



4-1-2003

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Vigil, Jennifer M.; Ballif-Spanvill, Bonnie; and Nichols, Rebecca R. (2003) "Family and Career Decision-Making among LDS Women at Brigham Young University," *Issues in Religion and Psychotherapy*: Vol. 28 : No. 1 , Article 2.

Available at: <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/irp/vol28/iss1/2>

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Family and Career Decision-Making among LDS Women at Brigham Young University

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This study explores how college-aged women who are members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) make decisions about choosing a career or staying home full-time. It examines how committed they are to multiple role planning, what influence their mothers have on their decision-making process, how much they know about the roles they will assume in the future, how certain they are about choosing those roles, and how involved they are in the decision-making process itself. The LDS Decision-Making (LDSDM) scale was answered by 149 junior and senior women at Brigham Young University. Four factors were found that affect decision-making in this population: (1) commitment to the single role of motherhood, (2) perceiving that mothers were happiest as homemakers, (3) lack of confidence in planning for multiple roles, and (4) active involvement in the decision-making process. Significant differences were also found between women in different academic majors. The counsel of church leaders and personal inspiration – as well as the perception that their mothers are extremely satisfied in their roles as homemakers – seem to most influence young women’s decisions about their lives.

The “mommy dilemma” and the tough choices that women are forced to make today is of concern to women everywhere (WNDU-TV, 2002). Sylvia Hewlett’s study (2002) of professional women and their quest for children earned her a “cover story in *Time* magazine, a lengthy segment on *60 Minutes*, and countless radio, TV and newspaper mentions” (Arnst, 2002). Tyre, et al., in *Newsweek* (2003) added to the discussion by describing a trend in which the wife is the sole wage earner, and the consequences of that decision on husbands, children and families. Clearly, as women in the United States are given more and more options about the course of their lives, their decision-making process becomes more complicated. When a woman’s

religious beliefs become a factor, the decision-making process becomes even more complex. The purpose of this research was to explore how LDS college-aged women make their decisions regarding their education,

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career, and motherhood. It examined their views on planning for multiple or single roles, whether or not they intend to follow in their mothers' footsteps, how knowledgeable they are about their options, how confident they feel about the decisions they make, and the influence of religious leaders and the LDS culture on their decisions.

In an extensive review of research in the field of women and career development from 1986-1995, Phillips & Imhoff (1997) wrote:

psychologists have a long and rich tradition of studying questions of career development: how individuals explore their options, plan their directions, and enter and progress in their chosen vocational roles. (1997, p. 32)

But gender and religion have not always been studied together within the context of decision-making for future courses of action. Indeed, focusing "on gender and on religion allows each topic to illuminate the other, revealing the gendered nature of religious beliefs, practices, and socialization, and the ways that religious institutions constitute themselves in order to attract gendered, secular individuals and offer them pertinent solutions to the predicaments of modern life" (Davidman, 2000, p. 426).

Furthermore, Scott (2002) has already found evidence that religious beliefs do influence the meaning of work, and hence, decisions about career and family.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints encourages traditional gender roles, but leaders sympathize with the pressures women feel as they make decisions. Elder M. Russell Ballard told the students of Brigham Young University:

I can only imagine some of the questions you young women are facing right now. Should you marry the young man you are now dating, or not? Should you finish your degree, or not? Should you serve a mission, or not? What career should you pursue? Why pursue a career with vigor when all you've ever really wanted is to be a mother? (2002, p. 71)

By focusing on religious women who are members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, this study not only adds to the numerous studies done on decision-making among college-aged women (e.g.,

McCracken & Weitzman, 1997; Steele & Barling, 1996; Looker & Magee, 2000), but it also examines religious cultural influences on the process.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The literature relating to decision-making regarding career, education, home, and family covers a range of topics including ethnicity, race, level of parents' education, and women's perceptions of gender roles. Ideas about appropriate roles for women regarding career and family have been traced to such diverse places as children's stories, the media, cultural and ethnic traditions, and individual differences (Phillips & Imhoff, 1997, pp. 34-35). The literature in this area is extensive. For the purposes of this study, only two broad categories of influence on decision making are identified: first, cultural expectations, which include religious influences; and second, the influence of mothers, which is of particular interest given their prominent role in family-based religions.

