

DISADVANTAGED WOMEN, POWER, AND SELF: LINKING POWER
EXPERIENCE TO MORAL ORIENTATION AND WOMEN'S ROLES

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to expand Carol Gilligan's (1982) theory of moral reasoning to an analysis of power. Moreover, an orientation to responsibility in relationships and the empowerment of others, largely ascribed to by women, has been either downplayed as powerlessness or altogether ignored in empirical studies. In order to advance current theory and enhance conceptual clarity, 36 disadvantaged women (18 employed and 18 unemployed, 18 mothers and 18 without children) of limited education (ages 21 to 40), most of whom were unmarried, were interviewed about self and power. In Part 1 of this study the women's experiences of power were related to the two distinct categories put forth by Gilligan (1982): (a) an orientation to power as care of others, and (b) an orientation to power as justice for one's self. In addition, self descriptions were examined for a distinct self-concept that was either (a) connected to others, or (b) separate from others. Two raters coded power experiences and self descriptions according to the orientation that was most representative. An acceptable level of interrater reliability was established (80% or greater). It was expected that disadvantaged women would be more inclined to experience power as care and that significant relationships existed between employment status and orientation to power and self-concept as well as parental status and power experience. In addition, relational experiences were expected to be predominant and a significant link between power experiences and self-concept was predicted. The data were analyzed using the chi square test of best fit and the chi square test of independence. Contrary to expectation, the women's slight inclination to relate care-oriented power experiences was not significant. In addition, parental status and employment status had no significant

bearing on women's power experience and employment status did not have a significant effect on the self-concept. It is suggested that level of education and marital status may be greater moderators of self-concept and power experience. A significant relationship was found between self-concept and orientation to power, signalling that women who are connected are more inclined to experience power as care, whereas those who are separate refer generally to the justice orientation. As expected, women were significantly more likely to describe relational rather than nonrelational power experiences. Part 2 of the study discusses themes in women's power experiences. Interviews were coded for a series of themes presented by Miller (1982) and Grossman and Stewart (1990) and a thematic analysis was conducted to find new emerging themes. Among the most prevalent themes revealed in the data analysis were power as destructiveness, power as abandonment, power as nurturance, and power as an enjoyable experience when legitimated by a woman's role. New emerging themes were (a) power as self-determination, (b) power as a negative force is often linked to men, (c) power as independence from men, and (d) power as employment. Implications of these findings and suggestions for future research are discussed.

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Introduction

Traditionally, theorists have examined power from a perspective of control or domination of others (Weber, 1954), or the ability to act independently of others (Barnes, 1988). Power has been linked to men's roles, which emphasize physical strength, independence, and rationality (Polk, 1974). Viewing power as domination or independence, many researchers and theorists have devalued or trivialized women's experience of power that often involves interdependence, nurturance, and care of others (Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1976). Gilligan and Miller argue that women have tremendous strengths and insights to offer in relation to their experience of power and their ways of being in connection with others.

The purpose of this study is to enhance theory and conceptual clarity by examining women's perceptions of power and self and comparing the experiences of unemployed women to those of employed women. In addition, a greater understanding of the concept of power in relation to woman's role as a mother may be developed by contrasting mothers' views with those of women who are not parents.

There is ample literature to confirm Gilligan (1982) and Miller's (1976) contention that women's ways of being are often different from those of men, warranting further study of women's experiences of power in isolation from those of men (see Gallos, 1989). Although in the past, researchers were inclined to describe women as developmentally deficient (e.g., Kohlberg, 1976; Piaget, 1960), attention has recently been drawn to women's distinct and equally valuable developmental voice (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Gilligan, 1977). This voice, or women's psychological orientation, implicates a drive towards interrelatedness and a development that occurs within relationships

(Kaplan, 1987; Miller, 1976). According to Gallos (1989), models that have been based on men's experience have typically suggested that personal empowerment requires separation from others (e.g., Levinson, 1978). In contrast, for women, the process of attachment to significant others has acted as a source of personal power (Eichenbaum & Orbach, 1988; Gilligan, 1982; McClelland, 1975).

Gilligan (1982) asserts that women and men have differing ways of treating power and that this variation parallels their approaches to moral reasoning. Gilligan argues that men generally approach moral reasoning from a perspective of justice or rights, whereas women are more inclined to demonstrate an orientation to care or response when discussing morality. According to Gilligan, the conception of morality as justice or rights infers that self and other are independent. A person ascribing to the justice orientation views a moral problem, a situation where rightness or wrongness of conduct is pondered, as one of rights and rules and emphasizes the formal logic of fairness, equality, and reciprocity. Gilligan states that, in contrast, the care orientation to morality revolves around a central insight that self and other are interdependent. The care perspective focuses on responsibility in relationships, helping others, and a universal condemnation of exploitation and hurt. Some theorists argue that women use power as nurturance or to help others (McClelland, 1975; Miller, 1976), thus upholding a care perspective of power.

Because nurturance has been found to be conducive to intimacy (Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan & Pollak, 1988), it is not surprising that research demonstrates that power based on self-interest and domination is not highly compatible with intimacy (e.g., Rusbult, Zembrodt, & Iwaniszek, 1986). This may indicate a relationship between how women

experience power and whether or not they define themselves as separate from or connected to others. Gender differences have been found showing that women are more inclined to value intimacy than men (Pollak & Gilligan, 1982, 1988), and Gilligan (1982) and her colleagues suggest that these differences influence many aspects of women's experience such as their orientation to moral reasoning.

Although some theorists have disputed Gilligan's claims that women and men reason differently on a moral level (Kohlberg, 1984; Walker, 1984), many of Gilligan's colleagues offer support for her theory. For example, Lyons (1983) and Johnston (1988) found sex-differences in their studies on moral reasoning. Other theorists support Gilligan's findings and her methodology by defending the use of descriptions of personal experiences (Baumrind, 1978; Haan, 1975).

Gilligan (1982) developed her theory after positing that Kohlberg's (1976) scale of levels of moral reasoning was not representative of women's development. There appears to be a struggle amongst some theorists as to whether or not Kohlberg's scale is in fact deficient and whether or not there is a necessity for Gilligan's theory (Kohlberg, 1984; Walker, 1984). It is possible, however, that the socialization experiences that women and men are subjected to (e.g., Bem, 1987; Polk, 1974) lead to the differing orientations to moral reasoning put forth by Gilligan.

Most feminist theorists link these differences between men and women to socialization, a process that provides individuals with an identity and view of self (Polk, 1974). It appears that an individual's orientation to power takes root in the process of sex-role stereotyping and identity formation (Bem, 1987; Polk, 1974).

The self-concept an individual develops through socialization may also contribute to her or his view of power. Self-concept refers to how the self is conceptualized rather than how the self is evaluated (Boyes & Petersen, 1991). For example one woman may see herself as deeply connected to others, whereas another may describe an identity quite separate from others. Researchers have also suggested that women tend to be more inclined to view themselves as connected to others, whereas men may be more likely to see themselves as separate from others (e.g., Boyes & Petersen). Links have been established between an individual's view of self and her or his orientation to moral reasoning (Lyons, 1983; Pratt, Golding, Hunter, & Sampson, 1988).

The literature indicates that gender is not the only moderator of self-concepts and power experiences. These perceptions may be influenced by parental status as well as by employment status. For example, theorists suggest that a link exists between parental status and an orientation to care and nurturance in women (Pratt et al., 1988). In relation to employment status, some authors postulate that employment and education lead to increased power in society (Connell, 1987; Holder & Anderson, 1989) and that increased power enables women to be more independent, granting them the freedom to focus on self as well as on others (Miller, 1976). The literature is unclear as to whether single or divorced women may have a differing experience of power and self than married women. The results of studies that indicate that both single and married women are more inclined to be care-oriented or connected than justice-oriented and separate suggest that marriage may not be an important variable in moderating experiences of power and self (e.g., Lyons, 1983).

Lyons (1983) points to a need to examine the relationship of moral orientation to self-concept in other social classes yet little research has been done on single, underprivileged women. Belenky et al. (1986) point out that moral outlook and identity in disadvantaged women have rarely been examined. Thus, the purpose of this study is to determine the role of the care and justice orientations and of connected and separate self-concepts in women of low social power, a different walk of life than that studied by Gilligan and her colleagues. In addition, although Gilligan (1982) has related her thesis to power, this study represents a first attempt to utilize her theory and methodology to empirically examine and understand women's power experiences.

Gilligan's framework was selected because it is highly valuing of female qualities. However, her theory does not fully address women's difficulties with seizing the power that has traditionally been held by men (Code, 1983). Miller's (1982) theory of women and power offers a series of themes that run through women's lives and provides a way to analyze dimensions of women's stories not addressable within Gilligan's framework. These themes, accompanied by others found in research done by Grossman and Stewart (1990), may help to understand why many women are aversive to experiencing power in ways that are not nurturing. The themes may also reveal enjoyable power experiences in women's lives.

Literature Review

Gilligan's two distinct orientations to moral reasoning, care and justice, provide a theoretical framework for this study. Thus, Gilligan's (1982) theory of moral reasoning and its relationship to women's power experience is discussed. The purpose of this literature review is to facilitate an understanding of the two orientations as well as an understanding of two similar perspectives of self-concept, connected to others and separate from others. Other theories and research relating to Gilligan's orientations, such as studies of power and nurturance and power and intimacy, are also discussed. A greater comprehension of Gilligan's theory and its conception, as well as its suitability for a study on women and power is gained through a discussion of the contrasts between her theory and methodology and Kohlberg's (1984) theory of moral reasoning.

Furthermore, in order to facilitate a greater understanding of how women develop their sense of power, literature relating to women's socialization and their self-concepts is reviewed. In addition, literature that describes women's roles as moderators of their power experiences is discussed. Moderators include parental status, employment status, and being single.

Because Gilligan's theory does not relate specifically to power, her views are complimented and expanded by additional theories. For example, Miller (1982) and Grossman and Stewart's (1990) orientations provide an explanation for women's discomfort with having power over others, or using power for one's self. Finally, a discussion of more traditional views and definitions of power, as well as Margolis's (1989) theory of power, provides a framework for understanding power in its differing forms of expression.

Gilligan's Theory

In order to expand theories of moral reasoning to include and value qualities that have been associated with the female role of nurturer, Gilligan (1982) describes a form of power that many women possess, a capacity to care and respond to others' needs, and an orientation to collectivity.

Gilligan's (1977) theory is based on the examination of women's stories. It values qualities that have been associated with women's ways of being and places these qualities at an equal level with characteristics that have traditionally been linked to men's experience. Gilligan's (1982) justice and care orientations to morality can be applied to the analysis of two similar perspectives of power. Gilligan and her colleagues have also developed an effective framework for the examination of two distinct ways of defining self (connected to or separate from others) (e.g., Gilligan, 1982; Lyons, 1983). Furthermore, Gilligan also offers insight into the varying ways women and men experience power.

Gilligan (1982) argues that women's interest in another's needs and men's self-interest may create significant conflicts between compassion and autonomy and virtue and power. According to Miller (1982), although men seek power to create personal change or to control, women use their power to empower others. Echoing these views, McClelland (1975) states that women's focus on relationships and interdependence causes them to associate power with giving and care. He reports that, whereas men use assertion and aggression to express the power dynamic, women see acts of nurturance as acts of strength. Equating power with level of maturity, McClelland suggests that men and women mature in different ways.

A greater understanding of the ways men and women develop and how this relates to their experience of power can be gained through a closer examination of Gilligan's care and rights perspectives of morality.

Care and rights orientations. Johnston's (1988) research provides clear examples of the differences between the care and rights orientations of morality proposed by Gilligan (1982). Because Gilligan's theory is based on relating women's and men's experiences to these two distinct moral orientations, it is necessary to gain a clear understanding of how they vary.

Johnston (1988) asked adolescent girls and boys to provide solutions to a dilemma presented in the form of a fable. The fable involved a porcupine who had overstayed his welcome and refused to leave the cave of a family of moles. The boys, who generally responded from the rights orientation, chose to invoke power, stating that it was the mole's home so the porcupine would have to go. The girls, speaking from a care orientation, sought solutions that would meet the needs of all parties involved. Their main concern was that no one get hurt. It must be noted that Johnston also found that, when forced to look at another solution, all of the girls and boys interviewed were able to see solving the conflict through use of the opposing orientation. It appears that the differing responses are not solely due to logic. They demonstrate what Gilligan and Attanuci (1988) describe as preference of choice rather than a fixed orientation. Solutions reflect self-concepts and the comfort an individual has in asserting power or striving for conciliation.

Power and nurturance. Chodorow (1978) attributes the female orientation towards nurturance to the fact that women have been largely responsible for child care. In the early social environment girls learn from

their mothers how to be in connection with others. Disputing the sexism in psychoanalytic theory, Chodorow states that early identification of daughters with their mothers does not lead to weaker ego boundaries, but rather provides a way for girls to learn to be empathic, which is not accessed by boys. According to Chodorow, girls acquire a deep sensitivity to others' feelings and needs. McClelland (1975) argues that women, recognizing their need for interdependence, choose to strengthen themselves to care for others, serve as a resource, or infuse a relationship with intimacy. According to Noddings (1984), nurturance is an act of strength, an expression of morality based on caring.

Evidence of women using power as nurturance and their rejection of power in other forms is emphasized in the interviews conducted by Gilligan (1982). For example, one woman states that to have an abortion means to accept the power and responsibility of the work world and her own ambition. It would mean that her family would necessarily come second. She claims that to be ambitious is to be power hungry and insensitive and would necessitate hurting others to move ahead. This was not a desirable option for her because, like many women, the care orientation took precedence in her life.

A woman's respect for power expressed in the form of nurturance is emphasized by a woman who described her model of a genuinely moral person (Gilligan, 1982). She describes Albert Schweitzer as a figure she admires because he has given his life to help others.

Lips (1981) suggests that life experience may determine how individuals express power. She argues that if men stayed home to raise children they would be more inclined to associate power with nurturance. Lips also suggests that some women may associate being powerful with the

nurturing experience of giving birth, whereas other women may link feeling powerful with an accomplishment. Lips cautions that her research in this area is preliminary and adds that further studies are necessary to fully understand women's experience of power.

The view of power as nurturance could lead researchers to re-evaluate definitions and theory of power in order to establish a positive relationship between power and intimacy.

Power and intimacy. Some studies demonstrate that intimacy or connection with others is incompatible with traditional definitions of power. For example, Hatfield and Rapson (1987) found that women in highly traditional roles handled intimate relationships more effectively than their nontraditional counterparts, and Rusbult et al. (1986) found a link between femininity and response in relationships. Regardless of the seeming incompatibility of intimacy with power, theorists argue that intimacy, love, and nurturance complimented by independence and self-interest are basic to human experience (Hyman & Woog, 1987). Differences in experiences of intimacy or affiliation and power or achievement were examined in a study by Pollak and Gilligan (1982).

Pollak and Gilligan (1982) found that the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) stories of 138 college undergraduates showed that women were more likely to describe violence in relation to achievement, whereas men generally wrote about violent acts in situations of affiliation. Horner (1987) points out that women have success anxiety only when their achievement will be at the expense of another's failure.

In a more recent study (Gilligan & Pollak, 1988), the TAT was administered to 236 first-year medical students (168 men and 68 women) in order to determine whether they perceived a conflicting relationship

between power (achievement) and affiliation, or if they saw power and success as consonant with intimacy and nurturance. The content analysis of the women's TAT stories showed that they tended to align achievement with affiliation or close personal connection.

Findings of differences such as these in men's and women's development provide support for Gilligan's early deviation from Lawrence Kohlberg's theory of moral reasoning. Gilligan thought it necessary to create a new theory of moral development that included women (Gilligan, 1982) because she found that women, far more than men, seemed to exemplify stage three (caring for others) on Kohlberg's six-stage sequence.

Gilligan's theory contrasted with Kohlberg's. Gilligan (1982) argues that Kohlberg's theory is inadequate because it does not fairly evaluate women's levels of moral reasoning. Because Kohlberg's model made women appear morally deficient, she developed an alternative theory that reflected a way of moral reasoning that was more common to women. Gilligan presents some major concerns she has with Kohlberg's theory and methodology.

Gilligan's (1986) main concern with Kohlberg's theory is its emphasis on formalism rather than contextualism. She argues that differences between men and women, as well as the great variation among humans and their experiences make it necessary to call into question the claim of equality, which is the basis of a justice model of morality. According to Gilligan, these human differences, along with the varying relational situations involved in moral decision-making, make judgements contextually relative. Gilligan (1982) argues that the way in which human development is examined depends upon the context in which it is framed.

According to Gilligan, in order to include women in a theory of morality, development must be viewed as occurring within relationships.

Gilligan (1982) asserts that this relational context is not acknowledged in Kohlberg's system that presents moral decision-makers standing alone--reasoning through the formal logic of justice. Gilligan (1982) agrees that there is one orientation based on this kind of logic, that of justice, but adds that a second and equal orientation to care is based on the logic of responsibility in relationships.

The philosophical approaches presented by Kohlberg (1984) and Gilligan (1982) imply differing methodological approaches. Kohlberg (1976) tests individuals by asking them to respond to a moral problem presented in a hypothetical situation. In contrast, Gilligan (1977) studies female moral orientation through interviews with women who discuss their real-life dilemma of having an abortion, and with college students who describe personal experiences of conflict and choice. She asserts that it is necessary to study moral reasoning through an individual's personal experience of conflict because people's language, their view of personal experience, and their perception of relationships reflect the world that they see and in which they act (Gilligan, 1982).

Kohlberg's neglect of the importance of relationships to moral reasoning is evidenced in interviews with wounded soldiers described by R. Linn (personal communication, February 27, 1991). Linn states that, when the soldiers were asked to reason about a Kohlberg hypothetical dilemma, they presented alternative ways to view the dilemma, which primarily involved relationships rather than conflicts of rights. Why is this context of morality in relation to care and relationships not considered within the Kohlberg system?

