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Working Mothers: Assessing organizational attitudes, identity and

social media presentations of motherhood

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Abstract

Research illustrates that a gendered imbalance inherent in social identity and power structures within organizations, typically conveyed communicatively, results in organizational inequities for working mothers. This study explores the lived experience of a broad group of working women as they negotiate both public and private identities as mother and worker. Utilizing a feminist theoretical lens (May & Mumby, 2005; Hallstein, 2015), this study assesses working women's attitudes related to issues of workplace identity management and voice/agency concerns. One portion of the study utilizes a sub-scale of the Maternal Adjustment & Attitudes Scale (MAMA) (Kuman et al., 1984) and items constructed to assess identity negotiation related to organizational voice and agency. The second portion of the study utilizes a content analysis of three working mother Instagram accounts to analyze how working mothers choose to represent themselves publicly. Results and findings of the first portion of the study illustrate that while working women possess largely positive attitudes about their motherhood identity, it is tempered by worry about work-life balance. Size of organization was found to influence guilt experienced as a result of (re)negotiating motherhood identities and length of career establishment, and organizational role was found to potentially mediate motherhood identity communication. Results and findings of the study's second portion illustrate that while working women publicly present an idealized version of motherhood identity on social media, they are often absent from the presentation of their public identity.

Keywords: working women, identity, motherhood, social media, feminism, organization

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Currently, women are more influential than ever before in the United States (U.S.) labor

force while simultaneously lacking adequate national and organizational support for a

significant portion of many women's identity: being a mother. The women's liberation

movement of the 1960s ushered in a new wave of opportunity for women, particularly as

record numbers of women demanded entry into previously male dominated spheres such as

the workforce. In the 21st century, women now comprise half of the U.S. workforce, with 70

percent of female workers mothering children under the age of 18 as compared to 54 percent

in 1962 (United States Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, Data and Statistics, 2013).

Today's dual-income working culture in the U.S. requires more work hours and productivity of

all workers, both male and female, than ever before (Schulte, 2014) in part, possibly, to keep up

with the ever-rising cost of living. Currently almost two-thirds of households rely on working

mothers as the *primary* means of financial support or as breadwinners (Glynn, 2016). Given the

staggering change in working mother's participation in the U.S. workforce from the 1960s to

today, there is most likely a clear need for reconceptualization of what it means to provide

organizational support across the nation for working mothers.

As the fight for various equality related recognitions in the workforce continues, equal

pay, flexible work schedules to accommodate families, access to affordable childcare, and

national paid family leave are being contested. For example, currently only 14 percent of

workers have the ability to access paid family leave from their employers (National Partnership

for Women & Families, 2013). This lack of basic structural support within U.S. society and

organizational contexts for working mothers may be seen as a failure for feminism. While the 1960s feminist movement ultimately opened space for women to pursue professional opportunities, it did so without changing any of the societal structures to support the unpaid labor of women – namely mothering (Westervelt, 2016). Women continue to work within an organizational structure gendered toward a male perspective (Acker, 1990; Acker 2006; Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004; Kirby & Krone, 2013; Liu & Buzzanell, 2004; May & Mumby, 2005; Summers & Eikhof, 2014; Schulte, 2014; Turner & Norwood, 2013), where they are often stigmatized for exercising the choice to both work and mother (Gatrell, 2014; Westervelt, 2016). Referred to as the "maternal wall" (Schulte, 2014, p. 80), workforce inequities for mothers are thoroughly weaved throughout organizational contexts. These inequities occur from the time of recruitment, where men and non-mothering women are offered interviews at higher rates, and continues through exacerbation of the wage gap, where working mothers are paid only 60 cents of a non-father male worker's pay while single working women earn 94 cents given all things equal (e.g: job type, education, years of experience and hours on the job) (Schulte, 2014).

Some of mass media's portrayals of the maternity leave debate has centered on the choices of women who choose to balance motherhood and professional life. For example, studies illustrate that the conversation centers around the speedy post-partum return of women back into the workforce (Dishman, 2015; Margalit, 2012), the need for women to "lean into" their careers so that they do not fall behind during their child-rearing years (Laughlin, 2016), and the increase in the "opt out phenomenon" where women give up on corporate life to prioritize family (Schulte, 2014, p. 82). These examples position women as primarily caught in

navigating the conflicting internal and external expectations regarding their professional and motherhood roles within U.S. culture.

In addition, according to research literature, there appears to be global dissonance between the communicative valorization of the state of motherhood and capitalistic organizational culture's communicative demonization of it (Gatrell, 2014; Liu & Buzzanell, 2004). Work-devoted culture of modern professional life is both based on a socio-economic need to keep pace with the cost of living (Buzzanell et al., 2005) and reinforced by our cultural ideology of the "all or nothing workplace" where professionals are expected to put work ahead of any other obligation (Shulte, 2014, p.82). This intense, work-devoted culture may have specific ramifications for women in the workforce, which is important to consider given the increased reliance on women in the labor force. The U.S. culture's intense workforce devotion is leading to increased anxiety and emotional disconnection with work, decreased fertility rates, increased financial and emotional strain to secure child-care and negative physiological effects on the brain (Schulte, 2014). Clearly, these negative factors arise from the U.S. cultural emphasis on valuing public sphere identifications (e.g.: work) over private sphere identifications (e.g.: caregiving/parenting) which leads women to question their identity constructions of both working professional and mother (Laughlin, 2016; Schulte, 2014).

The goal of this study is to explore and more clearly understand the lived experience of working women, specifically as they manage and negotiate their public and private identities as mother, worker and female in society. Women increasingly serve as the backbone of working society, making up a large majority of the U.S. workforce, and yet their unpaid labor as mother is not fully recognized or honored within the workforce. Experiencing motherhood is a critical if

not transformational life-stage process experienced by many professional women, which makes understanding the tensions and vacillations between balancing and negotiating multiple identities (e.g.: professional, mother) important to organizational leaders, human resources professionals and policy makers, particularly as the labor market relies increasingly on women to operate functionally. In addition, understanding how working women choose to represent their multiple identities publically outside of the workplace may offer insight into how women make sense of and enact these identities.

Literature Review

With an interest in grounding this study of working women's identity negotiation in a feminist framework, I begin by outlining the creation of a feminist communicology of organization that highlights the gendered social construction inherent in organizations. I discuss the ways in which the gendered nature of organizations privileges the male perspective, causing significant structural dissonance and struggle for female workers. The dissonance that females experience creates an organizational context that treats working mothers as "other," (Gatrell, 2014, p.640). Women experience this dissonance within the organizational context and the social context, explored through the current gap between individual expectations of women as workers and the socio-cultural expectation of women as mothers. Lastly, I discuss the impact that these societal and organizational structures have on the negotiations of private and public identities of working women.

The Need for a Feminist Framework

Given the increasing numbers of women working within organizations, it is vital that the intersection of gender, identity and organizational discourse situates itself within a feminist

point of view. May and Mumby's (2005) theoretical premises of feminism in organizational

communication offers a grounding for the use of feminist theory in relation to organizational

practices and identity negotiation. The authors' three premises that are important to this study

include: 1) that gender is a primary way in which social identity and relations of power are

configured; 2) dominate configurations of gender systematically privilege the male perspective

over the female perspective; and 3) communication is the process through which gender,

power and organization are accomplished (May and Mumby, 2005). These premises are clearly

illustrated by the research literature on working mother's organizational contexts and woven

throughout the study as main themes affecting identity negotiations of professional working

mothers.

Gender drives social identity and power within organizations

Much of the research and literature on women and men in organizations focuses on

leadership styles, specifically how gender affects social leadership identity and power. As the

author indicates, collaborative and participative aspects of a transformational leadership style,

lauded as a superior way to lead in organizational communication literature (Eagly, 2007),

would seem to align with typically perceived feminine traits of cooperation, consensus building

and interest in nurturing. Yet, most leaders at an executive level are typically male, with recent

reports illustrating that only a little over 14 percent of S&P 500 organizations hold women in

top leadership positions (Egan, 2015). Eagly (2007) further explains that women are

disadvantaged within leadership because of their unique "double bind" within organizational

structures (p.4). The double bind arises from the assumption that the same traits (communal

focused, kindness and gentleness) that could potentially make women such transformational

leaders are typified as *social* rather than professional traits. This contradictory experience of possessing leadership qualities tied to a gendered construction creates cross pressures on female leaders to choose between their social selves and professional selves and is a place where women can be subject to workplace prejudice and criticism (Eagly, 2007).

Within organizational communication literature, gender is also displayed in the values that male and female leaders and managers exhibit through their work with others. The varying values of leaders are polarized upon gendered lines (Marshall, 1993) relating to social identity and power structures. Marshall (1993) asserts that male leadership values are characterized through a focus on independence, strength, competition and activity versus female leadership values of cooperation, emotionality, acceptance and mutual development. These male leadership values have shaped social and cultural norms within United States society and organizations through "norms of behavior, management styles, definition of career and success and notions of truth" (Marshall, 1993, p. 125). In essence, the male oriented values that are so pervasive in organizational structures have resulted in delegitimizing female values and methods of communication, decreasing female social power within organizations. The decrease of female social power causes women to experience a lack of confidence and feelings of imposter syndrome within the organizational space (Marshall, 1993). To the extent that women are able to make sense of the tension felt between the dominant social and organizational values rooted in male-ness, research indicates they often deemphasize their gender orientation, downplaying potential unacceptable female orientations (such as motherhood, emotionality, need for community, etc.) while establishing their credibility through the use of male-dominate forms of language and avenues (Marshall, 1993).

Male perspectives privileged over female perspectives in organizations

A vast body of research (Acker, 1990; Acker, 2007; Acker & Van Houten, 1974; Marshall, 1993; Schulte, 2014) illustrates that organizational culture inherently favors the male perspective, from the structure of the workday which leaves little flexibility for maternal functions (e.g.: feeding, taking kids to school, caring for sick children) to the ways in which working women experience a "motherhood penalty" (Schulte, 2014, p. 80) while working men gain a "fatherhood bonus" (Schulte, 2014, p. 80). Acker's (1990) theoretical framework of gendered organizations is regarded as a seminal guide to understanding how the basis of all organizational hierarchies are fundamentally male, posing the largest structural issue for working mothers. By tracing communicative organizational processes such as rules of job evaluation and job responsibilities, Acker (1990) makes it clear that these communicative rules within organizations are based on the premise of an ideal worker whose life centers solely on the job and nothing else. This "abstract, bodiless worker" cannot have a sexuality, emotions, family life or social responsibilities outside of the working ideal because it would disable organizational systems of control and perceived rationality of organizational processes (Acker, 1990, p.151-153). The image of the "unencumbered worker" who arrives punctually and devotes every second to work, armed with the ability to work long hours as requested, is the foundation of the organization within Western-capitalist systems (Acker, 2006, p. 448).

Acker (2006) further exposes that the ideal of the unattached worker leaves no room for female workers who have family, children or social obligations outside of the workplace. It should be acknowledged that the ideal, unencumbered worker structure within organizations also causes constraints for male workers (particularly those with family obligations) in addition

to female workers, but this is not a focus of the current study. Gender is intrinsically a part of

organizational processes at a basic structural level and forms an important foundation of

organizational inequity experienced by women, particularly as they negotiate both professional

and maternal identities. While it is helpful to understand how male perspectives are privileged

in the organizational context at a hierarchical and role based level, this study has an interest in

digging further into the daily organizational practices that affect identity construction by

supporting gendered inequities of the workplace.

Communication is the process where gender, power and organization occur

In *Reworking Gender*, Ashcraft and Mumby (2004) offer an analysis of gender in relation

to organizational discourse. Whereas in the past, gender was traditionally thought of as a

defining element of human identity, which shaped interpersonal interactions, Ashcraft and

Mumby (2004) illustrated that this viewpoint had not yielded support within empirical studies

because it tends to oversimplify the relationship between identity and communication. Instead,

Ashcraft and Mumby (2004) posit a re-framing of gender within organizations as "not as

something we have or are as individuals but as something we 'do' together. It is a situated and

provisional accomplishment – the continuous activity of managing conduct in light of dominant

expectations for appropriate gender behavior" (p. 9). Ashcraft and Mumby (2004) create a

feminist communicology of organization, which they describe as a gender omnipresence in

organizational life causing an ongoing struggle over meaning and identity. This gender

omnipresence ultimately links privilege and power within organizations to the way in which a

female worker makes sense of herself within an organization. Thus, working women's sense-

making of their own identity construction must be a function of communication and will

ultimately be presented through communication within the workplace or outside of the workplace.