Cultural Expectations

Agency. Researchers often employ social cognitive theories as they analyze cultural expectations in decision making. In most cases, the agency of the individual is central to the discussion:

Social cognitive theory emphasizes the situation and domain-specific nature of behavior, relatively dynamic aspects of the self system, and the means by which individuals exercise personal agency. (Lent, Brown & Hackett, 1994, p. 83)

Researchers using this theory focus on the *personal agency* of the individual, specifically addressing how independent individuals are when making decisions:

According to Bakan (1966), agency refers to the condition of being a differentiated individual. It is associated with an organism's striving to separate from other organisms, to master its surroundings, and to exert power and influence. (McCracken & Weitzman, 1997, p. 150)

Gender. Ideas about gender roles have persisted for ages. Staggborg argues that, "these gender restrictions

are longstanding because many forces operate to maintain them" (1998, p. 13). According to *The National Study of the Changing Workforce* conducted in 2002 by the *Families and Work Institute*, two in five men still think a woman's place is in the home (Bond, Thompson, Galinsky & Prottas, 2002). Gender identity is formed when children are young, and becomes "assimilated into the child's self-concept along with the gender schema learned from cultural, environmental and societal cues" (Barak, Feldman & Noy, 1991, p. 512). For example, in their study of 5- and 6-year olds, Barak, et al. (1991) found that there were definite correlations between the traditionality of children's interests and the traditionality level of parent's occupations. In another study done among 17-year-olds, Looker & Magee (2000) found that 80% of the boys in their sample definitely planned to work while they had young, preschool-aged children, whereas only 18% of the girls felt the same way. These two studies demonstrate how ideas about gender form at a young age, before children are faced with the actual decision-making process.

Religion. Rarely is religion considered a source of cultural influence in research on gender, education, and employment (Scott, 2002). Yet religious beliefs have a great deal to contribute to ideas about appropriate gender roles. Indeed religions that endorse a division of labor generally advocate motherhood as the ultimate role for women; only in situations of economic necessity is working outside the home deemed acceptable for women (Scott, 2002).

LDS perspectives. Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints believe in the eternal nature of beings, that gender was an essential part of who people were in their premortal life, who they are on this earth and also in the life to come:

President Spencer W. Kimball, in speaking of the separate roles of men and women, said: "Remember, in the world before we came here, faithful women were given certain assignments while faithful men were foreordained to certain priesthood tasks ..." We were called, male and female, to do great works with separate approaches and separate assignments. (Faust, 1998, p. 95)

In 1995, President Hinckley gave more specific counsel regarding what some of these "great works" might be as he read *The Family: A Proclamation to the World*. He said:

By divine design, fathers are to preside over their families in love and righteousness and are responsible to provide the necessities of life and protection for their families. Mothers are primarily responsible for the nurture of their children. In these sacred responsibilities fathers and mothers are obligated to help one another as equal partners. (Hinckley, 1995, p. 101)

Although this statement emphasizes the separation of genders into specific roles, it also adds the need for equality, a contemporary dimension to the idea of traditional roles and a position held among liberal protestant groups (see Scott, 2002).

Nevertheless, the Church still encourages mothers to stay at home unless a "need" arises. President Hinckley advised:

In this day and time, a girl needs an education. She needs the means and skills by which to earn a living should she find herself in a situation where it becomes *necessary* to do so. (Hinckley, 2001, p. 94; *emphasis added*)

He is encouraging all young women of the Church to get an education and explore their employment options, keeping in perspective the needs of their children.

How do LDS women view the way that their Church encourages traditional gender roles and equality among wives and husbands? Beaman (2001) conducted life history interviews with 28 LDS women in Southern Alberta, Canada. She found that these LDS women exercised agency in the way they interpreted Church doctrine – and that sometimes their choice was demonstrated by deciding to ignore the doctrine altogether (2001, pp. 69-70). She summarized her findings in the following way:

There is some negotiation with what are perceived as the pressures of the modern world, especially around the need for a family to have more than one income to survive. The social context in which the ideal roles are set out by the Church has changed. Women have responded by preparing themselves for a career should the "need" arise ... [This shows] a fascinating blend of acceptance of Church policy, acknowledgment of social trends which would permit fathers to take a more active role in parenting, including staying home with children, and preservation of self as an independent, or potential-

ly independent, woman. Women negotiate the boundaries of prescribed gender roles both within their own families and within the Church. (Beaman, 2001, p. 70)

