in taking any action to deal directly with conflict, but next time problem occurs, surprise self by exploding anger at offending person.</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td><strong>C.1 a)</strong> Next time co-worker disrupts work, shout angrily, become confused, feel guilt, regret, when offending person apologizes for provoking anger.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 9 (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy Categories by Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Coping Strategy Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</th>
<th>Mean Freq. Effectiveness Rating</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. Coping Strategies for Conflicts within Employee Role (cont'd)</strong></td>
<td>C. Initially hold off in taking any action to deal directly with conflict, but next time problem occurs, surprise self by exploding angrily at offending person. (cont'd)</td>
<td>1 4.00</td>
<td>C.1. b) Next time problem occurs, explode angrily at offending employee. Later feel guilty, but act as if nothing happened. Criticize self for inability to express/deal with anger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D. Discuss problem with/seek advice of person directly involved in the conflict (&quot;third party&quot;).</td>
<td>1 4.00</td>
<td>D.1. a) Ask older woman in department for advice about how to assist co-worker with problem (without mentioning co-worker's name). Follow advice of older woman and make suggestions to co-worker about possible avenues of action for coping with problem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. Ignore problem and/or avoid contact with offending person. Hope problem/person will go away.</td>
<td>1 4.00</td>
<td>E.1. a) Avoid contact with problem co-worker as much possible. Feel relieved when co-worker later moves to another work area, and enjoy less stressful work environment.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **III. Coping Strategies for Conflicts within Student Role** | A. Grudgingly consent to do required course work which is of little interest, and reduce usual high standards for own performance in student role. | 2 4.00 (5,3) | A.1. a) Take required courses, and adopt attitude that grades in present courses are unimportant. Meet minimum requirements for acceptance into program of interest. 
| | b) Get by in required courses by doing minimum work (due to being bright and undisciplined). Try to convince self that grades are unimportant, though knowing that they really are. |
| | B. Feel resentful of instructor's behaviour (lack of support) but say nothing, keep feelings to self. | 2 2.50 (2,3) | B.1. a) Feel angry, disappointed and resentful at feeling unfairly manipulated by instructor and blocked from avenues she wanted to explore. 
| | b) Grumble to self about lack of direction and instruction. |
| | C. Distance self from other person(s) involved in the conflict. | 2 4.50 (5,4) | C.1. a) Maintain cool, detached professional attitude in dealing with others in student setting. 
<p>| | b) Ask for time to think about problem, then decide to do nothing. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy Categories by Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Coping Strategy Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Mean Effectiveness Rating</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III. Coping Strategies for Conflicts Within Student Role (cont'd)</td>
<td>D. Talk to other female students and try gradually to change their attitudes and behaviour towards male instructors.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>D.I. a) Attempt to raise awareness among other female students of effects of their behaviour on male staff, and try to influence them to adopt a more professional attitude. Accept fact that change does seem to occur, though slowly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. Complete course requirements by cheating, then feel guilty.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>E.1. a) Feel angry about having to do &quot;stupid assignment&quot; and cheat by copying. Afterwards feel guilty about &quot;stupid behaviour&quot; in face of &quot;stupid assignment.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERROLE CONFLICTS</td>
<td>A. Change career/job/residential situation to better accommodate child care and other needs of self and family.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Become self-employed as career challenge and to maximize autonomy and flexibility in choice of hours.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>A.1. a) Find work where she can own boss, set own hours and arrange time for children and other interests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Develop own business for time being, to provide independence and flexibility needed for raising children. Take night school to upgrade self for potential future career change.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Work full-time, primarily to meet financial needs/wants.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>2. a) Decide to work full-time for limited period, to meet specific financial goals (two family holidays and a renovated kitchen to enjoy on her &quot;retirement&quot;).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Full-time work is only alternative with current economic situation. Her income essential to meet mortgage payments.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Work part-time to allow time for child care, studies and/or other interests.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>3. a) Leave job in order to spend time with young children, and lose tenure. Work part-time (substitute teaching) to remain involved in professional life and interests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Continue being student, live off savings and a variety of temporary/part-time jobs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coping Strategy Categories by Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</td>
<td>Coping Strategy Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</td>
<td>Mean Freq. Effectiveness Rating</td>
<td>Examples</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Coping Strategies for Career-Parent Conflicts (cont'd)</td>
<td>A. Change career/job/residential situation to better accommodate child care and other needs of self and family. (cont'd)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Accept both work and child care demands as given and not open to change. Move closer to job to free up time for career and child care and to relieve stress of commuting.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>A4. a) Free up time for both professional pursuits and family by changing residence and reducing commuting hours.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Negotiate for change in work schedule and move closer to child's school.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>5. a) Negotiate with boss for change of hours to accommodate child's needs. Move closer to child's school for comfort of child during time home alone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Rule out option of moving due to own and children's needs. Work part-time now while looking for full-time work.</td>
<td>1 Not indicated</td>
<td>6. a) Decide against out-of-town job due to needs of self and child. Work part-time while looking for full-time job.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. Make new arrangements for care of child(ren).</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Look for convenient community day care or activities for child during (non-school) hours while mother is working.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.13</td>
<td>B1. a) Enroll child in after-school care program, despite cost and child's initial objection. Child happier having company while parent is at work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) Choose to pursue program of studies, and place child in all-day nursery to free up time for working and studying. Parent and child both thriving.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c) Try unsuccessfully to find community activities for child on school holidays; conflict remains unsolved.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Put child to sleep earlier than usual to allow time for studying.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>2. a) Try to get child to sleep earlier than usual by going to bed with him. Limited success in getting child to sleep means little studying gets done.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) Force child to sleep earlier by spanking him. Child falls asleep crying, and mother is too upset to concentrate on studies.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Coping Strategies for Career-Parent Conflicts (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B. Make new arrangements for care of child(ren).</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Take child(ren) along on work trip out of town and arrange for students to share child care responsibilities.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.3. a) Decide that child needs mother's attention and that work trip is also important. Take child along on trip, and hire students to alternate responsibility for care of child.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| C. Involve child(ren) more in doing household chores. | 3 | 4.33 | 4.33 | C.1. a) Instead of repeatedly getting angry returning home to a messy household, gradually get family to share household responsibilities.  
b) Get children to do household cleaning, some cooking and laundry in exchange for allowance, to leave more time for mother to rest and for leisure activities together. |
| 1. Get children to do more of the household chores. | 2 | 4.50 | 4.50 | 1,6,3 |
| 2. Play with child while doing chores, by getting child to "help." | 1 | 4.00 | 4.00 | 2. a) Rather than having small child play by himself while mother does chores, play with child by getting him to "help" with chores. |
| D. Suspend pursuit of leisure interests to allow more time to spend with children. | 1 | 4.00 | 4.00 | D.1. a) Decide that time with child will take priority for now over leisure interests, and forego recreational class. |
| E. Pray, seek spiritual guidance. | 1 | 7.00 | 7.00 | E.1. a) Pray for guidance in daily actions, and try to live in accordance with moral/religious values. |

### Coping Strategies for Career-Partner Conflicts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Decide that career pursuits take priority over partner interests.</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>2.60</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Pursue career interests despite partner's objections or lack of support. (Seek support elsewhere, change attitude about self, work and/or partner.) | 3 | 3.33 | 3.33 | A.1. a) Pursue career interests and continue to take full responsibility for household chores. Repress resentment towards partner, which later explodes into anger, conflict and distance.  
b) Seek professional help (counselling), prepare to pursue career interests and separate from partner.  
c) Try to provide self with own moral support and seek support from others. Try to take less responsibility for partner's feelings. |

### Table 2 (cont'd)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy Categories by Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Coping Strategy Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Mean Effectiveness Rating</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>V. Coping Strategies for Career-Partner Conflicts (cont'd)</strong></td>
<td><strong>A. Decide that career pursuits take priority over partner interests. (cont'd)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Submerge romantic interests in favour of career pursuits.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.50 (1,2)</td>
<td>A.2. a) Avoid romantic involvement with co-workers and try to control or deal with feelings within self. b) Cover up feelings of attraction to protect career interests. Do not allow romantic relationship to evolve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>B. Postpone decision-making, wait for situation to improve on its own or remain stuck at impasse.</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>B.1. a) Continue ongoing arguments with partner without reaching any new understanding, and thus perpetuate conflict. b) Take no action for fear of aggravating conflict with partner. Feel guilty about neglecting partner, and try to be less vulnerable to partner's responses. c) Wait for sexual interest to return on its own.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Remain stuck at impasse, do nothing. Wait for situation to improve on its own.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.67 (2,5,4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Defer decision-making until after next step is taken.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2. a) Tell partner to investigate next steps before any further action is taken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>C. Find compromise solution which meets both career/self and partner needs.</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>C.1. a) Consider advantages and disadvantages of potential partner arrangement, and decide to pursue relationship and deal with career or other obstacles as they arise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Discuss with partner, weigh priorities and alternatives. Decide in favour of relationship without having to compromise career plans.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Divide available time equally between work and leisure with partner/family.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>2. a) Take necessary time for work and plan to spend balance of weekend time relaxing with family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Seek professional help to clarify own feelings and wants. Discuss with partner and agree on gradual pursuit of shared goals and plans.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>3. a) Talk about conflict with psychologist, clarify goals and feelings about partner. Talk with partner and reach agreement on short and longer term plans to meet goals of both partners.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 9 (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy Categories by Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Coping Strategy Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</th>
<th>Mean Effectiveness Rating</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V. Coping Strategies for Career-Partner Conflicts (cont'd)</td>
<td>D. Compromise career development in favour of partner relationship. 1. Do not pursue career interests in favour of following partner's wishes. 2. Compromise own career wants to be with partner.</td>
<td>2 2.50</td>
<td>D.1. a) Decide against taking program of studies, since it would interfere with things partner wanted to do. 2. a) Pursue occupation in same area as partner and settle for less-than-ideal job.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Coping Strategies for Conflicts Associated with Managing Two Work Roles (Employee vs. Other Career Role)</td>
<td>A. Decide to suspend student needs (temporarily) in favour of job demands.</td>
<td>2 4.50 (7,2)</td>
<td>A.1. Agree to work overtime despite inconvenience, then later feel justified in asking for occasional time off for studying. 2. Go to work despite preoccupation with studies, then call off sick later in day when discomfort becomes intolerable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. Maintain secrecy about &quot;double life&quot; and continue working at job as well as freelance. Ignore boss' comments which suggest disapproval/suspicion in her taking day off.</td>
<td>1 3.00</td>
<td>B.1. Ignore implications of boss' comments and accompanying guilt and continue to cultivate freelance opportunities, in the interest of future employment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C. Grab dinner on the run between work and class time.</td>
<td>1 4.00</td>
<td>C.1. Buy a light dinner and eat it on the run between job and class time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Coping Strategies for Conflicts Between Career and Family Member Roles (i.e. Sister, Daughter, Aunt)</td>
<td>A. Remain stuck at impasse, with no solution.</td>
<td>2 1.00 (1,1)</td>
<td>A.1. Feel aggravated at sister's attitude and demands, but remain stuck for a solution. 2. Continue to feel misunderstood and lack of support from family, with no solution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. Assert priority of studies for now. Define time constraints/limits with family member, and schedule regular set times to spend together.</td>
<td>1 5.00</td>
<td>B.1. Inform sister clearly that studies must take priority for now. Arrange to visit with sister at regular time each weekend.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C. Attend family gathering out of sense of obligation, but carry lingering resentment about passing up opportunity to celebrate career victory.</td>
<td>1 2.00</td>
<td>C.1. Meet sister's expectations attending family gathering. Deal inwardly with lingering anger/resentment towards sister, and feel annoyed with self for compliant behaviour.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 9 (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy Categories by Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Coping Strategy Types and Sub-Types (Basic Categories and Sub-Categories)</th>
<th>Mean Effectiveness Rating</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Coping Strategies for Conflicts Between Career and Friend Roles</td>
<td>A. Assert priority of studies, clarify time constraints/limits with friend(s), and schedule time(s) to spend together which fit with student schedule.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.50 (6,5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. Pay friends, in money and/or exchange of services, for their assistance.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A.1. Advise friends of change in schedule and invite them to participate in group social gatherings. Protect majority of free time for closest friends and reduce contact with others.

2. Accommodate own need to study as well as friends need by arranging for talk with friend to be postponed to the next day.

B.1. Once situation has changed and help is no longer required of friends, offer money and favours in exchange for their assistance.
coping strategies in this category was the nature of the decision made by the subject about what the next steps of her career would be and how to go about implementing this decision. Most of the basic categories of coping with this group of conflicts thus reflected the nature of the specific transition which subjects were undertaking.

Five specific kinds of career transitions were reflected in basic categories: (1) deciding to stay in one's current job or to accept a job which meets immediate needs, and consider pursuing a preferred, alternate career direction in future; (2) investigating and planning for pursuit of a new career direction in the near future; (3) continuing a previously full-time career on a part-time basis; (4) changing one's plans for education or training; and (5) adjusting to difficulties at early stages of establishing oneself in one's career. The sixth basic coping category involved escaping temporarily from the conflict situation, and thus the category did not reflect any particular career transition.

The rationale, motive or meaning of the career decision to the subject was also incorporated, where possible, in the basic categories. The first category, for example, reflects a combination of "what the subject did" and why ("choose in favour of job which meets immediate needs") as well as something of the meaning of the strategy to the subjects ("compromise career goals/values" and "hope or plan for longer term achievement of career and related goals").

Subcategories for this group of conflicts mirror the basic categories in form and content, but reflect specific variations in circumstances or approaches to resolving the conflict, or in the meaning of the actions taken, from the subject's point of view.

**Coping Effectiveness:**

A number of trends were evident in the effectiveness of coping with this group of conflicts. The most effective strategies were those in the four basic
categories where subjects took time to assess their career direction in view of their needs and wants in career as well as other areas of life (i.e. needs for self-development, leisure and social time as well as career satisfaction), and then implemented these decisions. One notable exception was a sub-category where the subjects accepted offered jobs which compromised career-related hopes and values in order to meet immediate needs, and hoped or planned to pursue a preferred career direction in future. In two out of three cases where this strategy was used, the subjects did not like the jobs and thus considered their coping strategies ineffective.

Two of the basic categories showed a clear trend toward ineffectiveness, both of which can be construed as indirect ways of dealing with conflicts. The first of these was the category where subjects described themselves as avoiding dealing directly with the conflict, seeking a temporary escape from the conflict, or remaining at an impasse. Only one of the four "escape" incidents was rated as effective. The other basic category rated ineffective was talking about one's feelings and the conflict with a supportive person without "resolving" the conflict and trying to persevere with one's career goal in spite of conflict.

**Basic Categories, Sub-Categories and Examples of Coping Strategies for Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions):**

A. Compromise career goals/values by choosing in favour of job which meets immediate needs and hope or plan for longer-term achievement of career and related goals.

Number of incidents: 7

Effectiveness rating: Mixed (5 effective, 2 ineffective)
1. Decide that advantages of current job outweigh disadvantages for now, stay in job and hope/plan to pursue desired career direction in future.

**Associated Behaviours (Effective):**

- Seek counselling/analysis to assist in dealing with mood swings/despair
- Acknowledge own fears about prospective career change
- Reassess advantages of current job and decide to stay at job for now
- Defer move/pursuit of new career direction until more opportune time
- Raise concerns about job in candid discussion with employer
- Refuse to comply with employer's request which violates employee's personal values
- Leave job eventually, but only at employer's instigation, to preserve rights to unemployment insurance

**Example (Coping Strategy 777-2):**

Effectiveness rating: 6

The method of dealing with the conflict was to admit to myself and others the truth about not doing the M.B.A. due to fear of failing. Once that was done, I asked myself, "What do I want to do, work or go to school?" As I mentioned, I really enjoy the work that I do. I have grown tremendously in the last year, however, I know there is so much more to learn and experience. And for now that's what I'm going to do — stay with my current job. A couple of years from now, I will probably be ready for a change and the M.B.A. program is one possibility.

2. Accept offered job(s) which compromise(s) career-related goals and values to meet immediate need and hope/plan to pursue other career direction in future.


**Associated Behaviours:**

**Effective:**

- Take offered job which is unrelated to training, to gain experience and knowledge
- Take courses to improve prospects of later getting job related to training

**Ineffective:**

- Hold out in hopes of a better job as long as possible
- Succumb to accepting available but inferior jobs, despite drawbacks
- Dislike job, quit, and repeat cycle

**Example (Coping Strategy 567-3):**

Effectiveness rating: 5

I decided to take the job immediately and have gained a real variety of experience from it. I have learned a lot about the business world and I am now taking courses that will further my chances to get a job where I can use my degree.

3. Influence employer to improve status of current job as preferred alternative to changing jobs for now, but give up potential benefits of other job opportunity in the process.

**Associated Behaviour (Effective):**

- Use possibility of offered job elsewhere as leverage to improve job status with current employer
- Sacrifice potential increase in income for continuing to work part-time, work in freer atmosphere and have more free time

**Example (Coping Strategy 635-3):**

Effectiveness rating: 6

I gave my present employer a chance to better my status with the agency. I could therefore justify staying in a freer atmosphere, continuing to work part-time rather than full-time, and foregoing an increase in income.
B. Clarify career goal and potential effects of career on other aspects of life.

Investigate and plan for implementing career goal in near future.

Number of incidents: 6

Effectiveness rating: Generally high (5 high, 1 neutral)

1. Clarify career goal, investigate and plan for related education/training and plan/arrange finances for period of studies.

Associated Behaviours (Effective):

- Re-examine career direction, decide that real want is to pursue career in new field

- Investigate educational/vocational training programs in field of interest, and sources of financial support/assistance

- Examine all roles to find way of making them more coherent

- Seek counselling, identify and explore field of career interest

- Set out financial plan, enabling her to not work for several years

- Seek partner's support

- Pursue related training and employment and find compatible ways of pursuing other interests

Example (Coping Strategy 56-1): Effectiveness rating: 5

I thought through a plan of financial reorganization that would allow me to quit working for several years. I then applied for an audition at the theatre school. After making these decisions, I discussed my plans with my husband and showed him how the arrangement could work. He seemed supportive, and I went ahead with the audition, and when I was accepted to the school, I found that it was as exciting and challenging as I hoped it would be. I was also happy to be away from the college position, and although I have reason to re-evaluate this decision in recent years, the decision to leave full-time college teaching was a good one for me.
2. Look for full-time work which is consistent with career-related goals and values, provides job satisfaction and desired benefits.

Associated Behaviours:

Effective:
- Accept necessity of returning to full-time work, but insist on feeling comfortable with job and having job satisfaction.

Neutral:
- Quit job due to dissatisfaction
- Spend intensive period looking for (and finding) good job with good benefits

Example (Coping Strategy 373-3): Effectiveness rating: 4
I decided to quit as I was unhappy and spent three weeks looking for a good job with good benefits. I found the right job which had a nine day fortnight, training on word processor, and good pay.

3. Forego or diminish involvement in other interests in favour of career pursuits.

Associated Behaviours (Effective):
- Move to city to find a job
- Choose to forego recreational/sport interests in favour of career pursuits
- Keep open option of reactivating these interests in future, if desired

Example (Coping Strategy 539-1): Effectiveness rating: 6
After months of inner conflict I opted to move from the country to the city (selling the farm literally). I found a job and sold the horses. They were very valuable and I knew I had to let that aspect of my life become recessive as I worked at my new job. As a compromise I kept my equipment so I could buy a horse again some time in the future should I feel the desire or ability to continue and still work. Now, one and a half years later, still many new changes but not regrets for selling the horses.
C. Continue previously full-time career on part-time basis to leave time for pursuit of studies and/or other interests and/or for benefit of one's physical/mental health.

Number of incidents: 4

Effectiveness rating: Consistently high (one incident not rated)

1. Change from full-time to part-time work to pursue studies and/or leave more time for leisure and social activities.

Associated Behaviours (Effective):
- Spend intense period considering alternate jobs, careers or schooling
- Assess limitations of prospective jobs available without retraining
- Decide to continue previous career on part-time basis, to be less fatigued, to have more time to take courses and spend with friends
- After deciding to change jobs as soon as possible and to attend night school, situation was solved on its own, as job became part-time due to cutbacks and layoffs

Example (Coping Strategy 432-1): Effectiveness rating: 5

Fortunately I had my holidays to do job-hunting, and spent an intense 3 weeks considering alternate jobs, careers, or schooling, even registering and getting accepted in a college course. Few jobs were available without schooling, however, it became apparent that I could probably get a low-grade social services job. It would have the same disadvantages as my nursing job: shifts and high stress, while I would earn half as much. I finally decided to continue nursing half-time, making enough to live on. As a result, I got less fatigued, have more spare time, so I was able to take courses and do more with my friends. An unexpected plus was that I enjoyed the job more when I was less stressed.

2. Change from full-time to part-time work primarily for health reasons, but also to develop other aspects of self.
Associated Behaviours (Effective):

- Suspend career and take period of time off to relax and to relieve job-related health problems
- Seek new part-time position or negotiate with present employer to change job from full-time to part-time

Example (Coping Strategy 23-1): Effectiveness rating: 6

The problems with my legs from standing all day on the job were a catalyst to my coming to a decision. I discussed my feelings with my employer, and we agreed I should work only three days a week, and that another woman would be hired part-time to fill the hours I was no longer working.

D. Avoid dealing directly with conflict, seek temporary escape from conflict and/or remain at impasse.

(Note: Category used only for incidents where subject describes self as avoiding or at impasse, stuck, etc.)

Number of incidents: 4
Effectiveness rating: Mostly low (2 ineffective, 1 neutral, 1 effective)

1. Sleep or eat excessively to "escape" from conflict and avoid confronting unhappiness.

Associated Behaviours (Ineffective):

- Avoid dealing with conflict by spending a lot of time sleeping or eating
- Feel badly about wasting time which could have been spent working, and about gaining weight

Example (Coping Strategy 160-2): Effectiveness rating: 1

I began to spend a lot of my time sleeping or eating, in order to avoid dealing directly with the conflict. As a result I wasted a lot of the time that I could have spent working, and I made myself more unhappy by gaining weight.
2. "Escape" from career conflict temporarily by planning combined fun/work weekend out of town.

**Associated Behaviours (Effective):**
- Take weekend trip out of town for change of environment
- Return to school at end of weekend feeling refreshed

**Example (Coping Strategy 160-3):**

Effectiveness rating: 6

I decided that I needed to get away from campus, to do work and to play, so I took a bus to Boston and spent the weekend there. I really enjoyed being in an entirely different environment, and I felt refreshed when I returned.

3. Remain at impasse, with no solution.

**Associated Behaviours (Neutral):**
- Conflict still in progress, no solution yet found

**Example (Coping Strategy 23-2):**

Effectiveness rating: 4

The conflict is still in progress. I have not yet found a solution.