Gilligan (1982) argues that the view of morality as care and the relational aspects of development common to women were ignored by Kohlberg because his model was developed and tested on an all-male sample. (Kohlberg, 1984, states that this was necessary in order to avoid overly complicating his doctoral dissertation.) According to Gilligan, this is an example of attempting to fit women into a model based on men's experience. Gilligan (1982) states that Kohlberg's theory-building reflects a male bias expressed by leaders in developmental theory such as Piaget (1960), who first studied boys' play and then assumed that, in comparison, girls did not have as developed a sense of morality, and Erikson (1968) who concluded that women developed in a different way than men but never fully explores the way his theory relates to women's development.

Despite the male bias in the development of the theory, researchers using the Kohlberg hypothetical dilemmas have recently found few sex differences in moral reasoning (Friedman, Robinson, & Friedman, 1987; Pratt, Golding, & Hunter, 1984; Walker, 1984; Walker, de Vries, & Trevethan, 1987). Kohlberg (1984) and Walker (1984) found that women of equal education and work experience to that of men were able to score at the fifth and sixth stages of Kohlberg's hierarchical model. This finding appears to demonstrate that the more educated and worldly a woman becomes, the better she is able to rationalize and give the answer valued by the status quo (Baumrind, 1986). Belenky et al. (1986) argue that higher education for women usually involves thinking and learning on men's terms. Conversely, using real-life dilemmas, Gilligan and her colleagues have found a distinct, though not mutually exclusive, way that many women view morality, differing in focus from that of men (e.g., Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan & Attanuci, 1988; Lyons, 1983).

Lyons (1983) argues that in addition to the morality of knowing what's right, there is the sense of morality as a type of consciousness of choosing not to hurt or endanger others. She describes the differences in Gilligan's two orientations: "In the first image of an individual alone deciding what ought to be done, morality becomes a discrete moment of rational 'choosing'. In the second image, of an individual aware, connected, and attending to others, morality becomes a 'type of consciousness'" (p. 126).

Smetana (1984) argues that Gilligan's thesis, or the consciousness that Lyons describes, cannot be tested or demonstrated accurately within the Kohlberg system. Smetana explains that this is due to the fact that all aspects of Kohlberg's model relate to his justice or "male" orientation, providing inadequate representation of Gilligan's care or "female" orientation. Baumrind (1978) and Haan (1975) state that hypothetical dilemmas have limited generalizability because they may be irrelevant or unfamiliar to the respondents. They add that emotional involvement in the task is essential to implicate participants. Furthermore, Tappan (1990) argues that a narrative representation of experience as a form of "symbolic action" gives meaning to experience. Thus, in order to study power as it is lived by women, it is essential that I draw from women's experience and base my analysis on theory developed for and by women.

The difficulty in drawing inference from experiences described during an open-ended interview format is reviewed by Piaget (1971). In a discussion of research interviews involving children, Piaget suggests that being able to access beliefs from what is said can require extensive training and a special method. The author suggests that during a half or three-quarters of an hour interview, not all that is said lies on the same

psychological level. He asserts that responses are of differing value to the researcher because some subjects reflect and consider before responding, whereas others do not. According to Piaget, a respondent can give five types of answers. An *answer at random* suggests that the participant responds by saying the first thing that comes into her head. *Romancing*, the second type of answer, indicates that a respondent is purely making up an answer in which she does not really believe. *Suggested conviction* refers to an answer through which the respondent tries to satisfy the interviewer by attempting to offer the response she thinks the researcher would prefer. *Liberated conviction* occurs when the interviewee replies after reflection, without suggestion even though the question is new to her. When the respondent has no need to reflect to answer the question, because the answer has already been formed *spontaneous conviction* occurs. Although Gilligan and her colleagues use a similar methodology to that of Piaget, they do not take into account the quality of the varying responses of their respondents. This factor could, however, have a substantial impact on the coding and analysis of results and represents a complication in using an open-ended interview format designed to access experience. It must, however, be noted that Piaget's findings were drawn from work with children, which may have presented different complications than research involving consenting adults.

In research involving the use of an open-ended interview format and Gilligan's (1982) methodology, where all responses were considered to be equal, it appears that women present a unique experience of moral reasoning differing from that of men (e.g., Walker et al., 1987). The following discussion demonstrates the importance of the use of real-life dilemmas in accessing women's true world view.

Sex differences and real-life dilemmas. Using Lyon's (1983) and Gilligan's (1982) methodology (the use of real-life dilemmas), Pratt et al. (1988) and Walker et al. (1987) found a significant relationship between gender and moral orientation in adults in mid-life. Walker et al.'s sample was composed of 80 intact family triads (mother, father, and child) for a total N of 240 individuals. All of the parents were employed in diverse occupations, except one father and 31 mothers who were homemakers and three mothers who were college or university students. The participants in Pratt et al.'s study consisted of 12 women and 12 men in 3 age groups (18 to 24, 30 to 45, and 60 to 75 years) for a total N of 72. The education level of the participants was generally high and did not vary significantly by sex.

Both groups of researchers (Pratt et al., 1988; Walker et al., 1987) suggest that the differences found in moral orientation could be attributed to the dilemma type chosen by women and men because women chose more conflicts of an interpersonal nature and men those of an impersonal nature. This finding offers further support for the necessity to consider the relational perspective not acknowledged in Kohlberg's (1984) methodology. In addition, Pratt et al. assert that the realm of intimate social relationships is more dominant in women's thinking. However, Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1986) claim that autonomy and relatedness depend on power and status and that without social change autonomy may not be a realistic goal for women. According to these theorists, whether a person expresses autonomy or relatedness, reflects her power and status in society. Therefore, the perception of what constitutes a moral dilemma may be highly relevant to an individual's experience and definition of

power and can be considered integrally along with the action, emotion, and logic expressed in the selected dilemma.

Theorists such as these point to two ways of viewing self in relation to others, suggesting that self-concepts of men and women vary. Other studies demonstrate differences in men's and women's moral reasoning, their development and their perception of power (e.g., Gilligan, 1982; Lyons, 1983; McClelland, 1975; Piaget, 1960). It is important to understand the source of these gender differences in order to gain insight into the pressures that prevent women and men from obtaining a balance of care-oriented and justice-oriented characteristics. Most feminist theorists agree that gender differences are due to the process of socialization (Bem, 1987; Freeman, 1975; Miller, 1976; Sturdivant, 1980).

Development of a Sense of Power

Socialization. It is a well-documented point of view that, in our society, women possess less power than men over their own lives and over others (Connell, 1987; Lips, 1981; Miles, 1985; Miller, 1982, 1976; Polk, 1974). In addition, the two genders appear to experience power differently (Chodorow, 1978; Lips, 1981; McClelland, 1975). In a sex-role analysis of society, Polk (1974) helps to clarify how socialization has created such differences. She states that each society arbitrarily views a wide variety of personality characteristics, interests, and behaviors virtually the exclusive domain of one sex or the other. In our society, women's domain involves caring, nurturing, and selflessness and men's domain implicates independence and a self-focus (Lerner, 1988). These identities are based on sex-roles and are inculcated in men and women through family, peers, institutions, and the media.

According to Milgram (1975), structures of authority in the family and school lead a person to become obedient to male authority figures, as does experience in a reward/punishment structure where failure to comply is punished. Milgram's theory can easily be related to women's experience of socialization. For example, Bepko (1989) states that the traditional family structure teaches women that their experience is not within their control. She adds that women's submissive status is often rewarded with approval from men, whereas her assertiveness may be punished. Bepko argues that women are socialized to believe that men have power and women are the objects of that power. Relating this power differential to addiction she states that findings indicate that drinking is becoming more prevalent among women in less traditional jobs suggesting that they may be reacting to the conflicts encountered around asserting themselves with men. Furthermore, Bepko argues that excessive drinking or drug abuse enables women in traditional roles to become emotionally distant or less responsible for those around them.

Spence and Sawin (1985) point out that society has emphasized a link between strength and power. They explain that this makes the possession of power, as it is traditionally defined, incompatible with the female identity that enlists weakness, helplessness, and vulnerability in its definition. One woman, interviewed by Gilligan (1982), exemplifies this persona. She claims that she never understood that she had a right to make decisions for herself. This right belonged to her father, the church, or her husband.

Polk (1974) asserts that the power fathers, husbands, and men in general have over women is obtained from the rationality assigned to the male role that gives men access to positions of expertise as well as

credibility. Society has consistently valued this male rationality over qualities that have been characteristically female (Kaplan, 1987; Marshall, 1989; Sturdivant, 1980). Women are discouraged from taking on traditionally male traits, such as rationality, because of society's differential expectations.

According to Polk (1974), differential expectations in roles lead to differential perceptions of the same behavior in a woman or a man. Thus, a man who obtains power in the work world and is directed by self-interest is seen as successful and independent, whereas a woman in the same situation is viewed as selfish and neglectful of her family's needs (Miller, 1976). Grossman and Stewart (1990) note that the only domain in which power has been appropriately expressed by women is in motherhood. This power must, however, be relinquished as her children become adults and, thus, her role is to empower others. Many women, seeking to fulfill society's expectations in their roles of mother or wife, require therapy for "selflessness" because they may be fulfilling others' needs at the expense of their own mental health (Lemkau & Landau, 1986).

Women's socialized behavior in roles such as that of mother, as well as other traditionally female characteristics such as a desire for intimacy, affiliation, or connectedness may make up the very core of their self-concepts (Lyons, 1983). This self-concept or self-definition, which results from the special conditions experienced by women, may play a role in the development of a woman's view of power.

Self-concept. Gilligan (1982) asserts that the differences in the way power is imagined by women and men parallel differences of conceptions of morality and self. Moralities of care and justice provide two different ways of experiencing and understanding power, achievement, and

affiliation. In interviews, Gilligan (1977, 1982) found that women often felt caught between caring for themselves and caring for others. It appeared that they associated being good women with caring for others before themselves. She suggested that concepts of self and morality were linked.

In order to test Gilligan's theory, Lyons (1983) explored the relationship between females' and males' sense of self and orientation to morality in a study of 36 individuals of high intelligence, education, and social class. Her sample was identified through personal contact and recommendation and consisted of two females and two males at each of the following ages: 8, 11, 14 to 15, 19, 22, 27, 36, 45, and 60 years or over. Lyon's data, in the form of semi-structured interviews, were analyzed first for descriptions of self and then for orientation to morality. The study revealed two characteristic modes of describing self (a) as separate or objective in its relation to another, and (b) as connected or interdependent in its relations to others.

The participants in Lyons' (1983) study were asked to describe a real-life moral dilemma--a situation involving moral conflict that took place in their lives. Two ways of considering morality were apparent; through a morality of rights and justice, or a morality of response and care. Using the interview data, Lyons developed coding schemes to systematically and reliably identify people's self-definitions and moral orientations. She found that response/care considerations were predominant for 75% of the females, whereas 79% of the men focused mainly on rights/justice orientations.

Regardless of sex, individuals who defined themselves predominantly as connected were more likely to use the response orientation and those that

spoke of themselves as separate used the rights orientation with most frequency. Lyons suggests that, although a causal relationship is not implied, there appears to be an important link between self-concept and moral orientation necessitating further research to determine if this link holds across class and culture. More recently, Pratt et al. (1988) also found a relationship between self-concept and moral orientation and were able to show that this link holds across gender.

Some research exists to demonstrate that disadvantaged women may be more inclined to describe a connected than a separate self. In a study of the motivational dynamics of 205 disadvantaged women, 155 of whom received social assistance and 50 who were employed, Hinman and Bolton (1980) found the women to be submissive and dependent on others. In addition, according to the authors, regardless of their marital or parental status, the entire sample ranked family as their most important life concern followed by church, money, work, and social life.

In addition, Boyes and Petersen (1991) found a significant relationship between gender and self-concept in the responses of 54 college students who wrote answers to the question, "Who am I?" Thirty-seven percent of the females and 85% of the males described separate selves, whereas 63% of the women and 15% of the men described connected selves. The authors suggest that men and women understand life events differently depending on which self-orientation they employ. Gilligan (1982), however, argues that these differences are due to varying life experiences. The life experiences of the women involved in studies using real-life dilemmas, where sex differences were found, may have had an impact on the results. An experience that seems to greatly influence orientation to power is that of parenthood.

Moderators of Power Experience and Self-concept

Parental status. Pratt et al. (1988) found that adult parents were more sex-role differentiated than their childless counterparts in both self-concept and moral orientations. All of the adults in Walker et al.'s (1987) study, where sex-differences were found in responses to the real-life dilemmas, were parents. Guttman (1985) asserts that the family organization, which results from parenting, leads to increased sex-role behaviors by parents. In a study of 96 couples, of which 72 had just had a child and 24 were not yet planning a family, Cowan et al. (1985) found that new parents reverted to more traditional roles following the birth of a child. Pratt et al. (1988) assert that if moral orientation is tied to self-concept, it can be suspected that life-stage or roles will be associated with moral orientations as well. Perhaps, if roles are tied to moral orientation and self-concept, satisfaction in that role would have a bearing on self-concept and moral orientation as well. In their study of new parents, Cowan et al. (1985) found that women reported feeling more dependent and less satisfied with their new role as mother than they expected to be.

Perhaps this dissatisfaction that women experience is due to what Hochschild (1989) describes as the "second shift" that women work in the home following a full day at work. Hochschild (1989) averaged studies on the division of labour between spouses conducted in the 60's and 70's and found that women worked an average of 15 hours longer a week than men did. She indicates that many women work an extra month a year. The extra work mothers put in to meet the demands of husbands and children reflects their strong care orientation and tendency to use power for others.

A woman's shift to a more pronounced care orientation during parenthood, or her wish for power to empower her children, may be

directly related to society's expectations of mothers. Attanuci (1988) found that women who wished to be qualified as good mothers described themselves as a connected self and responsive to others. When they described a separate self, related to roles, women put their capacity for connection as mothers into question. Attanuci asserts that this potential for separateness is closely aligned to male identity. Willard (1988) found that all of the women interviewed in her study considered their children in an integral way when making a decision to return to work, and 90% described a self in relation to child.

In a reanalysis of longitudinal data obtained by Stewart (1975), Winter (1988) found having children was a powerful moderator of the effects of what he calls the power motive (the need for power). He found that women with children were more likely than childless women to express responsible power behaviors such as nurturance or political office-holding.

Research indicates that older women are beginning to deviate from this traditional nurturing role. Hyman and Woog (1987) found women over 35 to be more independent than younger women, and Mitchell and Helson (1990) discovered women over 50 years of age to be more androgynous and autonomous than their younger counterparts. ²⁴These findings may offer further evidence that women follow more traditional roles during the time of life when childbearing and childrearing take place. However, this time of life is occurring right up to mid-life for many women. According to McGoldrick (1989), great numbers of women are postponing both marriage and childbearing to their late twenties or thirties. However, McGoldrick adds that most women finish with their parental duties by age 50.

The fact that many women are waiting to have children enables some to get established in the workforce as well as obtain a post-secondary education prior to becoming parents (Holder & Anderson, 1989). Holder and Anderson (1989) note that many women are working while raising a family. Employment outside of the home and higher education may increase the power of mothers and of women in general.

Employment status. Stewart (1990) asserts that feminist theorists, including those who had a significant impact on the women's movement, such as Mary Wolstonecraft, Virginia Woolf, and Betty Frieden, have repeatedly pointed to employment as a central element in facilitating women's equal social status and power. Stewart adds that many aspects of paid work have been identified as crucial to women's liberation including: more economic power, a sense of personal worth, a sense of achievement, a capacity to contribute to society, control of social arrangements outside the household, and independence from the control of others. There is little doubt that historically employment has meant additional power in women's lives (see Connell, 1987). The power gained through employment appears to impact on many aspects of women's lives.

For example, the interrelatedness of moral reasoning and the amount of power possessed (in the form of control, domination or self-interest) is demonstrated in the findings of Kohlberg and Kramer (1969) and Walker (1984) who suggest that when women are engaged professionally outside of the home and occupy equivalent educational and social positions to men, they reach higher stages of moral development.

Women's changing work patterns enable them to have more power over their own lives and to obtain greater equality within marriage (Holder & Anderson, 1989). Blood and Wolfe (1960), Blumstein and Schwartz

(1983), Horwitz (1982), and Rosenfield (1989) have found work outside of the home to be a highly significant indicator of a greater amount of marital power. In addition, Gove and Tudor (1973) argue that the conventional role of homemaker is characterized by two elements of powerlessness--lower resources and prestige than the traditional male role. The term powerlessness often relates to individuals who are not truly powerless but who express power in the form of nurturance as a homemaker generally would (Margolis, 1989).

Women's increasing desire to be employed may also play a role in moderating women's power experience. Hochschild (1989) found that, of the 50 couples in her study, only 5 of the wives said that they wanted to never work outside of the home, indicating that paid work is a desirable choice for most women.

A path analytic study of 1,145 Army wives by Rosen, Ickovics, and Moghadam (1990) offers some support for this finding. The authors found time spent employed was related to role fit, which was in turn positively related to the women's level of well-being. Satisfaction with overall career development prospects also had a significant direct impact on general well-being. In addition, Helson, Elliott, and Leigh (1990) found status level in paid work to be related to effective functioning in 100 privileged, midlife women due to the increased autonomy, individuality, and complexity that resulted from the enriching employment experiences. The authors assert that paid work contributed to women's functioning because it lead to increased independence. In addition, in a study of the self-concept of the single woman, Gigy (1980) found that single women with successful careers described independent, assertive selves. These findings may indicate that employed women may be less inclined to view power from an

interdependent perspective of care and nurturance than unemployed women, because employment enables them to focus on themselves and gain power in the home and in society.