The Influence of Mothers

It is evident from data in many studies that daughters frequently plan to follow in their mothers' footsteps. Steele & Barling (1996) conducted a multiple regression analysis to

determine if maternal identification moderated the relationship between perceived maternal gender-role ideology and daughter's gender-role ideology ... [the analysis determined that] this interaction was significant. (Steele & Barling, 1996, p. 644)

Further, Looker & Magee (2000) found that mothers who thought it was a good idea to work outside the home when they had pre-school aged children often had daughters who made the same decision. Bohannon & Blanton (1999) measured the change in attitudes of American mothers and daughters over time and found that although the attitudes of both mothers and daughters changed over time, they altered in a similar manner.

METHOD

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine LDS women's decision-making processes. Although they have the influences of the world around them, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is central in the lives of these women – and its teachings shape the way they construct the course of their futures. Specifically this study answered the following questions:

- How much do they know about the roles that they will assume in the future and how confident are they about choosing those roles?
- How committed are LDS women to multiple role planning?
- How involved are they in the decision-making process?
- Who are some of the key people affecting their decision-making?
- What influence do their mothers and other Church leaders have on their decision-making process?
- Do they feel conflict or dissonance in their lives as a

result of personal choices that seem to differ from the choices of their peers?

Sample

The sample consisted of 149 college-aged, LDS women attending Brigham Young University. This sample included a cross-sample of women from different regions of the United States (and a very small percentage from Canada). Only juniors and seniors were included because they were more likely than freshmen and sophomores to be engaged in the decision-making process. The ages ranged from 19 to 25.

Women from a number of majors participated in the study. The majors were chosen based on how many women graduated within each major in April 2001; the sample represented the same proportion of women in seven categories of majors: Business (10%); Education (21%); Humanities (26%); Marriage, Family, and Human Development (MFHD) (11%); Nursing and Food Science Nutrition (6%); Hard Sciences and Mathematics (9%); and Social Sciences (16%). Upper-division courses in these majors throughout the University were randomly selected. After arrangements were made with the professors, the study was introduced and the **LDS Decision-Making (LDSDM)** scale was distributed to all women in the class, who were asked to voluntarily complete the scale on their own time. The completed scales were then collected during the following class period.

Instruments contributing to the LDS Decision-Making (LSDSM) Scale:

- *Attitudes Toward Multiple Role Planning (ATMRP) Scale* (Weitzman & Fitzgerald, 1996). Part of the ATMRP scale was adapted for use in the LSDSM scale. The ATMRP scale, developed by Lauren Weitzman, is "a 50-item instrument [that] was developed to assess attitudes toward multiple role planning." She writes that "instrument development was prompted by current social expectations that women participate fully in both career and family roles and the desire to investigate how women anticipate such role development" (Weitzman & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 269). From the scale, 19 items were adapted for the LSDSM scale with some necessary adjustments of the language for an LDS audience.
- *Gender-Role Ideology (GRI) Scale*. The second scale

from which questions were drawn for the LDSDM scale was a questionnaire developed by Steele & Barling (1996). Two GRI sections were adapted: (1) items used to assess gender-role ideology; and (2) a section in which women were asked to evaluate their mother's views about her role as either an employed mother or as a homemaker.

- *LDS Items.* Items were constructed exclusively for this scale, focusing on LDS cultural expectations and addressing the sources to which women look for advice when making decisions – such as General Authorities, local priesthood leaders, and patriarchal blessings.

LDSDM Scale. The final LDSDM scale contained a total of 49 items, including questions adapted from the ATMRP scale assessing attitudes toward multiple role planning, questions used to assess gender-role ideology, and mothers' views about their roles from the GRI scale, and LDS items constructed for this population. It also included a cover sheet for participants' demographic information, including major, year in school, age, marital status, whether or not they had children, where they were raised, and how long they had been a member of the Church. The scale was initially administered to junior and senior women at Brigham Young University in a pilot study (Vigil, 2002) and then revised for the final study.

FINDINGS

Demographic Differences

To investigate the demographic differences among the sample of women and the association between these demographics and the women's responses to each question, a general linear model analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed separately for each question with the women's responses to that question coded numerically to the 5-point scale as the Response variable and the values of the demographic variables (age, academic major, year in school, marital status) as the Explanatory variables. These analyses included investigation of the least squares means and pair-wise comparison p-values, which indicated which aspects of the demographic variables were significantly different from each other with respect to the women's responses to the LDSDM scale questions.

