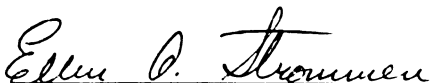This is to certify that the

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Constellations of Life Satisfaction in Three
Cohorts of Women: The Influence
of Separate and Connected
Self Orientations

presented by

Rosanne du Bois Brouwer

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ABSTRACT

CONSTELLATIONS OF LIFE SATISFACTION IN
THREE COHORTS OF WOMEN:
THE INFLUENCE OF SEPARATE AND CONNECTED SELF ORIENTATIONS

By

Rosanne du Bois Brouwer

This study examined how combinations of a Separate or Connected self

orientation in three cohorts of women affected relationships between five variables and

a measure of life satisfaction. Ordinary least squares regression was used to examine

the relationship of self esteem, Emotional Reliance on Others, Assertion of Autonomy,

employment outside the home, and number of children to the reported life satisfaction

of 452 women. For the youngest age group, age 17-30, self esteem, low Emotional

Reliance on Others, and being in the High Connected/High Separate and High

Connected/Low Separate self orientation groups predicted higher life satisfaction. For

the middle age group, age 31-55, self esteem and low Emotional Reliance on Others

predicted higher life satisfaction; and being in the High Separate/Low Connected self

orientation group predicted lower life satisfaction. For the oldest age group, age 56-

78, self esteem was the only significant predictor of life satisfaction. Across all age

groups, self esteem was the strongest predictor of life satisfaction. Finally, in all three

age groups, self orientation group differences were found for Emotional Reliance on

Others and Assertion of Autonomy. In all three groups, High Connected self

orientation group status was associated with lower levels of Assertion of Autonomy. In the middle and oldest age groups, women in the Low Connected/Low Separate self orientation group reported lower levels of Emotional Reliance on others than women in the High Connected/High Separate group. The self orientation groups did not differ in self esteem. Results suggest that self orientation groups are a useful tool for examining various other variables related to life satisfaction, and that constellations of what is important to reported life satisfaction vary in different age groups.

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REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Recent literature in the study of women's development

Beginning with Jean Baker Miller's *Toward a New Psychology of Women* (1976), as well as Carol Gilligan's (1982) work on the development of women, recent theorists have described women's development as occurring through a process of connection and identification in relationships rather than in what has been traditionally described as a process of separation. Drawing from these theorists, one can differentiate two modes of organizing the self in relation to others. The **Separate Self** is characterized by an autonomous and objective perception of the self and emphasizes individual achievement and reciprocity in relationships. This view of self organization is consistent with traditional theories of development, such as those of Erikson (1950), Kohlberg (1981), and Levinson (1978), in that it postulates a series of developmental stages which lead implicitly to increasing independence and autonomy.

The second type of self orientation in relation to others emphasizes the self as interdependent and connected with others, and acknowledges care as the mode of nurturing those relationships. The **Connected Self** emphasizes the importance of relationship and connection to others as primary. It is important to note that this mode of development has traditionally been viewed as pathological, with references made to

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excessive dependency, and to women's inability to take care of themselves. In contrast to this view, Gilligan (1982) proposes an alternative, healthy pattern which is rooted in connection. She describes the "voice of care" as developing through a sequence of increasing complexity. According to her theory, women first recognize that they must care for the self because others do not, next they move to caring for others as more important than caring for self, and finally come to realize that care of the self, as well as of others, is legitimate. Gilligan's work has come under some criticism for various reasons. The methodology used to research the self-in-relation has been attacked as unscientific because it has relied heavily on qualitative data, such as lengthy interviews. In addition, Gilligan used an all female sample to collect her data, and then made comments from that data concerning sex differences. While Gilligan emphasizes that both of these orientations are important to both men and women, and she claims she never intended to suggest that caring is unjust or that justice is uncaring, she seems to conduct her subsequent discussions of the issues as though the care voice belongs to women and the justice voice belongs to men. Although it is true that women are more likely to be socialized into the care voice or the connected self, and men are more likely to be socialized into the justice voice or the separate self, these dimensions are seen as independent rather than as extreme positions on a continuum. Therefore, it is possible for people, both men and women, to be both separate and connected in their self orientations.

In addition, much of Gilligan's research has been conducted with populations of highly selected women adolescents and college students enrolled in selected private

schools. This makes generalizations difficult. In contrast, the study from which the levels of care voice mentioned above were derived was conducted with a group of women who were contemplating abortion. In her 1982 book, *In a Different Voice*, Gilligan reports this study, but gives no information about the socioeconomic status of her subjects or about their education levels. She did not use a comparison evaluation of their "voice," namely Kohlberg's model of moral development, which had prompted her research. In addition, she did not compare women with men even though her intent was to show a different developmental path for women.