However, Gallos (1989) suggests that women's relational development has an impact on the meaning she attributes to paid work. In a review of the literature relating woman's development to career theory, Gallos asserts that the centrality of relationships and caring for others to women's lives affects her experience of work. In a review of 11 recent studies on the experience and meaning of work in women's lives, Chester and Grossman (1990) conclude that women in all walks of life and positions of employment place an emphasis on connection to others in work. It appears that, although employed women may be freer to relate partially to a justice orientation or a separate self-concept, their socialized orientation to care and connectedness continues to be present as well.

Regardless of whether women put an emphasis on relationships at work, it is evident that paid work is an independent activity, that has many advantages for the self as an individual. Many researchers have found employment to contribute to women's perceptions of self-worth and feelings of self-efficacy (Chester, 1990; James, 1990; Schuster, 1990; Tomlinson-Keasey, 1990). Recent research points to considerable variation and continual transition in women's experience of work.

For example, in comparison to earlier studies (Gilligan, 1982; Lyons, 1983), a decreased tendency for women to be oriented towards a care perspective was found in a study of moral orientation involving female and male professionals, and university and college students. Gilligan and Attanuci (1988) found that women represented the justice, the justice-care (a mixture of justice and care), and the care orientations almost

equally. The authors noted that the care focus was virtually non-existent in the responses of the male participants.

Marshall (1984) describes a form of power that many women in positions of employment may now be starting to come to terms with--the balanced expression of independence and caring and interdependence. Demonstrating the difficulties women who strive for this sort of equilibrium may encounter, Jack and Jack (1988) discuss views of women in the law profession who are struggling to fit the care orientation of morality into an institution where it is devalued. Some women in the study, denying their relational self, focused entirely on the justice perspective.

The variation in power experiences of employed and unemployed women may also be attributed to the higher levels of education of the working women. Blood and Wolfe (1960) have discovered education to be a highly significant indicator of the amount of power wives possess in the home, and Connell (1987) and Belenky et al. (1986) link higher education to increased power in society's institutions. In an analysis of data obtained from the United States Census Bureau, Holder and Anderson (1989) found that the more highly educated a woman is the more likely she is to be in the job market where she gains power and independence through her income. Baumrind (1986) suggests that higher education is an indication of social niche representing greater acculturation into the dominant values of western society. In a study of the effect of highly educated women's employment patterns on their well-being, James (1990) found that employment had no significant bearing on the women's well-being. The authors suggest that the women's college degrees provided many opportunities for growth and ameliorated any potential negative

consequences resulting from lack of career commitment. James asserts that there may have been distinct differences in well-being for a sample of less educated working and unemployed women. These findings indicate that it is necessary to isolate employment from the effect of education in order to discern if employment does in fact lead women to be less care-oriented.

Whether or not the differing power experiences women in the work force may experience are due to education or the employment experience itself, there may be factors in a working woman's life that detract from or alter this experience. For example, the anxiety provoked by the extra work women with children are doing in the home and the lack of support they are receiving from spouses or social programs (Hochschild, 1989) could detract somewhat from a woman's independent or self-focused view of power and cause her to become self-sacrificing or to feel somewhat powerless. Thoits (1985) found that working mothers, single or married, were more likely to be anxious than any other group. Hochschild comments that mothers require business and government to offer increased job sharing, flexible hours, and on-site daycare in order to meet women's excessive demands of employment and parenting.

The single woman. Many employed and unemployed women, both mothers and those who are childless, are without a spouse or a partner. Some women are divorced, others have children but were never in a partnership with a man, and still others remain single and childless throughout their lives (Hicks & Anderson, 1989). Citing Michael, Fuchs, and Scott (1980), Hicks and Anderson state that, whereas in 1950 they represented only 5.1% of a demographic sample, in 1976 single people represented over 29%. The authors add that this difference is partly due to the number of people who decide to never marry, as well as to the fact that

many individuals are marrying later in life. For example, the number of people in America aged 20 to 30 years who are single doubled between 1969 and 1978 (Haber, 1981).

The incidence of divorce has also increased, leading more and more women to a life on their own. According to Hochschild (1989), close to 50% of today's married couples will likely divorce. The author adds that the lower a woman is on the class ladder, the less stable her marriage becomes.

Some literature indicates that the implications of divorce may leave a woman struggling and feeling powerless. According to Weitzman (1985), in the year following a divorce, women experience a 73% loss in their standard of living, whereas men experience a 42% gain. The American Bureau of Census found in 1985 that 81% of divorced fathers and 66% of separated fathers have court orders to pay child support (Hochschild, 1989). Kaplan (1986) states that many women experience depression following the loss of a relationship with a man because of a woman's need to be validated as a relational being. According to Hicks and Anderson citing O'Rand and Henretta (1982), 90% of single parents are women. The authors add that many women are isolated socially following a divorce due to the stigma attached to the event as well as the problem of a general lack of empathy for the woman's experience of post-divorce mourning. These findings appear to indicate that women are carrying the burden of childcare and financial strain as well as emotional pains following a divorce or separation.

Hicks and Anderson (1989) assert that women who are single following a divorce or separation are often viewed negatively because society frequently attributes the responsibility for a failed marriage to

them. The authors state that, if it is not seen as their fault, they may be pitied by those who see them as lacking because they are without a husband. Hicks and Anderson add that a never-married woman is also pitied by a society who looks at her as someone who did not choose her fate but who was simply not chosen.

These kind of views of single women may have an affect on their experience but may also be largely untrue. For example, Johnston and Elkund (1984) found that unmarried women may be less prone to depression or anxiety and generally are more highly educated and successful in their careers than their unmarried counterparts. Hicks and Anderson (1989) cite the names of women who accomplished a great deal in their lifetimes such as Karen Horney and Georgia O'Keef and question whether they would have been able to be as successful if they had been married. In a study of the self-concept of the single woman over 30 years of age, Gigy (1980) found that single women described themselves as assertive and independent, whereas married women tended to put more emphasis on interpersonal relationships. Gigy states that successful, professional single women appear to feel positively about themselves and their lives. Commenting on Gigy's study Hicks and Anderson add that there appears to be no relevant data on single women who are less successful and who do not enjoy their work.

There is also some evidence that divorced women may also fair quite well once they adapt to the single life. For example, Wallerstein (1986) found that 64% of women reported improved psychological functioning following a divorce compared to only 16% of the men. The author also adds that women are less likely than their male counterparts to remarry following a divorce.

The literature appears to indicate that being single and perhaps divorced may lead women to view themselves as separate from others. For example, the loss of social supports and contacts following a divorce (see Hicks & Anderson, 1989; Kaplan, 1986) may enable a woman to form a more separate self-concept, and single women may be more independent than their married counterparts (Gigy, 1980). These factors may indicate that unmarried women are inclined to see power from a justice perspective rather than one that implies care and response to others. On the other hand, Hicks and Anderson (1989) state that single women often forge meaningful interpersonal relationships and report an extensive circle of contacts as well as a large circle of friends and, finally, Belle (1987) indicates that it is likely that women will seek support following a divorce.

Whether or not marriage has an influence upon a woman's power experience appears to be unclear. Lyons (1983) has found that women under the age of 27, who are less likely to be married than their older counterparts, are more likely to describe a care orientation to power. Also Gilligan's (1977) work, where she first discovered a care orientation to moral reasoning, was based on the responses of women deciding whether or not to have an abortion. According to a counsellor (personal communication, 1991) at the Planned Parenthood Association of British Columbia, most women who consider abortion as an alternative are unmarried. Although the experience of being single may have some influence on a woman's experience of self and power, I expect that the socialization experienced by women overrides the effects of being without a partner.

The literature reflects the existent variation in women's views due to the diversity in women's life experiences. This variation and the intricacies

of women's experiences of power can not be fully explored within the framework of Gilligan's theory and methodology, which summarizes experience in the dichotomies of justice and care and separateness and connectedness. Miller's (1982) theory, accompanied by Grossman and Stewart's (1990) methodology provides a framework to examine additional themes within women's experience of power. In addition, Miller's theory facilitates a greater understanding of women's discomfort with power as it has been traditionally defined.

Elaboration of Theory

Miller and Grossman and Stewart. According to Miller (1982), a woman's use of power to create change in her life is equivalent to selfishness and destructiveness because she will disrupt the social context around her. Miller asserts that a woman with highly traditional values may find herself trapped in an unhappy marriage because losing the relationship could mean economic hardships, social ostracism, or psychological isolation.

Miller (1976) suggests that there are relationships of temporary and permanent inequality. The first, representing a state in human development such as parent and child or teacher and student, is used to foster growth and development. In those of permanent inequality, dominant groups, desiring to maintain their superior status, impede the development of the subordinates. Dominants also generally determine the way power is to be used and, thus, power becomes a way to maintain their superior status.

According to Miller (1982), although culture maintains that women should not have power, women have shown enormous powers in their

traditional role of fostering growth in others. However, empowering others is not reflected in most definitions of power.

Miller (1982) suggests that women mistrust and are fearful of power. She continues to explain that this perspective is a telling statement of man's horrifying abuse of power in the name of self-interest. According to Miller, this fear of power forms an identity that reflects a reaction against power as man has defined it. She adds that, for women, confronting power involves rejecting sex-role stereotypes and facing fears.

In order to better understand women's experience of facing power, Grossman and Stewart (1990) used Miller's theory (1982) to analyze data presented in a multiple-case study of women's experience of power. They interviewed women in prestigious positions of employment that were not highly conflicting with the traditional female role of care-giver and nurturer. The participants consisted of three university psychology professors and three psychotherapists. It was found that the following themes cited from Miller, although incomplete, did characterize the experience of the women as powerholders.

1. Power and Selfishness: A woman's using self-determined power for herself is equivalent to selfishness, for she is not enhancing the power of others.
2. Power and Destructiveness: A woman's using self-determined power for herself is equivalent to destructiveness, for such power inevitably will totally disrupt an entire surrounding context.
3. Power and Abandonment: A woman's use of power may

precipitate attack and abandonment.

4. Power and Inadequacy: For many women it is more comfortable to feel inadequate. Terrible as that can be, it is still better than to feel powerful, if power makes you feel destructive.
5. Power and Identity: The use of our power with some efficacy, and even worse, with freedom, zest and joy feels as if it will destroy a core sense of identity (Grossman & Stewart, 1990, p. 18).

In addition to analyzing the data for aspects of women's fear of power, Grossman and Stewart (1990) found three emergent themes of satisfaction associated with power that they claim to be the most significant feature of women's experience of themselves as powerholders not captured by Miller's analysis.

1. "Power in the form of nurturance is experienced as very rewarding" (p. 22).
2. "The goal of power is to maintain or strive for equality, mutuality and symmetry" (p. 23).
3. "Power can be enjoyable (even exhilarating) even when it is not nurturant, if it is a clear, fully legitimated aspect of the role of therapist or professor" (p. 24).

Grossman and Stewart (1990) also found three themes that relate to the stresses associated with powerholding.

1. "Nurturance must be limited for the powerholder's sake (because of conflicts over feeling she must be infinitely able and available to help) and for the sake of others (to prevent her from being coercive, controlling or destructive)" (p. 24).

2. "Hierarchical power relationships can interfere with symmetrical personal relationships, and can lead to anger, aggression, envy and exaggerated admiration, and therefore are to be avoided" (p. 26).

3. "Challenges to authority are perceived as personally threatening to the therapist or professor (i.e., ingratitude, open expressions of sexuality, overt or passive expressions of anger, accusations, complaints)" (p. 26).

Within these themes, Grossman and Stewart (1990) assert that there is one overriding theme of power in many women's lives. For the women in their study, power was profoundly relational. Power that jeopardizes any aspect of a relationship yields no pleasure. The emphasis on power and connection can be noted in many recent writings on women in positions of power (O'Leary & Ickovics, 1990; Marshall 1984, 1989). It appears that a new definition of power is required that would acknowledge this prevalent aspect of women's experience.

Traditional definitions expanded by Margolis's theory. The themes found in Miller's theory and Grossman and Stewart's study appear to be, in part, based on well-known or standard definitions of power such as those found in Webster's Unabridged Dictionary (1978). The dictionary defines power, as it relates to the individual, (a) as the ability to do or act, (b) the great ability to do or act (vigor, force or strength), and (c) the ability to control sway or influence others. Traditional definitions of power generally reflect a part of this definition. For example, Miles (1985) defines power as an ability to determine or direct the behavior of others, and Weber (1954) as the capacity to dominate or impose one's will on others.

Milgram (1975) describes individuals who allow others to dominate or impose their will on them. In his work studying obedience to authority,

he found two distinct modes of functioning that relate to the power an individual perceives to be internal, coming from within, or external, being directed by outside authority figures or organizational structures. What Milgram calls the agentic state occurs when an individual perceives herself or himself as an agent for carrying out another's wishes. This state relates closely to women's traditional power position and their striving for connection. According to Gallos (1989), attachment or a primary concern for others can mean helplessness because choices are often dictated by others. Bepko (1989) speaks of this state as powerlessness and relates it to women who are being battered by men. This is in opposition to what Milgram terms a state of autonomy--a state when an individual sees herself or himself as acting on her or his own.

This frequently used definition of power, describing autonomy or the power to act, may appear more accessible to women than the power to dominate or control. It relates to a definition by Barnes (1988), portraying power as an individual's capacity to generate action (implying power to rather than power over). Put more simply by Miller (1982), it is the ability to make change in one's own life. The difficulty with using solely this definition is that it captures the goal of autonomy, independence, and self-determination and most likely will exclude a large part of women's experience of power. As a matter of fact, none of these definitions captures the power of nurturance, co-operation, and interdependence that is so often expressed by women.

Considering women's experience of power, Margolis (1989) argues that there are no truly powerless individuals or groups in society, there are simply different forms of power. The author presents three systems of power: exchange, placing, and pooling. In the exchange system, private

property and wealth are implied. Commodities can be exchanged with strangers to gain entitlement to possessions, services, or other desires. This is done all in the name of self-interest leading to the control of resources by a few fortunate individuals. In the placing system, materials or position are used as a social symbol that entitles an individual to a certain amount of prestige or recognition for a contribution. In the third system, the pooling system, contributions are made anonymously to the community to promote the welfare of all.

Margolis (1989) links her theory to that of Gilligan (1982), stating that the care orientation relates to placing and pooling systems, whereas the rights perspective can be linked to exchange. In the case of a nurturing parent, the placing form of power would result from openly giving to the family through gaining approval and avoiding shame and guilt. The pooling system would involve anonymously contributing to the family collective without motive or need for recognition.

Justice based on the equality of persons is well suited to exchange or competition. Margolis (1989) argues that, despite western eighteenth and nineteenth century political revolutions, we are not born equal. We are born dependent relying on the care and protection of others. Without a complimentary ethic of care and protection, humanity would gradually cease to exist.

This study explores a complimentary ethic of care in relation to theories that value both a care orientation to power as well as a justice perspective, and acknowledges that the diversity in women's experiences of power can not simply be reduced to the act of caring for others.

Concluding Comments

Research points to some of the variation among women's experience of power and her definition of self (Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983; Horwitz, 1982; Jack & Jack, 1988). These differences are perhaps linked to the varying roles that women occupy in this society. Women who are parents, for example, appear to be more centred on providing for their children's care (Willard, 1988). Through acquisition of their new role as mother, women appear to lose power in society and at home (Cowan et al., 1985). Although professional and well-educated women are forced to adapt to the realities of male-dominated educational and professional institutions (Belenky et al., 1986), some are seeking to incorporate relational values into their world of paid work (Jack & Jack, 1988; Marshall, 1984). These women may be balancing orientations of rights and separateness with those of care and connectedness (Gilligan & Attanuci, 1988). Disadvantaged, unemployed women, possessing neither the power of gender nor of the world of paid work, may find themselves polarized in a traditionally female power position with a view of the world that reflects the care and connection orientations described by Gilligan (1982).

Many theorists do, however, assert that despite their changing roles and increasing power in society, the majority of women at all levels of the social spectrum continue to show a greater orientation to connectedness with others than do men (Boyes & Petersen, 1991; Lyons, 1983; Miller, 1976). Regardless of their role, marital status, or education it appears that women will generally include some aspect of connection to others or care in their life experience (Gilligan, 1988; Johnston, 1988; Marshall, 1989).

A care orientation to power and moral reasoning differs from the well-documented power experiences of control, domination, and self-

interest (e.g., Barnes, 1988; Miller, 1987; Weber, 1954) and a view of morality as justice, which have been characterized largely by men's experience. The view of power as care is recognized in theories that attempt to include what has generally been women's way of expressing power (e.g., Margolis, 1989; McClelland, 1975).

The difference in these experiences is emphasized in Gilligan's (1982) interviews. Gilligan (1982) found that males expressed a desire for self-fulfillment and success. Goals linked to the concept of morality as self-invested power. One man mentioned a wish to attain the "flash and prestige you get by going out and hustling" (p. 162). Women, on the other hand, spoke of caring for and not hurting others, while at the same time maintaining personal integrity. The experience of attachment generates a perspective of relationships that underlies the view of morality as love or power as care (Gilligan, 1982).

In order to access women's experience of power and self, and to examine variation within this experience, I focused on both unemployed and employed women, some of whom are mothers. I expected that many of these women would experience power and self as caring and connected (Gilligan 1982, 1988), but that women holding more traditional power (childless, employed women) would express more balanced selves reflecting justice and care, connectedness and separateness.

Although Gilligan's (1982) theory highly values qualities that are often linked to women's experience, it appears to neglect women's fear of power and their difficulty in seizing that which has been traditionally associated with the male role (Code, 1983). As McGoldrick (1989) asserts, it is important that women continue to strive for a healthy balance between relational and independent qualities. Miller's (1982) theory of women and

power and Grossman and Stewart's (1990) elaboration of Miller's themes provide a complimentary framework to examine women's experience of power from a perspective that addresses women's oppression and their aversion to power as it has been used and defined by men. It is assumed that these two theories, one devised by Gilligan and the other by Miller, provide a suitable framework to address the central problem of this research.