E. Question or change planned program of studies/career direction due to changing interests or for health reasons.

Number of incidents: 3

Effectiveness rating: Mostly high (2 effective, 1 neutral)

1. Do not follow through with plans to pursue studies and new career direction, for health reasons.

**Associated Behaviours (Neutral):**
- Pressure of preparing to challenge entry requirements for program of studies coincides with development of health problems
- Postpone plans for entry into program of studies
- Take time out to recover and re-evaluate plans
- Decide on a new field which draws on multiple interests, skills and experiences
- Leave open option of pursuing program of studies at later date

Example (Coping Strategy 777-1): Effectiveness rating: 4

I decided to give the M.B.A. program a crack as money was not a problem since I had sold my condo. However, I felt a lot of pressure preparing for the G.M.A.T. (entrance exams) as to whether I would get accepted or not. At that time I contracted an illness and the doctor advised me to wait a year although if I really wanted to, I could go to school. I took four months off to travel and recover and think. For the next two months I spent a lot of time exploring different things to get into and hit on the idea of medical sales. Medical sales combines physical education with commerce and I love it. An M.B.A. is still a possibility but only part-time to start and not for a couple of years.

2. Plan to complete first stage of studies and re-evaluate career direction at that time.

Associated Behaviours (Effective):
- Look at positive side of student experience and job prospects which appeal to one's sense of values
- Continue this year as student and thoroughly evaluate career possibilities in summer

Example (Coping Strategy 742-1): Effectiveness rating: 6

About the only thing I can find to do at present is to search for positive signs in my fellow students and in the job market which appeal to my sense of values. Otherwise, I intend to continue until the end of this term, since I have found a successful fall term personally satisfying. I consider the student experience very supportive, even though I may not complete the 2 year course. I plan to explore possibilities as fully as possible in the summer.
3. Slacken efforts in current program of studies and investigate other field of potential career interest.

Associated Behaviours (Effective):
- Skip class several times a week to investigate new area of career interest
- Later feel guilty about not applying self to studies, taking so much time deciding on a career direction and using children as an excuse for lack of progress

Example (Coping Strategy 14-2): Effectiveness rating: 5

Instead of attending class, went to a film studio 2-3 times a week. After three months I found the editing very technical and decided to return to the college to complete my course. I felt guilty in spending so much time trying to make up my mind on a career and not completing what I set out to do. I still have difficulty in getting down to my studies. My children are taking up a fair amount of my spare time but I still feel that it is no excuse.

F. Talk about feelings/conflict with supportive person (without "resolving" conflict), then try to persevere with career goal in spite of conflict.

Number of incidents: 2
Effectiveness rating: Low (one incident not rated)

1. Talk about self-doubts, feelings of panic, with sympathetic employer and gain some reassurance. Swallow doubts, press on.

Associated Behaviours:

Neutral (Not Indicated):
- Seek consolation, support, advice from employer on project and gain some reassurance
- Continue to be undermined by self-doubt, but persevere with project
Example (Coping Strategy 755-4): Effectiveness rating: Not indicated

I talked to the editor (the employer on this project) about my self-doubts and feelings of panic and gained some reassurance. Self-doubt undermines me. I try to swallow it down and press on.

2. Seek counselling which enables release of pent-up feelings of frustration regarding studies/career (but provides no better understanding of how to deal with conflict).

Associated Behaviours (Ineffective):

- See counsellor on campus to try to deal with depression
- Get feelings out and feel some relief, but still have no better understanding of how to deal with conflict

Example (Coping Strategy 160-1): Effectiveness rating: 2

This conflict is an ongoing thing for me, and I am constantly dealing or not dealing with it. A few weeks ago I felt my depression was overwhelming me, and I went to see a counsellor at the campus health services. She simply allowed me to talk and cry, and I felt better to get it off my chest, but I left with no better understanding of how to deal with the conflict.

II. Coping Strategies for Conflicts Within the Employee Role

Number of incidents: 13

Central Themes in Categorization:

Coping Strategies for Conflicts Within the Employee Role were differentiated from each other, first of all, by the extent to which the subject dealt directly versus indirectly with the other person involved in the conflict. Basic categories were distinguished based on the subject's behaviour: (1) speaking directly to the other person involved in the conflict; (2) seeking help from a
third party not directly involved in the conflict; or (3) keeping her feelings to herself. These coping behaviours could be understood on a kind of continuum from active interpersonal coping strategies to strategies which involve dealing only inwardly, or intrapersonally, with the conflict.

Another issue which appeared to be important to coping with this group of conflicts was the timing of the subject's actions. Some strategies clearly involved making a deliberate decision to wait or hold off in taking any immediate action. A variation on this theme was distancing oneself from the problem or other person involved in the conflict and hoping that the conflict would resolve itself without the subject's intervention. These two "types" of strategies were combined with the three others listed above to form the five basic categories in this classification scheme.

The asymmetrical distribution of incidents over the five basic categories meant that only two of the basic categories had a sufficient number of incidents to differentiate strategies at a more refined level of categorization (subcategories). For these two groups of coping strategies, distinctions at the subcategory level were based on more specific coping behaviours. Central themes which emerged in classifying these behaviours were who one approaches in problem-solving and how one goes about it, versus how one retreats from the other person, and the nature of the feelings which preoccupy the subject as she retreats.

**Coping Effectiveness:**

A clear pattern is evident in subjects' ratings of the effectiveness of coping strategies in the Employee category. Strategies in the first and largest basic category - involving direct, active problem-solving strategies with the other person involved in the conflict - were consistently reported as effective. Next in
order of effectiveness were the two basic categories which involved taking more indirect action in coping with the conflict: (1) seeking advice of a third party; and (2) choosing to ignore the problem or offending person and hoping that the problem/person will go away. Coping in these last two categories was rated neutral in effectiveness (a rating of 4 on the seven-point scale).

The two clearly ineffective categories involved retreating within oneself to deal with the conflict. In the largest of these two categories, the subject remained preoccupied with the conflict and the negative feelings which were associated with it. The other clearly ineffective category was initially holding off in taking any action to deal directly with the conflict, but the next time the problem occurs, surprising oneself by exploding angrily at the offending person. In the incidents in this last category, it was clear that the subject felt out of control in her angry outburst, and later felt regretful, confused or self-critical of her behaviour.

Basic Categories, Sub-Categories and Examples of Coping Strategies for Conflicts Within the Employee Role

A. Attempt to change/resolve problem situation by discussing directly with other person involved in the conflict. If not resolvable at that level, discuss with person at higher level of authority.

Number of incidents: 5

Effectiveness rating: Consistently high

1. Make direct request(s) to immediate supervisor, then given lack of success in achieving desired outcome, approach person(s) at higher level of authority.
**Associated Behaviours (Effective):**

- Initially approach supervisor with direct request for what one wants
- Reflect on supervisor's motives for denying request (e.g. decide that supervisor is unwilling to take risks on subject's behalf due to own insecurities about personal status with company)
- Spend necessary time deliberating over problem and wait until time is right to take further action
- Approach person(s) at higher level of authority and reiterate request with supporting rationale
- If necessary, involve supervisor again as well as person(s) at higher level of authority in reaching agreement

**Example (Coping Strategy 47-1):**

Effectiveness rating: 7

Repeatedly, I spoke to my immediate supervisor (who himself was new in management and uncomfortable with the change in his personal status within the company) to no avail. I waited out the situation, and when the time was right I approached the division Vice-President who listened yet failed to understand my situation. After a week of internal turmoil (conflict) I approached my supervisor for one last time, laying all cards on the table. As a result I am exceptionally pleased to announce they (my super and the Vice-President) met and drew up a mutually beneficial new agreement, where I am free to be completely autonomous.

2. Clearly define limits with employer and refuse any requests which are beyond these limits.

**Associated Behaviours (Effective):**

- Reflect on meaning and implications of employer's request
- Clarify own values and limits with respect to request/job and the actions one is willing to undertake
- Agree to undertake requested activities during work hours, but refuse to do any which would occur after work hours
Example (Coping Strategy 719-3): Effectiveness rating: 7

I informed my employer that I would undertake all of the activities which occurred during my working hours but refused to have dinner with the visitor or entertain him after working hours. I felt that I was being asked to spend time with this man, not as a professional colleague, but as a sex object.

3. Take time to gather courage, then ask supervisor directly for desired change.

Associated Behaviours (Effective):
- Take time to gather courage before discussing situation with supervisor
- Make direct request to supervisor for desired change

Example (Coping Strategy 432-3): Effectiveness rating: 6

Finally, after about 9 months, I got up my courage and spoke to my supervisor about it. She was surprisingly open, and willing to try to improve my schedule, not only in the future, but then and there.

4. Try to resolve problem directly with offending client, but in face of persistent conflict, seek assistance from person in authority.

Associated Behaviours (Effective):
- Clarify specific nature of client's request
- Attempt to assist client within scope of one's job responsibilities
- In face of client's anger, decide to seek assistance from person in authority
- Explain realities of situation and apologize to person in authority before client calls back

Example (Coping Strategy 115-2): Effectiveness rating: 7

(It was with difficulty I found out what the client wanted specifically, and he got very annoyed with what he interpreted as my reluctance to
help.) Anyway, I looked up the reference card and told him the date on it and he blew up and demanded to be transferred to another partner in the firm and said he would complain about my attitude. The line was engaged, so he said he'd call again. When my back's to the wall, I see things very clearly and immediately in this situation realized I should go to the other partner and explain the situation, and apologize if I had been rude (I wasn't admitting that I had, but tactically didn't object to apologizing anyway). I should do this before the client phoned back. In the meantime, I discovered from the reference card that there had been a later will and that the client should not have received this reminder letter at all (they were being sent out at someone else's direction). I got my story and apology in before the client called back, which helped to calm things down and protect my own position into the bargain.

B. Retreat within self to deal with hurt feelings, regret and/or self-criticism.

Number of incidents: 4

Effectiveness rating: Consistently low

1. Feel hurt at criticism from person in authority, withdraw, keep feelings to self.

Associated Behaviours (Ineffective):
- Feel hurt at rudeness/harsh criticism from person in authority
- Find place to retreat and cry
- Conform to supervisor's stated requirements

Example (Coping Strategy 140-2): Effectiveness rating: 1
I ended up crying in the bathroom because the principal was so rude.

2. Feel regret, self-critical, guilty about one's behaviour with person in authority or co-worker. Think about what one should have done differently.
**Associated Behaviours (Ineffective):**

- Feel guilty about not asserting one's position or confronting problem
- Feel regretful and critical of own behaviour
- Reflect on what one should have done differently

**Example (Coping Strategy 432-4):**

Effectiveness rating: 1

I feel guilty, as I do not assert my position to co-workers or stand up for my patients.

C. **Initially hold off in taking any action to deal directly with conflict, but next time problem occurs, surprise self by exploding angrily at offending person.**

Number of incidents: 2

Effectiveness rating: Consistently low

**Associated Behaviours (Ineffective):**

- Next time offending behaviour occurs, shout angrily at person
- Later feel guilty, regretful about angry outburst and decide whether or not to apologize
- Criticize self for inability to express or deal with anger

**Example (Coping Strategy 432-2):**

Effectiveness rating: 2

(Conflict situation describes ongoing problem with irresponsible behaviour of staff she is supervising, and generally not doing anything to deal directly with such situations.)

As I went down the hall where another nurse was responsible, I realized that one very bossy permanent staff member had left a new aide to work alone at a very heavy job, while she sat and chatted at the desk for 30 minutes. *I just blew up, yelling at the permanent aide for several minutes.* She was stunned, since that behaviour was unexpected from me, and she was obviously hurt and humiliated. After going home, I felt guilty, and decided to apologize, not for what I said, but for the way I said it. However, the next day she was pouting, and wouldn't speak to
me. Something inside told me that I shouldn't be cowed by that behaviour, as I usually would be, so I didn't apologize at all. She didn't speak to me for several weeks and I behaved as though nothing had happened. I felt badly because I wasn't even her supervisor, and she had borne the brunt of my day's frustration. I also feel badly that I am so poor at expressing and dealing with so much anger that it should explode and humiliate someone.

D. Discuss problem with/seek advice of person directly involved in the conflict ("third party").

Number of incidents: 1

Effectiveness rating: Neutral

Associated Behaviours (Neutral):

- Seek advice of co-worker who is not directly involved in the conflict (without mentioning name of person who the conflict is with)

- Take note of co-workers' suggestions and follow advice next time problem arises

Example (Coping Strategy 96-2):

Effectiveness rating: 4

I said nothing much but did ask an older woman in my department for advice, leaving the girl's name out of it. She suggested that the girl might try counselling with her husband if this is an unsolved issue that is recurring. The other thing she would do was to get in touch with her parents, i.e. her mother.

So I suggested that she (co-worker with problem) do those things when the girl asked me again if she could come stay with me.

E. Ignore problem and/or avoid contact with offending person. Hope problem/person will go away.

Number of incidents: 1

Effectiveness rating: Neutral
Associated Behaviours (Neutral):

- Avoid contact with offending co-worker, except when absolutely necessary
- Hope that situation will improve on its own, without her intervention

Example (Coping Strategy 596-2):

Effectiveness rating: 4

I am glad I did decide to stay in the job because shortly afterwards I discovered that the best way to handle her was to ignore her completely except when I had to deal with some problem connected with her. Six months ago, she moved to another area and the lessening of tension in our work area was apparent to everyone. The last six months the job was much less stressful and I was actually enjoying working there. My bosses were still difficult to work for but I felt much more self-confident.

III. Coping Strategies for Conflicts Within the Student Role

Number of incidents: 8

Central Themes in Categorization:

Most of the Coping Strategies for Conflicts Within the Student Role seemed to involve finding ways of accepting or minimizing the unpleasant aspects of being a student, particularly the demands or pressures of the role or the absence of desired support from others within the student environment. Like the strategies used in Employee conflicts, these ranged from speaking directly to the other person(s) involved in the conflict to various ways of dealing inwardly with negative feelings of anger, resentment, fear and/or frustration.

Some of the conflicts and coping strategies in this category involved dealing with relatively impersonal or institutional demands, such as course or program requirements, rather than the demands, expectations or behaviour of specific persons, such as instructors or other students. The general trend in
coping with such conflicts seemed to be finding a way of meeting requirements, or conforming to expectations, while inwardly altering one's attitude or perception of the situation. However, even in interpersonal conflicts in this category, the tendency seemed to be to distance oneself from the problem, rather than deal with it interactively, with the other person(s) involved. Only one of the incidents departs from this pattern, captured in the fourth basic category in this sequence.

Coping Effectiveness:

Only two of the eight incidents in this category described strategies which subjects considered effective. In both of these cases, other incidents which fit into the same categories were considered neutral or ineffective by other subjects. Both of the categories with mixed effectiveness ratings involved some kind of "distancing" from the conflict. In the first case, both incidents depict the subject as deciding to reduce her usual high expectations of herself in courses which were required and not of interest. In the incident considered effective, it seems that the subject genuinely did reduce standards for her performance, and was comfortable with lower grades in these courses. In the other case, it seems that the subject tried unsuccessfully to convince herself that grades were unimportant, and therefore felt disappointed in her performance.

The other strategy which received mixed ratings involved distancing from other persons involved in the conflict. The one considered effective was adopting an attitude of emotional detachment with colleagues in the student situation. The subject reports that the strategy is not ideal, but "it seems to work." The other incident in this category was rated neutral, and involved taking time out to think about the conflict and deciding to do nothing.
Only one case involved talking directly to others involved in the conflict, and, in contrast to the employee role, where such strategies seemed to be consistently effective, in the student role, the one incident of this type was rated neutral in effectiveness. The student, in this case, seemed to find it possible only to have limited impact in attempting to change the situation (specifically to change the attitudes and behaviour of other female students).

**Basic Categories and Examples of Coping Strategies for Conflicts Within the Student Role**

A. Grudgingly consent to do required course work which is of little interest, and reduce usual high standards for own performance in student role.

Number of incidents: 2

Effectiveness rating: Mixed (1 effective, 1 ineffective)

**Associated Behaviours:**

**Effective:**

- Take required courses and adopt attitude that, in present courses, grades are unimportant
- Remember that only concern is to meet minimum requirements for acceptance into program of interest, and complete requirements successfully

**Ineffective:**

- Get by in required courses by doing minimum work (due to being bright and undisciplined)
- Try to convince self that grades are unimportant, though knowing that they really are

**Example (Coping Strategy 711-3):** Effectiveness rating: 5

I met their requirements. My marks were worse than they had ever been but it was enough to get me into the program. And that was all I cared about.
B. Feel resentful of instructor's behaviour (lack of support) but say nothing, keep feelings to self.

Number of incidents: 2

Effectiveness rating: Consistently low

Associated Behaviours (Ineffective):
- Comply with instructor's directions, despite anger and disappointment
- Continue to feel resentful at being unfairly manipulated by instructor and repeatedly blocked from pursuing areas of interest
- Grumble to self about lack of direction and instruction

Example (Coping Strategy 56–2): Effectiveness rating: 2

I went ahead with the costumes assignment, despite my anger and disappointment. My resentment at being manipulated unfairly by her lasted for some time, and she continued to block several other avenues I wanted to explore during that year.

C. Distance self from other person(s) involved in the conflict.

Number of incidents: 2

Effectiveness rating: Mixed (1 effective, 1 neutral)

Associated Behaviours:

Effective:
- Maintain cool, detached, professional attitude in dealing with others in student environment

Neutral:
- Ask for time to think about problem
- Remain in conflict over next step to take
- Decide to do nothing
Example (Coping Strategy 803-3): Effectiveness rating: 5
I always attempt what I consider is the appropriate professional response - unfortunately based on what I've observed from a male mentor - a detached emotion, coolness, which I find unsatisfactory but it seems to work.

D. Talk to other female students and try gradually to change their attitudes and behaviour towards male instructors.

Number of incidents: 1
Effectiveness rating: Neutral

Associated Behaviours (Neutral):
- Talk to other female students to encourage them all to work cooperatively together towards common goals
- Attempt to raise their awareness of effects of their behaviour on male staff
- Accept fact that change is occurring, though more slowly than she would like

Example (Coping Strategy 803-1): Effectiveness rating: 4
I attempted to discuss with my fellow students that we all should exercise a more professional attitude, be more of a team and more aware of our goals and the effects of our behaviour on the male staff. It is a question of self-respect and clarity of purpose. My attempts didn't make any great change—but I felt better and slowly but surely we are all learning the cause and effects of our actions.

E. Complete course requirements by cheating, then feel guilty.

Number of incidents: 1
Effectiveness rating: Low

Associated Behaviours (Ineffective):
- Feel angry at having to do "stupid assignment"
- Decide to cheat on assignment by copying
- Afterwards feel guilty about cheating

**Example (Coping Strategy 742-2):**

Effectiveness rating: 3

I got angry, decided I couldn't cope, and cheated by copying the lists instead. Of course, I felt very guilty afterwards, but justified a stupid assignment by stupid behaviour.

**Coping Strategies For Interrole Conflicts**

IV. **Coping Strategies for Career-Parent Conflicts**

Number of incidents: 21

**Central Themes in Categorization:**

Coping Strategies for Career-Parent Conflicts divided into five basic categories. The majority of these strategies - reflected in four of the five basic categories - involved making structural changes which enabled the subject to better accommodate the needs of both children and self.

The four basic categories involving restructuring strategies were differentiated from each other based on which role domain the restructuring occurred. The largest group involved reassessing one's career, job and/or residential situation in view of child care and career needs and effecting changes in these areas to better accommodate these needs. The second largest category involved making new arrangements for care of children. Most of the strategies in this second category were responses to exceptional circumstances, where short-term changes in the usual demands of career or parent roles necessitated temporary changes to one's usual child care arrangements.

In the third group of strategies, the restructuring took place in the domain of household maintenance, where subjects decided to involve children in
different ways, or to a greater extent, than they had previously. The fourth area where coping involved making structural changes was leisure, where the subject decided to limit the number of leisure activities she undertook in view of child care and career demands.

The fifth and final basic category of coping with this set of conflicts was seeking spiritual guidance. This category is different from the others in that no overt action is taken by the subject to attempt to alter the demands or structure of the conflict situation; it seems to be more a case of altering one's perception of the situation.

The three largest basic categories each had a sufficient number of incidents to break down conflicts into subcategories. As with most of the coping strategies for intrarole conflicts discussed previously, strategy descriptions at the subcategory level relate to more specific coping behaviours, incorporating as much as possible of the meaning of the behaviour to the subject. Constructs provided by subjects were used where possible in categorization (e.g. convenient/inconvenient; flexible/inflexible).

**Coping Effectiveness:**

The effectiveness of strategies in this group seemed to relate in part to the manner and extent to which the needs or wants of children and self are accommodated by the strategy. The strategies seem to be weighed by subjects in terms of which needs or wants are in focus, and which needs or wants are met or not met by the strategy. Those which appear to reduce stress or feelings of overload also seemed to be rated as effective by subjects.

One criterion that seemed to be applied by subjects in evaluating the effectiveness of strategies was whether or not the focal interests of all persons involved in the conflict seemed to be met adequately. In cases where the
strategies were rated by subjects as ineffective or neutral, it seemed that the subject felt that undue compromise had to be made to her career or financial situation in order to meet the needs of children.

**Basic Categories, Sub-Categories and Examples of Coping Strategies for Career-Parent Conflicts**

A. Change career/job/residential situation to better accommodate child care and other needs of self and family.

Number of incidents: 9

Effectiveness rating: Mostly high

1. Become self-employed as career challenge and to maximize autonomy and flexibility in choice of hours.

Associated Behaviours (Effective):

- Decide to stay in one's profession, rather than changing at this time
- Develop own business to gain independence and flexibility needed to raise children and pursue own interests
- Take upgrading courses at night school to leave open possibility of making career change at later date

**Example (Coping Strategy 14-1):**

Effectiveness rating: 5

I decided to stay in my profession (hairdressing) and develop my own business thus giving me the independence and flexible hours that I need to raise my children. By attending night school I can finish my Grade 12 and, if my present situation changes, I can pursue a different profession at a later date.

2. Work full-time, primarily to meet financial needs/wants.

Associated Behaviours (Neutral):
- Recognize that family finances and economic situation give her no choice but to work full-time

- Identify specific financial goals

- Decide to work full-time for limited period, until goals are met

Example (Coping Strategy 435-1): Effectiveness rating: 4

Work full-time . . . but set a time goal. After meeting financial commitments I planned to persevere until I gave the family:

1. Summer vacation trip to Maritimes
2. Summer vacation trip to U.K. (first visit home since our marriage) and an updated kitchen for me to appreciate on my "retirement."