In reviewing a variety of feminist literature, Marshall (1993) outlines the social communicative tactics working women use to negotiate the tension of working within a male-dominated organizational culture. The theme of communication of difference and marginality as well as man-made language (Marshall, 1993) relate to themes under study within this current study's focus on voice/agency concerns for working mothers. In outlining the communication of difference and marginality that women experience, Marshall (1993) discusses that as women climb the corporate ladder, they manage their marginality in senior level positions visually through thoughtful choices around dress and language to alter the perception of them as women. Language is also a key area where females must employ tactics to overcome a male oriented bias within the organizational setting. Marshall (1993) argues that small tactics such as changing labels such as "Chairman" to "Chair" or intentionally employing rational, objective, and potentially "cold" language to overcome potential marginalization at a very basic level are a necessity for women to increase credibility in male-dominated organizational cultures (p. 130-131). Working mothers clearly are affected by and at times use language to differentiate or align their identities within organizational culture in order to be successful in the gendered workspace. However, when a working woman's identity is obviously shown to incorporate the role of mother (e.g.: physically through pregnancy), identity negotiation becomes more pressing as illustrated by the literature surrounding treatment of working women in the process of taking maternity leave.

Gendered organizational culture equates women with "other," resulting in decreased agency. Gender omnipresence in organizational life crops up in organizational discourse and communicative practices, particularly as it relates to working women taking maternity leave. Because maternity leave discourse exists as written policy, women often experience a lack of interpersonal interaction, agency or space for negotiation when requesting leave (Meisenbach et al., 2008). Bureaucratic language employed within written leave policies often assumes that working women understand the possible detriments to the organization by requesting leave; resulting in working women being deferent to the organizational needs and fearful of causing a break in typical organizational work by their need for maternity leave. In fact, Meisenbach et al. (2008) found that doctors outside of the organizational context had more communicative power in negotiating leave than the working women themselves, as doctors are responsible for giving medical authorization that affects the start date and ending date of leave. In terms of organizational policies surrounding maternity leaves, it is clear from the Meisenbach et al.'s study (2008) that women are not in control of their communicative ability to negotiate leave. As women fully lack the agency and voice to negotiate leave to accommodate their emerging identity as mother, their identity as working professional becomes more tenuous and requires women to decrease their outward enactment of their mother identity or to resist the gendered organizational expectations of the ideal worker.

In a 2004 study of the ethics and justice of care surrounding women's maternity leave interactions at work, Lui & Buzzanell found that both overt and covert practices deteriorated women's ability to negotiate for maternity leave and left women without a voice – resulting in one-third of participants leaving their job after giving birth (p.341), although the exact reasons

are unknown, this finding suggest lack of voice and agency surrounding maternity leave in the workplace left women with a heightened level of dissatisfaction or displacement. Overt discourses included supervisors enacting corporate policy, stressing conformity and equality for all workers and privileging personal and company interest over women's need for accommodation due to maternity (Lui & Buzzanell, 2004, p.341). Covert practices included making women feel guilty for the necessity of maternity leave and the potential burden caused for coworkers that propelled women to work while on maternity leave (Lui & Buzzanell, 2004, p. 341), tied to bureaucratic organizational processes including imposed peer pressure and de-legitimizing the women's identity as mother/caregiver (p.336-337). The authors pinpoint that bureaucratic, institutional processes enabled supervisors to be ambiguous or incomplete in outlining maternity leave policies as well as monitoring activity of women who intended taking leave, confining those women to a decreased voice in maternity leave negotiations (Lui & Buzzanell, 2004, p. 338-339).

Buzzanell and Liu (2005) also investigated discourse of women who were discouraged from taking maternity leave to understand why women may choose to opt out of work after their leave experience. By employing a post-structural framework, Buzzanell and Liu (2005) situated their study in the communicative practices that expressed tension and power struggles for working women navigating maternity leave. The authors found that the women negotiating negative leave experiences enacted communication processes that decreased feminine emotion and expectations, deconstructed female identity in light of professional identity, and both resisted and complied with maternity leave policies (Buzzanell & Liu, 2005, p. 8). Participants in the study enacted these processes due to the conflicting and ambivalent

discourse about their pregnancies (e.g.: being treated by superiors as less professionally

competent while pregnant), the hyper-rationalized and depersonalized way maternity leave

practices were outlined by Human Resources professionals, and the negative treatment (e.g.

blame, demotion, denial of raises or promotions) that occurred from supervisors after taking

family leave. Buzzanell and Liu's (2005) study illustrates that gender imbalances in the

workplace cannot be ultimately solved through policy changes for family leave within

organizations because there's a larger power differential at play affecting female workers. The

power differential is social in nature and undermines women's ability to construct an equitable

identity as both professional and mother.

A gap exists between expectations of working women and societal expectations of

mother. More recently, Gatrell (2014) found that pregnancy and maternity was associated with

disruption of workplace routines, unreliability and poor health in organizational settings,

resulting in pregnant women feeling alienated and treated as other, ultimately resulting in a

"chasm between social expectations of mother and attitudes of organizational culture" (p.644).

Liu & Buzzanell (2004) demonstrated that maternity leave within organizations necessitates the

reassignment of work priorities and relational activities within and outside of the organization,

causing potential strife among coworkers. Maternity leave also causes co-workers and

superiors to reassess "organizational commitment" of female workers, particularly as previous

studies have shown that the attending to family responsibilities is an indicator of less work

commitment, strained tensions between management and employees requesting leave, and

decreased ability for promotion in a corporate environment (Liu & Buzzanell, 2004, p. 325).

Hebl et al. (2007) found that hostile discrimination occurred more often for pregnant women

within "female-dominated, low-status jobs," suggesting that professional roles requiring

ongoing task orientation are ripe for potential issues for coworker conflict due to women taking

maternity leave (p.1507). It is hypothesized by Hebl et al. (2007) that the hostile actions

between coworkers in certain industries may be contributing to the relegation of working

mothers to "gender-congruent roles" (p. 1509).

At the same time as working mothers experience an othering and alienation within

organizations context, they also feel pressure to fulfill extremely high societal expectations as a

mother. Hallstein (2008) discusses the recent cultural phenomenon requiring women to

practice intensive mothering, which is defined as mothers being solely responsible for the

ongoing, time and energy intensive nurturing and support of their children by employing expert

knowledge of parenting practices (Hallstein, 2008, p. 143). The ideological emphasis in U.S

culture around intensive mothering requires women to undergo total self-sacrifice in raising

their children; mothers must obviate themselves in order to become intellectually, physically

and emotionally enmeshed with their children in order to raise them well (Johnston &

Swanson, 2006). Johnston and Swanson (2006) discuss that intensive mothering as an ideology

has been well documented in North American culture, so much so that U.S. women have begun

to internalize this ideology and are forced to reconcile opposing tensions between wanting to

be the perfect mother and pursuing a successful career (i.e.: being an ideal worker). Although

intensive mothering is known to be problematic in terms of the exhaustion and conflict caused

with trying to also manage professional expectations, it nonetheless plays a key ideological role

in the gap that exists between women's determination of their private and professional selves

(Buzzanell, 2003; Hallstein, 2008). This gap leads to feelings of extreme stress, guilt and lack of

agency for working mothers due to the inability to reconcile the high standards for both professional and personal life (Gilbert, 2008; Johnston & Swanson, 2007). Intensive motherhood has become a normalized ideology for working mothers in the 21st century so that mothers have to reconcile how to balance their ever-diminishing time to accommodate living up to this ideology in addition to meeting demands of being an ideal worker (Johnston & Swanson, 2006).

Working Mother Identity Negotiations

In addition to the theoretical basis of May and Mumby's feminist communicology of organization premises, feminist standpoint theory is a valuable identity-related theoretical lens for the current study because it addresses the tensions inherent in women sharing a common experience of oppression, given that women with differing standpoints of race, class and sexuality are uniquely diverse and thus a multitude of lived experiences for women exist (Hallstein, 2015). Feminist standpoint theory has made accommodations in the recent years to focus on intersectionality and varying standpoints, better articulating that the commonality experienced by women is due to the "distinct position and potential standpoint in culture" as being "systematically exploited, oppressed, excluded, devalued and dominated through the sexual division of labor" (Hallstein, 2015, p.5). On this basis, feminist standpoint theory provides a space for shared commonality among women, particularly for working mothers who are on the front lines of capitalist structure attempting to balance high expectations of being both an ideal worker and live up to intensive mothering. Because standpoint theory acknowledges the need for "collective interaction and dialogue with others" through sharing a particular set of experiences (e.g.: negotiating motherhood and working identities),

commonality and difference can be accounted for in understanding the unique situations of women as "constrained agents" (Hallstein, 2015, p.6-7). Women make sense of their own identities through partial agency that is contextualized in cultural, organizational and ideological messages about what it means to be a woman, a mother and a professional (Hallstein, 2015).

Summers & Eikhof (2014) discuss this constrained nature of the female identity experience in corporate life through their study addressing the gendered realities of organizational culture, which ultimately leads to a lack of fulfillment for women. The authors suggest that a reclamation of female identity is needed by giving voice to the biological function of female life (i.e.: motherhood) and choosing to be a stay at home mom, which fulfills two important outcomes for women (Summers & Eikhof, 2014). By opting out of organizational work life, women accept that "gendered inequalities in the public sphere of work are legitimate" and are therefore not going to suffer through the alienation or discrimination of the gendered organizational experience (Summers & Eikhof, 2014, p.43). In addition, by exercising the choice to *not* be career-oriented in a typical bureaucratic organization, women are able to become more in touch with their femininity by working in a private setting that allows space for "intuitive, emotional and embodied," experiences unacceptable in the typical gendered organizational structure (Summers & Eikhof, 2014, p.43).

While seemingly attractive as "opting-out" may appear as a way to protest the gendered nature of organizational labor, it presents challenges. Opting-out places the onus on the individual and ignores the structural disadvantages of the organizational labor force system and the economic need for women to earn income as the "unemployed mother is now an exception

rather than the rule" (Buzzanell et al.,2005). This is contrasted with Van Cleaf's (2015)

discussion of Sheryl Sandberg's work *Lean In*, a powerful example of how resiliency narratives

can be coopted to blame individual women for their position within a structurally rigged

gendered organizational reality. As she discusses *Lean In*, Van Cleaf (2015) aptly states that "the

underlying message is that to lean in to their careers, women must lean out of motherhood" (p.

253), or at minimum, if women are working they must consider keeping their maternity secret

in order to protect the organizational norm (Foster, 2005). These three choices of "opting out",

"leaning in" or being secret illustrate that women's individual choices may not offer easy

solutions to an identity negation problem that is economically driven and ideologically tied to

conceptions of motherhood within the structure of gendered organizations.

For many women who choose to navigating their negotiate professional life while

transitioning into motherhood, much of the research focuses discusses the ways in which

women discursively create and enact their own identity of a "good working mother" (Buzzanell

et al., 2005; Johnston & Swanson, 2006; Ladge et al., 2012, Turner & Norwood, 2013). Utilizing a

sensemaking theoretical base, Buzzanell et al. (2005) found that three themes enabled women

to transform the intensive mothering ideology into a "good working mother" ideology. These

themes included independently securing quality child care, delegating and overseeing home

care tasks appropriately and feeling pride in both working and mothering (in spite of initial

negative feelings of separation from child upon return to work), all of which demonstrate that

the "good working mother image is a very fragile construction" (Buzzanell et al., 2005, p. 276).

Ironically, reframing the "good working mother" identity reflects how women are utilizing their

already practiced "ideal worker" modes of operation and applying them to motherhood,

ultimately failing to alleviate women of the pressures inherent in intensive mothering or in conformity to the gendered organizational context.

Focusing on the liminal-state of pregnancy, Ladge et al. (2012) found that mothering identities begin to coevolve with work identities prior to becoming a mother. Situating their study in "cross-domain identity transitions", Ladge et al. (2012) illustrate that pregnant working women do not fully disengage from their professional identity as they incorporate "provisional visions of their multiple possible selves as working mothers" (p. 1457). The process of cross-domain identity transition that Ladge et al. (2012) outline involves a variety of cyclical reactions employed by working women including rejection of emerging identity of mother, delaying of identity negotiations, and actualizing their identities of professional in addition to mother. These cyclical reactions were found to relate to uncertainties between how identities of mother and professional eventually are reconciled post-partum (Ladge et al., 2012). Organizational resources provided to working mothers and informal social support were shown to significantly influence the images of "good working mother" that were created, indicating that organizational context has a role to play in how working mothers limit or expand the sense of how they "can or will want to invest" in each identity (Ladge et al., 2012, p.1464).

As discussed above, a variety of research has investigated the various identity tensions working mothers experience from organizational, societal and ideological perspectives. Research around working mother identity construction has focused on identity negotiation during pregnancy (Ladge et al., 2012), ideological reframing of working mother identity as a "good working mother" (Buzzanell et al., 2005; Johnston & Swanson, 2006; Turner & Norwood, 2013), and how organizational contexts influence working mother identity construction (Ladge

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et al., 2012; Ladge & Greenberg, 2015). Furthermore, research completed on work-family

conflict in organizations has suggested that specific elements of organizational culture such as

organizational size, organizational roles and responsibility for other employees as potential

influencing factors in negotiating work-life balance for female employees (Adkins et al., 2013;

Dierdorff & Kemp Ellington, 2008; Dex & Scheibl, 1999; Shaw & Riskind, 1983). Specifically, this

research has found that the organizational size has been associated with family friendly policies

(Adkins et al., 2013; Dex & Scheibl, 1999) and that job demands as a function of organizational

role and responsibility for others influences work-family stress and conflict (Dierdorff & Kemp

Ellington, 2008; Shaw & Riskind, 1983).