Two other criticisms of Gilligan's work merit attention. First, she has been criticized by feminists who suggest that identifying a "different voice" found predominately in women serves to perpetuate continued subjugation of women because the voice of care is not valued in a male dominated culture. Feminists argue that labeling women as "care oriented" continues the tradition of viewing women as weak, unassertive, and less competent than men. Note, however, that this position precludes redefining care in terms of strength, for either men or women.

Despite these criticisms, Gilligan's work has prompted some writers to explore the voice of care as it pertains to the development of women because they disagree with the asic premise that development through assertion of autonomy and independence and separation is the only **healthy** mode of development. While other researchers, primarily clinicians, have validated the concept of women's self orientation as care oriented (see Kaplan, 1984 on depression; Stiver, 1984 on dependency) little replicable evidence has

been made available to the scientific community for the study of women's development in this area.

As an attempt to address this problem, a paper and pencil inventory was developed to measure Separate and Connected self orientations (Pearson, Reinhart, Strommen, Donelson, Barnes, Blank, Cebollero, Cornwell, & Kamptner, under review). With the development and validation of the Relationship Self Inventory (RSI; Pearson, et al., under review) it becomes possible to examine the relation of a particular self orientation to other variables. Several connections have already been observed. In a validation study of the RSI (Pearson, et al., under review), subjects consisted of 50 high school students, 534 undergraduates, and 524 adults attending a 4 day on-campus workshop. Results revealed men scoring higher on average than women on the Separate Self orientation scale. Women scored higher than men on the Connected Self orientation scale. However, some women and some men scored high on both scales. In addition, predicted associations with measures of self-esteem, dependency, sociability, and other variables were demonstrated.

As noted above, most research in this area has not been quantitative. The present research seeks to move the study of women's development forward by examining how different combinations of the Separate and Connected Self orientations at different ages might associate to other variables that have previously been shown to be related to women's evaluations of their life satisfaction. To date, no research has addressed this topic.

Life satisfaction, as evaluated by women of three different developmental levels, is the focus of the research reported here. Accordingly, life satisfaction, its conceptualization, definition, and measurement must be discussed.

The Concept of Life Satisfaction

Though at first glance the concept of life satisfaction may appear simple and straightforward, a more careful examination of the literature in this area suggests otherwise. Numerous articles have attempted to put forth theories of what constitutes life satisfaction, discussed measurement of life satisfaction, and linked life satisfaction measures to many other constructs. It seems self evident that life satisfaction should be viewed as an important variable in social science research. Many other, relationships, while interesting in themselves, may be viewed, at least from a clinical point of view, as secondary to the effect they produce on an individual's subjective state of well-being.

In a broad review of the literature on subjective well-being, Diener (1984) discusses several theories regarding life satisfaction. Diener reports that, according to Wilson (1967), very little progress has been made in understanding the concept of "happiness" since the time of the Greeks. Note that already we have equated the terms "happiness," "life satisfaction," and "subjective well-being." Each assumes that the measure of this construct comes from the individual in question and is not an objective measure arrived at through empirical measurement. Measurement of the life satisfaction of an individual is generally accepted as that person's evaluation of his or her current life circumstances and psychological well being (Andrews & Withey, 1976).

Following his review of historical conceptualizations of well-being, Diener (1984) lists and describes at least 18 different studies and the accompanying 18 different ways life satisfaction was measured in those studies. These range from Cantril's (1965) Self Anchoring Ladder, which asks the subject to mark a rung on a nine rung ladder, where the top rung is described as "best life for you" and the bottom rung is described as "worst possible for you," to various questionnaires asking about subjective well-being (Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers 1976), to measures of affect intensity and affect balance (Bradburn, 1969).

Attempts at defining the nature of positive well-being or life satisfaction have included self actualization (Maslow, 1968), the "fully functioning person" (Rogers, 1961), individuation as formulated by Jung (1933), and maturity as defined by Allport (1961). Life span developmental theories have also offered definitions of life satisfaction, emphasizing different conceptualizations at different stages of the life cycle. These would include Neugarten's (1968, 1973) personality change descriptions in later life stages, as well as Erikson's (1959) psychosocial stages. Jahoda's 1958 book entitled *Current Concepts of Positive Mental Health*, which was an attempt to describe good psychological health other than conceptualized as the absence of illness, also offers many characteristics and descriptions of what it means to be in a state of healthy life satisfaction. It should be noted, however, that these conceptualizations of an individual's psychological well-being do not necessarily equate with an individual's life satisfaction at any given time. Individuals who are mentally healthy according to these various definitions may find

themselves in difficult circumstances, leading them to report low life satisfaction despite their internal state of mental health or well-being.