3. Work part-time to allow time for child-care, studies and/or other interests.

Associated Behaviours (Ineffective):

- Leave job in order to spend time with young children and lose tenure

- Work part-time (substitute teaching) to remain involved in professional life and interests

- Continue being student, live off savings and a variety of temporary/part-time jobs

Example (Coping Strategy 166-4): Effectiveness rating: 2

I resigned, in order to spend time with my young children, lost my tenure, and found it next to impossible to get back into teaching in the Lower Mainland. I regret being forced to give up a lucrative position; I do not regret the time I spent home with my young children though. However, I'm glad to see the introduction of more humane maternity leave policies.

I substituted every year, just to keep my hand in, and not feel totally cut off from my professional life and interests.

4. Accept both work and child care demands as given and not open to change.

Move closer to job to free up time for career and child care and to relieve stress of commuting.
**Associated Behaviours (Effective):**

- Examine options for restructuring life to free up more time for professional and parenting responsibilities

- Decide to move closer to job to reduce time and stress of commuting

**Example (Coping Strategy 719-1):**

I examined the issue and decided to restructure my life in the only way that would easily give me more time for both professional pursuits and parental responsibility. I decided to move closer to my job. I took off a week, using holiday time, and found a house within ten minutes of my job. I made all of the arrangements to purchase the house, change the children's school and daycare and move before classes started. This gave me an additional hour each day and also reduced the emotional stress of commuting daily through rush-hour traffic.

**Effectiveness rating: 5**

5. Negotiate for change in work schedule and move closer to child's school.

**Associated Behaviours (Effective):**

- Suggest to boss possible alteration of work hours (reducing lunch break and starting work later) and negotiate successfully for desired change

- Move closer to child's school for comfort of child during time home alone

**Example (Coping Strategy 317-1):**

I asked my boss to allow me to reduce my lunch hour to half-hour and start work at 8:30. He agreed. I also choose to move closer to my son's school, helping him to feel more secure about his time alone at home. (Effectiveness remains to be seen).

**Effectiveness rating: 5**

6. Rule out option of moving due to own and children's needs. Work part-time now while looking for full-time work.

**Associated Behaviours (Effectiveness Not Indicated):**

- Decide against out-of-town job due to own and children's needs
- Work part-time while looking for full-time job

**Example (Coping Strategy 635-2):** Effectiveness rating: Not indicated

After weighing the advantages and disadvantages for me and my daughter, I decided not to take the job out of town. I accepted part-time employment with a private agency, while at the same time applying for full-time positions within the Vancouver area.

B. Make new arrangements for care of child(ren).

Number of incidents: 7

Effectiveness rating: Mixed (4 high, 3 low)

1. Find convenient community day care for child during (non-school) hours while mother is working.

**Associated Behaviours:**

**Effective:**

- Affirm value/necessity and time commitment required for one's career pursuits
- Recognize benefits of child care programs for child
- Decide that preferred solution is to arrange for community child care while mother is working or being student

**Ineffective:**

- Try unsuccessfully to find community activities for child on school holidays; conflict remains unsolved

**Example (Coping Strategy 56-3):** Effectiveness rating: 6

Despite the cost and his objection, I enrolled my son in a local after-school care program, and he was much happier having some company and activity after school. Since we had experimented earlier with having him at home alone he knew that he was trusted to be at home on his own and was not put in after-school care to be "baby-sat".
2. Put child to sleep earlier than usual to allow time for studying.

Associated Behaviours (Ineffective):
- Try to get child to sleep earlier than usual by going to bed with him
- Limited success in getting child to sleep means little studying gets done
- Get up earlier than usual in morning to study
- Force child to sleep earlier than usual by spanking him
- Child falls asleep crying and mother is too upset to concentrate on studies

Example (Coping Strategy 168-1): Effectiveness rating: 2

I was able to put my son to bed earlier than usual by going to bed with him at 9 p.m. We didn't sleep till after 10 p.m. I got up 2 hours earlier in the morning and managed to utilize one hour maximum for studying.

3. Take child(ren) along on work trip out of town and arrange for students to share child care responsibilities.

Associated Behaviours (Ineffective):
- Speak to family doctor about child's behaviour problems and reach new understanding of family factors which are contributing to child's difficulties
- Decide that child needs mother's attention and that work trip is also important
- Take child along on trip and hire students to alternate responsibility for care of child

Example (Coping Strategy 719-2): Effectiveness rating: 2

I had planned to take my son who is useful in a field situation and to leave my daughter, Jaimy, with her father. My daughter, however, was becoming a behaviour problem in her daycare and was fairly difficult to manage at home. In a fairly painful and frank discussion with the family pediatrician I came to the conclusion that Jaimy was confused
by all of the different sets of standards which she encountered because she spent time with her father, her father's mother and me. We all have very different attitudes and opinions about raising children.

I agreed to limit the amount of time that Jaimy spent with her other families. I had to confess that I found it convenient to be able to send her to the relatives when I needed to travel or work out of town on my job. This decision meant that I either had to cancel my trip to the Olympic peninsula or take along a child.

In the end, I took along two students from my own university who were interested in visiting the dig. I paid their travel expenses in exchange for their assistance in caring for my daughter. All three of us worked at the site and rotated duty shifts of looking after Jaimy.

C. Involve child(ren) more in doing household chores.

Number of incidents: 3

Effectiveness rating: Mixed (high, low, neutral)

1. Get children to do more of the household chores.

Associated Behaviours:

Effective:
- Get children to do household cleaning, some cooking and laundry in exchange for allowance, to leave more time for mother to rest and for leisure activities together

Ineffective:
- Instead of repeatedly getting angry returning home to a messy household, gradually get family to share household responsibilities

Example (Coping Strategy 340-1): Effectiveness rating: 6

I have asked the kids, 11 and 13, in exchange for a comparatively small allowance, to do most of the household cleaning, to each cook a meal or two a week, and for my son (age 13) to wash his own clothes. This gives me more leisure to rest and spend with them.
2. Play with child while doing chores, by getting child to "help".

**Associated Behaviours (Neutral):**
- Rather than having small child play by himself while mother does chores, play with child by getting him to "help" with chores

**Example (Coping Strategy 168-3):**

Effectiveness rating: 4

Instead of shunting my son away to play by himself, I let him sit on the kitchen counter, gave him a tea towel and let him "help" me dry the dishes.

D. Suspend pursuit of leisure interests to allow more time to spend with children.

Number of incidents: 1

Effectiveness rating: Neutral

**Associated Behaviours (Neutral):**
- Decide that time with child will take priority for now over leisure interests, and forego recreational class

**Example (Coping Strategy 744-1):**

Effectiveness rating: 4

Although I could use the experience of the gymnastic class, I decided not to take the course so I would be left free to get the kids in bed at night and supervise chores and homework.

E. Pray, seek spiritual guidance.

Number of incidents: 1

Effectiveness rating: High

**Associated Behaviours (Effective):**
- Pray for guidance in daily actions and try to live in accordance with moral/religious values
V. Coping Strategies for Career-Partner Conflicts

Number of incidents: 14

Central Themes in Categorization:

The four basic categories of Coping Strategies for Career-Partner Conflicts are distinguished from one another by two main criteria: (1) whether or not one role (career or partner) is accorded priority in the face of competing demands, and if so, which role; and (2) whether one or both partners' needs, wants or interests are accommodated by the strategy. In the largest group of coping strategies, subjects decided that their career pursuits would take precedence over their partner's interests. In another category of strategies, the opposite was true: career development was compromised in favour of partner interests. In the two other basic categories, there was no clear indication of the subject favouring one role over the other. In the first of these, subjects found solutions to their conflicts which met both career (self) and partner needs. Strategies in the final category involved more passive approaches - postponing decision-making or waiting until the situation changed or improved on its own, or simply remaining stuck.

Coping Effectiveness:

A clear pattern in coping effectiveness was evident in this group of conflicts. In cases where the interests of one role were clearly favoured or prioritized over the other - that is, where the subject decides to place the career
role first and the partner role secondary, or vice versa - the strategies, with one exception, were consistently rated as ineffective. The exception to this rule was a case where the subject decided to separate from her partner and become involved in a career; her career role was clearly accorded priority and the strategy was rated as effective.

Compromise strategies, where the interests of both roles and both partners were accommodated, were consistently rated as effective. The "no action" or postponing strategies were rated ineffective in three out of four incidents. The one exception was a case where the subject took no overt action but appeared to cope by adopting an attitude of detachment from the concerns of her partner and carrying on with her career involvement, despite partner difficulties.

Basic Categories, Sub-Categories and Examples of Coping Strategies for Career-Partner Conflicts

A. Decide that career pursuits take priority over partner interests.

Number of incidents: 5

Effectiveness rating: Low (all but one incident rated ineffective)

1. Pursue career interests despite partner's objections or lack of support.
   (Seek support elsewhere, change attitude about self, work and/or partner.)

   Associated Behaviours:

   Effective:
   - Spend several years trying to communicate needs to husband
   - Seek personal counselling to deal with relationship problems and decide to move in direction of separation from partner
   - Seek career counselling to clarify career goals
   - Pursue studies to develop skills related to desired career direction
- Following training, become employed in chosen field
- Separate from partner and move to own apartment
- Attend support group for separating and divorced people for several months

**Ineffective:**
- Pursue career interests and continue to take full responsibility for household chores
- Repress resentment towards partner, which later explodes into anger, conflict and distance
- Decide to take one step at a time, to continue momentum of work
- Try to provide self with own moral support and seek support from others besides partner
- Try to take less responsibility for partner's feelings

**Example (Coping Strategy 376-2):**
Effectiveness rating: 1

I pursued my studies anyway, despite my husband's objections. I repressed my feelings of resentment and did the housework myself. This repression of feelings soon exploded in much anger which drove us further apart.

2. **Submerge romantic interests in favour of career pursuits.**

**Associated Behaviours (Ineffective):**
- Continue to feel afraid of any romantic involvement with people in same line of work
- Try to deal inwardly with unresolved emotional aspects of conflict
- Cover up feelings of attraction for instructor
- Do not allow romantic relationship to evolve, in order to remain consistent with one's principles in the eyes of classmates

**Example (Coping Strategy 803-2):**
Effectiveness rating: 2

The rest of class of course watched and I completely repressed any natural emotion - too much energy went into a massive cover-up and I
feel I lost a lot of time which I could have spent learning. I didn't allow
a relationship to evolve with the instructor - mainly so I wouldn't
appear a hypocrite and a fool to the rest of the class.

B. Postpone decision-making, wait for situation to improve on its own or remain
stuck at impasse.

Number of incidents: 4

Effectiveness rating: Generally low (2 incidents rated ineffective, 1 neutral,
1 effective)

1. Remain stuck at impasse, do nothing. Wait for situation to improve on its
own.

Associated Behaviours:

Effective:
- Take no action for fear of aggravating conflict with partner
- Continue to work intensively on career projects
- Feel guilty at leaving burdens of home and child care for partner to
deal with
- Try to be less vulnerable to partner's responses

Neutral:
- Discuss problem with partner
- Wait for sexual interest in partner to return on its own

Ineffective:
- Continue ongoing arguments with partner without reaching any new
understanding, and thus perpetuate conflict

Example (Coping Strategy 755-2): Effectiveness rating: 5

Conflict resolution: I do nothing because I see he already feels so bad.
Why add to it with my disappointment that he doesn't enjoy his new
role. Anyway, I feel some guilt about taking off to work so intensively
leaving it all to him (responsibilities of house and kids). Anyway, some of this is his problem and I have to immune myself to his responses.

2. Defer decision-making until after next step is taken.

Associated Behaviours (Ineffective):
- Tell partner to investigate next steps toward his goal before any further action is taken.

Example (Coping Strategy 11-1): Effectiveness rating: 2
This conflict has not been resolved. I told my husband to get the acreage and a house before I would consider selling our home here and moving. So far nothing has happened.

C. Find a compromise solution which meets both career/self and partner needs.

Number of incidents: 3
Effectiveness rating: Consistently effective

1. Discuss with partner, weigh priorities and alternatives. Decide in favour of relationship without having to compromise career plans.

Associated Behaviours (Effective):
- Consider advantages and disadvantages of potential partner arrangement
- Decide to pursue relationship and deal with career or other obstacles as they arise

Example (Coping Strategy 696-1): Effectiveness rating: 5
Initially, my response was, "No, I can't move in with you. I'd be going away in a year, and what kind of spouse would I be to you then?" But after I told him of my decision, I began to consider the issue from a second viewpoint, i.e. life without him. The result: a few days later, I changed my mind, and told him I'd like to live with him. Europe was a ways away - we'd work that out - but it was insufficient reason to keep us apart. It turns out that I'm still planning on going to Europe,
probably still alone, but possibly he'll come and visit. At least, we'll go into it together; how we emerge remains to be seen.

2. Divide available time equally between work and leisure with partner/family.

Associated Behaviours (Effective):
- Take necessary time for work
- Plan to spend balance of weekend time relaxing with family

Example (Coping Strategy 166-1): Effectiveness rating: 6
Result: we compromised, I joined the family after spending 2 days on my own in the city - teaching and studying.

3. Seek professional help to clarify own feelings and wants. Discuss with partner and agree on gradual pursuit of shared goals and plans.

Associated Behaviours (Effective):
- Talk about conflict with psychologist, clarify goals and feelings about partner
- Talk with partner and reach agreement on short and longer term plans to meet goals of both partners

Example (Coping Strategy 443-1): Effectiveness rating: 7
I saw a psychologist at U.B.C. and came to a decision within a brief period of time. I finally had a chance to verbalize my conflict, set goals and discuss my feelings regarding my spouse. I set a goal for myself that I would live each day as it comes, save toward moving to the U.S. and possibly find work I'd like when the economy slowly improves, and meanwhile enjoy my present job. I discussed my feelings with my spouse who acted very positive - he felt my conflicts were being settled without his need being involved and I expressed my feelings for him clearly and fully. He then also told me how he felt about me and we both agreed we loved each other too much to split up. I learned that he also wants to return to the U.S. but also likes his job and the future doesn't seem too far away when we both agree and want
the same things. We are willing to wait. Our sex life returned to normal without any conscious efforts on our behalf.

D. Compromise career development in favour of partner relationship.

Number of incidents: 2

Effectiveness rating: Low

1. Do not pursue career interests in favour of following partner's wishes.

Associated Behaviours (Ineffective):
- Decide against taking program of studies, since it would interfere with things partner wanted to do.

Example (Coping Strategy 242-2): Effectiveness rating: 2
I didn't follow through with the program because it conflicted with things my partner wanted to do.

2. Compromise own career wants to be with partner.

Associated Behaviours (Ineffective):
- Given that partner's flexibility is very limited in terms of location of work, choose to pursue occupation in same geographic area as partner's job

- Decide that priority of relationship is worth career compromise for now, and be willing to settle for less-than-ideal job

Example (Coping Strategy 433-1): Effectiveness rating: 3
Haye decided to pursue the trade in the same general area as my partner/lover, even if the job isn't as good as may be elsewhere. Simply decided the here/now is more important to act on, and partner has no option (i.e. this is not a sell-out to the "I'll go with him wherever he goes" tune).

VI. Coping Strategies for Conflicts Associated with Managing Two Work Roles (Employee Versus Other Career Role)

Number of incidents: 4
Central Themes in Categorization:

The small number of incidents in this category was obviously a limiting factor on the diversity of coping categories which could be developed. However, three distinct types of strategies were evident, reflected in the three basic categories. The first category resembled some of the Career-Partner Strategies - prioritizing one role over another - namely, deciding to suspend student needs temporarily in favour of job demands. The second type involved keeping the two roles separate from each other and keeping the fact of one’s dual career roles to oneself as much as possible. The third type related to time management or logistics of working in dinner between job and class time.

Coping Effectiveness:

The first coping category, suspending student needs temporarily in favour of job demands had both high and low effectiveness ratings. In the incident rated effective, the subject worked overtime, despite inconvenience, and earned the right to privileges later which helped her in her student role (e.g. time off for studying). In the incident rated ineffective, the subject went to work preoccupied with studies, then called off sick part way through the day.

The strategy of keeping one’s two work roles secret and separate was rated ineffective, but, in this case, it seems that the subject tried unsuccessfully to keep the roles separate, and that one work situation was having negative effects on the other. The final strategy, related to working in dinner between job and class time was rated neutral.

Basic Categories and Examples of Coping Strategies for Conflicts Associated with Managing Two Work Roles

A. Decide to suspend student needs (temporarily) in favour of job demands.
Number of incidents: 2

Effectiveness rating: Mixed (1 high, 1 low)

**Associated Behaviours:**

**Effective:**
- Agree to work overtime, despite inconvenience
- Later feel justified in asking for occasional time off for studying

**Ineffective:**
- Go to work despite preoccupation with studies
- Grow increasingly depressed and lethargic
- Call off sick when discomfort becomes intolerable

**Example (Coping Strategy 106-1):**

Effectiveness rating: 7

I initially declined to work overtime, feeling she should never have asked me (i.e. she knew I was taking a course and that I am not keen on work). I changed my mind, however, and went to her and said I would work after all. She was appreciative. As a result of this decision my relationship with my supervisor improved and I felt able to ask her for time off occasionally after that (for studying, etc.). She generally tried to give me time off when I needed it. I had helped her when she really needed it, now she was in turn willing to help me.

B. Maintain secrecy about "double life" and continue working at job as well as free lance. Ignore boss' comments which suggest disapproval/suspicion in her taking day off.

Number of incidents: 1

Coping effectiveness: Low

**Associated Behaviours (Ineffective):**
- Ignore implications of boss' comments and accompanying guilt
- Continue to cultivate free lance opportunities, in the interest of future employment
Example (Coping Strategy 140-1): Effectiveness rating: 3

I ignored my boss' implications and continued to work on my free lance opportunities without telling anyone where I work. Result: guilt for me but possible future employment.

C. Grab dinner on the run between work and class time.

Number of incidents: 1

Coping effectiveness: Neutral

Associated Behaviours (Neutral):
- Buy a light dinner and eat it on the run between job and class time

Example (Coping Strategy 96-4): Effectiveness rating: 4

I started out by making Ovaltine after work before I caught the bus, and having that before I leave work. Now I buy nuts or a hot dog downtown before I go to class, plus an orange drink.

VII. Coping Strategies for Conflicts Between Career and Family Member Roles

Number of incidents: 4

Central Themes in Categorization:

The four incidents in this group divided into three basic categories. In the first of these categories, the subject remained stuck, feeling frustrated and aggravated by the conflict, with no solution. In the second category, the subject asserted the priority of her studies and scheduled regular times to spend with the family member at her convenience. In the final category, the subject complied, against her wishes, with the request of the family member.

Coping Effectiveness:

Only one of the four incidents was rated effective by the subject. In this case, the subject clearly asserted her wants and negotiated for a compromise
solution with the family member. In the case where the subject decided in favour of the family member's wishes, against her will, the coping was considered ineffective. In both of the incidents where the subject remained stuck in negative feelings with no solution to the conflict, the coping was also considered ineffective.

**Basic Categories and Examples of Coping Strategies for Career-Family Member Conflicts**

**A. Remain stuck at impasse, with no solution.**

Number of incidents: 2  
Effectiveness rating: Low

**Associated Behaviours (Ineffective):**
- Feel aggravated at sister's attitude and demands, but remain stuck for a solution
- Continue to feel misunderstood and lack of support from family, with no solution

**Example (Coping Strategy 721-2):**  
Effectiveness rating: 1  
As of yet I still haven't found an answer to my problem; my sister is starting to get on my case. She has other pals she can go out with, but she says they're not the same. Still unsolved?

**B. Assert priority of studies for now. Define time constraints/limits with family member, and schedule regular set times to spend together.**

Number of incidents: 1  
Effectiveness rating: High

**Associated Behaviours (Effective):**
- Inform sister clearly that studies must take priority for now
- Arrange to visit with sister at regular time each weekend
Example (Coping Strategy 721-1):

Effectiveness rating: 5

I told my sister point blank that at this time in my life my schooling took first place. After all I would not be in school forever. She said she never sees me any more and misses me, so now I see her Saturdays. Maybe I am too much of a bookworm, but I look at it as, business before pleasure.

C. Attend family gathering out of sense of obligation, but carry lingering resentment about passing up opportunity to celebrate career victory.

Number of incidents: 1

Effectiveness rating: Low

Associated Behaviours (Ineffective):

- Meet sister's expectations by attending family gathering and forego opportunity to celebrate career victory with boyfriend
- Deal inwardly with lingering anger/resentment towards sister
- Feel annoyed with self for compliant behaviour

Example (Coping Strategy 106-4):

Effectiveness rating: 2

I felt obliged to go to the birthday party, and did so. I did not enjoy myself that evening. I wanted to be celebrating my victory with my boyfriend, and instead was at a child's birthday party with a bunch of relatives. I was being the "model" sister, but not enjoying the role. I was annoyed with my sister (but never let her know) for some time after that evening. I felt she should not have expected me to come to Karen's party, in light of the circumstances. I was also annoyed with myself for my compliance.

VIII. Coping Strategies for Conflicts Between Career and Friend Roles

Number of incidents: 3

Central Themes in Categorization:

The three incidents of Coping with Career-Friend Conflicts fell into two basic categories. The first category closely resembled a strategy used in
Career-Family Member Conflicts, where the subject asserted the priority of her studies with friends and scheduled social time with them in such a way that student demands could be met. The second category involved providing financial or other compensation to friends for their assistance.

**Coping Effectiveness:**

The first category (two incidents), where the subject schedules time with friends to conform to the demands of her student role, was rated effective in both cases. The second strategy, compensating friends after the fact for their assistance, was rated ineffective by the subject.

**Basic Categories and Examples of Coping Strategies for Career-Friend Conflicts**

A. Assert priority of studies, clarify time constraints/limits with friend(s), and schedule time(s) to spend together which fit with student schedule.

Number of incidents: 2

Effectiveness rating: High

**Associated Behaviours (Effective):**

- Advise friends of change in social schedule, due to demands of student role
- Invite casual friends to participate in group social gatherings and protect majority of free time for closest friends
- Accommodate own need to study as well as friend's need by arranging for talk with friend to be postponed to the next day

**Example (Coping Strategy 310-1):**

I told all my friends that the only weeknight I had free was Thursdays and if they wanted to come out with all my friends they were more than welcome. In essence I see a lot of certain friends and not as much of others. But giving them the choice of coming out, where and when gave them the option of keeping in touch. I now leave weekends for closer and more important friends to me.
B. Pay friends, in money and/or exchange of services, for their assistance.

Number of incidents: 1

Effectiveness rating: Low

**Associated Behaviours:**
- Once situation has changed and help is no longer required of friends, offer money and favours in exchange for their assistance

**Example (Coping Strategy 539-2):**

Effectiveness rating: 3

After my horses were sold, I gave my helpers some money and even all along I paid for private lessons for them on the horses, but bad feelings still resulted.