Differences by Major: Using a significance level of .05, the ANOVA models identified 10 items (questions

2, 9, 15, 16, 23, 24, 26, 28, 33, and 43 on the LDSDM scale) with statistically significant differences in question responses between academic majors. Within these 10 items, four main differences distinguish between women in various academic majors. There is diversity between majors in how the women viewed the roles of men and women (items 23, 24, and 26); what they thought about balancing both career and family (items 2, 9, 15, and 16); working outside the home (28 and 43); and why they chose their major (33).

The results for questions 23, 24, and 26 are presented in Table 1. Women majoring in Marriage, Family & Human Development (MFHD) consistently responded with the most traditional views with respect to the roles of men and women. (See Table 1.)

Women majoring in MFHD, Nursing, and Education responded, on average, between "agree" and "strongly agree" to question 23 that the sole responsibility of a mother with young children is to home and family. Women majoring in Business, Hard Science, Humanities, and Social Science responded, on average, between "unsure" and "agree" to question 23.

Women majoring in MFHD, Education, and Nursing responded, on average, between "unsure" and "agree" to question 24 that a wife should be primarily concerned with helping her husband's career rather than having a career herself. Women majoring in Humanities, Social Science, Hard Science, and Business responded, on average, between "disagree" and "unsure" to question 24. This result is similar to Scott's (2002) ethnographic study of conservative Protestant women, that they considered being home with their children their primary responsibility.

Women majoring in MFHD, Business, and Education responded, on average, between "agree" and "strongly agree" to question 26 that in their ideal version of an LDS marriage, the husband works outside the home while the wife is a full-time homemaker. Women majoring in Humanities, Social Science, Nursing, and Hard Science responded, on average, between "unsure" and "agree" to question 26.

The results for questions 2, 9, 15, and 16 are presented in Table 2. Women in MFHD and Education majors responded, on average, with the most traditional views with respect to balancing career and family. (See Table 2.)

Women majoring in MFHD responded, on average, between "strongly disagree" and "disagree" and women in

Table 1
Roles of Men and Women

Item	Traditional	Less Traditional
23. The sole responsibility of a mother with young children is to home and family.	MFHD, Nursing, Education	Business, Hard Science, Humanities, Social Science
24. A wife should be primarily concerned with helping her husband's career rather than having a career herself.	MFHD, Education, Nursing	Humanities, Social Science, Hard Science, Business
26. In my ideal version of an LDS marriage, the husband works outside the home while the wife is a full-time homemaker.	MFHD, Business, Education	Humanities, Social Science, Nursing, Hard Science

Table 2
Balancing Career and Family

Item	Traditional	Less Traditional
2. I should choose ways of managing family and career obligations so I can "do it all."	MFHD, Education	Business, Humanities, Hard Science, Nursing, Social Science
9. The greatest appeal of balancing a family with career obligations is the opportunity it provides for a fulfilling life.	MFHD, Education	Social Science, Humanities, Nursing, Hard Science
15. I'm not going to give up anything; I really want to have both a career and family.	MFHD, Education	Humanities, Business, Social Science, Nursing, Hard Science
16. It's very important to me to try to figure out ahead of time how I could balance family and career responsibilities.	Education, MFHD	Humanities, Nursing, Business, Social Science, Hard Science

Table 3
Working Outside the Home

Item	Traditional Views	Less Traditional Views
28. I would like to work part-time as my children are growing up.	MFHD, Education	Business, Humanities, Social Science, Nursing, Hard Science
43. As I was growing up, I imagined myself working outside the home either with a full-time or part-time career.	MFHD, Education	Hard Science, Nursing, Humanities, Business, Social Science

Education disagreed, on average, to question 2 that they should choose ways of managing family and career obligations so they can "do it all." Women majoring in Business, Humanities, Hard Science, and Nursing responded, on average, between "disagree" and "unsure" and women in Social Science were unsure, on average, in response to question 2.

Women majoring in MFHD and Education disagreed, on average, to question 9 that the greatest appeal of balancing family with career obligations is the opportunity it provides for a fulfilling life. Women majoring in Social Science, Humanities, Nursing, and Hard Science responded, on average, between "unsure" and "agree" in response to question 9.