According to Diener's 1984 review, the concept of life satisfaction as it has been investigated in social science focuses on what leads people to evaluate their lives in positive terms. The critical point here is that life satisfaction by this definition relies on a person's internal standards to determine what is a good life. Shin and Johnson (1978) have described this concept of life satisfaction as "a global assessment of a person's quality of life according to his own chosen criteria" (p.478).

Other characteristics of the concept of life satisfaction as it is examined in the literature are that it is subjective and that it includes positive features and is not only the absence of negative features.

For this study, the concept of life satisfaction is conceptualized as women's rating of their overall well-being and current state of satisfaction with their lives. This is consistent with the literature and allows examination of various factors that may be contributing to these women's evaluation of their life satisfaction.

Since the present study examines whether connections between life satisfaction and several variables, (i.e., self esteem, emotional reliance on others, assertion of autonomy, employment, and children), vary depending on separate and connected self orientations, the next sections will review studies relating life satisfaction and the variables of interest.

Life satisfaction and self esteem. In a study of satisfaction of various domains in one's life compared to overall life satisfaction, Campbell (1981) reported the highest correlation (.55) was with satisfaction with self. This research suggests that self esteem

is an important component, if not **the** most important, for subjective reports of life satisfaction. Correlations with standard of living and family life were also high, but correlations with work satisfaction were only moderate.

The association of life satisfaction and self esteem has also been investigated directly. Not surprisingly, most studies find that higher self esteem is related to reports of higher life satisfaction. Hong, Bianca, Bianca, & Bollington (1993) investigated the effects of life satisfaction, sex, and age on self esteem. They reported higher self esteem in all subjects who also reported higher levels of life satisfaction, and no interactions were found between age, self esteem, and life satisfaction.

Kleinplatz, McCarrey, & Kateb (1992), in a study of the impact of gender role identity on women's self esteem and lifestyle satisfaction, make an interesting distinction regarding the relationship between self esteem and life satisfaction. While non-traditional women report higher self esteem than more traditional women, non-traditional women may have lower life satisfaction. Kleinplatz et al. attribute this to external social approval and rewards which non-traditional women receive. At the same time, these women may be ambivalent about the non-traditional roles they choose. These issues warrant attention in the literature as women's roles in society continue to change.

A hypothesis for the current study that comes from this literature is that higher levels of self esteem will predict higher levels of life satisfaction.

Life satisfaction and interpersonal dependency. Dependency has most often been thought of as a negative quality, a characteristic of immaturity, and even as pathology. The Psychiatric Glossary (1980) defines dependency needs as "vital needs for mothering,

love, affection, shelter, protection, security, food and warmth; *may be manifestation of regression when they appear openly in adults*" (italics mine). Irene Stiver (1984) points out that this definition implies that to need anything in adulthood is regressive. In fact, this definition may serve as an example of how we tend not to focus on what may be the strengths of what has been traditionally called dependency. One basic example might be the interpersonal dependence that makes it possible for individuals to relate to one another.

In addition, dependency has been viewed as a feminine characteristic. The fact that dependency in women has been viewed as weakness and pathology puts women in a difficult stance when considering the Connected Self orientation that Gilligan and others have argued is central to women's development. Having a normal course of development viewed as pathology may lead to other psychopathology, such as depression or inappropriate or maladaptive suppression of anger (Kaplan, 1984; Bernardez, 1978; 1988). Being cast as dependent with its accompanying negative attributions may lower women's self esteem (Stiver, 1984). Stiver further argues that women may be more likely to admit to dependency needs in order to emphasize their need for connection to others. Lerner (1983) argues that women may display dependency needs as a way of maintaining and protecting the family system. Lerner believes that women emphasize their dependency needs in order to enhance the ego of their partner. If women make changes that upset this (im)balance of power and neediness in a relationship, they may be viewed as aggressive, another characteristic that has been appraised negatively in women. Women whose Connected Self orientation leads them to put the needs of others before their own

needs, and to look for reciprocal caring from others, may become confused when their overtures are rejected and labeled as pathology. Note that Stiver and Lerner's arguments can be seen as showing women as needy, but they can equally well be seen as describing women's strengths in maintaining relationships and viewing that as a positive rather than a weak characteristic.

Rather than portraying interpersonal dependency as weakness or pathology, Stiver (1984) defines dependency as "a process of counting on other people to provide help in coping physically and emotionally with the experiences and tasks encountered in the world, when one has not sufficient skill, confidence, energy, and/or time" (p.10). She emphasizes that this definition of dependency allows for "experiencing one's self as enhanced and empowered through the very process of counting on others for help" (p. 10). In this view, dependency is conceptualized as healthy and growth promoting development, rather than negative, as in definitions usually associated with women and dependency.