**Categorizing Hindsight Strategies**

Hindsight strategies were developed from the 40 incidents generated by subjects for situations which they considered that they handled ineffectively. In order to compare hindsight strategies with strategies which were actually utilized by the subjects, it was necessary to make the superordinate category headings for hindsight strategies parallel to those used for coping strategies. Headings at this level were thus differentiated by the role or roles involved in the conflict. A breakdown of the 40 incidents by superordinate category is provided in Table 10.

Since the largest superordinate category of hindsight strategies consisted of only nine incidents, it was only possible to categorize the incidents at the basic category level. A summary of these categories, their frequencies, and examples of each is contained in Table 11.

Hindsight strategies were generated by subjects in response to the question of how they would like to have handled conflict situations. As a result, their descriptions of hindsight strategies tended to contain statements like, "I should have recognized that..." or "if I had only done X, then I could have prevented Y from happening." Themes
which were used in formulating the basic categories thus tended to reflect value or "should" statements, as well as action statements or behaviours. The section which follows describes the central themes which emerged in categorizing each group of hindsight strategies, and provides examples of incidents under each of the categories.

**Hindsight Strategies for Intrarole Conflicts**

I. **Hindsight Strategies for Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions)**

Number of incidents: 9

**Central Themes in Categorization:**

Hindsight strategies in this group clustered into four basic categories, each of which contained key values or principles which the subject apparently applied in evaluating her own behaviour. The four sets of values or principles reflected in the basic categories are as follows: (1) one should apply self-discipline in the face of career demands, despite difficulties; (2) one should seek a job which is consistent with personal priorities and values; (3) one should act in a timely fashion, rather than avoiding dealing directly with conflicts; and (4) one should be patient with oneself at the rate of one's career development, be more self-confident, and not driven to compare oneself with others.

Some of the variations on the above as well as the specific coping behaviours which were advocated by subjects are noted below under each of the basic categories.

**Basic Categories and Examples of Hindsight Strategies for Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions)**
Table 10
Hindsight Strategies for Career-Related Role Conflicts,
by Superordinate Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy Type, by Superordinate Category</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hindsight Strategies for Intrarole Conflicts</strong></td>
<td>(21)</td>
<td>(52.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Transitions</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hindsight Strategies for Interrole Conflicts</strong></td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(47.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Parent</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Partner</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Family Member</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managing Two Work Roles</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Friend</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindsight Strategy Categories by Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</td>
<td>Hindsight Strategy Types (Basic Categories)</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTRAROLE CONFLICTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **I. Hindsight Strategies for Conflicts Associated with Anticipated Change in Career Role (Career Transitions)** | A. Should have disciplined self to meet program or entrance requirements for course of studies, despite difficulties. | 3 | A.1. Should have made self busy with school work, to feel better getting something accomplished.  
2. Should have applied self to completing course work, then made firm career decision.  
3. Should have attempted to meet challenging entrance requirements and been willing to risk failure. |
| | B. Should have sought job which fit (better) with personal priorities and values | 3 | B.1. Should have been clearer about priorities at time of looking for work and found job elsewhere which was more consistent with these priorities.  
2. Should have clarified desired direction/goals or spent more time looking for good job in absence of career goal.  
3. Should have prevented conflict from occurring by pursuing options in looking for work one at a time, in order of priority. (Should have sought work only with preferred agency first and had the other agency to fall back on, if necessary.) |
| | C. Should have acted earlier. | 2 | C.1. Should have done what she is now doing years ago.  
2. Should have confronted and tried to do something about situation, rather than trying to avoid dealing with the problem. |
| | D. Should have been more patient with self at rate of career development, more self-confident and not so driven to compare self with others. | 1 | D.1. Should avoid comparing self negatively with others, and remember that others also feel self-doubt and have high standards for selves in career. Should try not to be so impatient with rate of career progress. |
| **II. Hindsight Strategies for Conflicts within Employee Role** | A. Should have behaved differently with supervisor. | 4 | A.1. Ideally, should have clarified bosses' expectations at outset and resolved any conflicts at that time or, given that conflict did occur, should have tried to appear less alarmed (as she tends to look hostile when she is alarmed).  
2. Should have confronted boss' sexist behaviour and pointed out that his demands were unfair and inappropriate to her (employee) role. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindsight Strategy Categories by Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Hindsight Strategy Types (Basic Categories)</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II. Hindsight Strategies for Conflicts within Employee Role (cont'd)</td>
<td>A. Should have behaved differently with supervisor.</td>
<td></td>
<td>A.3. Should have behaved in conciliatory manner towards boss (“used agreeing tactics”) rather than trying to defend self.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Should have been more subdued and less controlling in her initial meeting with supervisor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. Should have behaved differently with co-worker.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>B.1. Should have stood up assertively to co-worker when problems first started.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Should have been more sympathetic and understanding with co-worker, but also should have told co-worker that she felt tired of her constant complaints.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C. Should have tried to deal inwardly with feelings/conflicts with co-workers or subordinates.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>C.1. Should have tried to deal inwardly with anger towards co-workers. (Note: It seems that she would rather be assertive, but has conflicts about that.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Should have ignored offensive behaviour of co-workers as staff member was not her responsibility, and instead recognized sources of own frustration. Over longer term, would like to learn ways of expressing anger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Hindsight Strategies for Conflicts within Student Role</td>
<td>A. Should have behaved differently with instructor.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>A.1. Should have clearly asserted wants/rights to instructor, in face of instructor’s discriminatory action.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Should have been more patient and sought instructor’s assistance as needed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. Should have changed attitude towards studies and/or disciplined self to work at mastering course material which was difficult or not of interest.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>B.1. Should have either reduced expectations of self and really not care about academic performance in courses which were not of interest, or applied self to studies in order to excel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Should have taken necessary time to master difficult course material, instead of dispensing with it as impossible and not worth the effort.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindsight Strategy Categories by Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</td>
<td>Hindsight Strategy Types (Basic Categories)</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **INTERROLE CONFLICTS** | A. Should have pursued different job/work situation. | 3 | A.1. Should have tried to arrange job-sharing situation with colleague who also has young children.  
2. Should have made clear decision to move and pursue job elsewhere, after realizing that she could wait at least a year to find a job in current location.  
3. Should have kept house and rented it out instead of selling, found regular part-time job with flexible hours, and continued studies. |
| | B. Should have made different/new arrangements for care of child(ren) or household. | 3 | B.1. Should have established clear ground rules for frequency of child's visits with father and grandmother from beginning of separation to prevent strain on child.  
2. Should have found way of channelling child into constructive activity that fit with his interests.  
3. Should have hired maid services to clean house on a regular basis. |
| | C. Should learn to ignore or be more tolerant of child's disruptions while she is studying. | 1 | C.1. Should feel calm enough to study even when child is noisy, disruptive and demanding attention. |
| | D. Accept fact that full-time work is only solution. There are no alternatives. | 1 | D.1. Should recognize and accept that full-time work is only solution if she is to provide basic necessities for self and family. |
| **V. Hindsight Strategies for Career-Partner Conflicts** | A. Should have worked harder at communicating own needs to partner. | 2 | A.1. Should have found way to try to communicate her needs for career achievement to partner and asked partner to do domestic tasks while she was busy studying.  
2. Should have communicated more clearly with partner about her need to regroup and gather energy after period of intensive work involvement. |
A. Should have disciplined self to meet program or entrance requirements for course of studies, despite difficulties.

Associated Values and Behaviours:
- Should have made self busy with school work, to feel better getting something accomplished
- Should have applied self to completing course work, then made firm career decision
- Should have attempted to meet challenging entrance requirements and been willing to risk failure

Example (Hindsight Strategy 160-4):
I should have just made myself busy with schoolwork, because I know it makes me feel better to be getting things done.

B. Should have sought job which fit (better) with personal priorities and values.

Associated Values and Behaviours:
- Should have been clearer about priorities at time of looking for work and found job elsewhere which was more consistent with these priorities
- Should have clarified desired direction/goals or spent more time looking for good job in absence of career goal
- Should have prevented conflict from occurring by pursuing options in looking for work one at a time, in order of priority (i.e. should have sought work only with preferred agency first and had the other agency to fall back on, if necessary)

Example (Hindsight Strategy 23-2):
It now seems as if it would have been better to have found work somewhere else with more benefits (i.e. more pay, less travel involved); or to have been clearer, within myself, about all these priorities at the time of the first decision, which now seems to be directed towards the one priority (creativity).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindsight Strategy Categories by Role or Roles in Conflict (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Hindsight Strategy Types (Basic Categories)</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>V. Hindsight Strategies for Career-Partner Conflicts (cont'd)</strong>&lt;br&gt;V. Hindsight Strategies for Career-Partner Conflicts (cont'd)</td>
<td>B. Should have somehow resolved differences with former partner such that leftover conflicts would not affect her in current and future work relationships.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>B.1. Should have resolved situation with former partner, at least to retain some kind of contact/friendship, so that current and future relationships were not affected by unresolved issues with former partner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C. Should accept being &quot;only human.&quot; Would like to have handled relationships and roles with &quot;more confidence and sophistication,&quot; but not sure how.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>C.1. Should have accepted her limitations as &quot;only human,&quot; and handled all relationships/roles more smoothly and with more confidence. Still unclear as to how she would go about dealing differently with situation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D. Should have taken program slowly, to leave time for other activities.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>D.1. Should have taken program slowly, so studies would not consume so much of her time, and other needs/demands could also be accommodated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. Could have involved partner in work project, so he wouldn't feel excluded, but this could be risky as she is trying to establish her own career.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>E.1. Could have encouraged partner to participate in her work projects, so he wouldn't feel left out, but given that she is still in process of establishing self in career, involving him would be risky and therefore undesirable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VI. Hindsight Strategies for Conflicts Associated with Managing Two Work Roles (Employee vs. Other Career Role)</strong>&lt;br&gt;VI. Hindsight Strategies for Conflicts Associated with Managing Two Work Roles (Employee vs. Other Career Role)</td>
<td>A. Ideally, would like to have talked self into more positive attitude towards work and gone to work. Failing that, would like to have called in sick, given inability to apply self to work.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>A.1. The best alternative would be to have talked self out of lethargy and mild depression into more positive attitude which would enable her to go to work. If this was not possible, should have called in sick, given her inability to work that day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. Should like to withdraw entirely from spending time with family, but this is difficult or impossible to do. Doesn't know what to do with situation.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>A.1. Ideally, would like to discontinue contact with sister entirely during period of schooling, but cannot be so insensitive to sister's needs. 2. Would like to dissociate self from entire family, but this is difficult to do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VII. Hindsight Strategies for Conflicts Between Career and Family Member Roles (i.e. Sister, Daughter, Aunt)</strong>&lt;br&gt;VII. Hindsight Strategies for Conflicts Between Career and Family Member Roles (i.e. Sister, Daughter, Aunt)</td>
<td>B. Should have expressed own needs to sister and made alternate arrangements for special event with family members.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>B.1. Would like to have told sister that she would be unable to attend family gathering, given pressing demands of student role, and made alternate arrangements for celebrating with family members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A. Should have asked friends directly what they would like to be paid for their assistance before bad feelings set in.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>A.1. Should have talked directly with friends about realities of situation from outset and negotiated for reasonable financial compensation for their assistance, before bad feelings could arise.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. Should have acted earlier.

Associated Values and Behaviours:
- Should have done what she is now doing years ago
- Should have confronted and tried to do something about situation, rather than trying to avoid dealing with the problem

Example (Hindsight Strategy 160-2):
I should have confronted the situation by trying to see what it was that was making me unhappy, and doing something about it, instead of trying to avoid the problem.

D. Should have been more patient with self at rate of career development, more self-confident and not so driven to compare self with others.

Associated Values and Behaviours:
- Should not be swayed by remarks of others
- Should avoid comparing self negatively with others, and remember that others also feel self-doubt and have high standards for selves in career
- Should try not to be so impatient with rate of career progress

Example (Hindsight Strategy 755-4):
Well, I'd like not to be thrown by what others say - she talked about self-doubt and high standards and how she is beset as I am sometimes. It's hard to remember that. I would like not to be so driven to compare successes - find better measuring tools - or better no measuring tools at all - when looking at my peers. I tend to see success as having a job and "making it" and I feel guilty that I'm not moving into the breadwinner situation fast enough.

II. Hindsight Strategies for Conflicts Within the Employee Role

Number of incidents: 8

Central Themes in Categorization:
Hindsight strategies for this group of conflicts broke down readily into three basic categories, reminiscent of some of the categories used for coping strategies. Two of these involved behaving differently with others in the workplace - in the first instance, behaving differently with one's supervisor; in the other, with one's co-worker(s). In hindsight strategies in the third basic category, the subjects felt that they should have tried to deal inwardly with feelings and conflicts with co-workers or subordinates. More specific values and behaviours associated with these categories are listed below.

**Basic Categories and Examples of Hindsight Strategies for Conflicts Within the Employee Role**

A. Should have behaved differently with supervisor.

**Associated Values and Behaviours:**

- Ideally, should have clarified bosses' expectations of her at outset and resolved any conflicts at that time
- Given that conflict did occur, should have tried to appear less alarmed (as she tends to look hostile when she is alarmed)
- Should have confronted boss' sexist behaviour and pointed out that his demands were unfair and inappropriate to her (employee) role
- Should have behaved in conciliatory manner towards boss ("used agreeing tactics") rather than trying to defend self
- Should have been more subdued and less controlling in her initial meeting with supervisor

**Example (Hindsight Strategy 719-3):**

I wish that I had pointed out to my chairman that he is paid to be responsible for visiting dignitaries and that I felt that I was being asked to spend time with this man, not as a professional colleague, but as a sex object.

B. Should have behaved differently with co-worker.
Associated Values and Behaviours:
- Should have stood up assertively to co-worker when problems first started
- Should have been more sympathetic and understanding with co-worker, but also should have told co-worker that she felt tired of her constant complaints

Example (Hindsight Strategy 596-2):  
It _would _have_been _better_if_, _when_ _the_problems_first_started, _I_had_ _stood_up_to_this_co-worker_more_often. Going to our boss would not really have helped as he was a personal friend of hers and because of her higher job category and seniority, he would have had no choice except to let me go.

C. Should have tried to deal inwardly with feelings/conflicts with co-workers or subordinates.

Associated Values and Behaviours:
- Should have tried to deal inwardly with anger towards co-workers  
  (Note: It seems that the subject would rather be assertive, but has conflicts about that.)
- Should have ignored offensive behaviour of co-workers as staff member was not her responsibility, and instead recognized sources of own frustration
- Over the longer term, would like to learn ways of expressing anger

Example (Hindsight Strategy 432-4):
I am really stuck for answers for this, particularly since many tend to see my approach as incorrect. I am not confident at work, and expect that if I were somehow to bring up these attitudes and behaviours I would be talked down if, indeed, anyone knew what I was talking about. But talking seems ineffectual anyway since the problem seems to be a social one. Rather than hoping to change anyone's behaviour, it seems more realistic to try to deal with my angry response. I am not good at expressing my anger at any time, and feel quite uncertain about
straining relations with my co-workers. I'm not secure with them or my job.

III. Hindsight Strategies for Conflicts Within Student Role

Number of incidents: 4

Central Themes in Categorization:

Like the Hindsight Strategies for Conflicts Within the Employee Role, the strategies in this category were distinguished based on either: (1) behaving differently with the other person involved in the conflict; or (2) dealing inwardly with one's attitude about the situation. Values reflected in these incidents included being clear about one's own expectations of self, being patient and applying self-discipline in one's studies, and asserting one's needs or wants to others, when appropriate.

Basic Categories and Examples of Hindsight Strategies for Conflicts Within the Student Role

A. Should have behaved differently with instructor.

Associated Values and Behaviours:

- Should have clearly asserted wants/rights to instructor, in face of instructor's discriminatory action

- Should have been more patient and sought instructor's assistance as needed.

Example (Hindsight Strategy 58-2):

I would like to have said to the instructor that I was unwilling to change because I had a strong interest in continuing with lighting and that production work was not defined by one's sex. If the man did not want to do costumes, he should perhaps arrange to change jobs with someone else. Because she was an instructor, I allowed her status to override
both my interest and my sense of fairness in terms of sex discrimination.

B. Should have changed attitude towards studies and/or disciplined self to work at mastering course material which was difficult or not of interest.

Associated Values and Behaviours:
- Should have either reduced expectations of self and really not care about academic performance in courses which were not of interest, or applied self to studies in order to excel
- Should have taken necessary time to master difficult course material, instead of dispensing with it as impossible and not worth the effort

Example (Hindsight Strategy 742-2):

I would like to have given myself a long time to try to learn the classifications, instead of simply dispensing with it as impossible for me and not worth my effort. I would like to do what so many of my fellow students do: just shut up and work to get the marks.

Hindsight Strategies for Interrole Conflicts

IV. Hindsight Strategies for Career-Parent Conflicts

Number of incidents: 8

Central Themes in Categorization:

Hindsight strategies in this group fell into four basic categories, which were parallel in theme and content to the coping strategy categories for career-parent conflicts. The first two categories involved making structural changes: in the first instance, pursuing a different job or work situation; in the second making new or different arrangements for care of children/household. The third category was an inward or attitudinal change strategy, namely learning to be more tolerant of a child's disruptions. The final strategy involved recognizing that one has chosen the only alternative for coping with the conflict, and therefore learning to live with or accept this situation.
Basic Categories and Examples of Hindsight Strategies for Career-Parent Conflicts

A. Should have pursued different job/work situation

**Associated Values and Behaviours:**
- Should have tried to arrange job-sharing situation with colleague who also has young children
- Should have made clear decision to move and pursue job elsewhere, after realizing that she could wait at least a year to find a job in current location
- Should have kept house and rented it out instead of selling, found regular part-time job with flexible hours, and continued studies

**Example (Hindsight Strategy 340-2):**
I would have kept my house (in another town), rented it out, and would have obtained a job that offered some flexibility and continuity so that I could have studied and worked part-time without spending most of my time, it seems looking for a job.

B. Should have made different/new arrangements for care of child(ren) or household.

**Associated Values and Behaviours:**
- Should have established clear ground rules for frequency of child's visits with father and grandmother from beginning of separation to prevent strain on child
- Should have found way of channelling child into constructive activity that fit with his interests
- Should have hired maid services to clean house on a regular basis

**Example (Hindsight Strategy 719-2):**
I should have established ground rules for visitations with my ex-husband and his mother from the beginning of our separation. I knew that my daughter was confused but I wished to avoid confrontations and
also had guilt feelings about separating her from people who clearly loved her.

C. Should learn to ignore or be more tolerant of child's disruptions while she is studying.

Associated Values and Behaviours:
- Should feel calm enough to study even when child is noisy, disruptive and demanding attention

Example (Hindsight Strategy 168-2):
I would like to feel calm enough to do homework, even with a child touching my papers, sitting on my lap, playing with the T.V., flooding the bathroom, etc.

D. Accept fact that full-time work is only solution. There are no alternatives.

Associated Values and Behaviours:
- Should recognize and accept that full-time work is only solution if she is to provide basic necessities for self and family

Example (Hindsight Strategy 435-2):
I just have to accept the fact that the only way to keep a roof over our heads and food on the table and clothes on our backs is for me to have a full-time job. There are no alternatives.

V. Hindsight Strategies for Career-Partner Conflicts

Number of incidents: 6

Central Themes in Categorization:

Hindsight Strategies for Career-Partner Conflicts grouped into five basic categories. The first two categories reflected values related to communication with one's partner - in the first instance, making a greater effort to communicate one's needs to one's current partner, and, in the second, resolving
conflicts with one's former partner, so that they would not continue to affect her in current and future relationships. The central theme in the third category was accepting that one is "only human," and, by implication, not being so critical of her own behaviours in the conflict situation. The fourth category related to the timing of the subject's career involvement, taking her program of studies slowly to leave time for other activities. The final category, presented by the subject as a possible strategy, but one which could create additional problems, was to involve her partner in her work project, so he wouldn't feel excluded.

**Basic Categories and Examples of Hindsight Strategies for Career-Partner Conflicts**

**A. Should have worked harder at communicating own needs to partner.**

**Associated Values and Behaviours:**

- Should have found way to try to communicate her needs for career achievement to partner and asked partner to do domestic tasks while she was busy studying
- Should have communicated more clearly with partner about her need to regroup and gather energy after period of intensive work involvement

**Example (Hindsight Strategy 376-2):**

Even though past efforts to communicate my needs for accomplishment and self esteem failed I would like to have taken more time and better methods to insist that he listen. I should have specifically asked him to help prepare dinner or do some jobs around the home when I was busy studying.

**B. Should have somehow resolved differences with former partner such that leftover conflicts would not affect her in current and future work relationships.**
**Associated Values and Behaviours:**

- Should have resolved situation with former partner, at least to retain some kind of contact/friendship, so that current and future relationships were not affected by unresolved issues with former partner

**Example (Hindsight Strategy 317-4):**

I would like to have been able to resolve the situation, no matter how, at least to the point where we could still be friends, and I didn't carry it over and still be hung-up about it in my current and future work relationships.

C. **Should accept being "only human." Would like to have handled relationships and roles with "more confidence and sophistication," but not sure how.**

**Associated Values and Behaviours:**

- Should have accepted her limitations as "only human"
- Should have handled all relationships/roles more smoothly and with more confidence

**Example (Hindsight Strategy 803-2):**

We are only human - I'd like to have handled all relationships and roles with more confidence and sophistication - but just how I'm not sure.

D. **Should have taken program slowly, to leave time for other activities.**

**Associated Values and Behaviours:**

- Should have taken program slowly, so studies would not consume so much of her time, and other needs/demands could also be accommodated

**Example (Hindsight Strategy 242-2):**

I should have taken the program - slowly - so it would not be so time consuming and there would have been time for everything.
E. Could have involved partner in work project, so he wouldn't feel excluded, but this could be risky as she is trying to establish her own career.

**Associated Values and Behaviours:**
- Could have encouraged partner to participate in her work project, so he wouldn't feel left out
- Given that she is still in process of establishing self in career, involving him would be risky and therefore undesirable

**Example (Hindsight Strategy 755-2):**

One solution is to draw him into the project so he doesn't feel excluded. I have done this from time to time, but it can be risky. I'm trying to establish **my** career.

VI. **Hindsight Strategies for Conflicts Associated with Managing Two Work Roles**

Number of incidents: 1

**Central Themes in Categorization:**

Given that there was only one incident in this category, there is obviously very little information on which to base any kind of observations. However, since there may be some value later in comparing this hindsight strategy to actual strategies utilized for this group of conflicts, it is worthy of inclusion here.