Women majoring in MFHD and Education responded, on average, between "strongly disagree" and "disagree" to question 15 that they want to have both a career and family. Women majoring in Humanities, Business, Social Science, Nursing, and Hard Science responded, on average, between "disagree" and "unsure" in response to question 15.

Women majoring in Education and MFHD responded, on average, between "disagree" and "unsure" to question 16 that it is very important to try to figure out ahead of time how they could balance family and career responsibilities. Women majoring in Humanities, Business, Social Science, Nursing, and Hard Science responded, on average, between "disagree" and "unsure" in response to question 15.

The results for questions 28 and 43 are presented in Table 3. Women in MFHD and Education majors responded, on average, with the most traditional views with respect to working outside the home. (See Table 3.)

Women majoring in MFHD disagreed, and women majoring in Education responded between "disagree" and "unsure" to question 28 that they would like to work part-time as their children are growing up. Women majoring in Business, Humanities, Social Science, Nursing, and Hard Science responded, on average, between "unsure" and "agree" in response to question 28.

Women majoring in MFHD and Education responded, on average, between "strongly disagree" and "disagree" to question 43 that as they were growing up, they imagined themselves working outside the home either with a full-time or part-time career. Women majoring in Hard Science, Nursing, Humanities, Business, and Social

Science responded, on average, between “disagree” and “unsure” in response to question 43.

Women in MFHD and Education majors responded significantly more traditional than all other majors to question 33, “The main reason I chose my major is to help me be a better wife, mother, and homemaker.” Women majoring in MFHD agreed, on average, to this statement, whereas women majoring in Education and Nursing responded, on average, between “unsure” and “agree.” Women majoring in Social Science, Humanities, Hard Science, and Business responded, on average, between “disagree” to “unsure” in response to question 33. MFHD majors indicated that their education was to help them in conventional roles as a wife, mother, and homemaker and were in opposition to women in all other majors who reported they did not necessarily choose their majors in order to help them achieve success in their traditional roles.

Women within the MFHD major expressed more traditional views and almost always contrasted with women in all other majors in their view of the roles of men and women, how they felt about trying to “do it all” by balancing both career and family, their ideas on working outside the home, and the reason they chose their major.

Differences by Marital Status: The ANOVA identified one item in which the single women responded significantly differently from the married women. Single women indicated that they felt a greater acceptance among other LDS women than married women by responding higher, on average, to question 46 on the LDS Decision-Making Scale, “I feel like I fit in with the sisters in my ward because I have made similar decisions about career and family.”

Differences by Geography: The ANOVA identified 4 items (numbers 20, 35, 36, 39 on the LDSDM scale) with statistically significant differences in question responses on the basis of where the women were raised. Question 20 addressed whether a husband’s and wife’s roles should not be fundamentally different in nature. Women raised in the East responded, on average, that they were unsure, whereas women raised in the West disagreed, on average, with this question. Questions 35, 36, and 39 dealt with the mothers’ satisfaction in her role. Women in the East responded significantly higher than the women from Utah in agreeing that their mothers found real enjoyment and satisfaction in being an employed mother/homemaker.

Factor Analysis

To investigate the relationships among the responses to the 49 questions in the LDSDM scale survey and attempt to describe the underlying latent factors responsible for these correlations, a factor analysis was performed with each woman’s response to the 49 survey questions coded numerically to the 5-point response scale as the Observable Variables.

The overall factor analysis reduced the 49 Observable Variables (questions) into weighted combinations of 4 Latent (unmeasurable) Factors. Four factors were chosen using a scree plot of the eigenvalues versus the number of factors, and because of the interpretability of these 4 Latent Factors.

The factor loadings represent the correlations between the Observable Variables (survey questions) and each of the 4 Latent Factors. Correlation is a measure of the strength and direction of the linear relationship between two quantitative variables. Thus strong positive correlations (near 1) indicate a strong positive relationship between the survey question and the factor; strong negative correlations (near -1) indicate a strong negative relationship between the survey question and the factor.

Factor 1: Commitment to the Single Role of Motherhood. Table 4 includes the largest factor loadings for Factor 1. High scores for questions 24, 26, 31, and 48 are associated with strong commitment to a single role of motherhood and are positively correlated with Factor 1. These women demonstrated their strong commitment to trying to avoid multiple roles. High scores for questions 9, 15, 28, and 43 are associated with commitment to multiple roles and are negatively correlated with the underlying commitment to a single role. (See Table 4.)