Hypotheses

The Problem

How do women experience and define power and is this experience reflected in the theory of moral orientations espoused by Gilligan (1982) and/or in the theory of women and power developed by Miller (1982) and expanded by Grossman and Stewart (1990)?

Because the expected findings relating to the two theories incorporated in this study are quite different, the hypotheses are presented in two parts. Part 1 relates to Gilligan's (1982) theory and Part 2 refers to Miller's (1982) and Grossman and Stewart's (1990) themes.

Part 1: Subproblems and Hypotheses

(The first four subproblems and hypotheses relate to experiences where women felt good about feeling powerful.)

1. Will women's experiences and definitions of power reflect aspects of the care orientation?

I predict that women's experiences and definitions of power will be predominantly oriented to power-as-care or power-as-care-justice with few women ascribing to the power as justice perspective.

(a) Will there be a significant relationship between employment status and power orientation?

I predict that the majority of employed women will describe a balanced care-justice orientation to power, whereas unemployed women will be more inclined to describe a purely care-oriented power. Some women from either group, most likely the group of employed individuals, may describe a justice orientation to power.

(b) Will there be a significant relationship between parental status and power orientation?

I predict that, regardless of employment status, as Pratt et al. (1988) found, women with children will be more likely to focus on the care orientation than women without.

2. Do women experience power in relation to significant others in their lives?

Whether or not power is used towards self change, I predict that, as Grossman and Stewart (1990) state, power is largely a relational concept for women and that they will generally describe experiences of power in connection with significant others.

3. Will there be a significant relationship between self-concept and power experience and definition?

I expect that there will be a relationship between a woman's self-concept and her experience of power. Women who describe themselves as predominantly connected will be more likely to experience care-oriented power and those who describe a more separate self will generally refer to the rights perspective of power. Those who speak of an equally connected and separate self will mention both the rights and care orientations of power.

4. Will there be a significant relationship between employment status and self-concept?

I expect employed women to describe balanced connected and separate selves, whereas unemployed women will be more inclined to describe predominantly connected selves. I predict that few women from either group will describe separate selves.

Part 2: Thematic Analysis

Will the themes discussed by Miller (1982) and Grossman and Stewart (1990) emerge in the participants' positive and negative power experiences as well as in their definitions of power?

I expect that the themes of power selected from Grossman and Stewart's research (1990) and Miller's theory (1982) will be evident in the responses of most of the women interviewed. Themes relating to the women's employment role will likely only be present in the employed women's answers.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 18 unemployed and 18 employed women. Unemployment was defined according to the requirements for acceptance into a government-funded employment program for Severely Employment Disadvantaged (S.E.D.) individuals. Unemployed volunteers had not been employed outside of the home for financial gain for at least 24 of the 30 weeks prior to their participation in the study. An individual who worked less than 20 hours a week and was unable to support herself financially without assistance, was also considered unemployed if she was involved in an employment program.

The women in these programs were termed severely employment disadvantaged by program administrators. Disadvantaged is defined as socially and economically deprived (Hinman & Bolton, 1980). In addition, to be eligible for an employment program the women were required to possess a definite barrier to employment. Barriers included current or previous drug and alcohol problems, emotional problems, language difficulties, a criminal record, a history of abuse, an unstable employment history, and other problems. Many of the women were reliant on social assistance as a sole source of income and all of the women were either well below the poverty line at the time of the interview or had been prior to obtaining paid work. All of the employed women recruited for the study had previously attended an employment program and, therefore, at one time were considered severely employment disadvantaged.

All participants were screened to ensure an adequate state of mental health and proficiency in the English language. The women had been through a one-hour interview with a S.E.D. program supervisor prior to

their acceptance into the program in order to assess their eligibility and state of mental health. Program instructors were asked whether any of the participants would be unsuitable linguistically or emotionally for the study. One woman was not interviewed because it was suggested that she was not mentally able. In addition, the interviewer conducted further screening of the participants while asking introductory questions. Each woman was asked her age, employment status, level of education, marital status, cultural heritage, and whether or not she was a parent. Mothers were asked to provide the ages of their children.

All participants were between 21 and 40 years of age. The mean age was 28.2 ($SD = 5.36$). Twenty-five of the women reported themselves as single, four as married, and seven were divorced or separated. Eighteen of the women had children and 18 did not. Of the 18 parents, 9 had 1 child, 4 had 2 children, and 5 parents had 3 children. All but 2 of the mothers had children under 10 years of age. Sixteen (83%) of the mothers were single parents. The level of education was generally low with a mean of 11.3 years ($SD = 1.41$). All of the employed women had similar levels of education to the unemployed women. Employed participants worked in a variety of entry-level positions. Many of the 18 employed women were either clerical workers or sales clerks. In addition, one woman worked in a daycare, another as a youth worker, and one individual was a back-up dancer for a band during the evening and a parts driver on the weekends. The cultural make-up of the group was fairly homogeneous, although some other cultural groups were represented: 26 of the respondents were Caucasian, 4 were First Nations, 3 were Indo-Canadian, 2 were Chinese-Canadian, and 1 woman was of African descent. Demographic information by subgroups is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1.

Participant Characteristics by Subgroup (N = 36)

	Employed (<u>n</u> = 18)	Unemployed (<u>n</u> = 18)	Children (<u>n</u> = 18)	No Children (<u>n</u> = 18)
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Marital Status				
Single	72	67	44	94
Married	11	11	17	6
Divorced/ Separated	17	22	39	0
Culture				
Caucasian	72	72	72	72
First Nations	6	17	17	6
Indo-Can.	17	6	6	17
Chinese-Can.	6	6	6	6
Number of Children				
One	56	44		
Two	22	22		
Three	22	33		
Age				
<u>M</u>	27.2	29.3	30.6	25.9
<u>SD</u>	5.8	4.8	5.8	3.7
Education				
<u>M</u>	11.7	10.9	11.3	11.3
<u>SD</u>	1.1	1.6	1.6	1.2

Note. Some categories do not add up to 100% due to rounding. Can. = Canadian.

Design

My research design follows the methodology used by Lyons (1983), which has been partially replicated in studies by Pratt et al. (1988) and Walker et al. (1987). The data were collected in a three-part, open-ended interview that was conducted in a clinical manner described by Lyons (1983). The interview proceeded from structured questions to a somewhat unstructured clarification of responses (see Appendix A for interview schedule). Interview questions were constructed to examine how each woman constructs her own meaning and experience of life and power.

The interviews were tape-recorded and later coded from the recordings (cf. Skoe, 1986). Interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes. Transcriptions were made of two representative interviews, one that represents a care orientation and a connected self-concept (see Appendix B) and one that reflects a justice orientation and separate self-concept (see Appendix C). Segments of all interviews were also transcribed in order to facilitate coding and locate examples of citations.

Procedures

Unemployed women, with and without children, were contacted through three pre-employment programs located in the Greater Vancouver area. A presentation about the study was given to program participants. The women were told that the study was about how women see themselves and their own experience of power. Interviews were arranged with nine volunteers who had children and nine who did not.

Women who met the criteria for the study were first contacted by an employee of the employment program and were asked if they would be interested in participating in a research interview about their experience of

self and power. Nine consenting volunteers who had children and nine who did not were then contacted by the researcher and an interview was arranged.

Data Analysis

Because the nature of the themes of the two theories incorporated in this study is quite different, the analysis is presented in two parts. Part 1 relates to Gilligan's (1982) approach and Part 2 refers to Miller's (1982) and Grossman and Stewart's (1990) themes.

Part 1. To test whether the data fit Gilligan's theory and whether the distribution of scores fits the expected distribution, the χ^2 goodness-of-fit test was applied to the following null hypotheses (cf. Gilligan & Attanuci, 1988).

1. Thirty-three percent of the women will ascribe to the care orientation, 33% to that of justice, and 33% to both orientations.
2. Fifty percent of the women will describe power as a relational concept (they will refer to others in their lives) and 50% as a non-relational concept (as it relates to self-interest or an experience in isolation of significant others in their lives).

The χ^2 test of independence was applied to see if a woman's power orientation was contingent upon her employment and parental status and to determine whether a participant's self-concept was related to her perception of power. The test was also used to determine if a respondent's self-concept was linked to her employment status. The null hypotheses are as follows:

- 3.(a) Employment status and power orientation are independent.
- (b) Parental status and power orientation are independent.
4. Self-concept and power orientation are independent.

5. Employment status and self-concept are independent.

Part 2. An additional question which was examined descriptively is:

Will the themes of women and power, selected from Miller (1982) and Grossman and Stewart (1990), be present in the women's responses?

Part 1

Scoring

The Lyons (1983) coding procedure assigns scores based on the number of "thought" elements in the category of justice or care then sums these. Pratt et al. (1988) found that one orientation was, in general, more important than the other and scored each dilemma globally to preserve its organization more faithfully. The first author obtained 84% agreement and disputes were resolved through discussion in all cases but four where a mixed orientation was finally scored. Responses were coded as being justice focused, care focused, or mixed.

Following this method of global classification, the interviews were coded relying on the logic of Lyon's (1983) coding scheme but departed from her actual procedure in order to incorporate Johnston's (1988) and Pratt et al.'s (1988) schemas. Johnston notes that her coders achieved 100% reliability three times out of four and 90% on the fourth solution. The author also notes that her second coder had not previously been reliable on Lyon's real-life coding scheme, suggesting that her standardized fable method could be easily replicated.

Using the basis of Johnston's (1988) coding scheme, the unit of analysis was the entire situation described by the respondent. Positive power experiences and definitions were coded as being (a) rights oriented, (b) response oriented, and (c) both. Responses were coded as (c) both if 33% or 1/3 of the significance of what was being said could be attributed to the less-used orientation. A similar approach to coding was used by Gilligan and Attanuci (1988) who coded a dilemma as care-justice when neither orientation accounted for 75% of the codable considerations.

The coders of this study looked for the most significant aspect of a response (cf. Pratt et al., 1988). Emotional tone, length of time spent discussing each orientation, and the participant's own determination of what was most important to her were all taken into account when determining a rating.

An experience was classified as care-oriented when the respondent described or suggested that the essence of feeling powerful was related to caring for or helping others or involved interdependence with others. (Note that all names are fictitious.) For example, Sam, a youth worker and mother of three, discussing an experience where she felt powerful, spoke of working for a non-profit organization and convincing people to donate money. She stated that she felt powerful because she was able to benefit children and put a smile on a child's face who might not have been able to participate in the organization's activities had she not raised the money. Experiences which related predominantly to self-interest, principles, fairness, rules, or power over others were classified as justice-oriented. For example, Linnea, a clerical worker, and mother of two stated that she felt powerful when she fought the decision of a powerful bureaucracy and won an appeal to receive unemployment insurance.

For any data encountered that appeared uncodable or difficult to code, a categorization was worked out through discussion with a second coder (cf. Pratt et al., 1988).

Self-definitions were also coded globally (cf. Pratt et al., 1988) using the logic described by Lyons (1983). Responses were categorized as being predominantly (a) connected, (b) separate, and (c) both. In interviews where the orientation was difficult to code or unclear, weightings were attributed to parts of the response reflecting each of the two perspectives.

For example, when asked to describe herself, one interviewee began by saying that she was non-judgmental and enjoyed helping and being with others. She then went on to say that what was really important to her was being independent and reaching goals she set for herself. She spoke at length about her independence and future career plans and appeared very involved in what she was saying. Because her response was coded as 15% connected and 85% separate, overall her response was coded as separate. Julie, describing a connected self, spoke of herself almost solely in relation to her role as a mother. Her response was coded as connected. A response was coded as both if an individual referred to the least used orientation during a minimum of 33 % or 1/3 of the time used to define self.

Situations were also coded as (a) relational or (b) nonrelational (cf. Pratt et al., 1988; Walker et al., 1987). An experience involving no relationship or a highly impersonal relationship, such as the woman who spoke of winning her appeal for unemployment insurance, was classified as nonrelational. Relational situations implicated another individual or other individuals who were significant to the experience. For example, one woman felt powerful intervening in order to get medical attention for her father who was seriously ill (see Appendix B).

Gilligan and Attanuci (1988) suggest that, as researchers, we should attend to where the self stands with respect to moral orientation. This necessitated the inclusion of the question, "What is at stake for you in the conflict?" to see how the respondent associated herself with her different perspectives. The interviewee's response to this question often eliminated some of the coder indecision as to what was really important to the individual interviewed.

Interrater Reliability

Interrater reliability was determined following the procedure used by Pratt et al. (1988). An undergraduate student, unfamiliar with the hypotheses of the study, was trained to recognize the orientation(s) in the responses. She read and understood literature regarding the rationale and theory behind coding the interviews before beginning to code. The first and second coder then listened to, discussed, and coded three interviews where varying orientations were represented. Following this training session the second coder's decisions matched the logic described earlier. She then independently coded 10 or 28% of the interviews. The coefficient of agreement for the two raters was .80 (80%) on the self-concept descriptions and 1 (100%) on the power experiences and the relational or nonrelational classifications.

This is higher than the results obtained by Pratt et al. (1988) who established interrater reliability on their entire sample of interviews and obtained a coefficient of agreement of .75 (75%) for the self-concept ratings, .84 (84%) for the moral orientations of dilemmas, and .90 (90%) for the relational/nonrelational ratings. The reliabilities are similar to Johnston's reliabilities of 100% on three out of four moral dilemmas and 90% on the 4th dilemma.

Part 1: Results

Table 2 summarizes the number of cases observed in each of the three possible power categories. If one assumes an equal probability of care, justice, and care-justice orientations then one would expect to find a trinomial distribution in the orientations of accounts of real-life experiences. Although a slightly higher number of care-oriented experiences were recorded, the χ^2 goodness-of-fit test shows that the observed distribution does not differ significantly from the expected distribution, $\chi^2(2, N = 36) = 1.17, p = .56$, and does not provide supporting evidence for the contention that the majority of women see power in relation to care or care-justice and few women ascribe to the justice orientation.

Table 2

Power Orientation of Participants by Category (n = 36)

	Care	Justice	Care & justice
Cases Observed	15 (42%)	11 (31%)	10 (28%)
Cases Expected	12 (33%)	12 (33%)	12 (33%)

Note. Some categories do not add up to 100% due to rounding.

In Table 3, the relationship between employment status and power orientation can be examined. The test of statistical significance, $\chi^2(2, N = 36) = 2.88, p = .24$, does not demonstrate a significant relationship between employment status and power orientation. However, compared to

employed women, twice as many unemployed participants ascribed to the care orientation.

Table 3

Employment Status of Participants by Power Orientation (n = 36)

	Care	Justice	Care & justice
	<u>n</u> (%)	<u>n</u> (%)	<u>n</u> (%)
Employed	5 (14)	7(19)	6 (17)
Unemployed	10 (28)	4 (11)	4 (11)

Table 4 displays the relationship between parental status and orientation to power. The test of statistical significance, $\chi^2(2, N = 36) = 1.09$, $p = .58$, shows no significant relationship. The results demonstrate that both parents and women without children experience power as justice, care, and both justice and care. In fact more women without children were care-oriented than those with children. This indicates that being a mother does not necessarily moderate a woman's view of power.

Table 4

Parental Status of Participants by Power Orientation (n = 36)

	Care	Justice	Care & justice
	<u>n</u> (%)	<u>n</u> (%)	<u>n</u> (%)
No Children	9 (25)	5 (14)	4 (11)
Children	6 (17)	6 (17)	6 (17)

Note. Some categories do not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Power experiences were also coded as either relational or nonrelational. If one assumes an equal probability of relational and nonrelational experiences, then one would expect to find a binomial distribution of 50% of the dilemmas as relational and 50% as nonrelational. To test whether the distribution of scores fits the expected distribution, the goodness-of-fit test was applied. The observed distribution differs significantly from the expected, $\chi^2(1, N = 36) = 21.78$, $p = .001$, and provides supporting evidence for the hypothesis that women generally experience power in relation to significant others regardless of their orientation to power. Table 5 demonstrates the women's focus on relational experiences.

Table 5

Relational Focus of Participants by Category (n = 36)

	Relational	Nonrelational
Cases Observed	32 (89%)	4 (11%)
Cases Expected	18 (50%)	18 (50%)

Table 6 demonstrates no relationship between self-concept and employment status, $\chi^2 (2, N = 36) = 0.17, p = .92$. It appears that employment status does not moderate women's conception of self. In fact self-concept distributions by employment status were essentially identical.

Table 6

Employment Status of Participants by Self-Concept (n = 36)

	Connected n (%)	Separate n (%)	Both n (%)
Employed	8 (22)	5 (14)	5 (14)
Unemployed	9 (25)	5 (14)	4 (11)

To test the relationship between power orientation and self-concept a χ^2 test of independence was conducted. Although, the results indicated a significant relationship between power orientation and self-concept, the cell

sizes were too small ($\underline{n} < 5$ per cell) to legitimate the analysis (see Appendix D).

Post Hoc Analysis

Due to the lack of support for hypotheses 1, 1a, 1b, and 4, a post hoc analysis was conducted. The cells containing both categories were recoded and the data were reanalyzed. Using similar methodology to this study, some researchers have coded interviews predominantly in two categories (see Boyes & Petersen, 1991; Pratt et al., 1988). The 10 self-concept descriptions and 9 power experiences, which had been coded in the connected/separate and care/justice categories, were recoded as connected or separate and justice or care, respectively. Interrater reliability was established by the second coder who recoded all of the interview segments. The coefficient of agreement for the two raters was 100% or 1 on the self-concept descriptions and 90% or .9 for the power experiences.

With one exception, post hoc analysis did not reveal significance for any of the χ^2 relationships where nonsignificance was obtained in the initial analysis (see appendix E). However, Table 7 demonstrates a significant relationship between power orientation and self-concept, $\chi^2 (1, \underline{N} = 36) = 7.2, p = .01$. This indicates that women who are care-oriented are more inclined to describe a self connected to others, whereas those who are justice-oriented tend to describe a separate self.