The subject, in fact, offers two possible "solutions" to a conflict situation where her job and student roles presented competing demands. The central question for the subject seemed to be whether she would be able to apply herself to the job, given her preoccupation with her studies. One alternative considered was to give herself a kind of "pep talk" that is, talk herself into a more positive attitude towards her job that day, and then go to work. If she was really unable to apply herself to the job that day, she felt that the best alternative would be to call in sick.
Basic Category and Example of Hindsight Strategies for Conflict Associated with Managing Two Work Roles

A. Ideally, would like to have talked self into more positive attitude towards work and gone to work. Failing that, would like to have called in sick, given inability to apply self to work.

Associated Values and Behaviours:
- The best alternative would be to have talked self out of lethargy and mild depression into more positive attitude which would enable her to go to work
- If this was not possible, should have called in sick, given her inability to work that day

Example (Hindsight Strategy 106-2):
I___ally, I suppose, I___ould ___ave ___iked to talk myself out of my lethargy and mild depression, and into a more positive attitude towards work that day. Failing that, however, I___ould ___ave ___alled ___in sick originally. (I am not paid for the first sick day, only for subsequent ones.) I think, somehow, my supervisor would have been more understanding of that, than my leaving in the middle of the day. The hours I was at work were anything but fruitful. I felt so miserable, that I only did a minimal amount of work in the hours I was there, and thus it probably would have been better for everyone concerned if I had stayed home that day.

VII. Hindsight Strategies for Career-Family Member Conflicts

Number of incidents: 3

Central Themes in Categorization:

The two hindsight strategy categories for this group of conflicts are opposites to one another in the sense of active negotiations with the other person(s) involved in the conflict versus withdrawal, retreat or keeping one's feelings to oneself. In the first category, a preference was expressed for
withdrawing or dissociating oneself entirely from one or more family members, at least during the period of one's schooling, though this was somehow problematic. The second category involved deciding what was best for oneself, expressing one's needs to the family member, and negotiating for, at least partially, meeting the expectations of the family member, but at a time and in a manner which is more convenient to the subject.

**Basic Categories and Examples of Hindsight Strategies for Career-Family Member Conflicts**

**A.** Would like to withdraw entirely from spending time with family, but this is difficult or impossible to do. Doesn't know what to do with situation.

Associated Values and Behaviours:
- Ideally, would like to discontinue contact with family member(s) entirely during period of schooling but cannot be so insensitive to needs of family member(s)

Example (Hindsight Strategy 721-2):

My sister is being a pest; I would just like to wipe her out of my life until I've done with my schooling, but I can't be so cold. I just don't know what to do with this situation!

**B.** Should have expressed own needs to sister and made alternate arrangements for special event with family members.

Associated Values and Behaviours:
- Would like to have told sister that she would be unable to attend family gathering, given pressing demands of student role, and made alternate arrangements for celebrating with family members
Example (Hindsight Strategy 106-4):
I would like to have handled this situation in a similar manner to my other described "sister" situation which I was pleased with. I should have told my sister that doing my oral on her daughter's birthday would make going to the party impossible. I would want to go out and celebrate if I passed. (And if I failed, to be alone to cry!) I could have visited my niece with her present before or after her birthday, and thus demonstrate to her and my sister my love and interest.

VIII. Hindsight Strategies for Career-Friend Conflicts

Number of incidents: 1

Central Themes in Categorization:

Given that there was only one incident in this category, the same constraints apply in making observations here as were noted under Hindsight Strategies for Conflicts Associated with Managing Two Work Roles. It may be useful to look at this strategy in relation to coping strategies actually utilized in dealing with conflicts in this category, or to compare it to other hindsight strategies.

The approach which the subject recommends to herself by hindsight in this instance was essentially one of anticipating and preventing the conflict from occurring, or minimizing its negative effects. Like the second category in Career-Family Member Hindsight Strategies, this solution involved active negotiation with the other person involved in the conflict.

Basic Category and Example of Hindsight Strategy for Career-Friend Conflict

A. Should have asked friends directly what they would like to be paid for their assistance before bad feelings set in.
Associated Values and Behaviours:

- Should have talked directly with friends about realities of situation from outset and negotiated for reasonable financial compensation for their assistance, before bad feelings could arise

Example (Hindsight Strategy 539-2):

I should have point blank asked my friends what they would like to be paid and had things out in the open before bad feelings set in.

Independent Rater Reliability Check

An independent rater reliability check was performed on all three classification schemes - Role Conflicts, Coping Strategies and Hindsight Strategies - to ascertain whether the incidents could be reliably placed by two independent raters into the categories. In order to check the reliability of all the categories at their most detailed level (sub-category or basic category), it was desirable to include at least one example of each category for rating. It was also important to have more incidents for rating than one per category, to prevent raters from being able to readily infer the correct classification of some incidents by a process of elimination.

Since the number of incidents and the number of categories varied for Role Conflicts, Coping Strategies and Hindsight Strategies, the number and percentage of the total incidents which were required for reliability rating differed for each of the classification schemes. Tables 12, 13 and 14 provide a breakdown of the number and distribution of incidents used for rating.

Table 12 shows the distribution of role conflict incidents, the number of categories at the most detailed level in each superordinate category, and the number of
## Table 12

**Distribution of Role Conflict Incidents**  
**Used for Reliability Ratings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role Conflicts (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Number of Incidents</th>
<th>Number of Categories</th>
<th>No. of Incidents Used for Reliability Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Career Transitions</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Parent</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Partner</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Work Roles</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Family Member</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Friend</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>93</strong></td>
<td><strong>47</strong></td>
<td><strong>65</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(69.9% of 93)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 13

Distribution of Coping Strategy Incidents

Used for Reliability Ratings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategies (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Number of Incidents</th>
<th>Number of Categories</th>
<th>No. of Incidents Used for Reliability Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Career Transitions</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Parent</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Partner</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Work Roles</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Family Member</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Friend</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>93</strong></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
<td><strong>74</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(79.6% of 93)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindsight Strategies (Superordinate Categories)</th>
<th>Number of Incidents</th>
<th>Number of Categories</th>
<th>No. of Incidents Used for Reliability Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Career Transitions</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Parent</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Partner</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Work Roles</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Family Member</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Friend</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(72.5% of 40)
incidents used for reliability rating. The reliability check for the 47 categories of role conflict utilized 65 incidents, just under 70% of the 93 incidents.

Table 13 provides a similar breakdown for Coping Strategies. Although Coping Strategies were developed from the same number of incidents as Role Conflicts, because of the higher number of categories (60 categories, at the most detailed level), a higher percentage of incidents was required for reliability rating. The 74 incidents used for rating constituted just under 80% of the total incidents used for developing the classification scheme.

Table 14 presents information on the reliability rating of Hindsight Strategy categories. The classification scheme for Hindsight Strategies consisted of 22 categories, summarizing a total of 40 incidents. The 29 incidents used for reliability rating comprised 72.5% of the incidents.

Before discussing the results of the rating task, it may be helpful to note some of the characteristics of the raters in this study. Rater A was a woman with a recent Master of Arts in Counselling Psychology (University of British Columbia), who had taken course work in the theory and practice of counselling women, and had undertaken research for her Master's thesis to evaluate a training program for counsellors in working with female clients. It can therefore be assumed that Rater A was familiar with much of the literature and many of the concepts in the psychology of women, including role conflict, which may have given her an advantage in the rating.

Rater B was male and not trained at the Master's level in Counselling Psychology. He had taken some undergraduate courses in psychology, but was not familiar in any detail with literature on the psychology of women. He did, however, do graduate work in another discipline (Community and Regional Planning) and had an M.A. in this field, also from University of British Columbia. It was hoped that if Rater B could classify the incidents into the categories (without being provided with definitions of the categories, only the category titles) that this would show that the categories
were sound and relatively free of counselling jargon. Also, given that Rater B was of different gender than the subjects in the study, it was assumed that he would not be able to draw on personal experience to make sense of the categories in the same way as a female rater might. In this sense, having a male rater, as well as a female, brought a different kind of objectivity to the rating task.

Raters A and B were provided with category and sub-category headings for each superordinate category of Role Conflict, Coping and Hindsight Strategies. The incidents given to subjects were already grouped into superordinate (role) categories, as the roles involved in the conflict were considered to be self-evident and thus not necessary to rate. The raters read through the category headings, and brief explanations of the meaning of categories were provided, where requested. They were then asked independently to classify the incidents into the categories.

Each of the raters completed the classification task in about three and a half hours. Tables 15, 16 and 17 show the results of the independent rater reliability check. The number and percentage of incidents accurately rated by each rater are listed for each superordinate category. The last two columns in each table indicate the average number and percentage of incidents accurately rated. Percentages in the last column reflect the reliability of each of the superordinate categories.

In the Role Conflict categories, the level of agreement between the raters' categorization of incidents and the criteria set by the researcher (i.e. "correct answers") was 100% for Rater A and 90.8% for Rater B. In Coping Strategy categories, Rater A was 95.9% accurate and Rater B, 87.8%. The 29 incidents of Hindsight Strategies were rated 100% accurately by Rater A and 98.3% by Rater B (i.e. only one hindsight strategy incident was rated differently from the criterion). The average level of accuracy between the two raters was 95.4% for Role Conflicts, 93.9% for Coping Strategies, and 98.3% for Hindsight Strategies. All of these percentages are well above the 80% level of agreement which is considered to be acceptable in rating the
Table 15
Reliability of Role Conflict Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role Conflict (Superordinate) Categories</th>
<th>No. of Incidents Rated</th>
<th>Number and Percentage of Incidents Accurately Classified</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rater A</td>
<td>Rater B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Transitions</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Parent</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Partner</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Work Roles</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Family Member</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Friend</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>65</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>59</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 16
Reliability of Coping Strategy Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategy (Superordinate) Categories</th>
<th>No. of Incidents Rated</th>
<th>Number and Percentage of Incidents Accurately Classified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rater A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Transitions</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Parent</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Partner</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Work Roles</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Family Member</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Friend</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total                                            | 74                     | 71 | 95.9   | 65 | 87.8   | 69.5 | 93.9 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindsight Strategy (Superordinate) Categories</th>
<th>No. of Incidents Rated</th>
<th>Number and Percentage of Incidents Accurately Classified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rater A</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Transitions</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Parent</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Partner</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career-Family Member</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that the above calculations of reliability are based on the most detailed level of categorization, that is, in all of the cases where superordinate categories contained a sufficient number of incidents to enable data to be broken down at the sub-category level, these were used as the criteria for the accuracy of ratings. Since the reliability check is a test of the degree to which categories accurately describe the data, it will be helpful to examine briefly some of the cases where the raters' classification of incidents was different from the criterion.

In the rating of Role Conflicts, there were six cases where the incidents were classified differently by Rater B than by the researcher. In several of these, the incidents appeared to fit in general terms under the category assigned by Rater B, but were captured more precisely under the category assigned by the researcher. For example, incident number 14-1 in the Career-Parent category (listed earlier in Chapter IV under category A3) was assigned by Rater B to category C3, "Managing parenting, part-time work and student responsibilities. In everything she does, gets feeling she should be doing something else." Although the incident described by the subject does make reference to her wanting "to be doing something else," it is the constraints of her parenting role that seem to be the main obstacle to her pursuing a preferred career direction. Thus the category assigned by the researcher to this incident - A3, "Ability to pursue desired career direction constrained by immediate financial need to support self and family" does seem to more accurately capture the essence of the conflict.

In another case, however, the category assigned by Rater B did seem to be a legitimate alternative to the category assigned by the researcher. Incident number 742-1, under the Career Transition conflict category, was rated by Rater B under category B1, "Unhappy in student role and uncertain what new direction to take."
researcher classified the incident in category C2, "Wanting to (re-)enter work force to attain financial independence, but working full-time would mean loss of time for other favoured activities." Both categories clearly do capture aspects of the incident, each from a slightly different frame of reference. The subject is taking library science training to prepare herself for full-time employment and financial independence, and is objecting to the loss of time for "meaningful activity." She also seems to be unhappy in the role of student and uncertain what direction to take. Although this difference in ratings makes evident that the categories are not all mutually exclusive, it may also be that the ratings would have corresponded if raters had been provided with definitions of the categories, rather than just the category headings.

Another case where Rater B disagreed with the rating of a conflict category assigned by the researcher was a Conflict Within the Employee Role, incident number 47-1 (listed earlier is Chapter IV as an example under category A3). Although the incident is clearly an example of "Conflicts associated with challenging traditional sex role expectations, as a woman in work role which is non-traditional for women, within work environment where traditional sex role expectations prevail," it is also, as noted by Rater B, a case of A1, "Internal conflicts/fears about assertion of wants to employer." This suggests that category A3 (challenging traditional sex role expectations) could be worded in more specific terms. If further examples of incidents of this nature were collected, there would likely be a whole range of conflicts which could be subsumed under the A3 category.

A final case worthy of mention in the role conflict ratings was incident number 755-3 under the Career-Partner category (listed as an example under category A1). Rater B classified this incident under category A4, "Juggling of career and partner/family/household demands creates feeling of 'overload'." It seems that Rater B interpreted the phrase, "feelings of doubt about whether I can do it overwhelm me," as
"overload." This points to the fact that it would have been useful to provide a definition of the meaning of "role overload" to the raters.

In rating Coping Strategies, a number of similar issues arose, where the rater assigned an incident to a category which did capture the strategy in general terms, but less precisely than the category assigned by the researcher. For example, incident number 635-2 in the Career-Parent category was classified by Rater B into category A3, "Work part-time to allow time for child care, studies and/or other interests." Although this category does accurately describe the incident, category A6 captures it more precisely: "Rule out option of moving due to own and children's needs. Work part-time now while looking for full-time work."

In one coping incident, number 317-3 in the Career Transitions category, both raters disagreed with the category assigned by the researcher. The researcher rated this incident in category B1, "Clarify career goal, investigate and plan for related education/training and plan/arrange finances for period of studies." Both raters placed the incident in category B2, "Look for full-time work which is consistent with career-related goals and values, provides job satisfaction and desired benefits." Both categories accurately summarize the incident, again, from a slightly different frame of reference.

Finally, in the rating of Hindsight Strategies, the one incident which was rated differently from the criterion by Rater B was incident number 160-2 in the Career Transitions category: "I should have confronted the situation by trying to see what it was that was making me unhappy (as student), and doing something about it, instead of trying to avoid the problem." This incident was rated by the researcher under category C, "Should have acted earlier." Rater B classified it as an "A", "Should have disciplined self to meet program or entrance requirements for course of studies, despite difficulties." Here the rater was interpreting "doing something about it" as applying oneself to one's studies, although this was not specified in the incident. However,
category C could perhaps be worded differently to capture incident 160-2 more accurately, as it is not really a prototypical example of the category.

The fact that incidents do not always fit clearly into categories is explained by McCloskey and Glucksberg (1978) by the notion of "fuzzy sets," where incidents possess attributes of more than one category, and are therefore less reliably classified than prototypical cases. This explanation would seem to account for the majority of incidents where independent raters did not agree with the criterion in their classification of incidents.

Summary

This chapter has described the results of the analysis of critical incidents. After reviewing some of the key decisions made in the process of data analysis, the classification schemes for Role Conflicts, Coping Strategies and Hindsight Strategies were presented, with illustrative examples. The discussion of Role Conflict categories highlighted central issues or themes which were found among incidents in each of the categories. Coping Strategy categories were accompanied by a summary of behaviours (effective, neutral and ineffective) associated with each strategy. Finally, Hindsight Strategies were reviewed, taking note of the values and behaviours associated with each hindsight coping category.

This chapter concluded with a summary of the results of an independent rater reliability check for each of the three classification schemes. Given the high percentage of agreement between the two raters and the categories assigned to incidents by the researcher, there is evidence to suggest that the classification schemes accurately reflect the critical incident data in this study.

This chapter has provided a response to the three primary research questions listed in Chapter I. The preceding detailed description of the data sets the stage for an examination, in Chapter V, of the patterns which occur across categories. This discussion will be focussed on the six secondary research questions listed in Chapter I.
CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter will discuss the results of the study under five major headings: the limitations of the study, responses to secondary research questions, relationship of findings in the present study to previous literature, practical implications, and recommendations for further research. The chapter concludes with a summary of the study and its implications.

Limitations of the Study

The generalizability of findings in the present study is limited by a number of factors. These factors are outlined below under two main headings: (1) characteristics of the sample, and (2) data collection procedures.

Characteristics of the Sample

This study was based on a relatively small sample of 39 clients who sought career counselling services at a federally-operated employment centre for women, in a large urban centre in Western Canada. The sample represented about 4.6% of the 851 clients who visited the centre during a six-month period. Insufficient data are available at present to enable a precise assessment of the extent to which the characteristics of these subjects are typical of the population of clients seeking career counselling - either at the Women's Employment Project or at other centres - during that same time period or subsequently. However, results of the analysis of data from the Client Survey: Women's Employment Project (Appendix A), analyzed by Emery (1983), provide a basis for comparison of characteristics of the sample with those of a considerably larger sample of W.E.P. clients. Some of the results of Emery's analysis are noted in the discussion below.
The counselling centre which was visited by the subjects in this study is situated in a primarily middle class community, and thus may tend to draw clients who share a common set of socio-economic characteristics. Women's role conflicts and coping strategies may well be influenced significantly by socio-economic factors, and may vary, for example, depending on factors such as living in an urban versus a rural setting, or cultural background.

Although information on ethnic or national origin was not collected in this study, it would seem that the subjects may share a common cultural background and values - predominantly those of a middle class Western culture. One event which occurred in the process of collecting data for this study served to highlight the issue of cultural differences. An Oriental woman who attended one of the group sessions declined to participate when she learned that she would have to write down her personal conflicts. At first she appeared to be shy and quiet, participating very little in the group discussion. As the session went on, she gradually seemed to grow more uncomfortable. Finally, when she was asked directly whether she had any questions or concerns about the research, she spoke words to this effect, "In my culture, it is wrong to talk about private matters with others, particularly someone you don't know." In respecting her feelings and values on this matter, the woman was advised that she was under no obligation to participate in the study, she was thanked for her interest, and she left the meeting. However, her comments served as a reminder that the values which underlie this kind of research enterprise are not universal ones. Openness and self-disclosure, under appropriate circumstances, tend to be supported and valued in Western cultures - particularly among those in the counselling profession. Responses such as those of the woman cited above give us cause to speculate on how those in other cultures experience and deal with the role conflicts which they (presumably) encounter. It is useful to remember that the values which we often take for granted are not universal ones, and that our findings in studies such as these are limited to those who are willing to share their experiences.
Subjects in this study were, on average, well-educated. In comparing the characteristics of this sample with those of the larger sample of 339 subjects who participated in the first phase of the research (reported by Emery, 1983), it would seem that the relatively high education level of this sample is similar to that of clients in the larger sample, and probably of W.E.P. clients generally.

Age distribution of subjects in the two samples was also comparable, as was the proportion of parents versus non-parents (parents represented 44% of the present sample versus 41% in the larger sample). However, a considerably larger proportion of the women were single parents in the present study, as compared to the larger group (38.5% versus 29% of subjects). This suggests that single parents may be more interested in participating in research on role conflict than other women might be. It may be that single parents tend to experience the greatest number of role conflicts, or perhaps the kinds of role conflict which are easiest to identify. It is also possible that those who have experienced more conflicts may have developed coping skills to a more refined degree. Further research would be needed to identify differences in conflict and coping between women as a function of marital status and parental status, education level, and other demographic characteristics.

Given the relatively high education level of the women in the sample, it may be that the subjects in this study tend to be more introspective, analytical and/or articulate about their conflicts and experiences than other women might be in the population at large. It is not clear to what extent their conflicts would resemble those of less educated women. To summarize one's conflicts and coping responses in writing can be a difficult task, regardless of one's education level. Further research might benefit from an expansion of research methods, collecting incidents, for example, by means of personal interviews, particularly for those who may find it easier to communicate orally than in writing.
A final characteristic of the sample which may impose limits to the generalizability of findings was the fact that subjects were volunteers. The experiences of those who are not predisposed to sharing them (at least, in a research context) may be quite different from those yielded in the present study. Some creative approaches may be needed in future research to investigate the role conflicts of women who would not ordinarily participate in survey research where they are required to complete a questionnaire. Some related issues on the subject of research methods, and their effects on generalizability of results, are discussed in the following section.

Data Collection Procedures

Another potential limit to the generalizability of the study - which may or may not be related to the use of a questionnaire to collect the data - is a possible reluctance on the part of subjects to discuss controversial, extreme, or potentially embarrassing conflict situations. There may be a tendency for women (or men) to report only those conflicts which they consider socially acceptable (despite the fact that anonymity of responses was assured). A different research method, such as personal interviews, might have yielded some different kinds of incidents, and perhaps elicited more subtle aspects of the conflicts than was possible with written responses on a questionnaire.

The richness of information and detail provided in the critical incidents was clearly enhanced in cases where the researcher met with subjects in groups to discuss role conflict and coping before they completed the questionnaires. Hearing and discussing examples of others' conflicts seemed to stimulate the identification and recollection of their own conflict situations.

The concept of role conflict may have been unfamiliar to many subjects; even in cases where women experience frequent role conflicts, they may be unaccustomed to conceptualizing them in these terms. As a result, those who completed and mailed the
questionnaires without having an opportunity to discuss their experiences may have tended to have a narrower conception of what is included as "role conflict" and thus may have overlooked what could have been useful examples from their own experiences.

The numbers of incidents in each category of role conflict, coping and hindsight strategies limited the number and diversity of categories which could be developed in this study. Development of more detailed classification schemes, and tests on the comprehensiveness of categories developed in the present study, could be conducted in future if further incidents were collected. The classification schemes could also be expanded if non-career related incidents were also examined.

A final limitation worthy of mention here is that the categories were developed by only one researcher and were therefore subject to potential bias. However, the high reliability yielded by the independent rater reliability check suggests that the categories do accurately summarize the conflicts as described by subjects. This study was intended to be exploratory and descriptive in nature, and the categories to be subject to testing through future research. The high reliability of the categories which were developed demonstrates the value of the critical incident method in eliciting empirically-based descriptions of the phenomena of role conflict and coping.

Responses to Secondary Research Questions

The five sections which follow provide responses to each of the secondary research questions listed in Chapter I. The research questions which correspond to each of the headings are listed at the beginning of each section.

Patterns Which Were Evident in the Structure of Role Conflicts

1. Does the nature of role conflict differ depending on the role or roles involved in the conflict, or do conflicts associated with different roles cluster into similar patterns?
One of the most significant themes which proved important in differentiating conflict types - across superordinate categories of both intrarole and interrole conflict - was the notion of role transitions. Not surprisingly, the majority of the role transitions which were featured by subjects depicted career transition issues. If the non-career related incidents of role conflict had also been analyzed, it is likely that other role transitions would be represented among the data. However, the most significant influence in biasing the sample towards conflicts involving career transitions was probably the fact that subjects were drawn from a population of women seeking career counselling - all of whom were very likely involved in, or anticipating, some kind of career transition. It is therefore not surprising that these conflicts come to mind when the subjects were asked to describe their role conflicts, particularly since it was explained in the cover letter that they were approached for participation in the research by virtue of having been a client at the W.E.P. Even if these conflicts were not a central preoccupation for subjects during the period preceding their receipt of the questionnaire, the cover letter would likely serve as a reminder of the kind of issues which prompted them to seek career counselling at the W.E.P., and thus these were likely to come to mind more readily as examples for them to write about on the questionnaire.