LDS women in this sample were not committed to multiple roles; most of these women demonstrated their strong commitment to trying to avoid multiple roles and their dedication to being a full-time homemaker. Of the sample, 93% indicated that they would like to stay at home when they became a mother with young children. This finding parallels previous studies. For example, Gambone, et al. (2003) found that:

Only a very small percentage of women ... reported that [they] would seek outside employment during their children’s infancy. Although the women whose mothers worked during early childhood learned from [their moth-

Table 4*Factor 1 Loadings:**Commitment to the Single Role of Motherhood*

Item	Correlation
9. The greatest appeal of balancing a family with career obligations is the opportunity it provides for a fulfilling life.	-0.68
15. I'm not going to give up anything; I really want to have both a career and a family.	-0.72
24. A wife should be primarily concerned with helping her husband's career rather than having a career herself.	0.63
26. In my ideal version of an LDS marriage, the husband works outside the home while the wife is a full-time homemaker.	0.74
28. I would like to work part-time as my children are growing up.	-0.63
31. When I become a mother with young children, I would like to stay at home.	0.64
43. As I was growing up, I imagined myself working outside the home either with a full-time or part-time career.	-0.71
48. As I was growing up, I always thought I would be a full-time homemaker, and not work outside the home when I got older.	0.74

Table 5*Factor 2 Loadings:**Perceptions that Mothers were Happiest as Homemakers*

Item	Correlation
34. My mother considered her role as an employed mother/homemaker unpleasant.	0.59
35. My mother disliked being an employed mother/homemaker.	0.62
36. My mother found real enjoyment in being an employed mother/homemaker.	-0.53
37. My mother was disappointed that she was an employed mother/homemaker.	0.53
38. Most days my mother was enthusiastic about being an employed mother/homemaker.	-0.63
39. All in all my mother was very satisfied with being an employed mother/homemaker.	-0.60

er's example] and plan to work at some point during their own children's lives, women still hesitate to work during a child's infancy. (Gambone, et al., 2003, p. 10)

Likewise, nearly three-fourths agreed that the sole responsibility of a mother with young children is to home and family. Over 70% felt that mothers who work outside the home, when they have young children and it is not financially necessary, are not making their children their first priority. This first factor was almost the reverse of the factor Weitzman (1994) found of "Commitment to Multiple Role Planning" using her ATMRP scale.

Factor 2: Perceptions that Mothers were Happiest as Homemakers. Table 5 includes the largest factor loadings for Factor 2. Questions 34, 35, and 37, that describe the women's mothers not enjoying their multiple roles as employed mothers and homemakers are positively correlated with Factor 2. High scores for questions 36, 38, and 39 which describe the women's mothers enjoying their multiple roles as employed mothers and homemakers, are negatively correlated with Factor 2. (See Table 5.)

For the most part, the women in this sample perceived their mothers as very happy in their roles, and most of these women plan on choosing the same path as their mothers chose. Two-thirds of the women in the sample had mothers who stayed at home full-time during their elementary school years; 82% of these women felt that their mothers were satisfied being a full-time homemaker. In contrast, only 44% of the daughters whose mothers worked part-time, and 39% whose mothers worked full-time, felt that their mothers were satisfied being an employed mother.

Factor 3: Lack of Confidence in Planning for Multiple Roles. Table 6 includes the largest factor loadings for Factor 3. Questions 4, 8, 18, 19, and 47 all refer to the women's knowledge and thoughts about decisions regarding career and family – and are positively correlated with Factor 3. (See Table 6.)