All of this research provides helpful insights but is relatively specific and subjectively

focused. Further research is needed to more clearly understand the ways in which a broad

group of working mothers negotiate their identity constructions in the modern workplace. This

study is grounded in a feminist standpoint theory that can recognize both the diverse and

common experiences of working mothers and explores how they (re)negotiate their identity in

such transformations. By understanding the identity negotiations that occur within a variety of

organizational contexts (e.g.: small, medium and large organizations) while women experience

motherhood, we can better understand how attitudes around motherhood affect working

women. In light of these objectives, the following research questions were created:

RQ1a: How do working women assess their attitudes toward motherhood while
pregnant and/or post-partum?

RQ1b: How does the organization size relate to the ways working women assess their
attitudes towards motherhood while pregnant and/or post-partum?

RQ1c: How does the length of establishment in career relate to the ways working
women assess their attitudes towards motherhood while pregnant and/or post-partum?

RQ1d: How does taking of maternity leave relate to the ways working women assess their attitudes towards motherhood post-partum?

RQ1e: How does taking maternity leave that is paid partially or in full by the employer relate to the ways working women assess their attitudes towards motherhood post-partum?

Recognizing that women primarily work within an organizational structure gendered toward a male perspective (Acker, 1990; Acker 2006; Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004; Kirby & Krone, 2013; Liu & Buzzanell, 2004; May & Mumby, 2005; Summers & Eikhof, 2014; Schulte, 2014; Turner & Norwood, 2013), where they are often penalized for expressing their motherhood identities (Gatrell, 2014; Westervelt, 2016), additional objectives of this study are to assess working women's attitudes throughout each stage of motherhood as they relate to issues of workplace identity management and voice/agency concerns. In light of these objectives, the following research questions were created:

RQ2a: How does the organization size relate to the ways working women communicatively express their motherhood identities in the workplace?

RQ2b: How does the length of establishment in career relate to the ways working women communicatively express their motherhood identities in the workplace?

RQ2c: How does the organizational role relate to the ways working women communicatively express their motherhood identities in the workplace?

Recognizing the amount of literature (Buzzanell, 2003; Gatrell, 2014; Gilbert 2008; Hallstein, 2008; Hebl et al., 2007; Johnston & Swanson, 2006; Summers & Eikhof, 2014) discussing the ways in which socio-cultural ideologies of motherhood create tension for working women identity (re)negotiations and voice/agency in the workplace, the following research questions were created:

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RQ3a: How does the organization size relate to the ways working women experience organizational voice and agency as they negotiate their motherhood identity?

RQ3b: How does the length of establishment in career relate to the ways working women experience organizational voice and agency as they negotiate their motherhood identity?

RQ3c: How does the organizational role relate to the ways working women experience organizational voice and agency as they negotiate their motherhood identity?

Working Mother Identity Performance

One of the ways in which working women have been active in performing their identity as mothers has not unsurprisingly been in a computer mediated space through the sharing of family photographs. While the history of sharing family photographs has typically been viewed as documentation-oriented (Rose, 2004; Van Dijck, 2008; Wang et al., 2014), recent attention has been paid to the way in which photography in a digital space relates to the creation of a self-narrative and identity formation process on both an individual and collective level (Van House, 2009). Rose (2004) found through qualitative interviews with mothers about family photographs that a primary function of these pictures was to "perform togetherness," and intersubjectively narrativize the experience of motherhood based on how the mother chooses to see herself (p. 560-561). Van Djick (2008) found that the ease of sharing and manipulating digital photographs allows users to adopt a "visual language" of personal identity, which can be communicated socially through the communal exchange of photographs (p. 62-63). The process of creating, editing and sharing digital photographs allows people to perform and construct themselves individually and collectively (Van House, 2009), potentially in a way that provides an opportunity to alter and adjust public and private identities as the user sees fit (Van Dijck, 2008, p. 70).

In addition, the visual representation of the photograph and the story it tells is important in the performance of the motherhood identity. Through an empirical study of family photographs on Flickr, Wang et al. (2014) found that the valuing of photographs as an "aesthetic object" serves an important function of "self-expression, identity construction and socialization" (p. 193) that echoes the historical functions of photography, regardless of the technological mode that the photograph inhabits. Walther's (2007) work on computer-mediated communication illustrates that the asynchronous nature of photo sharing gives the sender of the message the ultimate ability to perform identity as she/he sees fit by editing content, accentuating or concealing particular imagery (p. 2541). Turkle (1999) also commented on the nimbleness of identity performance that exists online, stating that the anonymity of cyberspace "gives people the chance to express often unexplored aspects of the self" (p. 643). Given the increased ability for working women to represent their identity publically, on their own terms (Anderson & Grace, 2015; Frizzo-Barker & Chow-White, 2012; Turkle, 1999; Walther, 2007; Wang et al. 2014) another objective of this study is to extend theliterature and understand how working mothers publicly enact their identities in a social media context. In light of this objective, the final research question is:

RQ4: How do working mothers present their identities publically, specifically in a social media context?

Method

A mixed method approach is utilized in this study. The purpose of using a mixed

methods approach is to consider how women's professional identity and maternal identities

are constructed, enacted, and influenced by organizational structures and cultural expectations,

as well as to consider the personal choice of identity enactment, specifically in the social media

context. In the first portion of the study, a quantitative survey was employed to assess how

working women perceive the intersection of maternal identities (or potential maternal

identities) in light of their professional identities, as well as how communicative considerations

within the workplace affect their identity (re)negotiations. In the second portion of the study, a

content analysis of three working mother's Instagram accounts examine how working mothers

perform or enact their identity in a public social media sphere. The choice to utilize social media

for a content analysis is informed by research indicating that online social media has allowed

for more personal control over self-presentation than other non-mediated forms (Reichert

Smith, L. & Sanderson, J., 2015). Content analysis is an inconspicuous method used by

communication researchers grounded in the premise that a photograph tells a story (Reichert

Smith, L. & Sanderson, J., 2015). Instagram is a natural choice for a measure as it is a platform

dedicated to visual imagery (e.g.: photographs and video). Originally the study intended to also

explore mothering identities in relation to space/body considerations, but given that the

space/body survey items were not internally reliable, the data was not utilized in this study.

WORKING MOTHERS: ASSESSING ORGANIZATIONAL ATTITUDES

First Portion of Study

Participants

The participants in the first portion of the study consisted of working female professionals at various sized organizations (e.g.: small, medium-sized and large) throughout the United States. The target participant group included employed women who were not currently pregnant and contemplating having a child, women who were pregnant or women who had one or more children. Because the study focuses on working women's attitudes surrounding pregnancy and maternity as they relate to issues of work-place identity management and voice/agency concerns, participants who had experienced maternity while working were specifically targeted in the convenience sample.

There was an initial response of 513 participants to the survey. Because the study relies on understanding the nature of working women's assessment of the motherhood experience, 18% of participants were removed due to a lack of current employment and/or omission of one or more of the sections of the survey, leaving 420 (82%) participants who completed the survey for analysis. This is my analytic sample (n=420). The participants represented 42 out of 50 states in the United States. Participants were primarily married (80.7%) versus single (15.7%) and very few of them were divorced (2.9%), separated (.5%) or widowed (.2%). The majority of the participants were highly educated: 77.4% of participants obtained a graduate, professional or Ph.D degree in contrast to 19.5% with a Bachelors' degree, .7% with an Associate's degree, and 2.4% with some college or high school degree only.

Procedures

In January 2017, participants completed a voluntary online survey administered via Qualtrics. Participation required individual permission after review of an information letter that was the first page included in the survey. This study was approved by the researchers Institutional Review Board as # 2016208. Two types of samples were used for the voluntary study: convenience and snowball. Using the Small Business Administration size standards ("SBA Firm Size Data", n.d.), an organization employing less than 500 employees is typically regarded as small, an organization employing 500-1500 employees is typically regarded as medium, and an organization employing over 1,500 employees is a large organization. For the convenient sample, participants who worked for small-sized, medium-sized and/or large organizations were recruited through e-mail to individuals with a personal relationship connection to the researcher. The study utilized snowball sampling through posting on my personal social media platforms (Facebook and LinkedIn) as well as requesting several Communication Studies Professors to share the voluntary study through their networks. One reminder was sent out specifically on Facebook two weeks after the initial request for voluntary participation. Participants were incentivized to complete the voluntary survey in order to enter into a secondary voluntary raffle for a $40 Amazon gift card upon completion of the survey. Because the study relied on a convenience and snowball sample, I am not able to calculate a response rate.

To assess participants' perceptions regarding their maternity attitudes and identity, the survey utilized the Attitudes to pregnancy and the baby subscale of the Maternal Adjustment and Attitudes Scale (MAMA) (Kuman et al, 1984). The Attitudes to pregnancy and the baby

subscale was selected due to the nature of the questions relating to identity conceptions explored within the study as well as having a strong correlation coefficient of 0.84 (Kuman et al., 1984). Because the study is situated within organizational contexts, I devised questions to determine voice/agency considerations for working women contemplating pregnancy, working women who were currently pregnant and working women with one or more child. Participants completed several demographic questions in order to determine differences in response among those who work for varying sized organizations, age, and whether or not they are currently a mother. See Appendix A for full survey questionnaire.

Measures

Qualtrics (www.qualtrics.com) was used for the online survey. This online software was chosen because it is a primary survey tool utilized in academic settings. The benefits to using this online software is that it incorporates survey logic and branching that assisted in showing applicable items for participants based on demographic data supplied, particularly around whether or not participants were contemplating motherhood, currently pregnant or already a mother of one or more children. The platform works well on both desktop and mobile phones, which was considered a benefit given the potentiality of a variety of participants completing the survey through snowball and convenient sampling.

Maternal Adjustment and Attitudes Scale (MAMA). Identity self-perceptions and attitudes about the maternal role of participants (RQ1a-RQ1e) was assessed using the attitudes to pregnancy and the baby subscale of the MAMA. This subscale includes 12 items related to women's perceptions of their ability to navigate the role of mother including caring for the child

("Have you been worrying about hurting your baby inside you?"; "Have you been looking forward to caring for your baby's needs?"), self-care ("Has it worried you that you may not have any time to yourself once your baby is born?"), satisfaction with changes during pregnancy ("Have you been feeling happy that you are pregnant?"), and considerations about life changes as a result of motherhood ("Have you felt that life will be more difficult after the baby is born?"). Items in the subscale were based on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1= "Not at All" to 4 = "Very Much". The MAMA was originally created as a way to assess the psychological condition and self-perception of women during pregnancy (Kuman et al., 1984). To accommodate women who were completing the questionnaire after birth (i.e.: post-partum), six items of the Attitudes to pregnancy and the baby subscale were reworded or rephrased by the original authors (Kuman et al., 1984). The correlation coefficient of the Attitudes to pregnancy and the baby subscale sub scale is 0.84 (Kuman et al., 1984).

In order to understand the attitudes assessed from the Attitudes to pregnancy and the baby subscale, I created four additional measures related to the direction of the attitudes presented in the questions of the subscale. It is understood by researchers that attitudes are comprised of both direction (e.g: positive/negative) and intensity (i.e.: strength of feeling) (Raden, 1985; Fabrigar & Krosnick, 1995). However, it has been noted by social psychologists that a need exists to differentiate between direction and intensity of attitude in order to produce precise results (Raden, 1985) and limit the shortcomings of the multidimensional Likert scale (Rionscente & Romeo, 2010). For these reasons, I created four additional measures from the Attitudes to pregnancy and the baby subscale: the MAMA pre-natal positive subscale (cronbach's α = .79), the MAMA pre-natal negative subscale (cronbach's α = .66) the MAMA

post-partum positive subscale (cronbach's α = 68), and the MAMA post-partum negative

subscale (cronbach's α = .60). Chronsbach's alphas for each of the four created measures are

considered tenuous, potentially due to the contrived valence of the positive and negative

measures within the items and the subjectivity of the participant. See Table 1 for specific items

in each subscale.