As noted briefly in Chapter IV, other role transitions were also evident among the data. Decisions concerning partner role transitions were clearly often affected by career role issues. Some examples of conflicts surrounding potential partner role transitions are the potential new relationship which may interfere with one's career plans, or dealing with complications concerning a potential romantic involvement with a co-worker or instructor. Another example would be the conflict surrounding a partner's non-support of a woman's pursuit of a new career direction, and the woman therefore considering separation from an established partner relationship. (In these latter cases, the partner's non-support of her career is generally conceived of as a "last straw,"
rather than the only cause for separation.)

Another example of role transition issues in interrole conflicts involves transition in the parent role and its relationship to career involvement. One example is the case where a woman wants or needs to re-enter the work force, where her parent role demands are changing and children are at an age where they no longer need as much attention, yet the woman feels concerned or anxious about potential negative effects of career involvement on her ability to devote the attention she desires to the parenting arena. This is a case where both parent and career roles are in transition and expectations of self and others with respect to these roles are in a process of changing.

Where role transition issues were central to the categorization, headings utilized for the basic categories tended to make reference to the nature of the particular transition, such as leaving one's job or considering a potential new job. The meaning of the conflict for the subject was also featured, wherever possible, in the categories, at their most specific level.

The different meanings of conflict situations for the subjects were also incorporated where possible across all superordinate categories of conflict (regardless of whether role transitions were featured). In analyzing the vocabulary used across conflict types, certain patterns or structures emerge, which may be interesting to discuss briefly here.

Table 18 illustrates the typical structure of a role conflict category, with two kinds of examples which occurred frequently in the data, across superordinate categories. Each is comprised of four elements (these elements are neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive, but are provided in order to demonstrate an approach to thinking about the phenomenon). The four elements are: (1) the general nature of the value/goal statements in the conflict; (2) an apparent motive (this is often not clearly stated in the incidents, and thus does not appear in all categories); (3) a causal or constraint statement (the "operative" from the subject's point of view, i.e. the manner
### Table 18
Illustration of the Structure of Role Conflict Situations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Value/Goal Statements in Conflict</th>
<th>Apparent Motive</th>
<th>Causal or Constraint Statement</th>
<th>Obstacles to Getting What One Wants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Value of certain role demands weighed more strongly than others, and facing obstacles to meeting own wants/needs</td>
<td>Meeting needs or wants of self</td>
<td>Constrained by ... Prompted by ... Limited by ... Blocked by ... Inhibited by ...</td>
<td>Demands of X (where X = role, person or situation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juggling multiple demands which seem to be of equal value or priorities are ambiguous</td>
<td>Reducing stress of multiple demands/overload Trying to meet all demands or to clarify ambiguous values concerning short or longer-term goals and/or priorities</td>
<td>Feeling of pressure to &quot;do it all&quot; Exhaustion, feeling scattered, or &quot;spread too thin&quot;</td>
<td>All or most demands tend to be perceived as fixed (at least for now) and legitimate Subject sees demands as difficult or impossible to prioritize or meet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in which X operates upon Y); and (4) the obstacles the subject describes to getting what she wants.

The Career-Parent conflict categories are good examples for illustrating the different structures of conflict outlined in Table 18. Basic categories A and B are examples of the first kind of conflict listed in Table 18 - "Child care demands inhibit career pursuits" and "Demands of career role limit time available to spend with children/self." Conflict type C, "How to manage parenting, career and demands of other roles and avoid overload" is an example of the second type in Table 18, where values of multiple role demands seem equal or priorities are ambiguous.

The observations above are but a starting point for potential exploration of the structural similarities and differences among conflict types. The refinement of these concepts could be the subject of a great deal of empirical research. Given the absence of any detailed role conflict models to date, it is hoped that the categories and examples of role conflict in Chapter IV will be useful to future researchers investigating role conflict - whether to clarify our concepts of role conflict or as a basis for further empirical studies.

Differences Between Coping Strategies Judged Effective Versus Ineffective

2. a) How do coping strategies judged effective compare and contrast with those judged ineffective?

   c) What factors appear to differentiate coping judged effective versus ineffective?

The third major section of Chapter IV provides information on coping strategies broken down into behaviours judged by subjects as effective, neutral or ineffective. This information will be used as a basis for examining some of the patterns which emerge across superordinate categories of coping.
In reviewing the trends in coping effectiveness for each of the superordinate categories of coping, it seems that subjects applied a number of different criteria or constructs to evaluating their coping methods. In many cases, the outcome of the situation seemed to be focal for the subject. In other cases, the concern seemed to be the manner in which one went about dealing or not dealing with the conflict. These two criteria reflect a distinction between means and ends, or process and outcome.

In evaluating coping effectiveness, subjects seemed to be asking themselves a number of questions. Examples of such questions are:

1. Did I get what I wanted in the situation?
2. Am I comfortable with the means I used to go about getting what I wanted?
3. Was the conflict resolved positively (or not resolved) as a result of my actions, or was it resolved for me by other person(s) or a change in external circumstances?
4. Were significant others upset, hurt, disappointed, etc. in my behaviour or the outcome? Did significant others get what they wanted?

The general criteria subjects used in evaluating coping effectiveness are listed in Table 19, along with some of the bipolar constructs subjects seemed to be applying in evaluating the effectiveness of their coping. The general criteria relate to both process and outcome dimensions. Although, in chronological sequence, process precedes outcome, the outcome issues are listed first in the table as they generally seem to be the first criteria applied.

The essential outcome dimensions which seemed to be related to coping effectiveness were whether or not self and/or others got what they wanted in the situation. Constructs which seemed to be associated with a process of coping which was judged to be effective included acting in a manner which is congruent with personal values, taking the necessary time to resolve or deal with the conflict, being willing to compromise where required, dealing directly with the conflict, talking about the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Criteria Used in Evaluating Coping Effectiveness</th>
<th>Examples of Bipolar Constructs Applied in Assessing Coping Effectiveness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Effective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Effects of Coping Strategy on Self</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Outcome:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did I get what I wanted?</td>
<td>Accommodate own needs/wants without causing undue hardship to others (if possible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was my (stated or implied) goal in the situation achieved?</td>
<td>Meet immediate needs of self, as well as long-term needs (where applicable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Process:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Am I comfortable with the means I used to go about getting what I wanted?</td>
<td>Acting in a manner which is congruent with personal values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking necessary time to resolve or deal with conflict</td>
<td>Feeling pressured to make decision prematurely or waiting too long to take action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being willing to compromise, where required</td>
<td>Remaining inflexible, stuck in &quot;wanting the impossible&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing directly with the conflict</td>
<td>Not dealing with the conflict at all (doing nothing or waiting indefinitely for desired outcome to happen on its own)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Criteria Used in Evaluating Coping Effectiveness</td>
<td>Examples of Bipolar Constructs Applied in Assessing Coping Effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Effective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Talking about conflict with others involved in the conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consulting with appropriate others about possible courses of action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Causes of Outcome (Causal Attributions)</td>
<td>Respect own judgment and feel confident that one has the necessary skills/resources to cope with conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>View conflict as within one's power to resolve, or at least see one's actions as able to have impact on situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attribute own successes to one's own efforts (while acknowledging the contributions of others, where appropriate)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 19 (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Criteria Used in Evaluating Coping Effectiveness</th>
<th>Examples of Bipolar Constructs Applied in Assessing Coping Effectiveness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Effective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accommodate others' needs/wants without compromising own wants/needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meet immediate needs of others, as well as long-term needs (where applicable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effects of Coping Strategy on Others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outcome:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did significant others get what they wanted in the situation? Were their (stated or implied) goals in the situation achieved?</td>
<td>Accommodate others' needs/wants without compromising own wants/needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meet immediate needs of others, as well as long-term needs (where applicable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Process:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are significant others comfortable with the means I used to go about getting what I wanted?</td>
<td>Acting in a manner which is congruent with the values of others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coping in a timely fashion, appropriate to the needs of others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
conflict with others involved, and consulting with appropriate others about possible
courses of action.

Positive assessments of coping effectiveness also seemed to correlate with an
internal locus of control (Rotter, 1966), where: (1) the subject respects her own
judgment and feels confident that she has the necessary skills and resources to cope
with the conflict; (2) she views the conflict as within her power to resolve, or at least
sees her actions as able to have impact on the situation; and (3) she attributes her
successes to her own efforts, while acknowledging the contributions of others, where
appropriate.

The general criteria used in evaluating coping effectiveness, as well as the
specific bipolar constructs which women apply in assessing their coping which are listed
in Table 19 are but a starting point for potential further exploration of coping
effectiveness. Some directions for further research which are suggested by the data in
this study are discussed later in Chapter V.

**Coping Strategies with Mixed Effectiveness Ratings**

2. b) Are there some strategies which are effective in some situations and
ineffective in others?

The specific strategies with mixed effectiveness ratings are identified in
Chapter IV, at the beginning of the section pertaining to each of the coping strategies.
Table 9 also shows effectiveness ratings for incidents which correspond to each of the
coping strategies. The strategies with mixed ratings can be inferred from the numbers
in parentheses in the Mean Effectiveness Rating column.

The coping strategies which had mixed ratings tended to be cases where the
strategy involved some kind of compromise. Table 19 is helpful in identifying the areas
of potential compromise and their potential impact on self-assessments of coping
effectiveness.
One coping strategy from the Career Transitions category will serve as a useful illustration. Coping strategy A1 - "Accept offered job(s) which compromise(s) career-related goals and values to meet immediate need and hope/plan to pursue other career direction in future" - contained three incidents. Two of these were rated ineffective, and one effective. In the two cases where this coping strategy was judged to be ineffective, the subjects did not like the jobs that they accepted. One of the women quit the job after discovering that she didn't like it and ended up repeating the cycle, i.e. waiting for better jobs but not finding them, accepting inferior jobs and not liking them, then quitting, and so on.

In the case where this same strategy was judged to be effective, the subject accepted a job which was unrelated to her training, and thereby compromised her goal of pursuing a career direction which was consistent with her training. However, in her case, she liked the job, and saw herself as gaining useful experience and knowledge from it. At the same time, she decided to take courses to improve her prospects of later getting a job which was related to her training.

One of the main differences between effective and ineffective judgments in the use of this strategy is the extent to which the subject feels in control versus out of control of the forces at play in her conflict situation. In the case which was rated as effective by the subject, the tone of her strategy is one of "taking charge of the situation." The two ineffective cases give the impression that the subject perceives herself as being buffeted about by circumstances which are unpleasant or uncomfortable and beyond her control.

Another useful illustration of a strategy with mixed ratings is under Career-Partner Category A, "Decide that career pursuits take priority over partner interests," in Basic Category 1, "Pursue career interests despite partner's objections or lack of support. (Seek support elsewhere, change attitude about self, work and/or partner.)" Two of the incidents in this category were rated ineffective and one effective. The two
rated ineffective shared several features in common. In each case, the partner's non-support of her career pursuits is grudgingly accepted, and the subject tries to find ways of providing herself with moral support. The prevailing attitude seems to be one of distancing oneself from one's partner and keeping one's feelings to oneself. In one case, the subject continued to take full responsibility for household chores after becoming involved in her career pursuits, initially kept her feelings of resentment towards her partner to herself, but later exploded into anger, conflict and distance. In the other case, the woman sought support of her career pursuits from others besides her partner, and tried to change her attitude and take less responsibility for her partner's feelings.

In the case where the above coping strategy was reported as effective, the subject sought counselling to help her deal with the conflict, prepared herself for pursuing her career interests, and separated from her partner. Again, in the case where the strategy was judged to be effective, the subject gives the impression of taking charge of the situation. In the ineffective examples, on the other hand, the strategy is applied in such a way that the conflict is not addressed at its source. The impression conveyed in the ineffective cases is that the women feel that they have little or no power to influence the situation, and that they therefore adopt an attitude which they hope will help them feel more comfortable accepting the "fact" of their relative powerlessness.

An examination of the cases where effectiveness ratings are mixed confirms that the specific criteria and constructs applied by women to their behaviour make a critical difference to the perceived effectiveness of coping efforts. The criteria and constructs outlined in Table 19 do seem to highlight some of the critical dimensions which differentiate effective, ineffective and ambivalent assessments of coping effectiveness.
Factors Which Influence the Perceived Effectiveness of Coping, Depending on Roles Involved in the Conflict

2. d) Do the factors which differentiate effective versus ineffective coping differ depending on the role or roles involved in the conflict?

The criteria applied in assessing coping effectiveness which are outlined in the preceding sections seem to apply to all superordinate categories of coping. What seems to differ depending on the type of conflict is the weighting of the different criteria or factors used to evaluate coping effectiveness. Table 19 provides a framework for an examination of these factors.

The extent to which one is preoccupied with meeting one's own needs versus the needs of others is clearly one important dimension which influences one's assessment of coping effectiveness. In Career-Partner conflicts, for example, the categories of coping where priority was accorded to one's own needs at the possible expense of the relationship, the coping was generally judged to be ineffective. When the opposite was true, where one's career needs were compromised in favour of the partner relationship, the subjects also proved to be dissatisfied with their coping. The most effective strategies in this case were clearly those where the needs of both partners were addressed and accommodated in the strategy.

In Career-Parent conflicts, a similar pattern is evident. If women value career involvement, it seems that they are willing to postpone meeting their needs or wants in that arena if it is clearly for a limited period of time, and ideally, if they can retain some sense of connection to their careers even while taking "time out" from career to attend to children. In the day-to-day management of career and parent roles, it seems that some women reach a point where they feel that they have unduly compromised their own needs, in attending to the needs of children. Again, meeting the needs of both self and others (children, in this case) is shown to be important in Career-Parent
conflicts. The most effective strategies are shown to be those which somehow accommodate the needs of both self and others.

The same factors would seem to be applied in assessing coping effectiveness for Career-Family Member and Career-Friend conflicts. These two categories were quite similar to each other, where compromising one's own needs to meet the needs of others is clearly considered ineffective. In the Career-Family Member conflict situation, the position was also taken that if family members do not understand one's priorities and one's situation after repeated attempts to communicate, an effective way of coping seems to be placing one's own needs first and carrying on with one's plans, despite their objections.

In Managing Two Work Roles, particularly student and employee roles, it seems to be effective to alternate priorities, placing intensive effort in one of these roles when this seems called for, then shifting priority to the other when demands of the role require it.

In Career Transition, Employee and Student conflicts, the preoccupation seems mostly to be with the needs of self. Here the subject's perceived locus of control seems to have considerable influence on the perceived effectiveness of coping efforts. What appears to be important is viewing the conflict as within one's power to resolve, and seeing one's actions as able to have an impact on the situation. Once a decision is reached about a preferred course of action in dealing with these conflicts, effective coping tended to involve taking active steps toward getting what one wants.

Often taking steps toward getting what one wants involved negotiations with others. At that point, concern with the needs of others come into play, but seemingly in a less intense or profound way than in the realm of personal/family relationships. In the interest of harmonious work relationships, conflicts are often discussed openly and attempts are made to accommodate the needs or wants of all parties involved (e.g. supervisors, subordinates, colleagues). Where this is not possible, however, it seems
easier in the work or student arena to distance oneself from others when interests are incompatible. The needs of others seem to take lower priority in the more impersonal arenas of work and student life than they do in the case of parent, partner, friend or family relationships.

If further incidents of role conflict and coping were collected in future research, it would be useful to ask subjects the questions noted in Table 19 under "General Criteria Used in Evaluating Coping Effectiveness." In this way, more detailed comparisons could be made of the factors which differentiate effective versus ineffective coping for conflicts associated with different combinations of roles.

Comparing Hindsight Strategies with Coping Strategies Judged to Be Effective

3. How do desirable coping strategies identified by hindsight compare to coping strategies actually utilized by women which were judged to be effective?

The strategies which women identified by hindsight as desirable alternatives to the strategies they actually utilized in ineffective coping situations were in many ways similar to strategies actually utilized which were judged to be effective. As noted in Chapter IV in the introduction to the Hindsight Strategy section, one obvious difference was that the Hindsight Strategies tended to begin with some kind of prescriptive or "should" statement. An examination of those strategies shows that they tend to highlight the values applied in assessing coping effectiveness, perhaps more so than the coping strategies. This is not surprising in view of the fact that in this case they were asked to report "how they would like to have handled the situation." In speculating on "what went wrong" in the situations that they felt they handled ineffectively, priorities became evident which seemingly were less clear to the subject at the time of the conflict. In hindsight, it seems, one considers both the consequences or outcome of
one's coping actions, as well as the process or way one went about coping with the conflict.

Most of the Hindsight Strategies can be understood in relation to the issues in assessing coping effectiveness which are outlined in Table 19. As with the Coping Strategies, what varies is the relative priority assigned to the various criteria applied in assessing coping effectiveness. Hindsight Strategies tended to be expressed in terms such as, "I should have acted in a manner which involved less of . . . (the behaviours listed in the Ineffective column in Table 19) and more of . . . (the behaviours listed in the Effective column)." In a hindsight strategy from the Career Transitions category, for example, the subject's statement "I should have made myself busy with school work to feel better getting something accomplished" translates into "I should have (acted in a manner which was congruent with personal values)" and perhaps "I should have (been willing to compromise my short-term needs, where required, in order to meet longer-term objectives)."

Some of the frequent themes which emerged in the hindsight strategies related to: (1) anticipation and prevention of potential conflicts; (2) communication with others involved in the conflict; (3) clarifying and changing expectations of self and/or one's attitude about the situation; and (4) the timing of coping actions. Each of these themes is discussed briefly below.

One of the hindsight strategies recommended by subjects which seemed to be seen as an ideal in role management was foreseeing potential conflict before it arises and preventing the conflict from occurring by taking certain actions. One good example of this was a case where a subject accepted a job which she discovered later was misrepresented to her. She ended up being asked to cover up for her boss and "play games" (i.e. be dishonest) with clients. Such behaviour violated her personal values, and she states that she would not have accepted the job if she had been clear about the realities of the job situation. Given that she had accepted the job, however, she did not
wish to lose her rights to unemployment insurance benefits by quitting the job, and thus she did everything she could to "put things right." Although the strategy she actually utilized was judged to be effective - but, as she notes, at high cost - she makes a number of observations by hindsight which highlight her preference in such situations for anticipation and prevention of conflicts rather than remedial actions.

The kind of conflict I previously described is never a "paying proposition". Good results (which I felt the above to be) and bad ones, are all achieved at high cost. I would consider myself disappointed with the way I handled such a situation if I failed to recognize it existed, and was ground down by it, and I can say this has never happened, so I cannot supply an example where I'd be disappointed with myself with this kind of conflict. (No ineffective incident was provided by the subject.) The best way to handle it, of course, is to anticipate and not land in it in the first place, and I have frequently refused jobs on this basis. However, that is not always possible - sometimes money dictates a job must be accepted or, as in this case, misrepresentation put me in something I wouldn't normally touch with a bargepole.

It seems to me it is at this point that the biggest conflicts (beyond their own personal image) of women arise. The work scene is not built for them as real people and if you are a self-actualizing person, but unequipped with appropriate skills, or else facing major economic problems, you will always be facing this dilemma and the turmoil, pain and destruction it involves. (Subject's comments following incident 115-1.)

Themes related to communication in hindsight strategies tended to take the form of "I should have communicated better with . . . (the other person involved in the conflict)" or "I should have tried harder to communicate". A variation on this theme was "I should have clarified the expectations of . . . (the other person involved in the conflict) at the outset." One example of this latter type of hindsight strategy was the subject who was starting a new work arrangement, part-time, with her former employer, and misunderstandings arising due to lack of clarity concerning her intended
hours of work. This could perhaps be construed as another example of preventing the conflict from occurring - in this case, by clarifying expectations of both parties from the outset.

Several of the Hindsight Strategies were related to **timing** - either the timing of one's coping behaviour or the weighting of short-term versus long-term effects of one's coping behaviours. The first of these timing issues took the form, in the hindsight strategy, of either "I should have acted earlier" or "I should have done what I did more slowly (or taken more time)." Short-term versus long-term issues tended to be reflected in strategies such as "I should have been willing to endure short-term discomforts in order to reap longer-term gains" (such as the Career Transition example at the beginning of this section).

One final theme which recurred in the Hindsight Strategies was "I should have altered my expectations of myself and/or changed my attitude about the situation." Such a strategy is reflected, for example, in Hindsight Strategy D1 in the Career Transitions category, "Should avoid comparing self negatively with others, and remember that others also feel self-doubt and have high standards for selves in career. Should try not to be so impatient with rate of career progress." A related theme which appeared in hindsight, for example, for handling what are seen as unfair demands from supervisors or colleagues in the work environment is to be clear about one's limits, recognizing one's right to refuse requests which are clearly unreasonable. Such a strategy tended to be linked back to communicating effectively. An example of such a hindsight strategy, combining implicit attitude and values clarification as well as communication, in the employee role, is "Should have pointed out to boss that his demands were unfair and inappropriate to her (employee) role".

It is clear from the above that there are many parallels between strategies actually utilized which were considered to be effective and those identified as desirable by hindsight. The one clearly different strategy - which, it seems, could only emerge by
hindsight - is the one of anticipation and prevention of conflicts. Such a strategy would likely not have emerged in the present study unless hindsight strategies had been collected, since those who successfully used such a strategy would have no conflict to report (i.e. it was successfully prevented). However, as noted earlier in this section in the comments of subject 115, the realities of women's lives sometimes place them in situations where certain conflicts cannot be prevented. In cases where the structure of situations make role conflicts inevitable, it seems that one's skills in coping with conflict become particularly important.

**Relationship of Findings of the Present Study to Previous Literature**

Some of the implications of the present study for the development of theory on role conflict, coping, and coping effectiveness have been discussed in the preceding sections of Chapter V. This section will briefly examine the findings of this study in relation to some of the previous theoretical conceptions of the phenomena, as well as the results of previous empirical research discussed in Chapter II.

**Role Conflicts**

Many of the subjects in the present study reported conflicts which can be understood in relation to the "constrictions imposed by the female role" discussed by Brodsky (1975), Mahrer (1967) and Sturdivant (1980). Each of the symptoms which Sturdivant described that women bring to counselling and therapy are explicit or implicit in many of the conflicts reported by subjects in this study: (1) feelings of being limited, anxious and angry, with strong feelings of personal and social inferiority; (2) the pain of an inability to determine things for oneself, being unable to set one's own goals; (3) distancing oneself from one's own needs and feelings (engendered by
women's orientation to pleasing others); and (4) the pain and hurt of arrested development and of being blocked in the growth process. Examples of each of these "symptoms" can be found under various conflict headings in Chapter IV.