Table 7

Power Orientation of Participants by Self-Concept (n = 36)

	Connected	Separate
	<u>n</u> (%)	<u>n</u> (%)
Care	12 (33)	4 (11)
Justice	6 (17)	14 (39)

Part 1: Discussion

An assumption of this study was that women's experiences of power related directly to Gilligan's theory of women and moral reasoning (1982) and that these experiences could be analyzed effectively within this framework. As theorized by Gilligan, it is possible to classify experiences of power as (a) oriented towards justice, reflecting either a strong self-interest or power as control or dominance of others (see Appendix B for a justice-oriented experience); and as (b) oriented towards care, involving care and nurturance of others--a view of power as interdependence (see Appendix C for a care-oriented experience). However, studies of moral orientation have found that many respondents also offered a view of power that reflected both care and justice (see Gilligan & Attanuci, 1988; Johnston, 1988).

Although Gilligan's (1982) theory provides an appropriate structure for analysis, her research findings and those of Lyons (1983) are inconsistent with the results of this study, which indicate that the relatively uneducated women were not more inclined to experience power as care than power as justice, or power as care-justice. The heterogeneity of these women's orientations to power does, however, support Johnston's (1988) argument that the choice of orientation is not a reflection of level of intellectual functioning. An orientation may indicate a preference or a reaction to varying life experiences.

There are many possible explanations for the results obtained in this study. All of the researchers who found differences in moral orientation in real-life experiences (Gilligan, 1982; Lyons, 1983; Pratt et al., 1988; Walker et al., 1987) drew from pools of participants that were substantially different from the respondents in this study. The participants in previous

studies were often married, well-educated, well-employed, and involved in the community. It is possible that the hardships the women in this study have gone through during divorces, addictions, experiences of abuse, or a life of low income have discouraged some women from focusing on caring for others. Perhaps survival has necessitated a self-focus for women who possess these kind of disadvantages. For many of these women a care orientation may be a luxury.

For example, the experience of divorce or separation was difficult and hurtful for most of the divorced respondents. The financial and emotional consequences of an interpersonal loss of this kind (see Hicks & Anderson, 1989; Weitzman, 1985) could cause women to distance themselves from caring for others to avoid further emotional hurt. Many of the women may be very depressed following a relational loss of this kind (see Kaplan, 1986) and thus may be more inclined to withdraw into themselves. Furthermore, many of the women in the study suggested that power meant independence from men indicating a need to distance the self from some relationships. In addition, the independent and assertive qualities, which are most present in single women, could have a bearing on these women's power experiences (see Gigy, 1980).

The literature shows that other aspects of these women's disadvantages, such as alcohol and drug abuse and histories of abusive relationships, could also influence their power experiences. For example, women may drink to escape society's traditional expectations (Bepko, 1989). According to Bepko, excessive drinking or drug abuse enables women to become emotionally distant or less responsible for those around them. Perhaps the women in the study who were formerly or are presently alcoholics or drug abusers continue to play out the desired effects

of the alcohol and drugs in order to be justice-oriented or separate from others (see Appendix C). In addition, Bepko adds that women in abusive marriages often feel powerless to change their situation. Liberating oneself from this situation would generally require a justice orientation to power because women are often required to step out of their traditional sex-role behaviour of submissiveness and response to others' needs in order to fight for their rights.

Although a statistically significant relationship was not obtained between employment status and power orientation, the analysis shows that unemployed women were twice as inclined to focus on the care orientation than their employed counterparts. With a small sample of 36 participants it is very difficult to obtain a much greater difference than the one found. In addition, many of the responses that did show a slightly greater orientation to either care or justice were classified in the both category. A post hoc analysis of the data, collapsing the "both" category, did not, however, reveal a significant relationship between power orientation and employment status. A relationship may be found in a future study, where a much larger sample size is used.

This study provides no evidence to support the claim that parents have a greater inclination to be care-oriented than those who are not mothers (see Guttman, 1985; Pratt et al., 1988). In fact, more women without children described a care view of power than women with children. Perhaps the age of their children was a factor. Some studies that have indicated that women with children revert to more traditional, care-oriented roles have involved parents of newborns or infants (e.g., Cowan et al., 1985; Attanuci, 1986). The mothers in this study generally had children over three years of age. However, the parents in Pratt et al.'s

study (1988), where mothers were more inclined to describe a care orientation to morality, had children up to 16 years of age. The data I obtained shows that age of the children most likely had no bearing on the results. For example, three of the mothers who were care-oriented had children who were three years of age or less, whereas the other three parents who indicated a care orientation had children over six years of age. Further research is needed to determine whether mothers of younger children are more likely to be care-oriented than women with older children or women who are not mothers.

The fact that many of the mothers in this study were divorced or separated and most were single parents may have a bearing on the results obtained. For example, seven of the mothers were previously divorced or separated, whereas none of the childless women had been through this experience (see Table 1). All of the mothers in Pratt et al.'s (1988) study were married and living with their spouses. Other studies where care orientations or traditional behaviour have been found to be more prevalent in mothers involved married women (see Attanuci, 1986; Cowan et al., 1985). The lack of support single mothers obtain from spouses and others (see Hochschild, 1989; Weitzman, 1985) and the increased stress they encounter from the demands on their time may lead them to perceive caring for others as a draining rather than powerful experience. Further research is required to determine whether marital status is related to the power experience of both women who are mothers and those who are not, as well as their self-concept.

Regardless of their orientation to power, the women in this study were, as expected, generally more likely to describe relational experiences than nonrelational experiences. It appears that power is a relational

construct for women and that others must generally be present in some capacity for women to feel powerful. Although the four situations that were classified as nonrelational did reflect a justice orientation to power, many justice-oriented dilemmas were of a relational nature. This indicates that the tendency for women to describe care-oriented situations (Pratt et al., 1988; Walker et al., 1987), may only be slightly influenced by the dilemma content as the authors suggest. The reporting of relational situations does not necessarily lead women to describe care-oriented experiences. In addition, the prevalence of relational situations, emphasized by the results in this study offers substantial support for theorists who assert that connection and relating to others is central to women's core sense of self (see Gilligan, 1982; Kaplan, 1986; Miller, 1976). The evidence of the importance of relationships to women's power experiences is a signal to counsellors to value, nurture, and encourage this aspect of women's lives.

Although women are most likely to feel powerful in relationships, it is clear that women differ in how they describe themselves in relation to others. The data reveal two distinct conceptions of relationships, each one characterized by a unique perspective toward others. Some women describe themselves as separate from others (see Appendix B), whereas others describe a self connected to other people in their lives (see Appendix C). Women may also describe a self that reflects both of these orientations. How the self is conceived appears to be directly linked to these women's orientation to power--women who are care-oriented are more inclined to describe a connected self, whereas justice-oriented women are more likely to speak of a separate self. This offers partial evidence that the link between moral orientation and self-concept, discovered in samples of

advantaged women (Lyons 1983; Pratt et al., 1988), holds across class. Although the relationship between power orientation and self-concept is demonstrated in the responses of most of the women of varying cultures who participated in this study, further research is needed to determine whether this link holds across culture. This link could have implications for the counselling profession. For example, a counsellor could determine a client's self-concept and then empower her client through the process of identifying and valuing her orientation to power.

It was expected that unemployed women would be more inclined to describe a connected self whereas employed women would predominantly describe a balanced connected/separate self. However, no relationship was found between self-concept and employment status. Many factors could contribute to the fact that the employed women in this study were not more inclined to describe a more separate, independent self-concept than their unemployed counterparts. For example, in some studies where employed women described independent selves (Gigy, 1980), the participants were well-educated and felt successful in what they did. This description contrasts sharply with the minimal education and level of employment of the participants in this study. The findings indicate that perhaps level of education is a more important moderator of self-concept than employment.

Although employment does provide women with more independence, the acquisition of an entry-level position does not necessarily change a woman's position in society. Whether a woman expresses autonomy or relatedness reflects her social status (see Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1986) which is not necessarily altered by a woman's employment in a low-paying job. In some instances, an employed participant's description of a connected self may reflect her low status in society, which may have a

greater influence on her self-concept than the independence or autonomy she has gained through employment. In addition, other life experiences may determine which self-orientation women will use (see Gilligan, 1982). Although being employed does not appear to alter these women's orientations, perhaps experiences such as divorce, abuse as adults and children, and alcoholism are important moderators of these women's views of self. It appears that a balance between connectedness and separateness, used as a model of mental health for women (see Sturdivant, 1980; Marshall, 1984), may not be prevalent in a group of working women who have not yet been able to resolve the emotional turmoil they have encountered in life.

The nature of the participants could also have influenced the results of this study. The women who agreed to volunteer may not have been representative of a disadvantaged population. If a care orientation is a luxury that may be experienced less by a disadvantaged population, why were so many of the participants in this study care-oriented?

It may have been easier to enlist the participation of women with more care-oriented views because they were perhaps eager to help the researcher. Although when the study was presented an emphasis was placed on the importance of the women's contributions to research, the employed women were approached first by a program employee who may have appealed to their caring nature by asking the women if they would be willing to help the researcher to complete her study. Furthermore, my introduction to the group members by the program leaders may have served as an indication to the volunteers that the leaders would benefit from their participation in my study. Perhaps the number of justice-oriented women in the disadvantaged population is even greater than this

study shows because those women who held a justice perspective may have exercised their right to say "no". In addition, women who had very low self-esteem may also have declined to be interviewed because they may not have been able to describe themselves or fathom possessing any power at all (see Belenky et al., 1986).

The results of this study may have also been affected by the length of the interview and a desire on the part of the respondents to please or be liked by the interviewer (see Piaget, 1971). Many of the responses participants gave were inconsistent with other statements they made in the interview. This is evidenced by the fact that many participants provided definitions of power that reflected opposite orientations than that reflected in the experience they later described. In addition, it appeared that several of the respondents had been in psychotherapy and may have been reiterating what they had learnt from their therapists rather than what may have been their own true beliefs. Because the interviews were only 30 minutes in duration, there is also a possibility that some respondents did not feel comfortable enough with the interviewer to reveal their true selves.

However, the quality and depth of many of the women's stories suggests that many respondents offered their actual beliefs--responses reflecting *liberated* or *spontaneous convictions* (see Piaget, 1971). Most of the women shared their deepest pains involving stories of abandonment, abuse, and drug addiction. Others described their intense joy at being a mother, or a care-giver. In using real-life situations as lived by women (see Lyons, 1983; Tappan, 1990), I was able to understand the aspects and events of self and power that were often most significant to them.

This analysis based on Gilligan's (1982) theory is not complete enough to fully understand the individuality, complexity, and variation

among women's experience of power, nor does it explore women's discomfort with power. This can be better investigated in Part 2 of the study using another coding procedure and thematic analysis (see Grossman & Stewart, 1990).

Part 2

Scoring

I coded Interview questions regarding power using a modified version of the coding scheme devised by Grossman and Stewart (1990), which was developed from Miller's (1982) theory. Themes that emerged in Grossman and Stewart's interviews were coded. Responses were examined for the occurrence of 7 of the 11 themes suggested by Grossman and Stewart. The 7 themes were selected for their clarity. The 4 themes that were not used appear to repeat concepts. (See Appendix F for a complete list of the 11 themes.)

I coded the responses on a 3-point rating scale. If the theme was strong or highly apparent in the participant's response, the response received a code of 2. If the theme was weak, a code of 1 was recorded and if a theme did not emerge a code of 0 was noted. The themes that were coded are: (a) power as selfishness, (b) power as destructiveness, (c) power as abandonment, (d) power as nurturance, (e) power as equality, mutuality, and symmetry, (f) power as an enjoyable experience when legitimated by a woman's role, and (g) power as nurturance must be limited for the powerholder's sake.

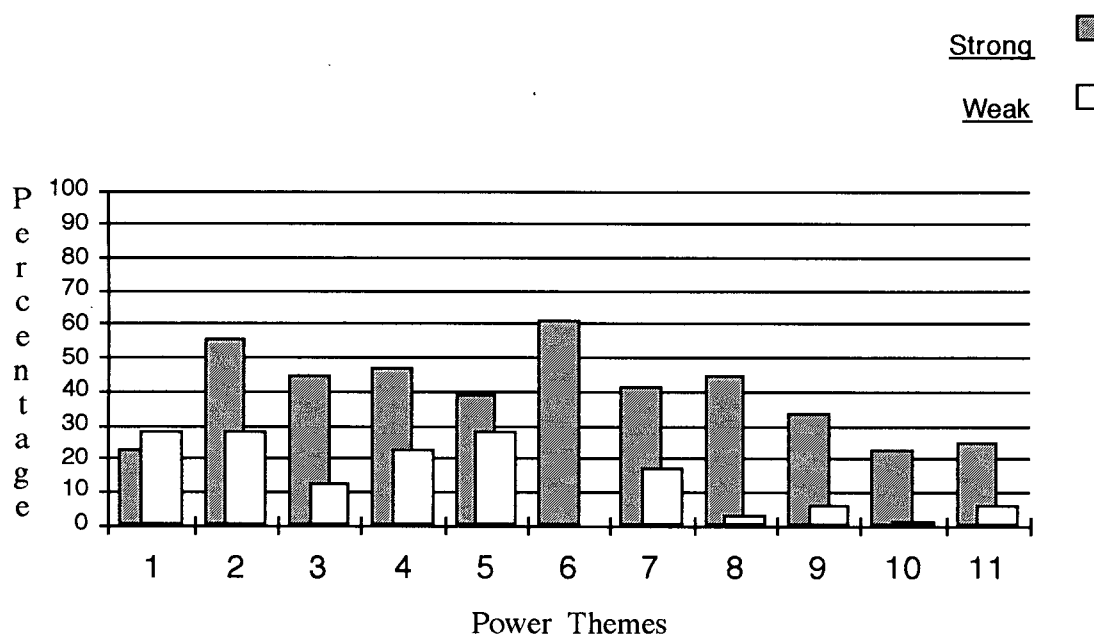
After the responses were examined for these themes, a thematic analysis was conducted (cf. Grossman & Stewart, 1990) in order to identify themes that emerged directly from the material.

Part 2: Results

I coded the 36 participant responses for the dimensions of power that Miller (1982) and Grossman and Stewart (1990) assert pose difficulties for women, as well as for themes of satisfaction associated with power (cf., Grossman & Stewart) and newly emerging themes (themes 8 to 10). Figure 1 displays the frequency of identified themes.

Figure 1

Percentage of Participants Including Power Themes in Interviews



Legend

1. Power as selfishness
2. Power as destructiveness
3. Power as abandonment
4. Power as nurturance
5. Power as equality
6. Power as an enjoyable experience when legitimated by a woman's role
7. Power as nurturance must be limited
8. Power as self-determination
9. Power as a negative force linked to men
10. Power as independence from men
11. Power as employment

The following are examples of each of the dimensions accompanied by the frequency of their occurrence. The first three themes draw from Miller's (1982) work and are followed by four themes from Grossman and Stewart's research (1990). Four new themes, which emerged in the thematic analysis are then presented. The names of the women incorporated in the presentation of the themes are not their actual names.

Miller's Themes

Power as selfishness. This theme was strong in 8 (22%) of the responses and was apparent, though weak, in 10 (28%) of the responses. For example, in one interview, in which the theme was strong, Marilyn, a 25-year-old unemployed woman, discusses how difficult it was to use her power to help herself to resolve her history of sexual abuse:

When I started getting therapy and telling people about my stuff that happened that made me feel really bad. That kind of power really hurt me. When I filed the police report at first that made me feel bad...I was telling on him, betraying his trust...I know now that he doesn't deserve my love and respect. It took me two and a half years of therapy for me to realize that...I felt so guilty...What was at stake was hurting my whole family.

Prior to this statement, Marilyn discussed the importance of psychotherapy and exposing her father. However, when she speaks of taking action, which represents powerful steps to healing for herself, she talks of worrying about others before herself. Marilyn's response indicates a link between seizing personal power and feeling selfish.

Throughout the interview Marilyn vacillates between her feelings of guilt encountered from doing things for herself and her need to describe herself as a strong person who has worked through this guilt. She

eventually admits her true feelings regarding her position in relation to others.

I put other people first but I'm trying to learn that I'm important too. I will eventually learn that I matter.

Dal, a 25-year-old accounting clerk, speaks of feelings of regret encountered when she used her power over another woman.

I felt bad using a friend to go out with me just so I wouldn't have to be alone...getting her to drive me places and things like that.

Dal appeared comfortable discussing power as it related to nurturance and helping others but, when she reflected on a situation when she dominated a peer, she chastised herself for having used another for her own needs.

Power as destructiveness. This theme was the most prevalent of Miller's themes. Of the participants, 20 (56%) gave responses in which it was strong. In 10 (28%) of the interviews the theme appeared but was weak. Many of the women related power, when discussed in a negative sense, to a situation of abuse. Some respondents spoke of spouses using power through physical force to destroy their self-esteem. Speaking of what power can do to a relationship, the idea of destructiveness is highly apparent in the following citation where Rosie discusses the effect of her response to her father's abusive behavior towards her mother.

Power can destroy a relationship. It destroyed my relationship with my father...I got a restraining order against my father to get out of the house and leave my mother alone. I didn't feel good because he was my father and he was my idol...It cost me a lot. It cost me my relationship with my father.

Rosie acted in a powerful way, taking control and stopping her father from battering her mother. She sees the cost of both her father's power-hungry

behavior and her own reaction to the situation as high, the result being the destruction of a relationship.

Power as abandonment. This theme was strong in 16 (44%) of the responses and was weak in 8 (22%) of the interviews. The theme was represented in varying situations and definitions described by the participants. Many mothers spoke of fearing the loss of their children's love after having disciplined them. One woman spoke of the danger of losing friends by accepting a promotion which would necessitate having power over them. Bev, a passive, 22-year-old office clerk, describes sticking up for herself in a situation where she was being unfairly ridiculed.

I felt powerful swearing at a girl at work. I felt like I stood up for my rights, that I could face her, that I was strong. Later I regretted it...I lost the friendship.