Voice/agency questions. Questions related to voice/agency were developed to assess

how women communicatively express and experience their motherhood identities with the

workplace (RQ2a-RQ2c) and how cultural norms of motherhood affect communication in the

workplace as women go through the various stages of motherhood (RQ3a-RQ3c). Four

questions were developed around the frequency or lack of frequency in discussing pregnancy

and motherhood in the workplace ("How secretive were you/or would you be about your

pregnancy in the workplace?", How frequently do you/would you speak about your child(ren)

at your workplace?", "How often do you/would you speak about your child(ren) in the

workplace as they increased with age?"; "How much did you/would you discuss the things you

had to give up during pregnancy (food, caffeine, drinking, weight goals/certain exercises, time,

etc)?"). These questions were developed in order to better determine the communicative

expression of motherhood identities over time and to examine the literature's assertion around

the silencing or decreasing of communication around pregnancy and motherhood in the

workplace (e.g., Foster, 2005; Hallstein, 2008; Marshall, 1993). One question was developed

("How guilty do you/would you feel about being a working mother?") in order to assess how

women experienced the gap between socio-cultural expectations of motherhood and

organizational expectations. Literature has asserted that this gap is communicatively expressed

via feelings of guilt, inadequacy or a sense of being "other" (e.g., Gatrell, 2014; Gilbert, 2008;

Harp & Bachman, 2008; Laughlin, 2016; Meisenbach et al., 2008). Three questions were

developed ("How much did you/would you worry about how your maternity leave would affect

your co-workers and supervisor?", "How pressured did you/would you feel to get all of your

work completed before taking maternity leave?", "How pressured did you/would you feel to

return to work early or discontinue your maternity leave in order to assist company interests?")

in order to assess how pregnancy and motherhood interacted communicatively with

organizational culture agency experienced by working mothers. Literature has previously

suggested that the agency of working mothers decreases as conformity to organizational

expectations become more pressing (e.g., Buzzanell & Liu, 2005; Kirby & Krone, 2002; Liu &

Buzzanell, 2004; Westervelt, 2016). In order to maintain survey consistency for participants,

items for the voice/agency questions were based on the similar 4-point Likert scale ranging

from 1= "Not at All" to 4 ="Very Much" as seen on the MAMA. In order to assess relationship

between voice/agency measures and organizational role, I created a new condensed measure

called Organizational Role that relates organizational role with level of hierarchy within the

specific organization. In order to create the Organizational Role subscale, I removed the 15.7%

of participants who answered "other" in describing their current role in the organization

because it was infeasible to determine the potential hierarchy of their specific position. See

Table 1 for specific items in each measure.

WORKING MOTHERS: ASSESSING ORGANIZATIONAL ATTITUDES

Second Portion of Study

Participants

With the objective of exploring working mother's self-representation on social media, I targeted three working mothers who could be considered social media influencers, a relatively new type of independent third party advocate who shape audience attitudes through personal posting of photos, blogs, tweets and other social media (Freberg et al., 2011). Social media influencers typically have access to a large audience and a high likelihood of credibility due to the amount of followers amassed. The three working mothers selected for the content analysis include Emily Schuman (@emilyschuman), Kristen Howerton (@kristenhowerton) and Eva Chen (@evachen212). Featured originally in Business Insider (Willett, 2015) as mothers to follow on Instagram, these specific mothers were worthwhile participants for this study because their followers range from over 20,000 followers (Kristen Howerton), over 400,000 followers (Emily Schuman) and over 750,000 followers (Eva Chen). These Instagram mothers all have working professions separate from their participation in the social media sphere. Kristen Howerton is a retired psychotherapist and musician, Emily Schuman is a founder of a company called Cupcakes and Cashmere, and Eva Chen is an executive at Instagram (Willett, 2015). These working women prominently feature their many roles as working professional, mother, partners, and consumers through their Instagram accounts.

Instagram is a social media platform that has experienced incredible growth in the recent past as photo and video sharing becomes increasingly popular on social media. According to Mediakix (2017), Instagram had added over 500 million users, making it the third

most popular social media platform behind Facebook and YouTube since its inception in 2010. Instagram is accessed at least once per month by over 78 million people in the U.S. which is approximately 30% of the total U.S. population (Mediakix, 2017). However, Instagram is an inherently biased sample, as women continue to be more frequent users of Instagram than men with a total of 31% of women represented on Instagram versus 24% of men who use the internet (Pew Research Center, 2015). The ability to quickly post and apply design elements to photographs makes Instagram an ideal medium of self-representation for busy working mothers due to its accessibility and ease of use. The level of analysis was individual Instagram messages of the three Instagram mother accounts. The analysis conducted was insight-based as it has been theorized as a method to better understand drivers of behavioral patterns, personality and potential insights into people's thoughts and concerns from Instagram's "rich media exchange" platform within the social media landscape (Schwartz & Ungar, 2015, p. 91).

Sampling

A content analysis was used to systematically examine representative samples of self-presentation of all three working mothers' Instagram posts. The unit of analysis was each individual Instagram post. Instagram posts were included in the sampling if there were human elements included in the photographs. Human elements were defined in the coding protocol as both full human subjects or parts of human subjects in order to use the photograph in the sample. A total of 55 Instagram posts were discarded because they did not include human elements, thus were not fit to be included as a unit of analysis. I selected a date of analysis and analyzed the most recent 60 Instagram posts on each user's account. According to the Pew

Research Center (2015), 59% of Instagram users are on the platform daily, so it was deemed

likely that at a minimum a full month of postings were analyzed through selection of the most

recent 60 photos (i.e.: allowing for multiple postings per day over a 30 day period). Much like

Facebook, Instagram depends on users uploading photos or video and responding to other's

uploads by "following," "liking," or "commenting" on the uploaded content. The photographs

selected for uploading allow users to create and continuously translate their identity through

the content they choose to share on the social media site (Caers et al., 2013). The number of

followers, likes and/or comments on the individual posts can be a way for the Instagram user to

solidify an identity of self that is legitimized by other users' recognition of their photographs

selected (Caers et al., 2013).

Procedures and Measures

A simple variable coding protocol was developed to assess whether or not the working

mother was included in each post, whether or not children were included in each post, whether

or not other adults were included in each post, the subject of focus's position to the

photographer (e.g., front, back, side), photo composition type (e.g. selfie, portrait/posed,

candid), photo tonality/tenor (e.g. positive, neutral, negative), mother subject descriptor as

well as subject of focus descriptor (e.g. idealized, objectified, realistic, absent). Photographs

that did not include any human elements, but only objects (i.e.: scenery/food/other objects)

were tallied but discarded from final analysis, as they did not relate to self-presentation in the

same way as photos including human elements. The variable coding structure was based in part

on critical discourse analysis's premise that specific discourse in texts project social values and

WORKING MOTHERS: ASSESSING ORGANIZATIONAL ATTITUDES

ideas that "contribute to the (re)production of social life," including structures of power and

ideology (Hansen & Machin, 2013, p. 118-119). Analyzing and describing the subject of focus,

the Instagram mother and the children included in the photograph elucidates what is

represented within the text (i.e.: Instagram photo) as well as what is potentially suppressed in

the text, all relating to the identity, ideology and power implicitly or explicitly illustrated in the

photograph. Considerable effort was made to focus primarily on Barthes's semiotic first level of

analysis, denotation, as a proven method in analyzing photographs (Hansen & Machin, 2013)

although connotation was utilized particularly in relation to the description of the subject of

focus and mother depicted in the photograph.

Intercoder Reliability

The coding protocol and variable definitions (see Appendix B) were refined through two

rounds of training, practice sessions, and independent test coding by the researcher and one

additional coder on an unrelated sample in Instagram. After protocol modifications, the

researcher and one coder performed two pilot checks (n = 20 and n =20) on one of the three

Instagram mother accounts (@evachen212) using a date range that fell outside of the final

target sample. Simple agreement exceeded 95% for all variables in the second pilot check, a

level deemed acceptable to begin coding the sample. The researcher independently coded the

180 sampled study Instagram photographs between June 12, 2017 and June 27, 2017, working

backward from the date of analysis coding the 60 most recent photographs from each mother's

Instagram account. To assess intercoder reliability of the protocol for the actual study sample,

the two coders double-coded 54 Instagram photographs, 18 randomly selected photographs

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from each Instagram mother under analysis on the basis of the Lacy and Riffe (1996) formula

for reliability sample size (assuming 95% probability and a 90% agreement level in the

population). Reliabilities were determined for the following variables using Krippendorff's

Alpha: (a) human elements included ($\alpha = 1$), (b) subject of focus ($\alpha = 1$), (c) mother included ($\alpha = 1$), (d) children included ($\alpha = 1$), (e) number of children ($\alpha = 1$), (f) subject of focus position ($\alpha = 1$), (g) photo composition type ($\alpha = .96$), (h) photo tone/tenor ($\alpha = 1$), (i) subject of focus

tone/tenor ($\alpha = 1$), (j) subject of focus description($\alpha = 1$), and (k) mother description ($\alpha = 1$).

Overall intercoder reliability percent agreement was deemed to be sufficient at 99.83% when

combining all categories.

Results

The goal of the study is to explore and more clearly understand the lived experience of

working women as they manage and negotiate their private and public identities as mother,

worker and female in society. In the results section, I outline the findings from the first portion

of the study, focusing on the descriptives of the participants and the ways in which working

women assess their attitudes towards motherhood throughout the different stages of

motherhood (i.e.: intending to become pregnant, during pregnancy and after having one or

more children) evidenced by RQ1a-RQ1e. Next, I outline the ways in which women's attitudes

toward motherhood relate to issues of workplace voice/agency identity management

evidenced by RQ2a-RQ2c and socio-cultural ideological concerns affecting voice/agency identity

management evidenced by RQ3a-RQ3c. Finally, focusing on descriptives of the participants, I

outline the ways in which women enact their motherhood identities in the social media context

evidenced by RQ4.

Within the 420 total participants, 11% were non-mothers, not intending to have a child; 11.4% were non-mothers, intending to have a child; 11.7% were pregnant; 25.5% were a mother of one child; and 40.5% were a mother of one or more children. The descriptive data revealed that 40.4% participants were working in small organizations; 16.2% participants were working in medium sized organizations; and 43.3% were working in large sized organizations. Participants ranged from 22 years of age to 68 years of age, with an average age of 35.44 years.

In terms of organizational role, a majority of the sample (41.4%) of participants held non-supervisory roles, about a quarter (24%) held supervisory roles, 14% held a manager/director level role, 4.8% held an executive level role, and 15.7% reported their role as "other." Career establishment was reported on a Likert scale of 1-5 with 1=least established to 5=extremely established. Over a third (34.3%) of participants felt somewhat established, 20.2% of participants felt extremely established, and 4.3% of participants felt least established in their career. Among the participants who reported having one or more children, many of them (88.4%) stated they had taken maternity leave while a smaller portion (11.6%) did not take maternity leave. For those participants who took maternity leave, 27.9% had maternity leave paid fully by their employer, over a third (38.5%) had maternity leave paid partially by their employer, a third (32.8%) had unpaid maternity leave and a small amount (.8%) were unsure or could not remember if their maternity leave was paid by their employer.

To address RQ1a, descriptive statistics and frequencies are reported for the MAMA pre-natal positive subscale (M =2.74, SD =0.77), MAMA pre-natal negative subscale (M =2.24, SD =0.54), MAMA post-partum positive subscale (M=3.20, SD = 0.54) and MAMA post-partum

negative subscale (*M* =2.03, *SD* =0.37) to understand how working women assess their attitudes towards motherhood while pregnant or post-partum. Specifically, in terms of positive attitudes towards motherhood, over two-thirds of working women who were pregnant or intending to become pregnant expressed that they were feeling happy "a lot" (43%) and "very much" (25%) about being pregnant (*M*=2.81, *SD* = .95). Almost 90% of working women who had one or more children expressed feeling happy "a lot" (27.6%) and "very much" (61.5%) about being a mother (*M*=3.50, *SD* =.71). Almost 95% percent of the same women expressed feeling happy "a lot" (32.6%) and "very much" (62.3%) about having a baby (*M*=3.57, *SD* =.60). Working women who were pregnant or intending to become pregnant found the thought of having several additional children slightly less appealing (*M*=2.36, *SD* =1.09), in contrast to working women who have one or more children (*M*=2.57, *SD*=1.14) and found the thought of having additional children slightly more appealing. Finally, caring for baby's needs and the appeal of breast-feeding were viewed more positively by working women who have one or more children (*M*=3.17, *SD*=.67; *M*=3.19, *SD*=.85 respectively) than working women who were pregnant or intending to become pregnant (*M*=2.69, *SD* = .88; *M*=2.75, *SD* = 1.12 respectively).

In terms of negative attitudes toward motherhood, over half of working women who were pregnant or intending to become pregnant expressed that they have "not at all" (59.3%) regretted being pregnant (*M*=1.49, *SD* =.70). Over three-quarters of working women who have one or more children expressed that they have "not at all" (86.8%) regretted having the baby (*M*= 1.14, *SD* =.35). Close to half of working women who have one or more children expressed that they have been "a little" disappointed (46.5%) by motherhood while over half expressed that they have been "not at all" disappointed (51.6%) by motherhood (*M*=1.51, *SD* = .55).