In contrast to the negative cast that has been given to interpersonal dependency, separation has been seen primarily in positive terms. Western industrialized culture has tended to emphasize separation and autonomy as valuable personal attributes which are necessary for success. It may be helpful to point out that extremes of a Separate Self orientation may also become pathological, leading to emotional isolation and lack of satisfying relationships with others.

Gilligan's formulation of women's development is characterized by connection with others as a healthy and normal developmental course. Based on this

conceptualization, it could be argued that women who have a high connected self orientation would report higher levels of life satisfaction than women who have a higher separate self orientation. However, other variables may also play a part in this relationship, as women may find other factors in their lives prevent them from functioning based on their connected self orientation, or that they are not rewarded for doing so. For example, our culture in the United States tends to value autonomy and the "self made" person. Women who prefer to rely on a more collaborative model of functioning in the world may find themselves frustrated and thus report lower levels of life satisfaction.

For purposes of this study, the Emotional Reliance on Others scale and the Assertion of Autonomy scale will be used to measure dependency and autonomy respectively. These two scales come from a larger measure called the Interpersonal Dependency Inventory (Hirschfeld, Klerman, Gough, Barrett, Korchin, & Chodoff, 1977). It is reasonable to expect that these scales will be linked to levels of life satisfaction in women based on the literature reviewed above. Specific hypotheses related to Emotional Reliance on Others and Assertion of Autonomy will be discussed below.

Employment, family status, age, and life satisfaction. In order to understand the relationships between life satisfaction and employment, age and current life circumstances must be part of the discussion. It is reasonable to expect that women might prioritize factors contributing to their life satisfaction differently at various stages of development. For example, women busy raising children might rate marriage and family as more important to their life satisfaction than women who are in their 60s. Or, young women who have not begun families might rate building a career as more important to their

current life satisfaction. In addition, these relationships may be confounded by cohort differences which reflect different values from different periods in history. These considerations make the literature on women and their employment based life satisfaction very complex.

Historically, research has tended to identify greater happiness and life satisfaction with younger people than with old. More recently, studies have shown no effects for age, and possibly increases in life satisfaction with age (Diener, 1984). A meta-analysis of studies conducted prior to 1980 showed a near zero correlation between age and well-being even when other variables were controlled (Stock, Okun, Haring, & Witter, 1983). There were 34 effect sizes between .08 and .10. The second largest chunk consisted of 15 effect sizes between -.02 and .00. Approximately 41% of all the zero order effect sizes, based on 49 studies, were below .01. This finding is significant for the purposes of the current study. With no significant effects shown for either age or cohort with well-being, analyses of the different contributions of various elements to life satisfaction for the three age groups should be relatively unconfounded by cohort differences. This allows for a clearer examination of the effects of a Separate and/or Connected Self orientation as a contributor to life satisfaction constellations.

Probably the most prominent factors to be untangled in order to understand the life satisfaction of women at various life stages are having a family, with its attendant responsibilities and rewards, and whether or not the woman also holds an income producing job outside the home. Much of the research along these lines has focused on sex differences rather than the experience of women *per se*. Though this is

understandable given the close connection between men and women over these issues, it may also be important to examine women's life satisfaction regarding children and employment on its own, particularly since this study takes these issues one step farther by introducing the concept of the Separate and Connected Self orientation into the mix. For example, it may be that young women who report higher levels of a Separate Self orientation experience less tension over holding dual roles when they begin having children. Women who report high levels of a Connected Self orientation may attribute greater life satisfaction to having a family than to holding a job. Many questions remain, however. What about women who are high on both Separate and Connected Self orientations? What about women who have children and no career, or a career and no children? Might these different combinations yield differing results at various life stages? We will return to these questions in the next section.

Roberts and Newton (1987) analyzed four dissertations on various aspects of women's development viewed in terms of Levinson's (1978) description of men's development. They found that none of the women interviewed in a middle aged sample expressed satisfaction with both career and marriage. In a group of women observed for one of the dissertations (Stewart, 1977), quality of the love relationship had more to do with life satisfaction than did career success. Women who put their energies into a "male" type career pursuit pattern in their 20s reported the need to come to terms with the traditional issues for women of being wives and mothers as they moved toward their 30s. The reverse was also true--women who had children early were likely to pursue out-of-the-home careers once their children were a little older.

Adelmann, Antonucci, Crohan, & Coleman (1989) investigated relationships between empty nest, cohort, employment, and life satisfaction in midlife women. Results showed that cohort and employment had independent associations with well being at midlife for women, but whether the empty nest was experienced as positive or negative by these women depended on these two factors. Adelmann et al. argued that contextual cohort differences might be responsible for the conflicting data regarding the "empty nest syndrome," i.e., does it exist or not? Adelmann et al. suggest that the expectations for a woman's work life, family role, and societal pressures might play a role in whether or not women experience the time of children leaving home as negative or positive.