The two conflict categories which most explicitly related to sex role expectations appeared in the Employee and Student intrarole conflict categories. In each of these cases, the subjects perceived their conflicts to be a result of being a woman in a career role which is non-traditional for women, within a work/student environment where traditional sex role expectations prevail. These are clearly cases where the conflict is one of being caught between traditional and contemporary notions of appropriate roles for women. Such conflicts closely resemble the sex role conflicts described by Salwen (1975) and Darley (1976). Some of these cases occur where expectations of self differ from those of others (encountering discriminatory actions of an instructor, for example) and in other cases the woman appears to be in conflict within herself (such as the woman in a non-traditional training environment who was attracted to one of her instructors, yet held strong principles about non-involvement with colleagues).

The concerns about self-assertion which were evident in some of the conflicts - in work and student roles, as well as partner and parent arenas - tend to support the writings of a number of authors who associate self-assertion issues with the female role. It would seem that many of the women in the present study were questioning their right to pursue the fulfillment of their own wants and needs, given that there was some possibility of negative effects on others. A fear of rejection or withdrawal of affection by significant others would seem to be implied between the lines in many of the conflict situations described by the women. The feelings and attitudes of others concerning their potential career choices were clearly a central preoccupation for many of the women. In many cases, it also seemed that they were not receiving the support from others that they wanted or needed.
One gets the impression that Kolbenschlag's (1979) observations apply to a number of the women in this study: "Because of their 'other-centered conditioning,' it is difficult for many women to focus on a goal other than pleasing someone's (everyone's) expectations" (p. 92). Some of the negative consequences to the woman herself which may be overlooked in the preoccupation with others' needs, and the resulting non-assertion of her own needs, are also well summarized by Kolbenschlag: "A woman's inability to express annoyance and criticism, her timidity in expressing praise or enjoyment, her inability to say 'No,' to take risks and initiate action will limit her in the give and take of competitive situations" (p. 93).

In the realm of other psychological and practical problems of role management, the subjects in this study appear to experience many of the role conflict issues highlighted by previous authors. For example, many role overload themes (e.g., Basow, 1980; Bernard, 1975a,b; Clark, 1976; Gray, 1980a) arose, particularly for the parents in this study.

The definition of the role process put forward by Levinson (1959) and Hall (1972) does seem to provide a useful framework for thinking about the data in this study. The distinction between structurally given demands, personal role conception, and role behaviour are useful ones, and, in fact, are implicitly reflected in most of the role conflict categories. The manner in which expectations come into conflict (e.g., structural demands versus demands from self) proved to be an important basis for distinguishing different categories in the classification scheme for Role Conflicts. Further research with critical incidents would be useful to examine the relative influence of demands or expectations of self versus others in women's experience of role conflict. Such investigations would also help to refine our understanding of the role process.

Finally, the prevalence of role transition issues in the present study points to the usefulness of the concept of role discontinuity (Benedict, 1938; Sales, 1978). For
example, many of the women in this study described the difficulties of significant others in adjusting to the changes subjects were making in their lives as a result of career involvements. The role conflicts which arise in these cases closely fit the definition of role discontinuity which Sales provides.

**Coping Strategies and Coping Effectiveness**

The classification scheme developed in the present study combines a number of elements of the classification schemes of Hall (1972), Pearlin and Schooler (1978), and Elman and Gilbert (1984). Although a detailed critique of these models in relation to results of the present study is beyond the scope of the present investigation, a few comments on these models will be helpful.

Hall's Type I strategy, "structural role redefinition," was shown to be relatively common in the present study, and, consistent with the findings of Hall (1972) and others, was generally considered to be effective. Such strategies typically involved negotiations with others to alter or reduce expectations, or to make new arrangements which would keep expectations at a reasonable level. The strategies included in this group are essentially parallel to Pearlin and Schooler's first type of coping: "responses that modify the situation" or alter the conflict at the source. All three of Pearlin and Schooler's factors in this category can be found among the data in the present study: (1) negotiation in marriage; (2) the use of punitive discipline in parenting; and (3) optimistic action in the occupational role.

Many of the women also reported using "personal role redefinition," Hall's Type II strategies: clarifying priorities, changing one's attitude or developing self and own interests, seeing personal interests as a valid source of role demands. Effectiveness of these strategies tended to be mixed, seemingly dependent on the extent to which women viewed the opinions of others as important. Many of Hall's Type II strategies correspond to Pearlin and Schooler's second major category, "responses that function to control the meaning of the problem."
Each of Hall's Type III, reactive role behaviour strategies were also found among the data, but in general, tended to receive neutral or ineffective ratings, either due to continuing feelings of overload or the fact that no change was made in demands, and thus the conflict seemingly persisted. Pearlin and Schooler's third type of coping, "adopting a philosophy that makes the suffering tolerable," has some features in common with Hall's Type III strategies. One example in the Career-Parent category seems to fit particularly well under one of Pearlin and Schooler's categories of "adopting a philosophy that makes the suffering tolerable." In the face of overload in career and parent demands, one subject described turning to religious values for reassurance and comfort in accepting life's trials. Although for this subject such a strategy was judged to be effective, many others in this study who coped with their conflicts by trying to change their philosophy, or alter the meaning of the situation, found their strategies to be less effective.

A related strategy, Elman and Gilbert's "cognitive restructuring," where one minimizes the importance of the areas causing stress, seemed to be used relatively infrequently in the present study, and apparently without a great deal of success. One example is the woman who feels unsupported by her partner in her career pursuits, and seemingly tries to convince herself that his concerns, and the lack of support from him, are not important to her. It is evident from her description of her coping strategy, however, that she was not fully able to convince herself that these issues didn't matter to her.

Finally, Elman and Gilbert's "tension reduction strategies" could also be found among the data, most notably in the Career Transitions category. Two examples of categories reflecting tension reduction strategies are "sleep or eat excessively to 'escape' from conflict and avoid confronting unhappiness" and "escape from career conflict temporarily by planning combined fun/work weekend out of town."

In summary, most of the categories identified in previous models of the strategies used in coping with role conflicts can be found among the data in the present
study. All of the models have features in common, and many of the themes which recur in previous literature appear again among the data in the present study. Where studies differ most strongly, it seems, is in the apparent effectiveness of different strategies. Further research is needed to examine the effectiveness of different coping behaviours for various types of conflict situations. Some of the contradictory findings may in part be due to the fact that previous classification schemes have categorized coping options under very general headings. It may be that the refinement of coping effectiveness studies, examining the criteria and constructs women apply in assessing coping effectiveness will, in turn, help to refine our classification schemes which describe coping behaviours.

**Practical Implications**

The results of this study have a number of practical implications for counsellors, vocational counselling agencies, employers, government and educational institutions, as well as for women who are juggling multiple roles. In particular, the findings suggest certain kinds of institutional and social supports which may be required to assist women in dealing with career transitions, as well as the day-to-day management of multiple roles.

Results of this research highlight the importance of addressing lifestyle issues in career planning with women, given the obvious impact of career role choices on other roles, and the impact of the demands of other roles on one's career options. The study also points to the importance of values clarification as a step in decision-making concerning career choices, particularly during career transitions. When career-partner conflicts arise, for example, counsellors will need to assist clients in examining the assumptions they may be making concerning the primacy of the relationship. As noted in Chapter II, socialization predisposes women to placing primary importance on relationships for their personal fulfillment, even at the possible expense of their career
interests. Results of this study suggest that coping strategies considered most effective by women for career-partner conflicts involve recognizing and accommodating one's needs for both career and relationships. One dilemma is the fact that, in the early stages of involvement in a demanding career, the support of significant others may be particularly important. However, the time demands of one's career involvement often reduce the available time to spend with one's partner, and may challenge both partners to "do more with less time" in relationship-building and maintenance.

For career role transitions to go smoothly, it seems that most women need to communicate clearly with significant others - partners, family members and friends - concerning the anticipated changes in the reality of her role demands, and potential effects or changes which may occur in other relationships as a result. A clear communication of expectations and active negotiation with significant others when changes are expected seems to serve to prevent later conflicts and misunderstandings.

For some women, career transitions coincide with a decision to move away from an established relationship with a partner. Some of the incidents provided by subjects in this study would suggest that when a woman is in a period of personal/professional growth and change, the successful continuation of an established relationship depends, in part, on both partners sharing values concerning the priorities accorded to her work involvement. Support from one's partner would seem to be important to the career success of many women, yet, as many authors have noted, their socialization may predispose them to a self-concept which emphasizes giving rather than seeking or receiving support. Assertiveness training could clearly be of benefit to many women who have difficulty asking for the support they need from significant others, or in negotiating with others when expectations are in conflict. As Kahn and Greenberg (1980) have noted, for assertiveness training to be truly effective in assisting women with conflict resolution, the underlying issues, including contradictory values concerning the female role, may also need to be addressed.

O'Neill, Ohlde, Barke, Gelwick and Garfield (1980) discuss some of the supports
which may assist women in understanding sex role socialization and its impact on their career planning. Three approaches which have been taken to support and educate women about this process are consciousness-raising groups (Pollingstad, Robinson & Pugh, 1977); supportive learning environments for women returning to school (Berman, Gelso, Greenfeig & Hirsch, 1977); and curricula aimed at women's personal growth through resocialization, skill acquisition and environmental management (Loeffler & Fiedler, 1979).

O'Neill et al (1980) developed and evaluated a career workshop designed to increase the awareness of college women about the potential effects of sexism and sex role socialization factors on their career planning and to expand their current sex role attitudes and self-concepts. Such an approach was shown: (1) to enhance participants' awareness of effects of sexism and sex role socialization; (2) to expand their sex role attitudes about the appropriateness of non-traditional career areas; and (3) to increase their satisfaction with career planning and their time spent thinking about it. Such an approach might be beneficial for the clients of career counselling agencies who are concerned with issues similar to those of some of the subjects in this study.

As Davidson (1978) has noted, the support of other women - as friends, mentors or role models - can be helpful, particularly at early stages in the careers of women in non-traditional occupational fields. Knowing other women who cope effectively with similar kinds of role strains can often provide encouragement and ideas for effective role management.

In cases where women's experience of conflict is one of role overload, workshops and courses in time management may be helpful. However, caution should be exercised in the use of such interventions, such that women do not operate on the assumption that their only options are to "try harder to please all of the people all of the time" or "learn to do more with less time." A clarification of the values and priorities of self and significant others will likely be important. Assertiveness training and negotiation skills would be useful to develop at the same time as skills in time management.
Workshops designed to assist women in expanding their repertoire of coping skills can also benefit from the creative application of hindsight in examining coping alternatives. Women can clearly benefit from asking themselves the question, "What have I done before that worked in a similar situation?" or "If I had it to do over again, what would I do differently?" A discussion of the conflicts and coping strategies of others may also be helpful. Some of the examples of role conflict and the conceptual frameworks presented in this study could be used in future workshops as case studies or examples to stimulate discussion.

Finally, some of the conflicts and coping strategies described by the women in this study highlight the importance of convenient, affordable child care for women working outside the home - whether as students or employees. The scarcity of such services clearly constrained the ability of some women in this study to find satisfactory ways of accommodating the needs of their working selves as well as their families. Agencies which are in a position to address these needs will be increasingly required as more and more women who are also juggling a parent role move into the work force and educational systems.

**Recommendations for Further Research**

Results of the present study suggest a myriad of possibilities for further research. Some of the potentially fruitful directions for study will be outlined below under two headings: Potential Further Analysis of Data from the Present Study; and Potential Further Directions for Research on Role Conflict and Coping.

**Potential Further Analysis of Data from the Present Study**

As noted earlier in Chapter V, the data from the present study can be used in a number of ways to further refine our understanding of women's role conflicts and the
strategies they use for coping with these conflicts. An expansion and test of the categories in this study would be possible if the non-career related incidents were also analyzed. Other data collected but not analyzed in the present study include women's ratings of the value and time/energy they invest in different roles. It would be interesting to see whether discrepancies between value and time/energy ratings for various roles would correlate with or "predict" role conflicts reported. In cases where a woman highly values a role, yet has little opportunity to invest time and energy in activities related to the role, she is likely to experience a greater number of role conflicts. Conversely, when least valued roles demand the majority of a woman's time and energy, we would also expect her to report higher levels of conflict. Congruence between value and time/energy investments in role activities would likely be the most satisfying balance for women juggling multiple roles.

It would also be useful to examine role conflict, coping and coping effectiveness in relation to demographic variables such as age, marital status, parental status, education level, employment status, occupation and income. An analysis of the data in relation to these variables would enable profiles to be developed of typical and unusual conflicts of women in various groups.

A more detailed list of potential research questions for further analysis of data from the present study is provided in Appendix D. Such questions could also be used as a basis for collecting new data to compare with data from the present study.

**Potential Further Directions for Research on Role Conflict and Coping**

A replication of the present study would be useful as a test of the comprehensiveness of the three classification schemes developed in the study. Further critical incidents could be collected from clients of the same agency or different agencies. Anderson (1978) points out the value of employment counselling agencies as a setting for research.
Employment and vocational counseling agencies are living research laboratories waiting for someone to make use of the special opportunities they present . . . Their potential, however, remains largely untapped. An examination of the research reports in the vocational journals shows that most vocational research has been done in academic settings and few studies have been done with the clients of agencies (Holcomb & Anderson, 1977) . . . Counselors working in these agency settings are in a position to find the answers to important questions that are of concern to their clients (p. 321).

None of the previous research on role conflicts involved the study of clients in a career counselling context. Since the majority of role conflicts experienced by women seem to involve balancing a work or career role in addition to family and other roles, employment counselling agencies are ideal settings from which to learn about the role conflicts that women experience. Since it can be assumed that clients seek career counselling during periods of career transition, it is expected that women in this group might be particularly susceptible to role conflicts. The number and variety of career-related role conflicts generated by subjects in the present study provides a starting point, and one possible method, for investigating these conflicts.

The work in the present study could also be extended by expanding, elaborating and testing some of the structural aspects of women's experience of role conflict and coping as outlined in Tables 18 and 19. Table 19 provides a framework for potential further exploration of the constructs women apply in assessing coping effectiveness for different types of role conflict. Constructs could be elicited and analyzed, for example, through methods such as the repertory grid technique (Kelly, 1955), where critical incidents of effective and ineffective coping could be used to help women examine the criteria they apply in assessing the effectiveness of their coping efforts. A recent study by McBain (1983) uses a related method to investigate the life role aspirations (career, home, family and personal) of a group of high ability women, specifically examining the ways in which their role perceptions and expectations seem to influence their career aspirations. Constructs could also be elicited from the role
conflict data in the present study for potential further research on the ways that women identify and characterize the role conflicts that they experience.

Table 19 also provides a basis for potential development of "objective" measures of coping effectiveness, such that the different priorities of women in assessing coping effectiveness could be identified. Methods used in studies such as Weiner et al (1979) could be applied, for example, to assess the importance of causal attributions or locus of control as an influence on coping behaviour and perceived effectiveness of coping. The concept of "locus of control" (Rotter, 1966) is based on the distinction between the belief that what happens to a person is mainly contingent on their own behaviour (internal locus) and the belief that events and outcomes are independent of one's own behaviour or outside one's own control (external locus). Attribution research focuses on the ways people understand and explain the causes of their successes and failures, e.g. luck versus effort. The causes of success and failure are usually described in terms of two construct dimensions - stable/unstable and internal/external.

Barnett and Baruch (1978b) describe the potential usefulness of research on locus of control and attribution research in the psychology of women.

Although there is conflicting evidence on this point it appears that women are more likely to see what happens to them as independent of their own behavior than are men, and they also more often attribute their successes to external and/or unstable factors. However, one's confidence, self-esteem, and sense of competence are best served by attributing success to internal, stable factors and failure to external, unstable ones (Frieze, 1975). Furthermore, the sense of being in charge of one's life fosters self-esteem while feelings that one is not in charge are associated with depression and a sense of helplessness (Seligman, 1974). Thus research on locus of control and attributions is highly relevant to understanding women's experiences and attitudes (p. 194).

Another gap in the literature which further studies could address would be an examination of women's experience from a developmental perspective. As Barnett and Baruch (1978b) point out, a developmental perspective, to be useful, must include a
consideration of the particular pattern of roles which a woman occupies. "For women, then, the approach of (many developmental) theorists seems inappropriate, particularly because they fail to take into account the varying role patterns a woman may occupy. Numerous combinations of career, marriage and children may occur with respect to both the timing and the degree of commitment, and each has different ramifications. Independent of role pattern, the stage of a woman's family cycle - whether she has no children, young children or grown children - also has a powerful impact on her life experience" (p. 190).

Comparisons of conflict and coping of male and female subjects would also be useful to identify the influence of gender or sex roles in role conflicts, to examine gender differences in coping styles, and to explore potential interventions which counsellors can make to expand clients repertoires of coping skills beyond the limited range of coping styles which are stereotypically viewed as appropriate to each sex.

Finally, the kind of examples of role conflict yielded by the present study could be used in counsellor training and evaluation. Videotaped vignettes of simulated conflict situations based on examples from the present study would be helpful in examining the criteria that both counsellors and clients apply in evaluating coping effectiveness. Such a stimulus videotape could be similar to that developed by Kahn (1980), simulating clients describing conflicts as presenting problems to a counsellor. A study by Theurer (1981) provides an example of the potential uses of such videotapes for the evaluation of counsellor training.

**Summary and Conclusions**

This study investigated the role conflicts and coping strategies of women seeking career counselling by means of the Critical Incident Technique. Critical incidents were collected of role conflict, coping behaviours which women judged to be effective as
well as those judged to be ineffective, and "ideal coping behaviours" in the form of hindsight strategies for conflicts handled ineffectively. Three classification schemes - Role Conflicts, Coping Strategies and Hindsight Strategies - were developed to organize these incidents into conceptual frameworks. Some of the patterns which emerged across categories of conflict and coping were then analyzed and discussed.

It is hoped that the classification schemes and conceptual frameworks developed in this study will be useful to counsellors and researchers in refining our understanding of some of the critical issues women bring to career counselling. Results of this study confirm the importance of addressing value and lifestyle issues in career counselling, when clients are in a period of career transition. The results also highlight the importance of skills in day-to-day role management to women's ability to be successful in their career pursuits.

As women become increasingly involved in demanding career roles and continue to juggle parenting and partner as well as other roles, the interest in research in this field is likely to continue to rise. As Yogev (1983) has noted, the research findings in studies to date on the factors influencing women's role conflict and coping are in many ways inconsistent and contradictory. Opposing points of view have been put forward by researchers on questions such as whether women working outside the home experience more versus less psychological distress than homemakers, whether the extent of a woman's career commitment increases or decreases the role strains which are likely to be experienced, or which groups are best able to handle such strains. As Yogev points out, however, some of these discrepancies in research findings are a result of changing social norms. Older studies suggest that ambitious women experienced a considerable degree of psychological conflict about how they could be involved in a challenging career and not lose their femininity. Although some more recent studies suggest that this is less of an issue for women today (e.g. Vaughn and Wittig, 1980), others find that the phenomenon continues to occur.
As in any period of changing cultural values and social norms, many women today - including many of the women in this study - may be caught somewhere between old and new norms and values. Yogev makes this point in relation to the professional woman, but it can easily be applied to all women:

While old conflicts and personality problems may no longer be relevant for professional women, new and more complex but equally insidious forms of difficulties have taken their place. Some of these problems are not readily and easily accessible to researchers and cannot be investigated until the artificial restraints of gender are eliminated. The dual-career families and the professional women of today are a transitional generation who live without a clear precedent. It is a challenge for them to manage their lives and it is a challenge for researchers to study them (Yogev, 1983, pp. 230-231).

It is hoped that the present study will provide both a foundation and a stimulus for further investigation of the challenging and complex phenomenon of role conflict in women and the variety of strategies that they apply in coping with the demands of their life roles.
REFERENCES


Kahn, S.E. Adult clients talk to a counsellor (Videotape). Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Department of Counselling Psychology, 1980.


Klemp, Jr., G.O. Identifying, measuring and integrating competence. New Directions for Experiential Learning, 1979, 3, 41-52.


Rossi, A. Life-span theories and women's lives. Signs, 1980, 6, 5-32.


Smith, P. The development of a taxonomy of the life skills required to become a balanced self-determined person. Ottawa: Canada Employment and Immigration, 1981.


APPENDIX A

CLIENT SURVEY: WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT PROJECT

WITH COVER LETTERS
Dear Ms.

I am writing to request your assistance in a research project I am currently conducting for my M.A. thesis in Counselling Psychology at the University of British Columbia.

The study has three main purposes:

(1) to evaluate the services provided at the Women's Employment Project (WEP) at 2902 West Broadway, Vancouver, B.C.;

(2) to develop a profile of women seeking career counselling at the WEP in terms of characteristics such as occupation, education or training, age, and marital status; and

(3) to investigate the nature of conflicts women experience in managing their life roles and to learn about the ways in which women deal with the conflicts they experience.

In the first part of my study, I am collecting information from women like yourself who have utilized WEP services. This information may be used to assist Canada Employment and Immigration Commission in planning for future WEP services and in developing more effective programs for women seeking career counselling. Whether your assessment of the services is positive or negative, your participation is important. It is an opportunity for you to voice your needs for career counselling services, and potentially to make an impact on the services available to you and to other women.

The second part of my study is in a relatively new area of research in the psychology of women: an investigation of the kinds of conflicts that women encounter in their life roles. I believe that your involvement in this second phase would provide you with an interesting opportunity to learn about yourself in your life roles, as employee, parent, spouse and so forth. On the basis of this information, collected over a large number of individuals, programs can be developed to assist women in exploring new ways of dealing with their conflicts.

I hope that the aims of the study and its potential benefits to you and other women will provide you with the incentive for participating in this research. Your involvement, of course, is entirely voluntary, and a decision not to participate would in no way diminish the quality of services you receive at the WEP. You also are free to participate only in the first phase, if you wish.
A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Are you currently employed?  
   □ Yes - full-time  
   □ Yes - part-time  
   □ No

IF YOU ARE CURRENTLY EMPLOYED (FULL-TIME OR PART-TIME), PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS 2 AND 3. IF YOU ARE NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED, PLEASE SKIP FORWARD TO QUESTION 4.

Employed

2. Occupation: ______________________

3. Gross earned income in past year (before deductions):  
   □ $0 - $4,999  
   □ $5,000 - $9,999  
   □ $10,000 - $14,999  
   □ $15,000 - $19,999  
   □ $20,000 - $24,999  
   □ $25,000 - $29,999  
   □ $30,000 - $39,999  
   □ $40,000 +

Not Employed

4. a) If not currently employed, are you actively seeking work?  
   □ Yes  
   □ No

   b) If YES, in what occupational field?  
      ____________________________
Please feel free to continue any answers on the reverse side of this sheet.