Worrying "a little" about being a good mother and worry about hurting the baby "not at all" were almost equally expressed by working women who were pregnant or intending to become pregnant (*M*=2.22, *SD*=.10; *M*=1.74, *SD*=.81 respectively) and working women who have one or more children (*M*=2.14, *SD* = .80; *M*=1.20, *SD* = .45 respectively). Working women who were pregnant or intending to become pregnant expressed feeling that life will be "a lot" more difficult after the baby is born (*M*=3.02, *SD* = .84) at a higher frequency than working women who had one or more children (*M*= 2.88, *SD* =.83). Finally, 60% of working women who were pregnant or intending to become pregnant and 93% of working women who have one or more children expressed feeling "very much" or "a lot" of worry about not having enough time to self after having a baby (M= 2.77, *SD* = .94; *M*=3.30, *SD* = .67 respectively). See Table 1 for all key variable statistical detail.

A series of bi-variate Pearson's *r* correlations were performed in order to assess relationships between positive and negative attitudes towards motherhood as expressed on the MAMA pre-natal positive subscale, MAMA pre-natal negative subscale, MAMA post-partum positive subscale and MAMA post-partum negative subscale. See Table 2, Table 3 and Table 4 for detailed statistics.

For the positive attitudes, there were significant positive correlations found between feeling happy about pregnancy and the appeal of having more children n(99), *r* = .53, *p* <.01 as well as looking forward to caring for baby's needs n(99), *r* = .53, *p* <.01 for working women who were pregnant or intending to become pregnant. In addition, there were significant positive correlations between the appeal of having multiple children and looking forward to caring for baby's needs n(120), *r* = .45, *p* < .01 as well as the appeal of breast-feeding n(126), *r* = .55, *p* <

.01 for working women who were pregnant or intending to become pregnant. Similarly, there were significant positive correlations for working women who had one or more children between feeling proud of being a mother and feeling happy to have a baby n(273), r = .57, p<.01 as well as enjoying caring for baby's needs n(274), r = .52, p <.01. There were significant positive correlations also found between enjoying caring for baby's needs and enjoying feeding the baby n(272), r = .50, p <.01 for working women who had one or more children.

For the negative attitudes, there were significant positive correlations found between worry about not being a good mother and worry about hurting the baby n(120), r = .38, p < .01 as well as worry about having less time to self after the birth n(128), r = .45, p <.01 for working women who were pregnant or intending to become pregnant. Similarly, there was a significant positive correlation between worry about not being a good mother and worry about hurting the baby n(273), r = .36, p < .01 for working women who had one or more children. There were significant positive correlations found between feeling that life has been more difficult since birth and worry about having time self since having the baby for both working women who were pregnant or intending to become pregnant n(127), r = .55, p < .01 and for working women who had one or more children n(273), r = .32, p < .01.

There was a significant positive correlation found between regret about pregnancy and feeling that pregnancy was unpleasant n(94), r = .48, p < .01 for working women who were pregnant or intending to become pregnant. In addition, there was a significant positive correlation found between regret about having the baby and feeling disappointed by motherhood n(273), r = .41, p < .01 for working women who had one or more children.

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Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Key Variables- Research Question 1a

Variable	N	M	SD
1. Career establishment[a]	420	3.46	1.09
2. MAMA pre-natal positive[b]	99	2.74	0.77
Felt happy about pregnancy	100	2.81	.95
Thought of multiple children as appealing	129	2.36	1.1
Look forward to caring for baby's needs	121	2.69	.88
Thought of breast-feeding baby as appealing	127	2.75	1.12
3. MAMA pre-natal negative[c]	94	2.24	0.54
Worry might not be a good mother	132	2.22	1
Worry about hurting baby	122	1.74	.81
Worry won't have time to self after birth	132	2.77	.94
Regretted pregnancy	108	1.49	.70
Felt pregnancy was unpleasant	106	2.41	.92
Felt life will be more difficult after birth	128	3.02	.84
4. MAMA post-partum positive[d]	271	3.20	0.54
Felt proud of being a mother	275	3.50	.71
Felt happy to have a baby	273	3.57	.60
Thought of having more children appealing	275	2.57	1.14
Enjoyed caring for baby's needs	274	3.17	.67
Enjoyed feeding baby	272	3.19	.85
5. MAMA post-partum negative[e]	270	2.03	0.37
Worry might not be a good mother	276	2.14	.80
Worry about hurting baby	274	1.20	.45
Had enough time for self since having baby	273	3.30	.67
Regretted having baby	273	1.14	.35
Felt disappointed by motherhood	275	1.51	.55
Felt life has been more difficult since birth	274	2.88	.83
6. Voice/Agency questions[f]			
How secretive in the workplace about pregnancy	404	2.07	.91
How frequently discuss child(ren) at work	408	2.78	.77
How often discuss child(ren) at work as they age	405	2.75	.74
How much discuss things had to give up in pregnancy (i.e.: food, caffeine, drinking)	403	2.02	.80
How guilty you feel about being working mom	407	2.34	.81
How much worry about maternity leave affecting co-workers & supervisor	407	2.44	.89
How much pressure felt to get all work completed before maternity leave	406	2.80	.93
How much pressure to return to work to assist company interests	405	2.18	1.1

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	N	%
1. Stage of motherhood[g]		
Not pregnant, not intending to have a child	46	11.0
Not pregnant, intending to have a child	48	11.4
Pregnant	49	11.7
A mother of one child	107	25.5
A mother of one or more children	170	40.5
2. Maternity leave taken		
Yes	244	88.4
No	32	11.6
3. Maternity leave paid for by employer		
Yes	68	27.9
No	80	32.8
Partially	94	38.5
Unsure/Can't remember	2	.8
4. Organization size[h]		
1-99	104	24.8
100-499	66	15.7
500-1500	68	16.2
1500-4999	64	15.2
5000+	118	28.1
5. Organizational role[i]		
Non-supervisory	174	49.2
Supervisory	101	28.5
Manager/Director level	59	16.7
Executive level	20	5.6

[a]Career establishment was measured using a continuous ordinal scale (1=least established, 5=extremely established).

[b]MAMA pre-natal positive sub-scale was measured using a continuous ordinal scale (1=not at all, 2=a little, 3=a lot, 4=very much), cronbach's alpha was .79

[c]MAMA pre-natal negative sub-scale was measured using a continuous ordinal scale (1=not at all, 2=a little, 3=a lot, 4=very much), cronbach's alpha was .66

[d]MAMA post-partum positive sub-scale was measured using a continuous ordinal scale (1=not at all, 2=a little, 3=a lot, 4=very much), cronbach's alpha was .68

[e]MAMA post-partum negative sub-scale was measured using a continuous ordinal scale (1=not at all, 2=a little, 3=a lot, 4=very much), cronbach's alpha was .60

[f]Voice/Agency questions were measured using a continuous ordinal scale (1=not at all, 2=a little, 3=a lot, 4=very much), cronbach's alpha was .53

[g]Stage of motherhood was measured using a continuous ordinal scale (1=not pregnant and not intending to have a child, 2=not pregnant and intending to have a child, 3=pregnant, 4=a mother of one child, 5=a mother of one or more children)

[h]Organization size was measured by amount of employees using a continuous ordinal scale (1=1-99 employees, 2=100-499 employees, 3=500-1,500 employees, 4=1,500-4999 employees, 5=5000+employees).

[i]Organizational role was measured using a continuous ordinal scale (1=Non-supervisory, 2=Supervisory, 3=Manager/Director level, 4=Executive level).

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Table 2

Pearson's r Correlations of Key Variables for Research Question 1a
Positive attitudes for women who were pregnant or intending to become pregnant (i.e.: Pre-natal)

	1	2	3	4
1. Felt happy about pregnancy	—			
2. Thought of multiple children as appealing	.53**	—		
3. Look forward to caring for baby's needs	.53**	.45**	—	
4. Thought of breast-feeding baby as appealing	.43**	.55**	.53**	—

*p <.05 (two-tailed tests), **p <.01 (two-tailed tests).

Table 3

Pearson's r Correlations of Key Variables for Research Question 1a
Negative attitudes for women who were pregnant or intending to become pregnant (i.e.: Pre-natal)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Worry might not be a good mother	—					
2. Worry about hurting baby	.38**	—				
3. Worry won't have time to self after birth	.45**	.21*	—			
4. Regretted pregnancy	.33**	.02	.37**	—		
5. Felt pregnancy was unpleasant	.25**	.12	.37**	.48**	—	
6. Felt life will be more difficult after birth	.20*	-.01	.55**	.18	.47**	—

*p <.05 (two-tailed tests), **p <.01 (two-tailed tests).

Table 4

Pearson's r Correlations of Key Variables for Research Question 1a
Positive attitudes for women who had one or more children (i.e. Post-partum)

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Felt proud of being a mother	—				
2. Felt happy to have a baby	.57**	—			
3. Thought of having more children appealing	.16**	.29**	—		
4. Enjoyed caring for baby's needs	.52**	.46**	.21**	—	
5. Enjoyed feeding baby	.37**	.24**	.16**	.50**	—

*p <.05 (two-tailed tests), **p <.01 (two-tailed tests).

Table 5

Pearson's r Correlations of Key Variables for Research Question 1a
Negative attitudes for women who had one or more children (i.e.: Post-partum)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Worry might not be a good mother	—					
2. Worry about hurting baby	.36**	—				
3. Had enough time for self since having baby	.28**	.13*	—			
4. Regretted having baby	.20**	.15*	.08	—		
5. Felt disappointed by motherhood	.22**	.02	.08	.41**	—	
6. Felt life has been more difficult since birth	.34**	.11	.32**	.19**	.21**	—

*p <.05 (two-tailed tests), **p <.01 (two-tailed tests).

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To address RQ1b, a bi-variate Pearson's *r* correlation was performed to assess the relationship between organization size and women's positive and negative attitudes towards motherhood either while pregnant or after having one or more children (i.e.: post-partum). There was no significant correlation found between organization size and the positive and negative attitudes expressed towards motherhood while pregnant. Pregnant women and those who were intending to become pregnant were not significantly more positive about motherhood based on their organization size n(99), *r* = .09, *p* = .40. In addition, women who were pregnant or those intending to become pregnant were not significantly more negative about motherhood based on their organization size n(94), *r* = -.00, *p* = .98. Women with one or more children (i.e.: post-partum) did not feel significantly more positive about motherhood based on their organization size n(271), *r* = -.01, *p* =.88 or significantly more negative about motherhood based on their organization size n(270), *r* =.09, *p* = .16. These results suggest that organization size does not relate significantly to the positive or negative attitudes about motherhood either while intending to become pregnant, at the time of pregnancy or after having one or more children (i.e.: post-partum).

To address RQ1c, a bi-variate Pearson's *r* correlation was performed to assess the relationship between career establishment and women's positive and negative attitudes towards motherhood either while pregnant or not pregnant, but intending to have a child. There were two significant relationships between career establishment and the positive and negative attitudes expressed towards motherhood while pregnant. Specifically, as pregnant women were more established in their career, they reported feeling more positive about motherhood n(99), *r* =.20, *p* <.05 and less negative about motherhood n(94), *r* =-.40, *p* <.01.

These results suggest that career establishment increases pregnant women's positive attitudes surrounding motherhood while also decreasing negative attitudes surrounding motherhood. Specifically, the more established a pregnant woman is in her career, the more she feels positive about becoming a mother and less negative about the transition to motherhood.

In addition, a bi-variate Pearson's *r* correlation was performed to assess the relationship between career establishment and women's positive and negative attitudes towards motherhood after having one or more children (i.e.: post-partum). There was no significant correlation found between women who already had one or more children (i.e.: post-partum) and their career establishment. Women who had one or more children (post-partum) did not feel more positive about motherhood n(271), *r* =.089, *p* =.15 or more negative about motherhood n(270), *r* =-.70, *p* = .26. These results suggest that career establishment does not affect the motherhood attitudes of women who have one or more children, either positively or negatively. Specifically there is a similar direction of movement for career establishment to slightly increase the positive attitudes towards motherhood and decrease the negative attitudes around motherhood for women with one or more children, however it is not significant.

To address RQ1d, an independent samples t-test was performed to assess the relationship between taking maternity leave and the positive or negative attitudes toward motherhood for women who had one or more children (i.e.: post-partum). There was not a significant difference in the scores between women with one or more children taking maternity leave and positive attitudes towards motherhood (*M* = 3.22, *SD* = .54); t (268) = 1.27, *p* = .20. There was not a significant difference in the scores between women with one or more children

taking maternity leave and negative attitudes towards motherhood (M = 2.03, SD = .377); t

(267) =-.27, p=.77. These results suggest that taking of maternity leave does not have an effect

on the positive and negative attitudes towards motherhood for women with one or more

children. Specifically, the results suggest that taking of maternity leave does not influence how

women feel about motherhood, either positively or negatively.

To address RQ1e, an independent samples t-test was performed to assess the

relationship between taking partially or fully paid maternity leave and the positive or negative

attitudes toward motherhood for women who had one or more children (i.e.: post-partum).