This study is important and relevant to the current work because it suggests the importance of including complex factors, both internal and environmental, in examinations of life satisfaction in women. It may be that self orientation may affect these previously studied relationships.

Ryff (1989) reported that **conceptualizations** of life satisfaction for women differed at different ages. Her study used two age groups. Ryff's groups were males and females aged 52.5 years (SD 8.7) as the middle aged group and 73.5 years (SD 6.1) as the older group. Middle aged subjects, both men and women, identified self-confidence, self-acceptance, and self-knowledge as important aspects of life satisfaction. Older persons identified accepting change as an important quality of positive life satisfaction. Most notable in regard to the present study is that both men and women in both age groups emphasized an "others orientation," defined in the study as "being a caring, compassionate person, and having good relationships," as an important aspect of being

satisfied with one's life. This suggests that unless life circumstances mediate the relationship, subjects with high Connected Self orientations may be more satisfied with their lives than those with Separate Self orientations.

In a study using age groups similar to those studied by Ryff (1989), Bearon (1989) reported that middle aged women and older women reported equal levels of life satisfaction, but with different salient features. Middle aged women focused more on potential and change, the direction their lives were going, while older women focused more on the status quo. Older women, aged 65-75, cited sources of material well-being, such as quality of housing, neighborhood, and financial security, as very important to their current life satisfaction. Sixty-seven percent of the older women also mentioned receiving satisfaction from relationships with their children and grandchildren. Eighty-one percent reported their marriage as a satisfying factor. Another important factor to the older women was health, even when it was not great. One woman commented, "I'm not happy that I have physical problems but I am satisfied that they are not worse" (p. 774). Finally, older subjects mentioned freedom to do as they pleased as a source of life satisfaction.

Middle aged women, aged 40-50, also mentioned family life as a significant factor in their life satisfaction, and 80% said they were happy with their marriages. A much larger proportion of middle aged women than older women cited their work or career as a source of satisfaction. In addition, unlike the older women, the middle aged women reported that their own personal growth and development as well as accomplishments were sources of satisfaction in their lives (Bearon, 1989).

Adelmann et. al (1989) found evidence of what has been called the cross-over effect. The cross-over hypothesis refers to a sex-role shift in mid-life found in both men and women, in which men become more "feminine," and women become more "masculine." Adelmann et. al describe it in relation to the women in their study, saying, "Women who focus on their nurturant needs early in adulthood through active involvement in motherhood, by midlife may be motivated to satisfy their as yet unmet achievement needs, often through paid employment" (p. 174). This is consistent with the findings of the Roberts and Newton (1987) paper noted above. There is also evidence that women who are employed at mid-life have higher mental and physical well-being than full-time homemakers (Coleman & Antonucci, 1983).

An interesting aspect of the Adelman et al. (1989) study is their use of two cohorts. They found an overall effect of cohort membership on women's well-being at midlife. Women in cohort I, who were young adults around the beginning of WW II, reported higher life satisfaction scores at midlife than women of cohort II, who were young adults during the era of the feminine mystique-1945 through the early '60's. The cohort I women were expected to work at paying jobs until marriage and to withdraw and become full time mothers following marriage. However, the economic times forced many of these women to continue working even after marriage. Women of cohort II, in contrast, set records for marriage, early age at marriage, and birth rates (Borland, 1982). Adelmann et al. (1989) suggest that this difference in life satisfaction at midlife may reflect cultural changes. Greater social emphasis on introspection and individual well-

being may have contributed to cohort II respondents being more willing to report psychological distress in their lives.

Adelmann et al. (1989), in a fascinating bit of speculation, also predicted what might be typical for a cohort III--women whose young adulthood coincided with the feminist movement of the late '60s and the '70s. They suggest that women of cohort III may have more similarities to cohort I in that they are likely to experience more pressure to hold multiple roles, both because of economic necessity and because of greater opportunity for women. However, this cohort is not likely to experience the "ideological backlash" against women's employment that the cohort I women--their grandmothers--experienced. Given that cohort I women reported less distress over the empty nest syndrome than cohort II women, it is reasonable to predict that cohort III women will also be more comfortable with the time of life when children leave home. Another factor that may influence reports of life satisfaction as related to employment and family status in different age groups is the degree to which young women understand the tension. Schroeder, Blood, & Maluso (1992) found frustration and ill-preparedness in young adults for the tensions surrounding balancing a career and family responsibilities. Baber & Monaghan (1988) note that young women in college, presumably preparing themselves for more than marriage and motherhood, receive some preparation for what the demands of a career might be, but virtually no information about the decisions that will have to be made when combining a career and a family. Nor are these young women aware of the new role definitions necessary for egalitarian relationships with husbands. Basically, today's college women are being told they can have it all, that they deserve it all, but