Swearing at a fellow-employee who was being abusive to Bev appears to be a highly memorable and rare experience of defending herself. For once she stepped out of a passive role and used her power. Her regrets are strong, however, as her actions resulted in the high cost of being abandoned by a friend.

Grossman and Stewart's Themes

Power as nurturance. In 16 (47%) of the responses the theme, power as nurturance was strong. The theme was weak in 8 (22%) of the interviews. As found by Grossman and Stewart (1990), the women expressed positive feelings towards the experience of power in the form of nurturance. Many of the mothers spoke of gaining a great sense of power from caring for their children. Other women spoke of feeling powerful

helping a friend or relative. May, a 22-year-old working mother, describes her experience of looking after her daughter.

When I had Kerry there was really nobody else that could do it except for me. That's when I felt the most power, being able to look after Kerry by myself. She gave me the strength and power to do it.

Power as equality. The theme of power as equality, suggesting that the goal of power is to maintain or strive for equality, mutuality, and symmetry, was strong in 14 (39%) of the interviews and weak in 10 (28%) of the responses. Many women suggested that they felt most powerful when they could work as a team. Others asserted that they did not like the kind of power that puts one person over another, and they said they avoided the expression of power in this form in favour of a power that enabled them to stay on an equal level to others. For example, Shannon discusses her personal definition of power.

Power is a spiritual thing. Like when I see some community work being done. I don't just mean a committee. I mean when people are willing to be altruistic and work with one another instead of that sole personal power (power for self or power over others)...We're all on the same spiritual level, nature and humans.

Power as an enjoyable experience when legitimated by a woman's role. This theme was recorded when women indicated that they felt satisfaction using their power in relation to a role they saw themselves in, such as mother, employee, divorcee, or single woman. Twenty-two (61%) of the interviews reflected the theme that power can be enjoyable (even exhilarating) even when it is not nurturant if it is a legitimate aspect of a woman's role. Some women expressed satisfaction when discussing experiences of power in relation to their paid work. Others spoke of

feeling good about leaving a spouse, and one woman said she felt powerful winning an employment insurance appeal. Tineel, a 27-year-old mother of two, speaks of feeling powerful when she changed her name back to her maiden name after she left her spouse. The change is legitimized by her new role as a single or divorced woman.

I felt powerful when I changed my name back to my maiden name. I showed him that I'm powerful in who I am and don't mess with it. It felt powerful too because it's a known name.

Power as nurturance must be limited for the powerholder's sake.

This theme was strong in 15 (42%) of the interviews and was weak in 6 (17%) of the responses. Many women spoke of having to remember to care for themselves as well as for others. Some admitted quickly that others always came first in their lives but added that they were trying to change this. Mothers frequently spoke of the importance of taking time for themselves away from their children. For example, Cindy, a 24-year-old working mother describes her need to limit her time with her daughter:

I have to take time out in order to survive. For example, if I have to pick up my daughter and I'm too tired I say, "no, I'll go to a movie with a friend."

Emergent Themes

In the analysis of the interviews with disadvantaged employed and unemployed women some of whom were mothers, several additional themes emerged. Four of the emergent themes were represented in many of the responses and merit further discussion.

Power as self-determination. When asked to describe what power means in their lives, 16 (44%) of the women in the study expressed a view of power in relation to self-determination. Some said that power is

freedom to make choices, others spoke of having control over one's own life, another described power as doing whatever one wants to do. Sam, a 33-year-old mother of three who is employed as a youth worker describes a part of her definition of power:

Power is the ability to take charge of yourself. It's doing what's in your mind...It means taking control of you, taking control over your own life.

Power as a negative force is often linked to men. When asked to discuss how power is used negatively in society or to describe an experience of powerlessness, 12 (33%) of the women in this study clearly associated power in its negative forms to men in their lives or the role men play in society in general. For example, Shannon criticizes the powerful role she attributes largely to men.

Power is negative when a person...I think of men because they've been given that opportunity to go after that negative power...I think of someone like a politician or corporate businessman just going in for himself and hurting other people...

Many women described how powerless they felt in relationships with men and described the power these men possessed in a negative way. Several women spoke of being abused physically, emotionally, or sexually by their spouses, boyfriends, fathers, or grandfathers. Carla describes how she felt about the power some of the men in her life possessed.

Lots of times I felt very powerless...Boyfriends for some reason I always seem to pick the wrong ones. So that's why I don't have one right now. They were always very powerful over me, very dominant. I don't know why I picked guys like them...Sometimes

they'd pull this male thing. They'd have to be dominant. They want you to be dependent on them. I want them to have power but I want it to be 50-50.

Power as independence from men. Perhaps due to the negative experience many of the respondents had with men, several of the women in the study associated power with independence from men. This theme was strong in 8 (22%) of the responses. For example, Lisa, a 36-year-old unemployed woman, describes the importance of independence in her life.

I was working at a company but I was also hooking on the side too. But I didn't stand on the corner, I had my own clients. I felt powerful because I had money in my life and I could take a taxi from here to here and not everybody knew my own business...And I guess I just felt it was really great that I didn't have to depend on some man.

Power as Employment. Lisa's experience of working for money also appears to contribute to her feeling of power. Many of the women in the study associated feeling powerful with paid work. Of the 36 responses, the theme was strong in 9 (25%) of the interviews. For example, Linda, an employed mother of two, when asked to describe an experience where she felt powerful, describes the following situation:

I got a job working in tourism. I advanced. I got three jobs and every one was getting higher up in pay and everyone was surprised that I actually got a job as a hostess because that was good money... I impressed her in the interview...I felt I had some say about my job I felt really good to be at work I enjoyed my job a lot...I felt like I could fly.

Linda appears to link employment to a deep experience of self-satisfaction associated with her personal achievements. This experience of paid work allows her to feel powerful in relative isolation of others.

In contrast, Sam, who is employed helping youth, describes how paid work enables her to make a difference for others. In her description of a time she felt powerful it is apparent that her experience of power as employment is deeply related to care and connection with others.

The teen mom program I was telling you about. Getting a makeup artist to come in and put makeup on those girls and seeing their faces when they looked different. It made them feel good. It raised their self-esteem. You feel good about that because you've made another person happy.

Further Insights into Women's Experiences of Powerlessness

Many other themes, primarily those relating to experiences of powerlessness, appeared with less frequency in women's responses. For example, five women associated powerlessness with alcohol abuse and spoke of feeling more powerful when they stopped the abuse. Another five women associated feeling powerless to experiences of sexual abuse. Three women spoke of feeling powerless in situations where they had been falsely accused and were unable to defend themselves. Other descriptions of experiences of powerlessness were extremely varied and generally unrelated. For example, one employed woman spoke of feeling powerless while she was on welfare because she thought she would never be able to run her own life. Another unemployed woman described feeling powerless over her debts and financial problems, whereas an employed woman stated that she felt powerless when others did not listen to her.

Three of the women refused to offer a situation describing a time when they felt powerless; one woman denied that this feeling had ever occurred in her life. One 26-year-old store clerk broke into tears when asked to talk about powerlessness. She later explained that she was crying because the question provoked a flashback of an experience too painful to discuss.

Part 2: Discussion

The coding procedure developed by Grossman and Stewart (1990) has not yet been tested for reliability. Work with this coding scheme was, therefore, strictly of an exploratory and descriptive nature and requires further study to ensure its accuracy. Future researchers may wish to create and test a coding scheme based on the themes found in this study.

Grossman and Stewart (1990) identified themes of women's experience of power over others and the emergent themes they identified reflect this concept. It was anticipated that the disadvantaged women in this study would not describe much or any power over others and that the coding scheme would be incomplete. However, these women spoke sufficiently of their view of power in general, reflecting both their feelings towards their own uses of power and others' uses to touch on Miller's (1982) and Grossman and Stewart's themes. The participants in this study were also sufficiently different from those in the previous study to generate new emergent themes and ideas.

An analysis and coding of the participants' interviews suggests that the themes of women's discomfort with power articulated by Miller (1982), as well as the additional experiences of being in power described by Grossman and Stewart (1990), are important and direct aspects of these women's experience. There are, however, other features of their experience not fully captured by these authors' analysis. These features include additional gratifying experiences and views of power as well as themes which portray negative attitudes towards men and dependence on men who are perceived as powerholders.

Because the interviews in this study were substantially shorter and based on different content than those conducted by Grossman and Stewart

(1990), the nature of the responses differs. The responses obtained in the shorter interviews are generally more spontaneous and could not be developed in as great detail (see Piaget, 1971). Because of the brevity of the interviews, women generally discussed views and beliefs that were most central or obvious to them resulting in the interview content being highly varied. In addition, the respondents in this study were far less educated and were either unemployed or held lower level jobs than the three psychotherapists and three university professors in Grossman and Stewart's study. These variations lead to a new perspective on previously articulated themes and allowed new themes, more closely related to these women's disadvantage and position of little power in society, to emerge.

The more powerful, educated, employed women in Grossman and Stewart's study focused almost entirely on their work setting in the discussion of their power experience. In this study, given the option, the participants generally spoke of significant interpersonal relationships and the role power played in both building and weakening bonds with others. This is consistent with Walker et al.'s (1987) finding that women were more likely than men to discuss experiences involving relationships.

The experiences the women described were full of joy, love, and self-confidence, as well as pain and abuse. The largest source of the pain did not appear to be the abuse itself but took root in the loss of a relationship or a lack of connection. Miller's three themes (power and selfishness, power and destructiveness, and power and abandonment) seem to repeat the same global theme--that power in its negative form can lead to a loss of a relationship or a lack of connection. This finding corresponds with findings that indicate that, although some women will speak of a self separate from others, women are more inclined to describe a connected

self-concept (e.g., Boyes & Petersen, 1991). It appears that women's discomfort with some form of power is not due to an aversion to the power in itself but rather to a desire to be connected, resulting in severe discomfort when this cannot be achieved. Miller (1976) discusses the importance of affiliation in women's lives, suggesting that connection is central to women's psychological development. It appears that this finding can be clearly linked to her themes of power (Miller, 1982).

Gilligan (1982) suggests that ties to others are central to women's experience of power but does not offer empirical evidence to support her theory. Women's ties to others were emphasized in the themes of power as nurturance and power as equality. The power experiences that involved connection with others, and did not jeopardize that connection in any way, were seen as highly gratifying. Reflecting these themes, whether respondents discussed highly significant, long-term relationships, such as those with a daughter or best friend, or temporary relationships, such as those with a fellow-worker or classmate, the importance of preserving the connection was central.

The importance of connection in some women's lives was emphasized in the theme indicating that power must be limited for the nurturer's sake. In discussing the importance of taking time for themselves almost all of the women who presented this theme suggested that it was important to take time for themselves in order to be more available to their children or to significant others at a future time. It appears that, although some of these women are trying to be more self-focused and independent, they feel a need to justify their actions. These women may fear the judgements of the status quo that disapproves of their self-nurturance (see Polk, 1974).

However, the emergent themes of power, and Grossman and Stewart's (1990) theme of power as a clear and legitimate aspect of a woman's role did not reflect a need for affiliation. Many of the women in this study had been so thoroughly betrayed by others in their lives that the belief or knowledge of the necessity of independence and self-determination was present in their thoughts even if it was simply an idea that they were not yet ready to act upon. Perhaps this expanded view of power as a willingness to act for the self results in the increased psychological functioning many women experience following a divorce (Wallerstein, 1986). Further research into the power themes in the lives of divorced women is needed.

Although the newly emerging theme of self-determination is strong and evident within the participants' definitions of power, it is questionable whether it is as representative as it appears of these women's actual experience of power. When asked about the meaning of power in their lives, the theme was generally offered in the first sentence of the response. It was often provided without much reflection and, in some cases, was not supported by other aspects of the personal definition of power or the woman's experience of feeling powerful. Because this view of power represents much of the current rhetoric found in self-help books, I question the depth of the belief in some of the respondents' answers. Perhaps all responses cannot be attributed equal value and some may not reflect the true beliefs of the respondent (see Piaget, 1971).

Conversely the role of employment in women's lives, which leads to independence and self-determination (Helson et al., 1990) appeared central for many of these women. In spite of their situation of financial need, most of the women in this study claimed to be employed by choice, in

order to improve themselves and exert more control over their own lives. Few of the women spoke of being employed due to necessity. This could be typical of participants of employment programs. The programs place an emphasis on career planning, choice, and becoming fulfilled through employment, thus, enabling the women to actively determine what kind of paid work they desire. The element of choice over necessity is emphasized by the fact that many of the women, especially those with children, did not earn significantly more money through work outside of the home than they did on social assistance. Due to these positive attitudes toward employment, it is not surprising that many women described the importance of paid work to their capacity to feel powerful. In addition to contributing to a woman's self-esteem (Rosen et al., 1990) and experience of independence, employment can also provide an opportunity to care for and be connected to others. This would correspond with Marshall's (1984) discussion of the importance of women's expression of both independence and interdependence in employment settings.

A theme, which emerged in this study, and appeared to be deeply experienced by some women was one of bitterness towards the men who held power and took away power from these women. Power in the form of domination or control was scorned by these respondents who frequently associated control over others to either men in their lives or those men who held positions of power in society. Because many of the women had been involved in negative experiences with men, it follows that, for them, power was independence from men or what Milgram (1975) describes as a state of autonomy. Women had various reasons for desiring to be on their own, some did it for reasons of nurturance saying that it would be best for their children, others did it to preserve their own dignity. Leaving an abusive

spouse could have been very difficult for these women because a connection with an abusive partner generally resulted in strong feelings of powerlessness (Bepko, 1989) or an agentic state where women perceived themselves as an agent for carrying out another's wishes (Milgram, 1975). Power as independence from men is reflected in the experiences of single women. A future study of happily married women's experiences may reveal some interesting and completely different results.

The women in this study's experiences of powerlessness were frequently related to their role as women. For example, incidents of abuse, sexual harassment, or not being listened to all result from women's inferior power position in society (Sturdivant, 1980). Although some experiences of powerlessness could be considered minor incidents, many were not. Some women indicated utter despair when relating their experience.

The component of the interview that explored powerlessness was brief and much more time is needed to delve into the feelings, events, beliefs, and implications surrounding these women's experiences. The short answers I obtained to such a personal question were often rich and full of both pain and insight. These responses indicate that a much more in-depth study concerning women's experiences of powerlessness is in order. Women's responses to this question also indicate that it is a highly important subject for counsellors to broach with their clients. It brought many women to an emotional level where meaningful therapy could be done.

Some of the themes identified in this research have been found in women who have sought counselling (Miller, 1982) as well as in a study of women in prestigious helping professions (Grossman & Stewart, 1990). This study of disadvantaged women of limited education and employment

status offers support for the importance of the themes presented in past research but also represents a vast variation of experience. The themes can in no way be attributed to all women's experience and are presented in differing forms in the participants' responses.

It appears that how a woman experiences power and her view of power is closely linked to her individual socialization and experiences of power throughout life. This is evidenced in the negative feelings many victims of abuse describe towards using power to dominate another.

One aspect of socialization which appears highly apparent in the majority of the responses is the link between these women's experience of power and their desire and need for affiliation. It is difficult to discern the actual importance of this need to women in particular without obtaining further data from other women and men.

The notion of power and how it relates to connection to others as well as the need to gain a greater understanding of the problem of women and powerlessness represent highly fertile areas of research and should be an important priority for students of power.

An Integration of Part 1 and Part 2

Conclusions and Implications

Gilligan's (1982) theory has not yet been used to examine "a different voice" of power. Because it values women's ways of being and experiencing, it provides a highly positive and useful framework for the analysis and redefinition of experiences of power as it did for the restructuring of a theory of moral reasoning.

This study has empirically tested and validated an essential dimension of a theory of women and power. It suggests that no individual is entirely powerless (Margolis, 1989) but that socialization and personal priorities lead to the expression of different forms of power that may involve caring for others or benefitting one's self. As counsellors of disadvantaged women whose goal it is to empower our clients, we should emphasize the power our clients do possess, beginning by accessing powerful experiences and encouraging women to build, and diversify their experience.

Counsellors should also attend to the fact that women in this study were equally inclined to be connected and separate, justice-oriented and care-oriented--some women saw power as nurturance, whereas others gained power through independence from men and work. Although feminist therapists recommend the valuing of feminine qualities, they have generally focused attention on encouraging women to be more independent and self-focused (Lemkau & Landau, 1986). This study has shown that, although some women require treatment that fosters separateness from others, many women may benefit from therapy that facilitates becoming more connected.

Furthermore, the power orientation analysis, in addition to the thematic analysis, all emphasize the importance of relationships to a

woman's experience of power. Counsellors and researchers should attend to and value this aspect of women's experience. Research which allows women's relational selves to emerge, such as accounts of real-life experiences is recommended as it appears most representative of women's ways of being.

Contrary to expectation, this investigation has not shown any significant relationships between women's roles as mother or employee and her power orientation or self-concept. However, the results indicate that divorce and marital status may be moderators of women's experience. For example, the fact that many of the mothers in this study were unmarried or previously divorced or separated, may explain why mothers were not found to be more care-oriented than their childless counterparts. In addition, emergent themes (i.e., power as independence from men, and power as a negative force is often linked to men) indicate that divorce or the decision to remain single may have a significant impact--effecting a woman's power experience and her perception of self as more justice-oriented and separate. Further studies should investigate these possible effects of marital status and divorce. In addition, because this study did not demonstrate a significant link between employment and perspectives of power and self in relatively uneducated women, future studies which examine the effects of education on these views are recommended.

A previous divorce, a limited level of education, and being a single parent could all be components of a woman's disadvantaged status. It appears, therefore, that the participants' disadvantaged backgrounds may lead them to experience power from a justice perspective. Studies comparing the views of advantaged women to those who are considered

disadvantaged may help to determine whether a care orientation to power is, in part, a luxury.