There was not a significant difference in the scores between women with one or more children

taking paid maternity leave and positive attitudes towards motherhood (M = 3.24, SD = .53.); t

(237) = 1.25, p = .214. There was not a significant difference in the scores between women with

one or more children taking paid maternity leave and negative attitudes towards motherhood

(M = 2.01 , SD = .37.); t (236) =-1.11, p = .27. These results suggest that taking of partially paid

or fully paid maternity leave does not have an effect on the positive and negative attitudes

towards motherhood for women with one or more children.

To address RQ2a, a bi-variate Pearson's r correlation was performed to assess the

relationship between size of the organization and the ways working women communicatively

express their motherhood identities in the workplace through their voice and agency. One

significant relationship was found between organization size and the amount of guilt

experienced about being a working mother n=407, r =.01, p< .05, suggesting that as

organization size grows larger, women experience more guilt about their motherhood identity

in the workplace. There were no other significant correlations found between size of

organization and the ways working women communicatively express motherhood identities in the workplace.

To address RQ2b, a bi-variate Pearson's *r* correlation was performed to assess the relationship between career establishment and the ways working women communicatively express their motherhood identities in the workplace through their voice and agency. Four significant correlations were found. A significant correlation was found between career establishment and secrecy around pregnancy n=404, *r* =-.12, *p* <.01, suggesting that as working women feel more established in their career, they feel less compelled to keep their pregnancy a secret in the workplace. A significant correlation was found between career establishment and frequency of speaking about children in the workplace n=408, *r* = .15, *p* <.01, and between career establishment and the frequency of speaking about children as the children age over time in the workplace n=405, *r* = .17, *p* <.01. These significant correlations suggest that as working women feel more established in their career, they feel more comfortable speaking about their children generally in the workplace as well as speaking about their children in the workplace over time as their children age. A significant inverse correlation was found between career establishment and the pressure felt by working women to return to work early or discontinue maternity leave in order to assist company interests n=405, *r* =-.17, *p* <.01. Specifically, this correlation suggests that as working women grow in their career establishment they feel less pressure to return to work early or discontinue maternity leave in order to assist company interest. There were no other significant correlations found between career establishment and the ways working women communicatively express motherhood identities in the workplace.

To address RQ2c, a bi-variate Pearson's *r* correlation was performed to assess the relationship between organizational role and the ways working women communicatively express their motherhood identities in the workplace through their voice and agency. The organizational role variable consisted of four items (Non-supervisory =1, Supervisory =2, Manager/Director level = 3, and Executive Level = 4).

There were two significant relationships between organizational role and expression of motherhood identities in the workplace. Specifically, as women possessed a higher organizational role they reported more frequently speaking about their children in the workplace as their children grew n(341), *r* = .18, *p* <.01 and more frequently speaking about children in general in the workplace n(340), *r* =.13, *p* <.05. These results suggest that women who are in higher-level roles within organizations feel more comfortable expressing their motherhood identities in the workplace than those women who hold lower positions within organizations.

To address RQ3a, it was necessary to target three items of the voice/agency questions that specifically address agency within the organizational context. Cronbach's reliability was run on three items that relate specifically to agency within the workplace ("How much did you/would you worry about how your maternity leave would affect your co-workers and supervisor," "How pressured did you/would you feel to get all of yoru work completed before taking maternity leave," and "How pressured did you/would you feel to return to work early or discontinue your maternity leave in order to assist company interests"?). Cronbach's alpha was found to be reliable for these three items, α = .70.

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Two bi-variate Pearson's *r* correlations were performed to assess the relationship between the size of organization and the ways working women experience organizational voice and agency as they negotiate their motherhood identity. The first bi-variate correlation compared size of organization with the three items relating specifically to agency within the workplace and there was no significant correlations found. The second bi-variate correlation compared size of organization and the item about guilt ("How guilty do you/would you feel about being a working mother?"). A significant correlation was found between organizational size and the amount of guilt felt as a working mother, n=407, *r*=.01, *p*<.05. This correlation suggests that women who work in larger organizations experience more guilt as they negotiate their motherhood identity than those who work in smaller organizations.

To address RQ3b, a bi-variate Pearson's *r* correlation was performed to assess the relationship between length of career establishment and the ways working women experience organizational voice and agency as they negotiate their motherhood identity. One significant correlation was found between length of career establishment and how pressured women feel to return to work early or discontinue maternity leave in order to assist company interests, n(405), *r* = -.17, *p* <.01. Specifically, this negative correlation suggests that as women are more established in their career, they feel less pressure to return to work early or discontinue maternity leave in order to assist company interests. While no other significant correlations existed, length of career establishment was also negatively correlated to worry about maternity leave affecting co-workers and supervisor n(407), *r* = -.09, *p* =.06, as well as pressure to get all work completed before taking maternity leave n(406), *r* = -.08, *p* = .11. This negative correlation, although not significant, suggests that as women feel more established in their

careers overall, they feel less worry and pressure about the effect of their motherhood identity on the organization. A bi-variate correlation compared size of organization and the item about guilt ("How guilty do you/would you feel about being a working mother?"). There was not a significant relationship between length of career establishment and guilt experienced about being a working mother.

To address RQ3c, a bi-variate Pearson's *r* correlation was performed to assess the relationship between organizational role and the ways working women experience organizational voice and agency as they negotiate their motherhood identity. There was not a significant relationship between organizational role and the ways working women experience organizational voice and agency as they negotiation their motherhood identity. There was not a significant relationship between organizational role and guilt experienced about being a working mother.

To address RQ4, descriptive statistics and frequencies were performed for all key variables of the Instagram content analysis. See Table 6 for additional detail. As noted previously, the sample yielded 180 photographs from three separate working mothers on Instagram. The three mothers ranged in terms of total number of followers on the date of analysis between 23,600 (Kristen Howerton), 401,000 (Emily Schuman) and 749,000 (Eva Chen). Frequency of likes on specific individual Instagram posts under analysis ranged from 42 likes to 151,000. Frequency of comments on specific individual Instagram posts under analysis ranged from zero to 327, with a majority of posts (i.e.: over 50%) garnering less than 80 comments per individual post.

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In terms of the subjects within the photographs under analysis, the subject of focus in the Instagram photos resulted in a relatively equal split between the Instagram mother (35.6%) and the child(ren) (31.3%). However, the Instagram mother was included in the majority of the photographs (47.2%) in contrast to 36.7% of photographs which did not include the Instagram mother. A child or children were included in 45% of the photographs, and notably absent in 53.9% of the photographs. The number of children included in the photographs ranged from zero (53.9%) to seven (2.2%), with the second highest value of one child observed (24.4%). The subject of focus position in photo was found to be primarily facing front (71.7%), followed by facing side (17.2%) and facing rear (5.6%).

In terms of photo composition, the majority of photographs were coded as stylized (74.4%), followed by candid (20%) and selfie (5.6%). Photo tone/tenor of the entire photograph was overwhelming coded as being light (98.3%) as well as the photo tone/tenor of the subject of focus being light (95.6%).

The subject of focus descriptor was coded primarily as idealized (53.9%), followed by realistic (33.3%). The mother subject descriptor was coded primarily as absent (35%), followed by idealized (30%), unsure (17.2%), and realistic (11.7%).

Table 6

Descriptive Statistics for Key Variables – Research Question 4

Variable	N	%
1. Subject of Focus		
Self/Instagram mother	64	35.6
Child/Children	56	31.1
Other adult(s)	20	11.1
Non-human	26	14.4
Unsure	14	7.8

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2. Mother included

Yes	85	47.2
No	66	36.7
Unsure	29	16.1

3. Children included

Yes	81	45.0
No	97	53.9
Unsure	2	1.1

4. Number of children included

0	97	53.9
1	44	24.4
2	19	10.6
3	3	1.7
4	3	1.7
5	1	.6
6	2	1.1
7	4	2.2
99 – too many to be accurately assessed	7	3.9

5. Subject of focus position in photo

Front	129	71.7
Rear	10	5.6
Side	31	17.2
Birdseye	8	4.4
Unsure	2	1.1

6. Photo composition type

Selfie	10	5.6
Stylized	134	74.4
Candid	36	20.0

7. Photo tone/tenor

Light	177	98.3
Dark	2	1.1
Unsure	1	.6

8. Subject of focus tone/tenor

Light	172	95.6
Dark	3	1.7
Unsure	5	2.8

9. Subject of focus descriptor

Idealized	97	53.9
Objectified/Sexualized	12	6.7
Realistic	60	33.3
Unsure	11	6.1

10. Mother descriptor

Absent	63	35.0
Idealized	54	30.0
Objectified/Sexualized	11	6.1
Realistic	21	11.7
Unsure	31	17.2

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Discussion

An examination of a broad set of working women's positive and negative attitudes toward motherhood as they manage and negotiate their identities as mother, worker and female in society assists researchers in better understanding the lived experience of these working women at a pivotal time of identity transition in their life. In addition, better understanding the ways in which organizational voice and agency are related to working women's identity negotiations throughout the stages of motherhood can assist leaders in organizations, human resource professionals and policy makers to adopt practices that are beneficial to working women who make up a significant portion of the labor force. This study is rooted in the lived experience or standpoint of specifically 420 professional women and recognizes that a shared commonality among these women is to make sense of their identities through cultural, organization and ideological messages about what it means to be a working mother (Hallstein, 2015) as well as by acknowledging key premises of feminist theory that gender is a primary way social identity and relations of power are configured, systematically privileging the male perspective over the female and using communication as the process through which gender, power and organization are accomplished (May & Mumby, 2005).

Attitudes Towards Motherhood: Primarily Positive But Tempered By Worry

Results clearly indicate that these working women possessed largely positive attitudes toward their motherhood identity while contemplating pregnancy, during pregnancy and after having one or more children. Results demonstrated that these working women who have one or more children felt more positive about having additional children, more positive about providing the care that is involved with childrearing and less worried about life being more

difficult after having children than working women who are pregnant or intending to become pregnant, perhaps indicating that how the familiarity of motherhood additionally increased the positive motherhood attitudes for these working women. Regret towards pregnancy or motherhood was extremely low for these working women, even though nearly half of these working women with one or more children reported feeling a little disappointed by motherhood and both pregnant women and women who had children expressed feeling that life will be a lot more difficult after having children.

In addition to the positive attitudes demonstrated by the results, two areas of significant worry were expressed by these working women in relation to their motherhood identities: worry about not having enough self-time and worry about being a good mother. Worry about a lack of self-time correlated positively to feelings of life becoming more difficult as these working women negotiated their motherhood identity with their professional identity. The worry about not having enough self-time aligns with literature outlining the socio-cultural expectation of intensive mothering (Buzzanell, 2003; Hallstein, 2008; Johnson & Swanson, 2006) and illustrates that the high standards of mothering is a normalized ideology for these working mothers (Johnson & Swanson, 2006) throughout all stages of motherhood, even prior to having a child. An argument could be made that as these women negotiated their motherhood identities, they became more aware of their ever-diminishing time to devote to their personal and professional identities, which increased anxiety and worry about their abilities to be good mothers. This argument would bolster Buzzzanell et al.'s (2005) assertion that one way women manage the lack of time available between personal, professional and motherhood identities is by combining them into a "good working mother" identity through the

tasks they accomplish on a daily basis for their family (p. 276). However, additional research is needed in this area to discern more clearly the relationship between having enough personal and professional identity time and how it relates to feelings of successful mothering.

One way to interpret the results around these working women's positive attitudes and their areas of worry about motherhood is to recognize that a shared commonality or standpoint exists for these women throughout the stages of motherhood identity negotiation. Specifically, dialogue around motherhood identity negotiations for working woman can possibly offer a shared access point where women of differing standpoints (e.g. race, class and sexuality) can find community and support as has been previously illustrated by Van Cleaf's (2015) study of mommy blogs and Buzzanell's (2003) study of maternity leave for women with disabilities. Further dialogue around the positive and negative attitudes existing throughout motherhood identity negotiation could help to increase awareness of untenable intensive mothering's expectations and help women redefine what successful mothering could be given their differing identity needs as a female, professional and mother.

Maternity Leave Has Little Effect on Attitudes Towards Motherhood

Taking of maternity leave, whether paid or unpaid, did not result in significantly influencing either positive or negative attitudes towards motherhood for the participants of this study. This finding is slightly puzzling given that these working woman intending to become pregnant, currently pregnant, or had one or more children all recognized that life would be a lot more difficult as a mother and expressed worry about having enough time to self as a result of being a mother. Furthermore, from an organizational voice/agency perspective, all of these working women reported feeling some pressure to get all work completed before taking

maternity leave and had some concerns about maternity leave affecting co-workers and supervisors.

It is possible that the process of taking maternity leave was viewed by these working women as separate from their experience of motherhood and therefore does not significantly affect any part of their negotiations of motherhood identity. Meisenbach et al.'s (2008) finding that women are not in control of their agency and voice in negotiating leave could support the fact that women do not interpret taking leave as a valid experience relating to their motherhood identity. In addition, the power imbalance inherit in the maternity leave process as well as the depersonalized interactions around taking maternity leave found in the literature (Liu & Buzzanell, 2004; Buzzanell & Liu, 2005) could present valid reasons why these working women were unlikely to associate taking maternity leave with their experience of motherhood.