5. a) Are you currently a student?  
☐ Yes - full-time  
☐ Yes - part-time  
☐ Will be starting further education/training within next six months  
☐ No  

b) If YES (full-time or part-time), at what institution?  
__________________________________________________________________________

c) If YES, field of study/training:  
__________________________________________________________________________

d) Is your education/training being paid for by Canada Employment and Immigration Commission?  
☐ Yes - in whole  
☐ Yes - in part  
☐ No  

6. Highest level of education/training successfully completed:  
______________________________

7. Year of Birth:  
______________________________

8. Marital Status:  
(Check all that apply)  
☐ Single  
☐ Married  
☐ Divorced  
☐ Separated  
☐ Widowed  
☐ Living with partner

IF YOU ANSWERED "MARRIED" OR "LIVING WITH PARTNER" TO QUESTION 8, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS 9 AND 10. OTHERWISE, PLEASE SKIP FORWARD TO QUESTION 11.
Married or Living with Partner

9. Occupation of spouse/partner: ____________________________

10. Annual income of spouse/partner:

[ ] $0 - $4,999
[ ] $5,000 - $9,999
[ ] $10,000 - $14,999
[ ] $15,000 - $19,999
[ ] $20,000 - $24,999
[ ] $25,000 - $29,999
[ ] $30,000 - $39,999
[ ] $40,000 +

11. a) Are you a parent?  
   [ ] Yes
   [ ] No

   b) If YES, please indicate below how many children in each category are currently living at home with you:

   Preschool: _________
   Elementary: _________
   Secondary: _________
   Other: _________

   c) Are you currently utilizing day care services?  
      [ ] Yes
      [ ] No

   d) If YES, what kind (e.g. cooperative, community, private)?

____________________________________________________________________
B. SERVICES OBTAINED AT THE WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT PROJECT

1. How did you learn about the Women's Employment Project (WEP)?

☐ Community Agency (please specify): ____________________________
☐ Canada Employment Centre (specify location): ____________________
☐ Newspaper
☐ Radio
☐ Television
☐ Friend
☐ Other (please specify): ____________________________

2. a) Before actually seeking assistance at the WEP, what were you hoping to gain from your visit? (Check all that apply.)

☐ Information on occupations and the labour market
☐ Computer-assisted vocational guidance (CHOICES)
☐ Vocational testing: ☐ GAT-B (aptitude tests)
   ☐ Diagnostic Services
☐ Assistance in obtaining vocational training
☐ Assistance with career change decision
☐ Assistance in vocational decision-making (other than career change)
☐ Career counselling
☐ Personal counselling
☐ Personal/career development workshop(s):
   ☐ CHOICES preparation
   ☐ Assertiveness Training
   ☐ Career/life planning
☐ Other (please specify): _______________________________________

b) Circle the category above (Question 2a) which represents the most important reason for your visit to the WEP.

Please feel free to continue any answers on the reverse side of this sheet.
Please feel free to continue any answers on the reverse side of this sheet.

3. As a client at the WEP, what services have you actually utilized? (Check all that apply.)

- Information on occupations and the labour market
- Computer-assisted vocational guidance (CHOICES)
- Vocational testing:  
  - GAT-B (aptitude tests)
  - Diagnostic Services
- Assistance in obtaining vocational training
- Assistance with career change decision
- Assistance in vocational decision-making (other than career change)
- Career counselling
- Personal counselling
- Personal/career development workshop(s):
  - CHOICES preparation
  - Assertiveness Training
  - Career/life planning
- Other (please specify): ______________________________

4. How many times did you visit the WEP? ________________________________

5. Do you feel that your WEP visit(s) helped you move closer toward your career goals?
   - Yes
   - No
   If YES, in what way? If NO, comments: ________________________________

   ________________________________

   ________________________________
Please feel free to continue any answers on the reverse side of this sheet.

6. How satisfied were you with the assistance you received?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all satisfied</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Comments: ________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________

7. If you were satisfied with the service you received, what did you find most helpful?

_________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________

8. If you were not satisfied with the service you received, what would have met your needs better?

_________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________

9. a) Have you entered an educational/training program as a result of your WEP visit(s)?

☐ Yes

☐ No

b) If YES, duration of educational/training program: _______________________

c) If you have entered a program, at what stage are you in your education/training?

☐ Completed

☐ Incomplete - in process

☐ Incomplete - discontinued

d) If COMPLETED, are you currently employed in your field of education/training?

☐ Yes

☐ No
Please feel free to continue any answers on the reverse side of this sheet.

e) If you are employed in this field, have your hopes/expectations been met (e.g. if you hoped to gain new skills and/or a higher income)?

☐ Yes Comments: ________________________________
☐ No ________________________________

10. a) Did you feel that the career resource material (e.g. brochures, reference books) available at the WEP was adequate for your needs?

☐ Yes
☐ No

b) If NO, what other materials would you like to see available?

____________________________________________________

11. What additional services would you like to see available at the WEP?

____________________________________________________

____________________________________________________

* * * * * * * * * * *

After we have tabulated the results of this survey, we would like to follow up on a sample of individuals in order to learn about the role conflicts which women experience. As a "subject" in this study, you would be involved in advancing a relatively new area of research in the psychology of women. We feel that, by participating in this research, you will learn about yourself and other women, and hopefully stimulate your ideas about alternate and innovative ways of handling the conflicts you experience. At the same time, we are hoping to discover ways of applying our findings in developing more effective programs for women seeking career counselling.

In order to encourage your assistance with our study, we are offering you three alternate methods of participating in the next stage:

Option 1 - We mail you the role conflict questionnaire (which describes what we are looking for and includes examples), and have you complete it and return it to us by mail; OR

Option 2 - We meet with you in small groups at the WEP to talk about role conflict, perhaps to show you some examples through videotape demonstration, and then answer any questions you have as you complete the questionnaire there at the WEP; OR
APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE ON ROLE CONFLICT AND LIFESTYLE

WITH COVER LETTERS
QUESTIONNAIRE ON ROLE CONFLICT AND LIFESTYLE

A. ROLES

One way to look at a person is in terms of the various life roles she or he performs. Examples of such life roles are listed below. In the section which follows, you will be asked to rate the importance of each of these roles in your present lifestyle.

There are at least two ways to think about the importance of a role. One is to consider how much you personally value that role in relation to other roles in your life; another is to look at the amount of time and energy you invest in activities related to that role.

Sometimes the value you place on a role does not match the level of time and energy you spend in activities related to that role. For example, you may really value work outside the home as providing a great deal of meaning in your life, and yet not be able to spend much time in paid work activities, due to parenting and homemaking responsibilities. Conversely, you may work full-time (many hours), and as a result spend few hours in roles which you really value more, such as wife and/or parent.

Please rate yourself below as to the importance of each role in your present lifestyle. On the first scale, you are asked to rate the personal value you place on each role in your present lifestyle. On the second scale, you are to indicate the amount of time and energy you invest in activities related to each role.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>This role does not apply to me</th>
<th>Not at all important</th>
<th>Very important</th>
<th>Value of Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisurite (e.g. tennis player)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lover</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Activist/Citizen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self as a Self-Actualizing Person</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse/Partner</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role</td>
<td>This role does not apply to me</td>
<td>Time and Energy Invested</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No time or energy</td>
<td>Most of my time and energy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisurite (e.g. tennis player)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lover</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Activist/Citizen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self as a Self-Actualizing Person</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse/Partner</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Role Conflict

For each role important to your lifestyle, you and other people have expectations or demands regarding role performance. Using the role of employee as an example, there may be expectations to be creative, to do all the work assigned, and so forth.

Sometimes you cannot or do not want to meet all role demands or expectations. For instance, you may not want to do certain job tasks. When you have difficulty meeting role demands, you usually feel anxiety or tension. This is called role conflict.

1. Conflict Between Roles

When the demands for each of two roles conflict with one another so that you feel anxiety or tension, you are experiencing Conflict Between Roles. For example, many women feel conflict between their roles as a parent and as an employee or a student. Another common type of interrole conflict is between the daughter role (expectation to visit or care for a parent) and self role (self-expectation to travel and enjoy vacation time).
2. **Conflict Within a Role**

Another kind of conflict occurs when the way you define the expectations of a particular role differs from either what is realistic for you in that role or how others define that role. For example, as their daughter, your parents may expect you to marry and have a child. You may define your daughter role in quite different terms, yet feel some not-so-subtle pressure from them to meet their expectations. Intrarole conflict would also occur in the situation where a friend wants you to spend more time with him or her than you are prepared to offer, or when you would like to attend two competing social engagements with two different sets of friends.

In the sections which follow, you will be asked to think of situations where you experienced role conflicts and to describe how you handled these situations. In order to clarify what you are asked to do, examples are provided to illustrate the type of responses requested for each.

1. **Your Conflicts BETWEEN ROLES**

   a) What do you consider to be the most important pair of roles between which you presently experience conflict? (Example: parent vs. employee)

   VS

   b) Please describe as specifically as possible a recent situation where you experienced a great deal of conflict between the demands of these two roles, where you struggled to decide what to do, then felt pleased with the way you handled the situation.

   **Example:** Sara, age 32. Roles: employee vs. parent

   I had just been offered a promotion to a challenging position in management at the company where I'd been working for a number of years. I was really excited about the prospect, but I had also just learned that I was pregnant with my second child. My husband and I had been wanting a second child for a long time, and I always felt that if I had another baby, I would take a few years out of my career to devote full time to child care. I really wanted the baby and I also really wanted to take the new job which offered such a promising future.
c) Describe what you did in the situation.

**Example:** (Continuing with Sara, from Question 1b)

I discussed the conflict with my husband, explaining that I felt really torn between these two possibilities. I explored with him all the alternatives the two of us could generate: continuing to work full-time or part-time, hiring someone to help care for the child, and so on. I inquired at work into the possibility of taking the management position on a part-time basis, and I learned that this would not be possible, but that I could continue in my current position on a part-time basis, and still be a candidate for management within the next few years. I decided that I would like to compromise by continuing to work part-time and hiring someone part-time to assist with child care and housekeeping.

**Your** conflict situation—what you did:
Please feel free to continue any answers on the reverse side of this sheet.

d) Please rate yourself as to how much conflict you experienced in the situation you just described.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No conflict</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>High conflict</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

e) How effective was your method of dealing with this conflict?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all effective</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Completely effective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

2. a) Using the same pair of roles you selected in Question 1, think of a situation where you experienced a great deal of conflict between these two roles, where you struggled to decide what to do, then afterwards felt disappointed, upset or regretful about the way you handled the situation. Please describe the problem situation and how you dealt with it.

Example: (Continuing with Sara)

My supervisor was expecting me to finish a report before the end of the week, and I was having a great deal of difficulty with it. The report was such a pressure for me that I noticed that I began in little ways to avoid working on it whenever possible. On Thursday morning my daughter wasn't feeling well and I offered to stay home and take care of her. I was so exhausted from overwork, that I just rested all day, watched TV, and talked with my daughter. On Friday morning, I returned to work and my supervisor said, "Fortunate coincidence, your daughter's illness, it gave you a chance to take a break. But if this report is not in by the end of the day, we may lose the account." I decided to phone the client to request a postponement of the meeting concerning the report till Monday. The client reluctantly agreed, and I spent Friday and most of the weekend working on the report. My supervisor and the client were satisfied with the report, but I sense that my supervisor now considers me somewhat irresponsible.

Your conflict situation and how you dealt with it:
b) Describe how you would like to have handled the situation.

Example: (Continuing with Sara, 2a)

I now see that it would have been better for me to speak directly to my supervisor earlier in the week about my feeling overworked and tried to negotiate for a postponement of the report date and the meeting with the client. If I had worked on Thursday, I probably could have finished the report and rested on the weekend. My daughter could have gone to school, since she was not that ill, or I could have stayed home with her and worked on the report there.

Your conflict situation—how you would like to have handled it:


c) Please rate yourself as to how much conflict you experienced in the situation you just described.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No conflict</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>High conflict</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

d) How effective was your method of dealing with this conflict?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all effective</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Completely effective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

C. Your Conflicts WITHIN A ROLE

1. a) What do you consider to be the most important role within which you presently experience conflict?

ROLE

b) Please describe as specifically as possible a recent situation where you experienced a great deal of conflict within this role, where you struggled to decide what to do, then felt pleased with the way you handled the situation.
My mother, who lives in Victoria, was visiting with me last week. She had been coming to stay with me for week-long periods quite frequently since my father passed away three years ago. I recognized that she was extremely lonely, and that she was relying on her visits with me to be able to talk over her feelings and to find comfort and companionship. At the same time, her visits were really beginning to feel like a burden to me, as they often interfered with my other plans. One evening while she was visiting, I was on my way out on a date when she began to question me about my date and when was I going to get married and have children. I was hurrying to try to get ready and really had no time to talk with her.

Your conflict situation:

c) Describe what you did in the situation.

Example: (Continuing with Betty from Question 1b)

I told my mother that if she was free at noon the next day that I would like to take her to lunch and we could talk then. She agreed and at lunch I brought up some of the things that had been bothering me. I explained that I was feeling uncomfortable with her pressuring me to get married. After we had come to some understanding on that subject, I told her that I understood her reliance on me at this time, but that I could not continue to have her stay with me so frequently. After we talked through some of her initial hurt feelings, we began to talk about her loneliness and whether there might be some ways she could overcome it, perhaps meet some new people, take on some new activities.

I reminded her how much I care about her, that I am always here if she really needs me, and that a part of my concern is that I want her to enjoy a full life again, not just live her life through me. She thanked me for having been honest with her, and by the end of our discussion she was talking enthusiastically about some community activities she was planning to get involved in in Victoria. We both felt relieved in getting clear about our relationship and establishing ourselves independently of one another. I feel much better about being able to talk honestly with her, and no longer feel resentful about her visits--now to be arranged at our mutual convenience.

Your conflict situation--what you did:
d) Please rate yourself as to how much conflict you experienced in the situation you just described.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No conflict</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>High conflict</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

e) How effective was your method of dealing with this conflict?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all effective</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Completely effective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

2. a) Using the same role you selected in Question B1, think of a situation where you experienced a great deal of conflict within this role, where you struggled to decide what to do, than afterwards felt disappointed, upset or regretful about the way you handled the situation. Please describe the problem situation and how you dealt with it.

Example: (Continuing with Betty)

My mother was in the process of moving out of our family home in Victoria to a condominium unit in the same city. It was a stressful and emotional time for her sorting through family possessions, making all the necessary plans, and dealing with the physical work of moving. I had been over a number of weekends in a row helping her with sorting and packing. On my last visit before she moved, she asked me if I could come and help out the weekend when she was actually moving. I had vowed to myself that this was the last weekend I would go, but when she asked I decided that I really couldn't let her down.

On the weekend of the move, I went and helped, but felt so resentful that I was in a bad mood all weekend. My mother kept saying things like, "You didn't have to come, you know. If I had known you'd be so upset, I never would have asked." Finally, at the end of the weekend, I apologized for having been such miserable company and took her out to dinner to patch things up.

Your conflict situation and how you dealt with it:
b) Describe how you would like to have handled the situation.

Example: (Continuing with Betty, 2a)

I should have expressed my reluctance to help my mother on the day of her move right away when she asked me. We then could have explored other solutions such as the possibility of getting someone else to help with the move and the unpacking. I realize now that I felt guilty at the thought of not making all my time available to my mother when she really seemed to need my help. I now feel that I do have the right to want some time to myself, especially after giving up four or five weekends in a row.

In general, I would like to be clearer—with myself, my mother, and other people—about my limits. Otherwise, I begin to feel resentful at being taken for granted.

Your conflict situation—how you would like to have handled it:

c) Please rate yourself as to how much conflict you experienced in the situation you just described.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No conflict</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>High conflict</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

d) How effective was your method of dealing with this conflict?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all effective</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Completely effective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

* * * * *

Thank you for your time and effort in completing this questionnaire.

As the final step of this research project, I would like to follow up on a sample of individuals in order to conduct personal interviews. The purpose of these interviews will be to extend our understanding of the "typical" as well as some of the more innovative ways in which women handle the role conflicts they experience.
## APPENDIX C

### Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source of Data (Questionnaire and section) *</th>
<th>Level of Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Role rating</td>
<td>Importance rating of all roles</td>
<td>Q2 - A</td>
<td>Ordinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Value (0-6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Time/Energy (0-6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Role(s) in conflict</td>
<td>Roles involved in conflict situations described by subjects</td>
<td>Q2 - Bl(a)</td>
<td>Nominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(forming the superordinate categories for conflict types, coping strategies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and hindsight strategies). Each subject was asked to identify which roles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>were involved in conflict situations for</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) interrole conflicts (2 roles) and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) intrarole conflicts (1 role).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Role conflicts</td>
<td>Comprehensive classification scheme based on descriptions of conflict</td>
<td>Q2 - B1(b)</td>
<td>Nominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>situations, coded into basic categories and subcategories.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Total of 4 situations per subject.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Interrole - effective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Interrole - ineffective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3) Intrarole - effective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4) Intrarole - ineffective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Each situation classified into one conflict category.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Degree of conflict</td>
<td>No conflict to high conflict (1-7). Ratings provided for a total of 4</td>
<td>Q2 - B1(d)</td>
<td>Ordinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>situations per subject:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Interrole - effective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Interrole - ineffective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3) Intrarole - effective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4) Intrarole - ineffective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Coping strategies</td>
<td>Comprehensive classification scheme based on descriptions of own coping</td>
<td>Q2 - B1(c)</td>
<td>Nominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>behaviour in conflict situations, coded into basic categories and subcatego-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ries.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total of 4 situations per subject:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Interrole - effective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Interrole - ineffective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3) Intrarole - effective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4) Intrarole - ineffective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Appendix continued...)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source of Data (Questionnaire and section)*</th>
<th>Level of Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F. Effectiveness of strategies</td>
<td>Not at all to completely effective (1-7). Ratings provided for a total of 4 situations: (1) Interrole - effective (2) Interrole - ineffective (3) Intrarole - effective (4) Intrarole - ineffective</td>
<td>Q2 - B1(e) B2(d) C1(e) C2(d)</td>
<td>Ordinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Hindsight Strategies</td>
<td>Comprehensive classification scheme, as in Variable E. Each subject was asked to provide hindsight strategies for 2 situations: (1) Interrole - ineffective (2) Intrarole - ineffective</td>
<td>Q2 - B2(b) C2(b)</td>
<td>Nominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Demographic Variables</td>
<td>(1) Age (2) Marital status (3) Parental status (4) Education level (5) Occupation (6) Employment status (7) Income</td>
<td>Q1 - A7 A8 A11 A6 A2 A1 A3</td>
<td>Ratio Nominal Ordinal Nominal Nominal Ratio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* NOTE: Under "Source of Data", Q1 refers to the "Client Survey: Women's Employment Project" and Q2 to the "Questionnaire on Role Conflict and Lifestyle".
APPENDIX D

SOME POTENTIAL RESEARCH QUESTIONS

FOR FURTHER ANALYSIS OF DATA IN THE PRESENT STUDY

I. Roles and Role Importance Ratings

1. What roles and role importance ratings are reported?

1.1 What roles do Ss report as applicable in their lifestyles? With what frequency? (Are there any roles which consistently do not apply?)
   a) frequency distribution of roles rated
   b) rank order roles from most to least frequently reported

1.2 What level of value (importance) was reported?
   a) frequency distribution by role
   b) rank order roles from most to least valued

1.3 What level of time/energy was reported?
   a) frequency distribution by role
   b) rank order roles from most to least time/energy

1.4 What are discrepancies between value and time/energy levels reported?
   a) Are Ss consistent in role ratings (value vs. time/energy scales)? (intrasubject consistency rating)
   b) Average individual discrepancy by role; rank ordering of roles by average discrepancy level*
   c) Breakdown of "positive" and "negative" discrepancies (i.e. more time/energy than value vs. more value than time/energy)

* Averaging of discrepancies is problematic in that "positive" and "negative" discrepancies cancel each other out. (Discrepancies may be high, but average each other out.) One solution is to separate "positive" and "negative" discrepancies in reporting of data. The direction of the discrepancy may be more significant than the degree of discrepancy.
1.4 d) Frequency distribution of time/energy greater than value and value greater than time/energy; rank order by discrepancy level

e) What roles have least intrasubject discrepancy (closest match between value and time/energy ratings)? Are these highly valued (and high time/energy) roles or low-valued (and low time/energy) roles?

f) Frequency distribution of matching roles (intrasubject discrepancy = 0) by value-time/energy level (rank order)

II. Role Ratings in Relation to Conflict Types

1. What role ratings were assigned to roles involved in reported conflict situations?
   1.1 value, time/energy and discrepancies - frequency distributions
   1.2 how do discrepancies differ between Ss reporting conflict for a given role and Ss reporting ratings only?
   1.3 what discrepancies are there between intrasubject role ratings (value, time/energy, discrepancies) on role pairs reported in interrole conflict?

2. How are role ratings (value, time/energy and discrepancies) distributed by conflict types?
   2.1 across all conflicts?
   2.2 in interrole conflicts? in intrarole conflicts?

III. Coping Effectiveness in Relation to Conflict Type

1. What degree of coping effectiveness is associated with each conflict type?
   1.1 across all conflicts?
   1.2 in interrole conflicts? in intrarole conflicts?
   1.3 in "successful" vs. "unsuccessful" coping situations?
IV. Demographic Characteristics

1. How do roles and role ratings (value, time/energy and discrepancy) vary
   1.1... by age?
   1.2... by marital status?
   1.3... by parental status?
   1.4... by education level?
   1.5... by occupation?
   1.6... by employment status?
   1.7... by income?

2. How do roles (in conflict) vary
   2.1... by age?
   2.2... by marital status?
   2.3... by parental status?
   2.4... by education level?
   2.5... by occupation
   2.6... by employment status?
   2.7... by income?

3. How do types of conflict reported vary
   3.1... by age?
   3.2... by marital status?
   3.3... by parental status?
   3.4... by education level?
   3.5... by occupation?
   3.6... by employment status?
   3.7... by income?
4. How do coping strategies vary

4.1. by age?

4.2. by marital status?

4.3. by parental status?

4.4. by education level?

4.5. by occupation?

4.6. by employment status

4.7. by income?

Note: Questions 1-4 in Section IV above could be used to create profiles of typical and unusual role conflicts; typical, "unsuccessful" and exemplary coping behaviour

  e.g. What age groups have what role priorities?

  What age groups have what roles in conflict and what types of conflict?

  What coping strategies tend to be used in various age groups?

  etc.