This study is limited to the analysis of the experiences of disadvantaged women between 21 and 40 years of age and no generalizations can be made to other social classes or age groups. Furthermore, because men were not involved in the study, no conclusions can be drawn regarding gender differences in power orientations, self-concept, or power themes. Although gender differences in self-concept and moral orientation have been demonstrated (Lyons, 1983; Pratt et al., 1988), a comparison between men's and women's power orientations, in addition to a study of the variation of power themes in men's and women's lives has not been researched and would provide highly fertile ground for future study.

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Appendix A Interview Schedule

The following questions have been adapted from Lyons' (1983) interview schedule.

1. A set of self-description questions: "How would you describe yourself to yourself?" "Is the way you see yourself now different from the way you saw yourself in the past?" "What lead to the change?" (Lyons p. 143)

2. Definition and general questions: "What does power mean to you in your life?" "When is power a negative term and when is it a positive term?" "What does responsibility mean to you?" "When power for self and power for others conflict, how should one choose?"

3. Discussion of a real-life experience of power generated by questions about power asked in several ways: "Have you ever been in a situation where you felt powerful?" "Have you ever been in a position of power?" "Tell me about a time when you used your power in your life." "Could you describe the situation?" "What did you do?" "How did you feel about using power in this way?" "*What was at stake for you in this conflict or situation?" "Tell me about a time you felt good (or bad depending on the answer to the previous question) about using your power." "*What was at stake for you in this situation?"

(In addition to the three questions based on Lyons' (1983) schedule).
Describe a situation or time when you felt powerless.

Note. - The order of the questions has been changed from Lyons' (1983) original schedule where question 3 was followed by questions 1 and 2.

Appendix B
Transcript No. 1 - Connected and Care

(All of the names used are fictitious.)

Int.: The first question I want to ask you Betty is to describe yourself to yourself?

Betty: Myself to myself? Oh that's hard. Um, I have black hair, black eyes. I don't know help me.

Int.: How about if I said, who are you?

Betty: I'm Betty. I love kids. I work in a daycare and, uh, I don't know.

Int.: You love kids.

Betty: I just adore kids. That's one of the reasons why I wanted to work in a daycare. I have this little boy named Bob. He just...I can't go anywhere. I can't go inside unless he's behind me. You know he's got to go everywhere I go you know. It's going to be difficult for him when... Mom's gonna have a baby so she's off in September so it's going to be really difficult for him.

Int.: You were saying that because you love working with kids that's one of the reasons you like to work in a daycare. Is there any other reason that you like to work in a daycare?

Betty: I like to see them do new things. That's a real challenge to teach them new things. I taught them a new song and it took em about a week and to hear them sing it for the first time by themselves was like wow this is good. I really enjoyed it. It's really quite funny but, uh, you know teaching them new things, everything that we take for granted you know like speech, discipline. We don't really discipline them we, uh, teach them right from wrong. I guess that's what you could say and uh.

Int.: So one thing you really like is working in a daycare especially because of kids. You really like working with them and teaching them new things. What else about you is important to you?

Betty: A job, being independent is one of the best things of all. You know to be able to do things. You know being my own person. To be able to get up in the morning, have a reason to get up in the morning and go to work which is a big difference. You know I find that in the last year...now I find that I'm a lot more happier, you know, I'm meeting new people everyday like the parents or there's new kids coming in and going and stuff and you meet new kids and new parents everyday which is nice you know and you're learning like you know, you're learning how to speak with them because I really don't like talking to people that I don't know very well. You know, like I kind of, "oh I don't really want to have to talk to you," but it's funny because I've met new people. You know, I met a friend of mine. Her daughter comes to the daycare. I've gone to her house for tea. It's kinda nice. It's really nice but it's funny they're so different when they're at home. It's a real different environment you know. It's like wow!

Int.: The kids are?

Betty: Yeah, the kids are just...it's so different from daycare to home it's like night and day. It's like unreal.

Int: Aside from work what else is important to you?

Betty: Having a family one day, have a house. I think that's what everybody wants to be able to...I want to be able to have a house and stay home with my child. I don't know but I see a lot of the kids at the daycare and I think, well, it would be nice if they could stay home but it's hard. Some people have to work. Like that's a definite must they absolutely have to work. I guess you want your cake and eat it too is what they say.

Int.: You'd really like in the future to have a house and be able to stay home with your child.

Betty: Yeah maybe open my own daycare one day that would be nice.

Int: What about right now; what else is important in who you are?

Betty: Joe is very important to me. He's very important to me. We've been together for a while and, I don't know, he's very important to me. He's really important to my mom and dad too. Joe, they worship the group he walks on. Let's put it that way. They really care about him. Joe's family is very important to me too, especially Joe's dad is very important to me that he gets well. Hopefully he'll be the same guy I knew last year, you know. Like after his stroke he like he's still not the same. So, you know, they're really important to me and Joe's aunt is very important to me too. But people get older and things happen right but it's kind of hard sometimes you know because you see him and you just hope that he gets better but you know he's not gonna. That's really important to me that he gets better.

Int.: Anything else that describes you?

Betty: One of the ladies at the daycare told me she says, "Betty you know you have a heart of gold," and a lot of people have said that to me so I think that that describes me too. You know, because that's what one of the mothers said you know because her daughter was sick and she came to pick her up and she was sitting in my lap and she said that's the only reason she goes to work everyday knowing that I was there to care for her. So I think that describes...sensitive, very sensitive. Her mom said so.

Int: What do you think she meant by that, heart of gold. Taking the time and making sure that she stopped crying and to tell her that it was okay because we have...You look at the other people who work in the daycare the girls that I work with and they just...It's a job to them. You know like you could tell one of them. I don't get along with her too well so she really ticks me off every so often and, uh, she could really care less if she's crying or if she's sick and she won't say what's wrong you know just go away you're bothering my schedule so I think that has a lot to do with it. You take the time and that establishes a relationship between you and the child which is good.

Int: So you take the time.

Betty: Yeah, you've got to take a lot of time.

Int: How is the way you see yourself now different from the way you saw yourself in the past?

Betty: Different? I get up in the morning at 6:30 in the morning. I go to work and I can say, "well I have to go to work today so leave me alone," or I can say, "well I have a job." It just means so much now. You know, you can say I have a job. I work. Um who was it a while ago we saw for the first time and, "what are you doing Betty?" "Oh, I have a job working at a daycare." They were just amazed. You know it was like. You work. You know, like the impression I got. I didn't get a very good impression of this guy. I think he was a friend of my brother's and it was kind of nice to say I work. I get up in the morning like you do. You know I have things I have to do you know. My life seems much more fuller, very much more fuller. You know like there's days when you're tired and like you just can't deal with things but you go on. I really enjoy getting up in the morning and going to work.

Int: So work has made your life just that much more full.

Betty: It's turned everything around. I can buy the things that I want. We can do the things that we want. We're going to Disneyland in August. I couldn't do that before so that's a big difference. You know like it's a big difference.

Int.: In who you were?

Betty: It's nice I really like it. It's a big change, a really big change.

Int.: So getting the job has really lead to the change then.

Betty: Yeah. I've lost some weight. Actually a friend of mine was just saying last night, "gee you know you've lost some weight." I says to her I say, "well you should come over more often." So it's really quite funny. I didn't notice but it's kinda nice. Your self-esteem goes up so much when you see people you haven't seen in years and they go, "what are you doing?" It's a big difference to say well I'm unemployed you know but it's kind of nice to say well I work you know what do you do sort of thing you know. It's like that guy I ran into that I hadn't seen in a while so it's kind of different. A nice change.

Int: So it's really nice for you to see other people and be able to tell them that you're working? Kinda feeling good about that.

Betty: Yeah. It makes me feel good. It makes me feel really good. And, I don't know, it's just brought a big change on I guess and it's a good change. It's a change for the best which is good.

Int: And you were saying that what you really like about work is it's very fulfilling to be with the kids and to be there too.

Betty: Yeah. I really enjoy it so...It has its ups and downs but really what job doesn't.

Int: The next question I have Betty is just to ask you to tell me what the word power means to you in your life.

Betty: Power? I don't know, nothing really. Power, in control of my own life that's what...

Int.: Is that what it means to you?

Betty: Yeah to be in control to be able to do the things that I want to do, be able to go places see people I guess. That's a big change. That's what I'd like to do.

Int.: So for you it means being kinda in control of your own life.

Betty: Yeah. My mom and dad have helped me so much over the years, just so much. It's kinda nice to...It was Mother's Day and I went out and bought her a track suit. It was kinda nice to be able to give her something. And you know and she cried. You know it was like wow, I can actually go out and buy her something and not have to worry about where am I going to get the money from you know...So it's a big change. It's a very big change, you know so I like it. I really...I like to be able to do things, just to do things. I guess everybody does but now you have the chance.

Int.: To do things.

Betty: Yeah, to go to Disneyland or to go anywhere you want to go. So it's kinda nice and my boss and my supervisor are really quite nice so...I had to feel them out in the beginning. They kinda really scared me. They're all right. They're both really nice people. She's really nice and my supervisor is really quite nice too so it helps. That really helps out. She's really caring. She really cares. She genuinely cares so that's good.

Int.: Some people say that power can be negative or it can be positive. Could you tell me when power to you would be negative.

Betty: Negative? Well, I guess, I don't know. I guess when you have somebody. Oh, I don't know. Negative, when I think of power negative I think of the girl at work okay and she is a real bitch. I mean I just don't get along with her at all and it's funny because I've been there longer than she has and she still keeps on telling me what to do. The power that's negative to me.

Int.: What's negative about that.

Betty: Well she's always telling me what to do but you know you can tell somebody what to do in a nice way then you can tell somebody what to do in a shitty way and that's what she does. She tells me things that I already know. You know, it's like...it's just you abuse the power.

Int.: So it's her kind of her not respecting your feelings when using her power.

Betty: That's right but she has no power. I have a supervisor and I have a boss right and I do my thing and she does her thing. We have...our daycare's split...we have the littler kids and we have the older kids and I'm with the younger kids on my side, so I do whatever I want. My boss says, "do whatever you want," and I pretty much do and I keep on schedule. You know, I have a routine that I have down pat now and she just comes in and is just really disruptive.

Int.: Is it the fact that, you say that she has no power, so is it the fact that she doesn't have any power but she thinks she does or is it the fact that she's just really not respecting your feelings?

Betty: She thinks she has power. She tells the other girl at work what to do. The other girl at work is qualified and she's always telling her what to do so it's like, you can tell

people in a nice way and you can tell people in a really bad way. You know if I want Sheila to do something for me, if I want...I ask her nicely. I go, "well can you help me here?" or...

Int.: So it's really the way she's telling you to do things.

Betty: Yeah, oh, it really picks me. I'd like to kill her. Well you just have days where it roles off you and you just have days where it aggravates you to the fullest.

Int.: And when is power positive to you.

Betty: Positive? It's just not around. No, actually, it's positive when they come up to you and go...the kids go up to you and they say I love you. That really brightens your day like so much or one of the mothers saying, so and so was asking...we were sitting at the dinner table and they were asking what you were doing. You know, it's not like when they leave the daycare they forget about you.

Int.: Why is that kind of power positive when they say they love you or they talk about you after work?

Betty: Because you know you're doing okay. You know that you're doing the right thing. Sometimes I question myself, am I doing the right thing with them? You know like you hear so much on the radio, this child was this and this child was that...something's happened to them or they remember something from their childhood you know. And it's like it makes you wonder sometimes if you're using the right words. You know like if you say the wrong words will it stay in their head forever. So when they say, I love you or let's say they ask about you at night it makes you feel like you're doing a good job, you're doing okay.

Int.: And what kind of power are you using there, when you're getting that kind of reaction?

Betty: Good power. It's nice. It makes you feel so much better. You know that...if you get respected, respect is a big thing and they respect you which is good. They don't think that you're somebody who watches my children. So it's nice. At Christmas time I got a lot of cards and a lot of chocolates from parents and stuff and it was funny because I hadn't been there that long. I only started in June and in December...It was just...Even the parents are saying that the kids have changed so much. That's good, I like that.

Int.: So you're using power in your job and it's creating this positive kind of reaction.

Betty: Yeah! I really like this.

Int.: What does responsibility mean to you?

Betty: Well if somebody's counting on you to get up in the morning and go and be there and be responsible. My brother's always told me that you're responsible for yourself and nobody else right so he's always told me that and it's a reason to get up in the morning. You know, somebody's counting on you and you want to be responsible too. You know you have to be responsible for the bills that you make and the rent or the car payments or whatever. You know, like, you're responsible for yourself really. So, that's what it means.

Int.: Some people think...so you're responsible to yourself and to other people, the people at work...

Betty: That's right.

Int.: When...some people think that when we talk about power we can use the power for other people right, with the kids and creating a positive environment and that and also power for yourself. Now when those two conflict, when you need power to help other people and you need it for yourself, how do you choose?

Betty: I can't. If my brother phones and says, "I need you to come over," I'll be right there. You know, even though I have to go out for some reason or something. Family comes first in my life. My mom, my dad, and my brothers. You know, my family means the world to me and they come first in my life and foremost and Joe's the same way too. His family's got to come first in his life and my family actually comes first in his life and his family comes second. And, actually, that's how it works but, you know. Because someday you're going to pick up the phone and you're going to go I need help and they'll

be there because they'll remember, oh look, remember when she came out to help you. It clicks in your mind. That's what it means.

Int: So for you there's no choice. It's family comes first. People who need me come first and I'll know they'll be there someday.

Betty: Yeah, I know they'll be there someday. But there are times when I just go, "I've had enough." I don't answer the phone and, when I come home from work, I put the stereo on and I just sit there and I read my book and that's my time and I try to make time for myself to do the things that I want to do. You know, you've got to be able to do that, if not you have a problem.

Int: So you need to have time for yourself as well.

Betty: That's right.

Int: But when you do pick up the phone you're there. Can you tell me about a situation where you felt powerful?

Betty: I don't think I know of one.

Int.: You've been telling me about a lot of things. Just a time where you used your power in your life and you felt really good about that.

Betty: I guess it's when my dad got sick. He got really sick. Anyways, I had gone to the program and I left early one day and I went to see my dad. I had a few minutes and we had gone there the Sunday before and he wasn't really well he hadn't been feeling well for about two weeks and I went to see him and I had asked my brother...I go, "where's dad?" and he said, "oh, he's sleeping." And I thought gee in the middle of the afternoon and I went into the bedroom and he wasn't really there so I picked up the phone and I called the ambulance and I phoned my brother and I phoned him at work and I told him what was going on and he came and we went to the hospital together and I kept on telling the doctor that he had a stroke because I thought he had a stroke, I really did. Swore up and down he had a stroke but it turned out he had had a blood clot in his head which is pretty much the same thing apparently so then I knew...That makes me feel good that I picked it up that he was sick. There was something wrong because when the ambulance came and picked him up his blood pressure was really high and things. So that made me feel good that I was there to help you know. My brother...I have an older brother. I have two older brothers and they were fighting in the emergency ward you know..."Why didn't you see this? Why didn't you check on him?" This is my older brother talking to my other brother and I says, "well you know, Richard lives in ferrytale land, nothing ever happens, everything that happens is good." I think that's what it was.

Int.: So they were angry at your other brother and you felt good that you had picked up something that he didn't.

Betty: That's right, I was the little sister, they always called me little sister and I always thought that they didn't think that I was quite fast, with it, you know what I mean. I always felt like I was always behind them so I cut one up on them.

Int.: What was it that felt the most powerful about that situation?

Betty: That he wasn't dead. That I had gone over there just...I was on my way to go home, on my way somewhere. I can't remember, home or somewhere, and I had stopped in to see him and he could have been dead you know. A couple of hours more and the doctor said that he would have been dead because his whole brain would have exploded or something. I can't remember but it made me feel good that I was there for him. My dad was an alcoholic for years and we never got along so that made me feel really good that I could finally show him and prove to him that I did love him. You know, we still don't get along, I still think he's an asshole.

Int.: But you were able to prove your love in that situation.

Betty: Yeah. It worked out really well.

Int.: What for you was at stake in that situation.

Betty: For him to be okay. I never told him I loved him. I never did. I mean ever since I was young I remember him drinking and I never told him that I loved him. He used to beat on my mom all of the time and I hated it so much and he was really sick. I didn't think he

would live and it was so ironic because through the whole thing I could have sworn that my mom thought it was good that he die. You know it was really weird. I kept on saying that to my brother and my brother kept on, "Oh Betty get a grip." That's what it felt like. She didn't cry, she was upset but she didn't cry. She just sat there and didn't say anything to anybody and I don't blame her. I don't blame her for one bit to think well he beat her for years and he wasn't the greatest person to live with and I don't have any hard feelings for that. I think my older brother Lenny does but I don't. I don't blame her. Like what are you supposed to feel when a guy used to beat you up all of the time and you lived with him, you stayed with him because of your culture. What are people going to say to you if you divorce the guy in your fifties. Like where do you pick up the pieces. And I kept on telling her, I said, "we're all grown up now, you can leave him anytime you want. She never did so I think that was it.

Int.: Can you think of a time when you felt powerful but you didn't feel good about it?

Betty: I don't know. I think it's when I had to lie to my dad when he was in the hospital. I had to lie to him and tell him that everything was going to be okay. You know deep down I knew it wasn't going to be okay. I kept on telling him...He didn't recognize me. He didn't know who I was. There's this woman standing in front of him calling him dad and he doesn't know who she is and I think that really upset him and when he was in the emergency I kept on telling him he was going to be okay like he wasn't feeling very well but he probably got the flu and I felt so bad because I knew in my heart that there was something wrong. If he didn't recognize his own daughter I knew there was something wrong. So I knew that I was lying to him. And Joe's aunt same thing. I lied to her.

Int.: Why did that power not feel good, lying to him.