Organization Size and Guilt

Organization size was not found to relate significantly to either positive or negative attitudes that the participants had about motherhood during any stage of motherhood, whether contemplating pregnancy, being pregnant or after having one or more children. Communicatively, these working women were not significantly more secretive about their pregnancy, did not significantly speak less or more about their children and did not significantly speak less or more about the things that they had to give up during their motherhood transition based on the size of organization where they worked. One potential reason for this finding is that these women may choose to employ tactics to communicatively suppress their motherhood identities equally throughout all types of organizations, much in the way women utilize communication tactics to negotiate the tensions of working within all male-dominated

organizational culture (Marshall, 1993). This finding may support the literature that discusses how women make choices to assert their professional identities over their personal or motherhood identities (Foster, 2005; Van Cleaf, 2015). Additional qualitative research is needed in this area to more accurately assess the differences that exist within organizational cultures of varying size.

From a voice/agency perspective, organization size related significantly to the amount of guilt experienced by these working women in negotiating their professional and motherhood identities. Specifically as the organization size was larger, participants felt more guilt about being a working mother. This finding suggests that these women who work in larger organizations had potentially more difficulty negotiating their mother and worker identities in comparison to women who work within smaller organizations. Acker (2006) also found that that the ideal worker structure within organizations leaves little room for women to assert needs that relate to their motherhood identity (e.g.: feeding their children, flexible scheduling, attending to social and family obligations). Because of the lack of organizational support for mothering, these working women experienced guilt as they try to live up to high standards of being an ideal worker while also being a mother. Because the finding was related specifically to larger organizations causing guilt for these working women who are mothers, additional research would be needed to understand what aspects of larger organizations might be contributing to this phenomenon. For example, it could be that larger organizations engender stronger feelings of adherence to organizational culture, requiring that women subvert their motherhood identities in order to conform to notions of being an ideal worker that is ultimately equated with being a successful employee.

Another way to explain this finding is to recognize that the working women participants in smaller organizations may have more agency and access in allowing their motherhood identity to co-evolve with their professional identity. As Ladge et al.'s (2012) research illustrated, working women experience cyclical reactions of acceptance and denial of their motherhood identity within the workplace, influenced by the organizational resources and informal social support within the organization. Perhaps smaller organizations offered better or more individualized resources and informal social support for these working women, which assisted in decreasing their guilt about motherhood identity negotiations. Additional research around specific organizational support processes that help working women decrease guilt associated with negotiating their motherhood and professional identity could be potentially helpful for retention of working women who are mothers and satisfaction with work, particularly in larger organizational contexts.

Length of Career Establishment and Role Mediate Motherhood Identity Communication

How established a working woman is in her career related in several ways to communicative expression of motherhood identities in the workplace. Specifically, as these participants felt more established in their career, they felt less compelled to keep their motherhood identity secret because they were more comfortable speaking about their children in general and more comfortable speaking about their children as their children aged. In addition, these working women who felt more established in their career expressed feeling less pressure to return to work or discontinue maternity leave in order to meet organizational interests. These results demonstrate that these working women with higher levels of power

and agency in the organization are more comfortable with expressing their motherhood identities in the workplace.

However, it should be noted that although these working women who are more established in their careers or in higher roles within organizations more frequently communicated their motherhood identity in the workplace, results of RQ3c illustrate that the participants did not significantly *experience* their own organizational voice or agency as a result of their organizational role or career establishment. May and Mumby's (2005) feminist premise that organizations systematically privilege the male perspective over the female perspective may offer insight to this finding because one would assume that working women's organizational role or length of career establishment would allow working women to naturally experience more agency and voice. However, as May and Mumby (2005) posit, working women are structurally handicapped from feeling such voice and agency, even regardless of their role and length of career establishment, since male gendered perspectives are thoroughly woven throughout the organizational context.

Thus far, literature examined has not adequately addressed the mediating role found between career establishment and organizational role on the expression of motherhood identities in the workplace. These results suggest a new dimension to understanding how motherhood identities in the workplace may be negotiated differently for women at various times in their professional lives. In addition, these findings contradict literature that discusses the ways in which motherhood identities are uniformly experienced as inconvenient within the workplace (Gatrell, 2014), while also supporting literature that asserts women in lower status roles within organizations are more likely to experience worker co-worker conflict and hostility

in relation to their motherhood identities (Hebl et al., 2007). Additional research is needed to further examine how younger working mothers, who have not been long established in their career or hold a lower level organizational role (i.e.: non-supervisory) may be particularly disadvantaged in negotiating their motherhood identities within organization contexts.

Presentation of Working Women Motherhood Identities

Given social media's space in which working women can present their many identities, the second portion of the study examined how three specific working women visually presented their female, working and mother identities. Research literature has asserted that sharing of digital photographs enables users to adopt a "visual language" of personal identity (Van Djick, 2008, p.62-63) as well as provides a space for expression of "often unexplored aspects of the self" (Turkle, 1999, p. 643). In the results of this portion of the study, however, only approximately a third of the photos included the mother as a subject of focus within the photograph, which raises questions about how the visual language of a working mother is constructed primarily without the mother being the main subject within the photograph. Specifically, the mother was only more often the subject of focus (approximately 36% of photos) than her child(ren) who were the subject of focus in approximately 30% of photographs. In the images examined where the mother was included, she was presented primarily in an idealistic way through her dress, demeanor or composition so that she looked potentially better than she does in reality. The fact that mothers were often absent from photographs, and when present were presented in an idealistic way could be interpreted as an expression of the mother's successful negotiation of the culturally valued trope of intensive mothering (Johnston & Swanson, 2006).

In terms of composition, the photographs analyzed were primarily stylized, potentially further illustrating a better version of reality than actually existed at the time of taking the photograph. Furthermore, the subject of focus in all photographs (whether the subject was the working mother or not) was found to be presented idealistically the majority of time. Tenor and tone of the photographs themselves as well as of subjects of focus were almost all-overwhelmingly light versus dark. All of these findings imply that the visual language of these Instagram mother photos was based heavily in elements that are positive, idyllic and overall better than documentary representation of reality. Furthermore, the representation of reality for these working women is one that does not necessarily need to include her physically in order to represent her motherhood identity. One way to interpret these findings is to assert that the "unexplored aspect of the self" (Turkle, 1999, p. 643) under construction by these working mothers is one that is better than the reality in everyday terms.

Another way to interpret these findings is that the sharing of digital photographs representing working women who are mothers on Instagram offers a social space to solidify these working women's multiple identities. Perhaps these working mothers are able to use this platform as a way to represent and assert their multiple identities as female, professional and mother through what they photograph and how it is presented. However, if the Instagram mothers are using the photos primarily as a function to showcase their motherhood identity as well as their other identities, one would expect to see more performance of "togetherness" (Rose, 2004, p.560-561) where children and mother are inhabiting the same visual space more than results indicated. Because these working mothers are absent more than present in the Instagram photos, another explanation is possible: perhaps the sharing of the photographs on

Instagram is a way for these mothers to display the different idyllic elements of their lives, but for primarily a social function versus an identity exploration function. Smith and Sanderson's (2015) similar finding through an analysis of athlete self-presentation on Instagram, and the lack of the use of the "selfie" as a type of photo-composition supports this interpretation.

The results in the second portion of the study showing an idealized version of motherhood and a stylized version of motherhood identity align well with the positive attitudes surrounding motherhood that the working women participants expressed in negotiating their motherhood identities. Because Instagram allows for intentional expression of motherhood identity (i.e: a communication method that is under the working mother's control) in contrast to women's attitudes as a potentially a reaction to workplace culture, which is largely outside of working women's control, it opens up space for women to be more intentional in how they want to "narrativize" their experience of motherhood (Rose, 2004). From this perspective, the Instagram photos may offer insights about how working mothers potentially combat feelings of guilt and anxiety around performing their motherhood identities. Given that the first portion of the study illustrates worry about enough self-time and being a good mother, social media representations of these working women that primarily show idealized versions of motherhood and children may be the way in which these working women overcome feelings of inadequacy, guilt and stress. Perhaps the idealized representation of mothers themselves, the children that are being cared for, and the stylized imagery within the photographs are proof of mothers being successful at negotiating their multiple identities of female, worker and mother. As a social function, representing an idealized and stylized version of motherhood that is liked and commented upon by other mothers and individuals over social media potentially offers support

and confidence for working women in the expression of their motherhood identity. Additional research is needed to better understand how the social and identity performance functions of social media image sharing directly relates to building confidence in negotiating motherhood identities for working women.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

As with any study, this research had limitations. Although the first portion of the study received a large participant population, generalization of the results of the study are limited by the convenience sampling and high proportion of highly educated, married women. As mentioned in the literature review, one reason the percentage of women in the current labor force has increased is due to the financial demands of raising a family, yet this study failed to ask about participant income, which may be a contributing factor that affects working women's attitudes and experiences in the workplace.

The use of the Maternal Adjustment and Attitudes scale (MAMA) (Kuman et al., 1984) created limitations in the overall assessment of attitudes directionally. In the scale (pre-natal and post-partum) there were two items that did not clearly indicate a valence in attitude (e.g.: "Has the thought of wearing maternity clothes appealed to you," and "Have you been wondering whether your baby will be healthy and normal"). These two items were not included in the creation of the additional four variables MAMA pre-natal positive subscale, MAMA pre-natal negative subscale, MAMA post-partum positive subscale and the MAMA post-partum negative subscale. Chronbach's alphas for each of the four created measures are considered tenuous because they ranged from .60 to .79, which may also be due to the contrived valence of the positive and negative measures with each variable created and the subjectivity of the

participant. Finally, given the lack of previous research, specifically on the use of Instagram as it relates to identity construction, the creation of the coding scheme for the second portion of the study was limited to a very simple structure.

Ultimately, this study also raises a number of additional questions about maternal identity construction that were not included in the scope of this research. For instance, how does the type of organizational role inhabited by working women relate to confidence in the ability to mother as well as be professional? How does personal or professional time flexibility influence attitudes towards motherhood and mediate the negative feelings such as guilt associated with intensive mothering? What supportive programs or informal systems are being utilized in mid-sized or smaller organizations to assist working women in negotiating their motherhood identities in the workplace? Finally, how can women who possess a higher organizational role or are more established in their career assist younger working women in negotiating their motherhood identities in the workplace?

Despite these limitations, this study has produced findings that can be utilized to better support working women as they negotiate their multiple identities a female, worker and mother. The study illuminates how working women in larger organizations feel more guilt in renegotiating their identities between worker and mother than those in smaller organizations. Coupling this finding with the result that maternity leave has little influence on attitudes toward motherhood suggests that perhaps more support is needed beyond family friendly leave policies to support women after becoming a mother to better manage the tensions between their working identity and mother identity. At minimum, an awareness of the guilt experienced by women as they renegotiate their working and mothering identities post-partum could lead

to advances in organizational support for working women, particularly in larger organizational contexts. In general, because there was no significant relationship between taking maternity leave and attitudes towards motherhood, questions arise about how organizations can help to support working women's identity negotiations through alternative support beyond maternity leave.

This study illustrates that women who are less established in their career potentially need greater support when becoming a mother, as they are not as likely to feel comfortable communicatively expressing their motherhood identity in the workplace and are potentially more susceptible to experiencing increasing tension between their identities as worker and mother. This phenomenon may be particularly important for organizations to consider as younger working women typically hold entry-level positions that experience high rates of turnover, which can be expensive, particularly in a larger corporation (Barsh & Yee, 2012). Understanding that women in higher level of the organization feel more comfortability with their motherhood identities in the workplace could lead organizations to develop policies around flexible work schedules for working mothers, particularly in management, ultimately saving money for organizations through honoring working mother's career choices that stem from this identity negotiation (Schwartz, 1989).

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Appendix A

Demographic Questions

Please choose one of the following to describe yourself:

- Not pregnant and not intending to have a child
- Not pregnant and intending to have a child
- Pregnant
- A mother of one child
- A mother of one or more children

Did you take maternity leave when you had your child? Yes/No

How long was your maternity leave?

Was your maternity leave paid for by your employer?

- Yes
- No
- Partially
- Unsure/Can't remember
- N/A – I did not take maternity leave

If you are not currently a mother, have you considered becoming pregnant? Yes/No

Select your current relationship status:

- Single (never married, not currently in a committed relationship)
- Single(never married, currently in a committed relationship)
- Married
- Separated
- Widowed
- Divorced

Please type your current age in years.

What is the highest level of education obtained?

- Less than high school
- High school graduate (includes equivalency)
- Some college, no degree
- Associate's degree
- Bachelor's degree
- Ph.D.
- Graduate or professional degree

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Counting all locations where your employer operates, what is the total number of persons who work there?