they are not being told about the real choices they will make in order to balance it all. Machung (1989) reported that university women expect to have it all--careers, marriages, and children--but "spoken only between the lines is a desire to replicate their mother's lives--to place family before career and to spend large amounts of time at home with their children" (p.3). Fifty-six percent of the young women surveyed in this study saw their developmental path as "Graduation, full-time work, marriage, children, stop working at least until youngest child is in school, then pursue a full-time job" (Schroeder, Blood, & Maluso, 1992, p. 284).

Schroeder et. al (1992) summarize their observations about the perceptions of their young subjects in the following paragraph:

> Egalitarian attitudes toward marital roles exist side by side with preferences for lifestyles that pose challenges for such egalitarian roles. While this sample of young women's beliefs about career and family roles are realistic and liberal, their behavioral intentions are not. They are aware of the large number of women, including mothers, who participate in the labor force, and they ascribe to an egalitarian ideal for marital roles in which men and women share household work and childcare. The same young women apparently feel no strong motivations at present to adapt to dual-income lifestyle or the role of "working mother of young children." They may be more motivated to adapt only when they are actually in the roles. Young women may experience some frustrations, adjustments, and failures regarding their career and family roles as they grow older, since

the amount of time they are likely to spend in a full-time career appears

to be far more than they now realize (Archer, 1985; Leslie, 1986).

Without better preparation for the realities of combining career and family

roles, many college educated women may continue to feel like outsiders

in their professions and inadequate parents as they place their children in

the care of others (p. 287).

Finally, Helson & Wink (1992) reported on a longitudinal sample of women,

testing them at age 40 and then again at age 50. They found that these women decreased

significantly in dependence and in self criticism over this ten year span. The changes,

which Helson and Wink argue are evidence for normative personality change during

middle age, were not affected by menopausal status, empty nest status, or involvement

in care for parents. Their results did identify a time of turmoil around age 40 which is

consistent with stage theorists' descriptions of middle age as a time of reflection on one's

life so far, with the accompanying satisfaction or dissatisfaction, and changes that result

from that reflection, e.g., job or career changes, divorce, etc.

As a way to summarize this diverse and complicated literature, Catherine Faver

(1984) published a book called *Women in Transition: Career, Family, and Life*

Satisfaction in Three Cohorts. Her study included measures of achievement orientation,

career orientation, attainment values, employment status, and career and family values,

and their relationship to life satisfaction in each of three cohorts. The three age groups

were 22-34, 35-44, and 45-64. A summary of her results follows.

First, the younger cohort, aged 22-34, represented a range of individual and family life situations. Women in this group ranged from pre-family to middle motherhood. Virtually all of the women in this cohort, regardless of their current family or non-family status, also had or planned to have a career. However, other evidence suggested that the expression of these career achievement needs varied with the stage of family life. Faver (1984) reports that family values peaked during early motherhood and were related to marital and parental status. The value of career attainment remained relatively high across this time but showed a dip in early motherhood. Married mothers valued both career and family values. Whether or not a woman actually participated in the labor force in this cohort of young women was strongly affected by marital status and parental status. Married mothers of preschoolers had the highest level of nonemployment.

The social structural position of women in this cohort, i.e., whether or not they were married, mothers, working, not working, etc., had direct effects on life satisfaction. Highest life satisfaction in this cohort was reported by married, childless women who were employed. However, career and family values also mediated the relationship between work and family values and life satisfaction. So, for example, married women of preschoolers were the least satisfied of those with high career values and or low family values. The strongest relationship between employment and life satisfaction was among married women with high career values. Faver concludes that it is the congruence between individual values and role opportunities that plays a major role in ratings of life satisfaction.

In the middle aged cohort, aged 35-44, achievement orientation remained stable regardless of whether or not the women were by this time single mothers, childless women, or married mothers of children. There is some indication in this group that high achievement orientation was related to postponement of childbearing. The younger women in this cohort were more likely to report high value to both career and family. Again, single, childless women had the highest levels of full-time employment, and married mothers of preschoolers had the lowest. However, mothers of preschoolers and mothers of adolescents had similar levels of part-time employment.

Life satisfaction in this middle age cohort did not vary depending on different family statuses. But nonetheless, married women in this cohort with high career values related life satisfaction to full time employment.