Betty: Because I knew he wasn't going to be okay. I didn't want to get his...You know the doctor came up to me and he told me we have to do surgery. You have to sign these papers. I said, "I'm not signing those papers because if he had died it's because I signed those papers. I couldn't sign those papers then I explained to my mom what was going on. She just looked at me like, "why don't you sign those papers?" I wouldn't sign those papers. My older brother was somewhere in the hospital phoning his wife and he came and he signed them but with no regret with no thought to it. You see Sam, my older brother, is my half brother from my mom's first marriage and Sam and Dad never got along. Still even now they don't get along and, when they were taking him for surgery, Sam said, "I love you dad." I knew that took everything he had to say that to him because he's never liked my father you know. I think that's what it was. I knew I was lying. Like you know you're lying and you don't feel good about it.

Int.: So it's the lying you knew he wasn't going to be okay. What was at stake for you there. When you were lying to him and that power didn't feel good?

Betty: Meaning?

Int.: What did you have to lose or to gain?

Betty: My father. Not being able to make amends for all the things that were said and done I guess and I don't know.

Int.: So you were losing some part of your relationship with him?

Betty: Lying to him. I always felt that if he had died life is never the same. You don't have a father. Joe's mom just lost her father. Even though he was 93 years old you still lost your father. She has no mom, she has no father now. She has some kids and grandchildren and sometimes that's not enough and losing... I wanted to talk to him about all of the things that went on, all of the things that he had done over the years that really pissed me off. Like he shouldn't have done that. I wanted him to say sorry and even now he still hasn't said sorry. He hasn't once said thank you for taking me to the hospital or thank you for being there at 8:00 every morning. He never once said thank you. He whines and he complains all day long and it's hard for my mom. My mom means the world. There's nothing that she wouldn't do for me and there's nothing I wouldn't do for her but he tormented her for years. Even now that he's not drinking, he's still an asshole. I can't be around him for more than two or three hours and I look at him and say you'd

think that you'd be happy. A lot of people lost their families and never got to have a second chance. You're very fortunate. God has given you a second chance and you just don't care. He keeps on saying, "after you get married and after Richard gets married I'm going to drink again or I'm going to drink now." He threatens with us. If you're going to do it, do it. I can't live your life.

Int.: Have you ever been in a time when you felt powerless?

Betty: When they took him for surgery. Powerless, I think when we had gone to see Joe's dad in the hospital and we had gone everyday at lunchtime to see him to feed him because Joe's mom didn't come in til the afternoon. I mean you're there all day long. It's a long day and I'd go see him at lunch and Joe and I were leaving the hospital and he was just not quite with it. From the previous time I saw him. I said to Joe he's had a stroke and he said, "no he hasn't." And that's when I felt so powerless because I wanted him to wake up and look at him. He's just not the way he was when he went in there and he had a stroke and I was right and I mulled over it. We were walking down the hall into the elevator and I mulled over it. Should I tell him and I waited until we got down to the car and I said, "I think he's had a stroke." And he wouldn't believe me. He kept on going, "no, no." I think it was about two days later I mentioned it to the doctor that had come to see him and he said, "well if you feel so strongly." I said well look at him, he can't even feed himself. Five days ago he could feed himself. And he did have a stroke, he had a massive stroke. You know he just never came back.

Int.: So just really powerless over this whole health thing.

Betty: Yeah well how do you tell someone you love that your father, you think that he's had a stroke?

Appendix C
Transcript No. 2 - Separate and Justice

(All of the names used are fictitious.)

Int.: The first question I have is I would just like you to describe yourself to yourself.

Lisa: Describe myself to myself? Gee I don't know how to begin this you know.

Int.: Just anything that comes to mind. How would you describe yourself?

Lisa: I really feel like I used to be really passive and I never wanted to make waves or anything and I wouldn't want to tell you I was angry about anything because then, you know, that would be conflict and that would be no good. But I see myself as changing and I'm letting out my feelings and that and I guess the hardest part for me is I have to keep telling myself that it's okay. It's okay for me because sometimes I just...it's very overwhelming having those feelings kept in for so long and as they come out I feel like you know....and I see myself as....How can I say that? I really feel like really sure about myself in my sobriety this time because I really feel that I don't know I will ever go back because I've been in there for a long time but I've got almost a year and I'm 36 and I just think like I've had it...I've had enough hurt. I'm learning how to grow as a person and get through everyday problems and stuff like that. And sometimes I feel like a kid in a way. But I know things will just keep getting better it's just sometimes it seems like a long time.

Int.: So you said that one thing is that you've changed--you used to keep a lot of feelings inside and avoid conflict and you're gradually letting those out. You're more sure about yourself and especially sure about your sobriety and you're experiencing a lot of change it sounds like.

Lisa: Yeah.

Int.: Could you give me a situation to describe who you are?

Lisa: A situation?

Int.: Yeah, something that would really describe you.

Lisa: Okay well say like I'm working in a restaurant and I just opened it up and I want to make sure that...before like when I did that this would be my old restaurant and my new restaurant. In my old restaurant I would be...anybody would have come in the restaurant, people from all walks of life kind of thing...I would think that it was probably more filled with negative people, hard people before and now I think in this restaurant I don't want a certain crowd around so it's like I have to tell people. I have to...like none of this goes on in this restaurant and I have to tell them. Because before I'd never say anything. A lot more sanity in the other restaurant, you know what I mean.

Int.: A lot more sanity in this new restaurant?

Lisa: Yeah.

Int.: Why would you tell them now when you wouldn't tell them in the past?

Lisa: Because I was you know fighting with my addiction and I wasn't that sure of myself and I guess when you start getting some time in it helps. You know what I mean? It helps me to feel good about myself. You know what I mean? But I guess it's like when you go in and out of it for so long you really...it really affects your self esteem. It really feels like you don't know if you're going to make it sometimes and I really think negative and it's taking me a long time to actually get my mind back and I think I don't want to go backwards anymore. Do you know what I mean?

Int.: So now you're kind of forward moving?

Lisa: Yeah.

Int.: It sounds like now you feel really good about telling people that this doesn't go on here, this is the sort of restaurant...communicating what you feel and I'm wondering why that feels good to be able to do that?

Lisa: I guess it's like by talking about how I feel by letting people know it's like if I don't tell you anything about me you're not going to really know me and I guess it's like a lot of times I'd be into isolation and being a loner so its...I forget what you said.

Int.: You were talking about why you felt confident about being able to communicate to people and I'm wondering why that feels good?

Lisa: Well I guess I don't have to put up with abuse anymore and it's different. Say I go to somebody and I ask them for help and this person does not want to give me any. They're too busy well I'm going to think well they're just not the right person to ask. And it's like I really have changed my own friends and stuff and it's something that I never did. It was like anyone was my friend before and it's almost like I put up with a lot of nonsense too and I really feel like I don't deserve that anymore. I need to protect my own self so that I don't fall backwards. It's like I'm in a relationship right now but it's like I really feel if he went out for a drink or whatever I would just tell him to go or I would go because I just can't...Like I'm older and I just don't want to waste any more time and I feel that way. And I guess it's like I want to say everything's okay because I always accepted everybody, liked everybody but a lot of times I really feel like I wasn't really being good to my own self you know.

Int.: You've been talking about a lot of changes and a lot of this sounds like it's around being good to your own self. What lead to that change in the way you see yourself?

Lisa: I guess it's because I overdosed on cocaine last April and it seems like things were always happening to me and yet I'm always getting out of it. I'm always doing okay that way and I thought...I guess it's like I thought I could be like this until I'm 70 or 80 years old for all I know. And I thought I want this craziness to stop too because I thought I want some peace and serenity in my life. I guess sometimes I didn't really care if I went the next day. You know what I mean. Like I didn't really care in general in a way and so I guess I just wanted to start having some good times in my life because I don't know how long I'll be here.

Int.: So when you're talking I'm wondering what specific instance it was that lead to the change. You mentioned an overdose was that it?

Lisa: Yeah. I think it's like when you overdose like it's enough. Like it happens again and it happens again and you think like that's enough. Just one more can make you wake up.

Int.: Just one more can put you over the edge kind of thing.

Lisa: Yeah.

Int.: The next thing I want to ask you about is power. I'm wondering what power means to you in your life.

Lisa: I would say that for me power is the...I guess just being able to stick up for myself and allowing you know who I want in my life and who I don't want and not feeling guilty about it and I'm just being able to say how I feel and not to feel guilty or scared and I feel like the more I stick up for myself and believe in myself I'm like I'm a powerful person and I've done it myself. You know what I mean. And I don't have to put up...like I don't have to...I guess the more I put up barriers it's partly for protecting myself too though. Whereas before I didn't see...I saw things differently.

Int.: And those barriers you've been talking about. What happens with those barriers in relation to your power?

Lisa: In a relationship?

Int.: In relation to power. We're talking about power and I wonder where those barriers are when you're feeling powerful. Whether having barriers is part of being powerful or whether it's not part of being powerful.

Lisa: I think having barriers for me is part of being powerful because I couldn't do that before and it's also like say I'm looking for a new job...it's being more specific about what I want and what I don't want and not underestimating myself. Whether I can...I'm looking at something where I think, "I couldn't do that," or just looking at something and going ahead of it you know.

Int.: When is the term power a negative term in your life and when is it a positive term? Or when is power just in general a negative term and when is it a positive term.

Lisa: I guess I look at power as a negative term when I see that someone is I guess really demanding and having to have your own way all of the time. But I guess that's not power, that's more like in control. I guess I would see power as being bad if I was hurting somebody in getting my own way.

Int.: And when is it positive?

Lisa: It's positive when I'm allowing only good in my life and not accepting...When I don't feel right about other things not accepting it. I guess that would be it.

Int.: So only allowing good into your life and blocking the other stuff.

Lisa: Yeah.

Int.: What does responsibility mean to you?

Lisa: Responsibility means whatever actions I take, or whatever I do, that I have to be responsible for them and I guess of all the things I did before I didn't look at what could happen and it just didn't matter to me I guess. It's almost like responsibility is kind of an action thing too. It's like I have to start giving something if I want good things happening to me in my life. I can sit and pray about something all my life and nothing's going to happen. I've got to do it. Take risks and take chances and it's a bit hard sometimes but I'll get through it.

Int.: So a lot of it's taking action.

Lisa: Yeah.

Int.: When power for yourself and power for others conflict, how do you choose between what you're going to use?

Lisa: I think a bit of both in a way. Like I think of others but then I'm starting to do stuff for me too.

Int.: And how do you choose which to choose--where to use your power?

Lisa: I guess when I'm alone I have to do what's good for me kind of thing and then when I'm with other people that's where...Does that make sense?

Int.: Mmmm. So when you're with other people you're more into putting power into them or helping them. Is that what you're implying? And when you're by yourself it's more for you.

Lisa: Yeah. I think yeah, it's something like that.

Int.: Does that sound right or is there something that doesn't click for you?

Lisa: I keep forgetting sometimes. I have a bad memory.

Int.: We were talking about power for self and power for others and I think you were saying that when you're alone you use your power for yourself and when you're with others you use your power for other people and does that seem to fit?

Lisa: Yeah, like I said power for other people but I really feel like I'm changing too. You know what I mean.

Int.: How's it changing?

Lisa: That I open up right away with other people and I couldn't always do that before. In a lot of situations I'd think ug, you know but I can do it right at that moment and that feels good that I can do that.

Int.: That you're opening up and facing the situation right away.

Lisa: Yeah.

Int.: Can you...Have you ever been in a situation where you felt powerful?

Lisa: I guess I did yeah, in my old life. I felt really...I was working at a company but I was also like hooking on the side too. But I didn't stand on the corner, I had my own clients. But I had...I guess it's like I felt powerful because I had money in my life and I guess it's like I could take a taxi from here to here and not everybody knew my own business. Nobody knew that I was doing that on the side so it was like nobody knew. And I guess I just felt it was really great that I didn't have to depend on some man or somebody for me getting ahead of myself and I just felt like I really actually enjoyed that time in my life.

Int.: You enjoyed feeling that power of independence it sounds like and having money that got you places. How do you feel about that power besides enjoyment what other kinds of feelings were there?

Lisa: I guess I just felt proud of myself in a way.

Int.: For you in that situation what was at stake for you?

Lisa: What was at stake for me? It seems like such a long time ago. It felt good because I never really worried about money. I had a lot less worries and if I wanted something then I just could have it and that was something that I just not always could do so it just felt really...it was like spoiling myself you know but it was like all for me.

Int.: When you say it was all for me was that part of the good feeling?

Lisa: Yeah. Because I've had like hard times with guys and I felt good that I could go to a salon and spend one hundred on my hair and not think nothing of it. You know what I mean? And things like that made me feel good.

Int: Really spoiling yourself.

Lisa: Yeah.

Int.: In that situation you felt good. Can you think of a time when you used your power and you felt bad about that?

Lisa: You mean something that's come back on you?

Int.: No, something when you used your power, you felt powerful, and then you didn't feel great about it-afterwards, you felt bad about it afterwards.

Lisa: I um...I'm going blank here again. I guess I've felt bad by letting down companies that I've worked for because they were really good to me and I got along really well with them. And having to tell them that I'm wired was really hard.

Int.: Can you think of a specific situation when you did that?

Lisa: My last company I worked in I did that and she said they'd keep the job open for me. I didn't tell her that I mainlined my drugs. She just said, "do you snort?" and I said, "yes." and I thought, "that's all I'm going to tell them" and I felt much worse than what they knew of me kind of thing and also didn't know if I was going to get better at times. That's how I felt. And I felt like if I tell you to leave this job open and if four months goes by and I'm still not okay I'd be really letting them down so I had to say no to her. I felt really bad about myself not knowing and being caught up in all that. Wanting it and not being able to do it and hoping that there's still a chance. You know what I mean?

Int.: This is a situation where you felt powerful and you didn't feel good about the power. What was it that...How were you using the power? Was it leaving the jobs or the power thing...asserting yourself?

Lisa: I guess I'm sort of saying this wrong then. I can't really think of a situation. No because most of the time, it might sound odd, but even when I was on cocaine or something and maybe it's sick but I felt always proud of myself even when I did things that weren't very nice. And I guess it's because I was such a passive person so it's almost like I liked the other side of me kind of thing. You know I'd stick someone up against the wall and I'd just scream on him like "don't you..." kind of thing and I scared the shit out of him. You know, I'm thinking that maybe I should feel bad about it but I didn't.

Int.: So for you those were powerful times when you knew someone was being hurt but still you were so passive that that felt great.

Lisa: Yeah, so I can't think of a situation where that felt bad but maybe I should have felt bad.

Int.: There doesn't have to be one. If you felt good about asserting your power because you were generally passive that's the way you felt. Has there been a time when you felt powerless?

Lisa: Yeah, one time I quit drugs and I drank and didn't know that I could get feeling so bad just from booze. That was awful. But there's so many stages that I've been you know just on drugs or just alcohol or both and there's times when it seems really hard. It's like a feeling like you never really know when you're going to get out of it.

Int.: So when you were under the addiction you just felt really powerless.

Lisa: Yeah, and the alcohol.

Appendix D
Initial Analysis of Power Orientation by Self-Concept

Power Orientation of Participants by Self-Concept (n = 36)

	Connected	Separate	Both
	<u>n</u> (%)	<u>n</u> (%)	<u>n</u> (%)
Care	11 (31)	4 (11)	0 (0)
Justice	1 (3)	5 (14)	5 (14)
Both	5 (14)	1 (3)	4 (11)

Note. χ^2 (4, N = 36) = 14.44, p = .01

Appendix E Post Hoc Analysis

Employment Status of Participants by Power Orientation (n = 36)

	Care	Justice
	<u>n</u> (%)	<u>n</u> (%)
Employed	6 (17)	12 (33)
Unemployed	10 (28)	8 (22)

Note. $\chi^2(1, N = 36) = 1.8, p = 0.18$

Parental Status of Participants by Power Orientation (n = 36)

	Care	Justice
	<u>n</u> (%)	<u>n</u> (%)
No Children	9 (25)	9 (25)
Children	7 (19)	11 (31)

Note. $\chi^2(1, N = 36) = 0.45, p = 0.5$

Employment Status of Participants by Self-Concept (n = 36)

	Connected	Separate
	<u>n</u> (%)	<u>n</u> (%)
Employed	9 (25)	9 (25)
Unemployed	9 (25)	9 (25)

Note. $\chi^2(1, N = 36) = .00, p = 1.00$

Appendix F

Themes Found by Grossman and Stewart

- *1. Power and Selfishness: A woman's using self-determined power for herself is equivalent to selfishness, for she is not enhancing the power of others.
- *2. Power and Destructiveness: A woman's using self-determined power for herself is equivalent to destructiveness, for such power inevitably will totally disrupt an entire surrounding context.
- *3. Power and Abandonment: A woman's use of power may precipitate attack and abandonment.
- 4. Power and Inadequacy: For many women it is more comfortable to feel inadequate. Terrible as that can be, it is still better than to feel powerful, if power makes you feel destructive.
- 5. Power and Identity: The use of our power with some efficacy, and even worse, with freedom, zest and joy feels as if it will destroy a core sense of identity.
(Grossman & Stewart, 1990, p. 18)
- *6. Power in the form of nurturance is experienced as very rewarding (p. 22).
- *7. The goal of power is to maintain or strive for equality, mutuality and symmetry (p. 23).
- *8. Power can be enjoyable (even exhilarating) even when it is not nurturant, if it is a clear, fully legitimated aspect of the role of therapist or professor (p. 24).
- *9. Nurturance must be limited for the powerholder's sake (because of conflicts over feeling she must be infinitely able and available to help) and for the sake

of others (to prevent her from being coercive, controlling or destructive) (p. 24).

10. Hierarchical power relationships can interfere with symmetrical personal relationships, and can lead to anger, aggression, envy and exaggerated admiration, and therefore are to be avoided (p. 26).
11. Challenges to authority are perceived as personally threatening to the therapist or professor (i.e., ingratitude, open expressions of sexuality, overt or passive expressions of anger, accusations, complaints) (p. 26).

Note. *=Themes incorporated in this study.