- 1-99
- 100-499
- 500-1,500
- 1,500-4,999
- 5,000+

What best describes the type of organization you work for?

- For profit
- Non-profit (religious, arts, social assistance, etc.)
- Government
- Health Care
- Education
- Other

What state do you currently reside in?

How long have you been at your current organization?

How established do you feel in your current career on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 is the least established and 5 is the most established?

- 1 – Not established
- 2
- 3 – Somewhat established
- 4
- 5 – Extremely established

How would you describe your role within your current organization?

- Non-supervisory
- Supervisory
- Manager/Director Level
- Executive Level
- Other

Please rate how strongly you feel about the following statements (5 scale likert – strongly disagree to strongly agree):

- I am an expert in my field.
- I am a leader in my current organization.
- I am established in my career.
- I have decision making power and authority in my current organization.
- I am empowered to complete my work on my terms within my organization.

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SURVEY INTRODUCTION

This survey seeks to assess attitudes about pregnancy and maternity in the workplace. **If you have never been pregnant and/or do not have children, please answer the questions based off of what you would expect if you were pregnant or having a child. If you have not been pregnant and/or do not have children, please feel free to bypass questions that may not be applicable to your expectations of pregnancy/maternity.**

Maternal Adjustment and Maternal Attitudes Scale
Attitudes to pregnancy and the baby subscale subscale

Scale based on a 4 point likert - Not at all (1); A little (2); A lot (3); Very much (4)

IN THE PAST MONTH

1. Have you been worrying that you might not be a good mother?
2. Have you been working about hurting your baby inside you?
3. Has it worried you that you may not have any time to yourself once your baby is born?
4. Have you regretted being pregnant?
5. Has the thought of wearing maternity clothes appealed to you?
6. Have you been feeling happy that you are pregnant?
7. Has the thought of having several children appealed to you?
8. Have you felt that pregnancy was unpleasant?
9. Have you been looking forward to caring for your baby's needs?
10. Have you been wondering whether your baby will be healthy and normal?
11. Have you felt that life will be more difficult after the baby is born?
12. Has the thought of breast-feeding your baby appealed to you?

POSTNATAL VERSION
(if the respondent has already had a baby versus being pregnant at time of taking the survey)

1. Have you been worrying that you might not be a good mother?
2. Have you worried about hurting your baby?
3. Have you had enough time for yourself since you had the baby?
4. Have you regretted having the baby?
5. Have you felt proud of being a mother?
6. Have you been feeling happy that you have a baby?
7. Has the thought of having more children appealed to you?
8. Have you felt disappointed by motherhood?
9. Have you enjoyed caring for your baby's needs?
10. Have you been wondering whether your baby will be healthy and normal?
11. Has life been more difficult since the baby was born?
12. Have you enjoyed feeding your baby?

Voice/Agency Questions

Scale based on a 4 point likert – Not at all (1); A little (2); A lot (3); Very much (4)

1. How secretive were you/or would you be about your pregnancy within the workplace?
2. How frequently do you/would you speak about your child(ren) at your workplace?

3. How often do you/would you speak about your child(ren) in the workplace as they increased in age?
4. How much did you/would you discuss the things you had to give up during pregnancy (food, caffeine, drinking, weight goals/certain exercises, time, etc.)?
5. How guilty do you/would you feel about being a working mother?
6. How much did you/would you worry about how your maternity leave would affect your co-workers and supervisor?
7. How pressured did you/would you feel to get all of your work completed before taking maternity leave?
8. How pressured did you/would you feel to return to work early or discontinue your maternity leave in order to assist company interests?

Space/Body Questions

Scale based on a 4 point likert - Not at all (1); A little (2); A lot (3); Very much (4)

1. How prone were you/would you be to exercise more frequently or decrease types of food in order to control weight gain during pregnancy?
2. How prone were you/would you be to exercise more frequently or decrease types of food in order to lose weight after pregnancy?
3. How much did/would viewing celebrity photos of women who lost baby weight quickly make you feel negatively about your own post-pregnancy weight loss?
4. How much did/would viewing physical changes of other non-celebrity mothers make you feel negatively about your own physical changes during or after pregnancy?
5. How pressured did you/would you feel to lose pregnancy weight before returning to work?
6. How frustrated did you/would you feel with the physical constraints of pregnancy in the workplace (e.g.: not being able to be as physically able to complete certain work tasks)?
7. Would you expect/did you experience any objectification of your growing baby bump while pregnant?
8. Would you expect/did you receive more solicitations about your health, sleep or weight when you were pregnant?
9. Would you expect to/did you receive questions about your birth plan?
10. Would you expect to/did you receive questions about your birth experience when you returned to work?
11. Upon returning to work from having a child, how much priority did talking about your child(ren) take in comparison to talking about professional matters?
12. Upon returning to work from having a child, did female co-workers speak more frequently to you about your child(ren) or their child(ren) than before you were pregnant?
13. Upon returning to work from having a child, did male co-workers speak more frequently to you about your child(ren) or their child(ren) than before you were pregnant?
14. Upon returning to work from having a child, Did female co-workers speak more frequently to you about the physical changes you experienced due to motherhood?
15. Upon returning to work from having a child, Did male co-workers speak more frequently to you about the physical changes you experienced due to motherhood?

Appendix B

Instagram Data Content Analysis Protocol

General coding principles

Focus on the manifest content (literal subject matter), not the latent content (underlying meaning or intentionality) of the images. Never make assumptions that a part of a human (e.g.: hands, legs, feet) are the Instagram account holder – always code as "unsure" when not one hundred percent certain.

Background Variables

V1. Instagram handle – Assign a value to the Instagram account holder name.

> Instagram account holder @ --1
>
> Instagram account holder @ -- 2
>
> Instagram account holder @ -- 3

V2. Frequency of followers – This is the amount of total followers on the Instagram page for the date of analysis. Note the number of total followers.

V3. Date analyzed - Note the date that the photo is being analyzed in a standard format, e.g.: 05/15/2017

V4. Frequency of likes on Instagram post – This is the amount of likes on the specific Instagram post being analyzed. Note the number of likes for the individual photo post.

V5. Frequency of comments on Instagram post – This is number of comments on the individual Instagram photo post. Note the number of comments for the individual photo post.

V6. URL of Instagram photo – This is the universal resource locator (URL) for the specific Instagram photo under analysis. Note the URL for the Instagram photo.

V7. Date of Instagram post – This is the date the Instagram photo was posted. Note the date in a standard format, e.g.: 05/15/2017.

Visual Components

V8. Human elements included? – *The purpose of this variable is to understand the importance of including human elements for the Instagram holder. Does the Instagram holder focus on primarily images of subjects/people or of non-human elements?*

Assess if there are human elements or subjects in the photo. Human subjects are defined as both full human subjects or any part of human subjects. If the photo includes human subjects, or parts of human subjects, then the photo should be analyzed. If there are not humans in the photo, the photo will not be analyzed. For example, if only a foot is included, but no other indicator of human subject, the photo would be analyzed. If the photo only includes furniture and/or animals, the photo would not be analyzed, but instead recorded as a single number on the tally sheet as a photo not analyzed.

> If Yes – 1

> If No – Make a mark on tally sheet and move onto next image

V9. Subject of focus – *The purpose of this variable is to understand who or what is the subject of the photograph. What is of central importance within the photo itself?*

Remark upon the subject who is the focus of the photo, based on the "type" of person in the photo. The subject of focus is the person or persons who are featured most prominently in tems of space, focal point or lighting. For example, If the picture is of the mom/self with child(ren) or other adults, you must choose who is featured more prominently in terms of space, focal point or lighting. The subject of focus will always be a human (no photos of non-human subjects should be analyzed - just noted on the tally sheet). In the instances of multiples, for example, if there are multiple children, the subject would still be child. If there are multiple adults that are the not the self/Instagram mom, the subject should be "other adult".

> Self/Instagram Mom-1

> Child-2

> Other Adult – 3

> Non-Human - 4

> Unsure - 9

V10. Mother included – *The purpose of this variable is to assess whether or not the mother is presenting herself publically through the Instagram account. Does the mother believe it is worthwhile to be in pictures and how does that relate to her interest in presenting her identity? Does the mother choose to be absent from the pictures and present her identity primarily as relational to others within the photographs?*

Note whether or not the Instagram mother is present within the photograph. Refer to the main picture at the top of the Instagram handle for assistance. Select unsure if there is partial human elements that could be the mother, but it's not clear whether or not it is the mother or another adult.

> Yes – 1

> No – 0

> Unsure – 9

V11. Child(ren) included - *The purpose of this variable is to assess whether or not children are being presenting herself publically through the Instagram account. Does the mother believe it is worthwhile to present pictures of her children?*

Note whether or not child(ren) are present within the photograph. Select unsure if there is partial human elements, but it's not clear whether or not they are child(ren) elements.

> Yes – 1

> No – 0

Unsure - 9

V12. Number of Child(ren) included - Note the number of child(ren) included within the photo (as applicable). If there are too many children to assess the total number of children in the photo, please input 99.

V13. Subject of focus position in photo – *The purpose of this variable is to determine how positionality of the subject in the photo could relate to how the photographer or Instagram mother sees*

This relates to how the subject of focus is positioned in the photo in relation to the camera. Remark upon the subject of focus's position in the photo in relation to the photographer. Is the subject of focus facing front, facing with back to camera (rear or back), facing side to the camera, or is the photo a birdseye view of the subject of focus? If it's is unclear because there are multiple subjects of focus, or the position of the camera is not discernable, please code as "unsure."

Front – 1

Rear – 2

Side- 3

Birdseye – 4

Unsure – 9

V14. Photo composition type – *The purpose of this variable to is to understand how much effort and purposeful construction exists for the Instagram mother in taking the photographs. The purposeful construction of photographs relates to the notion that there is intentionality around the performance of the identity of the Instagram mother.*

This variable relates to how the photo was composed when taken. Was the picture taken candidly, or was there time and effort taken to stylize the photo to look a certain way. Taking into account the scenery, the position of the subjects in relation to the scene, and the dress of the subjects may assist you in determining the photo composition type.

Selfies are always photos that are taken with scenery in the background and subjects primarily looking engaged directly at the camera. Selfies are mostly about the positionality of the subject in relation to the photo being taken.

Stylized photos include purposeful construction around dress, composition, and representation of self or other elements in the picture. If you can imagine that the elements in the photo took time to create, or that the picture was possibly taken more than once to get it "right", then it is likely stylized. If subjects have immaculate dress, or the décor and ambiance of the photo is exceptionally perfect looking it's likely a stylized photo. After discussing between coders, it was determined that Instagram photos of people taking selfies in front of mirrors are stylized.

Candid compositions typically arise when subjects are in the midst of completing an action, without staging or purposeful construction when the photograph is taken. Candid subjects may also *lacking* makeup, impeccable dress and/or highly composed scenery elements.

Selfie – 1

Stylized – 2

Candid – 3

V15. Photo tone/tenor – *Tonality and color set the mood of the photograph.* This refers the overall brightness of the image. Is light or dark more predominant overall in the entire photo?

Light – 1

Dark – 2

Unsure - 9

V16. Subject of focus tone/tenor - *Tonality and color set the mood of the photograph.* This refers the overall brightness on or around the subject of focus. Remark upon the light specifically on the subject of focus. Is the light on the subject of focus primarily light or dark?

Light – 1

Dark – 2

Unsure - 9

V17. Subject of focus description - Remark upon the way the subject of focus can be described aesthetically.

Idealistic photos are ones that represent an idyllic subject - one that is presented as perfect (in dress, demeanor, attitude, or composition) or potentially better than reality.

An objectified/sexualized subject of focus is one that is presented symbolically more older/younger than they actually are; depicted as nubile and desirable, sexually mature; metonymic in that the desirable part of the person is focused upon, not the whole person.

A realistic subject is one that depicts aspects of everyday life in a real way (e.g.: tousled hair, lacking in make up, etc.). Representation of subject matter is done so truthfully, without artificiality or artistic convention in anyway.

Idealized – 1

Objectified/Sexualized – 2

Realistic – 3

Unsure - 9

V18. Mother description- Remark upon the way the self/ Instagram mother can be described aesthetically.

Idealistic photos are ones that represent an idyllic subject - one that is presented as perfect (in dress, demeanor, attitude, or composition) or potentially better than reality.

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An objectified/sexualized subject of focus is one that is presented symbolically more older/younger than they actually are; depicted as nubile and desirable, sexually mature; metonymic in that the part of the person is focused upon, not the whole person.

A realistic subject is one that depicts aspects of everyday life in a real way (e.g.: tousled hair, lacking in make up, etc.). Representation of subject matter is done so truthfully, without artificiality or artistic convention in anyway.

Absent would be used if the self/Instagram mother is not included (or elements of her are not included) within the photograph.

Idealized – 1

Objectified/Sexualized – 2

Realistic – 3

Absent – 0

Unsure - 9