Finally, in Faver's oldest cohort of women, ages 45-64, marital status, rather than parental status was the factor most affecting achievement attitudes and behavior. This older cohort consisted of both single and married mothers of adolescent and adult children. These women also generally held higher family values than career attainment values, seemingly reflecting their cohort membership.

Rather than parental status, marital status was the greatest determinant of employment in this oldest group, which makes sense since the children of women in this cohort were more likely to be nearly, if not already, out of the house. Married women in this older group who had high family values and low career values reported higher life satisfaction. No evidence was found by Faver for a strong change in life satisfaction when children left home. Instead, marital and employment status were the primary factors in

determining level of life satisfaction. Again in this cohort, the association between satisfaction and employment was strongest for married women with high career values.

Faver (1984) concludes generally that it is the congruence between individual values and opportunities to match behavior to those values that is a strong determinant of life satisfaction. This conclusion seems justified based on her research. However, in the current study we are concerned with how a woman's Separate or Connected or combination self orientation might alter these results. It seems reasonable that if external factors, such as the desire to work vs. the necessity to work when one has young children, can be influential in perceptions of life satisfaction, it is also possible that internal factors such as a Separate or Connected Self orientation might also influence these perceptions.

To sum up this complex area of research as it applies to the current study, both employment and having children are important to life satisfaction for women, but the weights of importance that women give to these factors may differ at different ages. The current study adds yet another consideration--the Separate and/or Connected Self orientation of the women-- which may also change the constellation of these factors as they relate to reported life satisfaction.

Specific hypotheses regarding this literature are the following: Based on Faver's results that women in the middle age group who are married and have higher career values report higher life satisfaction, it is predicted that both Emotional Reliance on Others and Assertion of Autonomy will predict higher life satisfaction in the middle age

group. However, these relationships may look different based on both family status, employment status, and self orientation status.

Because women who are middle age face developmental and cultural pressures to have families and to make a contribution through work outside the home, it is predicted that women who have both of these dimensions in their lives will report higher levels of life satisfaction. Again these relationships may be different based on levels of Emotional Reliance on Others and Assertion of Autonomy.

Women in the oldest age group, who relate their life satisfaction to both marital status and employment status, will also report higher levels of life satisfaction when they have both families and work in their lives. These relationships may also be affected by level of Emotional Reliance on Others and Assertion of Autonomy, and by Separate and Connected self orientation status.

Self Orientation and its relation to other variables

Sorting through this literature to identify patterns of life circumstances and what factors contribute to reported life satisfaction at different ages and life stages is complex indeed. It is even more complicated by trying to inject the dimensions of Separate and Connected selves into the mix. The fact is, the work has not been done. None of these studies take into account how the results might differ if women were identified as more Connected, more Separate, or high on both scales. This section will summarize what is known about the relationship between Separate and Connected Self orientations and the other variables under consideration in this study.

Self esteem may be related to Separate and Connected Self orientations. Pearson et al. (under review) found mixed results regarding the various self orientations and self esteem. In women, Separate Self orientations were associated with decreased self esteem. The highest correlation for self esteem was a negative one with the dimension of the Connected Self called Primacy of Other Care (POC). This manifestation of the Connected Self orientation reflects a less developed stage of the Connected Self orientation in which the person focuses on the care of others to the exclusion of self. Therefore, this negative correlation between POC and lower self esteem is congruent with Gilligan's (1982) argument.

Interpersonal dependency is also related to Separate and Connected Self orientations. The RSI validity study (Pearson et. al, under review) found that the Emotional Reliance on Others scale (ERO) of the Interpersonal Dependency Inventory (IDI, Hirschfeld, et al. 1977) was significantly correlated with a more Connected Self orientation in women. Interestingly, for women in the sample, a Separate Self orientation was also significantly correlated with the ERO scale. However, no attempt was made to explore whether these results might differ for women who are high on Connected and low on Separate, or vice versa, or whether being high on both self orientation scales might affect the results.

For the women in the validity study sample (Pearson, et al., under review), the Assertion of Autonomy scale (AA), was positively correlated with the Separate Self orientation, and AA was negatively correlated with a Connected Self orientation. Again, while these results were important to validate the RSI scales, further examination is

necessary to understand how various levels of Separate and Connected self orientations *in combination* might be associated with other variables.

It is reasonable to predict that women's scores on a scale designed to measure Assertion of Autonomy (AA) and a scale of Emotional Reliance on Others (ERO) will predict levels of life satisfaction. What is unclear is how these predictions might change in the context of other variables, such as self esteem, having children, employment status, and self orientation status. It is possible that women who score high on a Separate Self orientation, for example, but find themselves in situations where life circumstances might inhibit them from behaviors in accord with that orientation, might report lower levels of life satisfaction. Or, possibly women who have high Connected Self orientations and are in situations where assertive and hierarchical demands are made on them may also report lower levels of life satisfaction. In other words, self orientation status and levels of Assertion of Autonomy and Emotional Reliance on Others may be related as it pertains to life satisfaction, but the direction of those effects may be complicated by circumstances.