This factor "reflects self-perceptions of lack of knowledge about planning for multiple roles and ability to prepare for such a lifestyle" (see McCracken & Weitzman, 1997, p. 150). Most of the women in this sample are not thinking about planning for multiple roles because they are committed to a single role of wife and mother and do not feel that they are able to effectively plan for multiple roles. Although 60% of this sample agreed that they could

Table 6

*Factor 3 Loadings:
Lack of Confidence in Planning for Multiple Roles*

Item	Correlation
4. Figuring out how to balance a possible career and family confuses me because I don't feel I know enough about myself or about the stresses involved in balancing these roles.	0.51
8. When it comes to combining a career with a family, I can't seem to make up my mind how to do it successfully.	0.56
18. If someone would tell me how I could manage a career and/or family, or both, I would feel much better.	0.47
19. I seem to spend a lot of time these days thinking about how I could combine family and work responsibilities.	0.42
47. I look to Young Women or Relief Society leaders for counsel when making decisions about family and career.	0.47

Table 7

*Factor 4 Loadings:
Active Involvement in Decision Making*

Item	Correlation
3. I seldom think (or have thought) about the ways I might actually combine career and family obligations.	-0.47
6. I'm not going to worry (or have not worried) about how to combine a career with family until I'm actually involved in one or both of these roles.	-0.52
13. Even though I'm not actively in a position of combining a family with career, I feel there is much I can learn now about how to manage these roles successfully.	0.44
16. It's very important to me to try and figure out ahead of time how I could balance family and career responsibilities.	0.45
17. I'm very clear on how to plan for combining a career and family responsibilities.	0.57

decide how to successfully combine a career with family, only a little over 20% spent time actually thinking about how they could combine those responsibilities. Over half did not want someone to tell them how to manage a career or family, or a combination of the two – which suggests that they do feel they have the abilities to do so.

Factor 4: Active Involvement in Decision-Making. Table 7 includes the largest factor loadings for Factor 4.

Questions 13, 16, and 17 describe the women's thoughts on planning and preparing to combine career and family responsibilities and are positively correlated with Factor 4. Questions 3 and 6, which describe the women not involved in planning and preparing to combine career and family, are negatively correlated with Factor 4. (See Table 7.)

This factor shows how involved the women are in the decision-making process. "It reflects the degree of involvement in one's multiple role planning and the perceived immediacy of the need to plan" (see McCracken & Weitzman, 1997, p. 150). Most of the women in the sample expressed that they had spent time thinking about their choices for the future, and 70% agreed that they had thought about ways they might actually combine career and family obligations. Nearly half of the sample believed it was very important to try and figure out ahead of time how they could balance family and career responsibilities.

Other Patterns Observed in LDS Women's Decision-Making

On some aspects of the decision-making process the women in this sample expressed great agreement, but on other aspects there was less agreement. Many women expressed similar feelings concerning the source to which they look for direction when making decisions: patriarchal blessings, personal inspiration through scripture study and prayer, and the counsel of General Authorities are all resources these LDS women rely upon when making decisions. They also state that they intend to work out (or have already worked out) things with their spouse when it comes to deciding on strategies for combining possible family and career responsibilities. Furthermore, these women also answered with significant similarity concerning the roles of men and women: 78% agreed that a husband's and wife's roles are fundamentally different in nature. Similarly, 71% expressed that their ideal version of an LDS marriage would include the husband working outside the home while the wife is a full-time homemaker. Nearly 80% disagreed that marriage should not interfere with a woman's career any more than it does with a man's.

On other items it was obvious that the sample had different views about particular issues, was divided, or unsure. One such question was whether or not their

mothers could give the best advice on career and family. Another question where the sample was divided had to do with the reasons why the women were receiving their education.

Unique Dimensions in LDS Thinking

Three particular concepts unique to LDS thinking influence women as they make decisions: the sources to which they look for direction; the importance of education; and their feelings of cultural acceptance.

Sources of Direction. The factors that have the largest impact on decision-making among the women in this LDS sample were: personal inspiration and patriarchal blessings, the counsel of General Authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and the influence of mothers. With 70 to 80% of the women relying on their patriarchal blessings and personal inspiration, it is evident that young LDS women are themselves looking to God to find solutions to the dilemma of careers and motherhood. But also, an overwhelming 95% look to the leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for guidance. This shows the great faith that these LDS women have in the counsel of their leaders.

Although these young women are not seeking out advice from other women in the church, it is obvious that their mothers play an important role in helping their daughters make decisions. Again, 44% of the women in the sample felt that their mothers could give the best direction on whether or not to have both a career and family. Even for the 37% who did not believe that their mothers could give the best advice, over 72% felt that their mothers were happy in their roles. It appears that these women are looking to their mothers as role models and they also are aware of how satisfied their mothers are in their own choices. This reflects similar findings in a study conducted by Fleming, et al. (2003), which seemed to "suggest that children tend to most value whatever experiences their own families provided them." (Fleming, et al., 2003, p. 10).

The Importance of Education. Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, are commanded to "seek ... out of the best books words of wisdom; seek learning, even by study and by faith" (D&C 88:118). It is evident that the women at BYU also believe this. Ninety-one percent felt that college was an integral part of a woman's development. But, will they use this

education to promote a career? Seventy percent strongly agreed that they want to stay at home when they have young children. Brigham Young encouraged women that "they should stand behind the counter, study law or physic [medicine], or become good book-keepers and be able to do the business in any counting house, and this to enlarge their sphere of usefulness for the benefit of society at large" (*Teachings of Presidents of the Church: Brigham Young*, 1997, p. 135). Although Brigham Young said this over 100 years ago, it is quoted in a teaching manual used in the Church today, indicating it is a concept that contemporary church leaders want to emphasize. Again, although it is not known exactly why each woman in this study who values education would choose to stay at home over having a career, 77% of the women did agree that, to them, being a parent was the most important career. They might feel that the best way that they can "benefit ... society at large" is to devote their lives to being a full-time homemaker.

Feelings of Cultural Acceptance. What about the women who are the minority of the Church? In her study, Beaman (2001) discovered that tension emerges for LDS women who do not fit the ideal. Indeed, over 20% of the women in this study felt as if they did not fit in with sisters in their ward. The numbers of women who feel out of place are nearly equal between single and married women.

IMPLICATIONS

It is hoped that this research will help psychologists and counselors who come in contact with women in the LDS community to understand how these women make decisions about careers and family, how they envision their lives, to whom they look for direction, and what they hold important.

These findings emphasize that junior and senior women at Brigham Young University are neither looking forward to nor preparing for their role as mother and homemaker in addition to a career in some formal sense of that role. On the contrary, most of these women are committed to rearing their children in their homes. Furthermore, those women who are seeking a career tend to be strongly divided on many issues from those who do not want a career, and are more likely to lack the support of their peers. Women planning on dual roles

need encouragement and reassurance that they can find support for their decisions from other members of the Church, and that they can be righteous members of the Church while pursuing both a family and a career. Especially since all of the women in this study relied heavily on spiritual sources such as patriarchal blessings and guidance from Church leaders to make their decisions, the decisions they make certainly need to be honored. This point is pivotal, if divisions between women on the basis of their views on these issues are to be avoided. Young women need to be careful not to judge each other, and to have faith that women who have a different point of view or who have chosen a course different from their own, have done so based on personal inspiration. Indeed, fulfilling individual roles in life may require individually different journeys.

These findings also suggest that young LDS women need to put serious thought into their decisions – not make decisions passively. They need to be encouraged to look beyond their mothers to other women they admire, or to their siblings who may have struggled with similar decisions. There are a number of individuals close to them that may also help them make their decisions: local leaders, including bishops and Relief Society presidents, professors, and other ward members with experience could provide valuable information which should be reviewed in prayerful consideration of their options. Fathers, too, may have considerable insight which would be of great value to daughters struggling to make life-course decisions. Indeed, the counsel of fathers may be of particular value to LDS women who have been taught that their fathers are the

heads of their families – which, in turn, are the fundamental structural units of the Church.

It is clear from this initial exploration of the attitudes and decisions made by juniors and seniors at Brigham Young University, that the influence of the LDS Church figures prominently in the way these college-aged women go about making their choices, and in the actual decisions that they make. As Davidman (2000) suggested, the social and theological aspects of gendered religious beliefs play a significant role in finding solutions to the predicaments of modern life. Traditional gender roles as encouraged by leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, as well as reliance on inspirational resources such as patriarchal blessings, characterize the findings of this study – suggesting that individual theological and philosophical contexts must be understood if the decisions of young women are to be interpreted correctly. Religion and other beliefs do provide significant cultural meaning to gender roles in different groups in different ways. The eternal nature of gender in LDS doctrine, and the celebration of motherhood as a fulfilling and satisfying role for women, is evident in the decision-making processes found in the women who participated in this research. The impact of the beliefs of other religious women may likely be reflected in their decisions as well. Further studies are needed comparing LDS women at Brigham Young University with women at other universities sponsored by conservative religions with traditional ideals. Clearly, however, religion strongly influences the framing of career and family decisions being made by young women.

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