To the extent that Separate and Connected Self orientations also reflect values, Faver's arguments about value congruence suggest that for women high on Connected Self orientation, having children will be especially salient for life satisfaction. Similarly, for women high on Separate Self orientation, employment will be especially salient for life satisfaction. Once again, however, these relationships may be affected by the woman's life situation and by the expectations of her cohort.

Finally, those individuals whose scores on the RSI put them in the High Separate and High Connected group, may report higher levels of life satisfaction than women in the other self orientation groups. This hypothesis is based on two premises. First, this seems a reasonable prediction based on the idea that individuals who have most fully integrated all aspects of human experience will report higher levels of life satisfaction than those individuals who score more unequally in the Separate and Connected Self orientations, the assumption being, of course, that being in the High Separate/High Connected group does represent a more fully integrated person. Second, and following from the first, being able to function effectively in either a Separate and/or a Connected Self orientation allows an individual a greater range of experiences in which to gain life satisfaction.

The Current Study

The current study seeks to examine the dimensions of Separate and Connected self orientation discussed above, and measurable with the RSI, as they relate to the literature on life satisfaction in women. More specifically, this study divides women into four groups which are combinations of the Separate and Connected Self Orientations. The four groups are High Separate/High Connected, High Separate/Low Connected, High Connected/Low Separate, and Low Separate/Low Connected. The women who fall into each of these categories, based on their Separate and Connected scores on the RSI, will be examined in relation to the other variables in the analyses. The available research as discussed above takes no account of the self orientation of women in its examination of

such constructs as self esteem, interpersonal dependency, whether or not the women are working outside the home, and whether they have children.

Specific hypotheses for the current study are as follows:

1. In all three age groups, higher levels of self esteem will predict higher levels of life satisfaction.

2. In all three age groups, Emotional Reliance on Others and Assertion of Autonomy will predict life satisfaction, but in different ways. In the youngest age group, **high** Assertion of Autonomy and **low** Emotional Reliance on Others will predict higher life satisfaction. In the middle and oldest age groups, **high** Assertion of Autonomy and **high** Emotional Reliance on Others will predict higher life satisfaction.

3. Women in both the middle and oldest age groups who are both employed and have children will report higher levels of life satisfaction.

4. Based on Faver's argument for congruence between individual values and role opportunities as the most significant predictor of life satisfaction: in the youngest group, self esteem, High Connected/High Separate group status, high Assertion of Autonomy, and low Emotional Reliance on Others will predict higher life satisfaction.

In the middle and oldest age groups, self esteem, high Assertion of Autonomy, high Emotional Reliance on Others, having both children and employment outside the home, and being in the High Connected/High Separate group will predict higher life satisfaction.

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

Subjects used in this study were drawn from a large data set collected between April and June, 1985 by a research group interested in adult development and in the development of women in particular. The research group developed an instrument designed to measure Gilligan's model of women's development, reflecting the voice of care, the Connected Self, and the voice of justice, the Separate Self. This instrument, the Relationship Self Inventory (RSI), forms the basis for the current work.

The sub-sample used in the current study included all women for whom a life satisfaction score was obtained (some subjects in the larger data set did not complete all instruments). The data for the present study were collected from two different groups of people: college undergraduates, and adult women who attended College Week, an on-campus adult enrichment program sponsored by the Home Extension Service of Michigan State University. These women were typically married and had children. Some of these women had attended college.

The sub-sample from the data collection used in this study consisted of four hundred and fifty two (452) women ranging in age from 17-78. For purposes of this study, these women were divided into three groups: a young group consisting of

women aged 17-30 (n=136), a middle age group ranging from 31-55 (n=201), and an older group consisting of women 56 and older (n=115). These age divisions were chosen based on the fact that each of these age ranges, though not necessarily reflective of similar life situations, do tend to include normative adult transition events as proposed by such developmental theorists as Erikson (1959), Havinghurst (1968), and Neugarten(1973). For example, between 17 and 30 young people tend to leave home, either to go off to college or to move out on their own into the work world. Many of them also marry and establish their own homes during this time, and many begin families.

The transition inherent in the 31-55 group is the launching of young adult children and the return to life without children at home. In the sample used here only 8 women in the middle age group and only 4 women in the older age group did not have any children.

Finally, the older group includes the transition to retirement. Developmental theory would suggest that at this time of life individuals begin to look back on their lives rather than forward to future accomplishments. This is not to say that they are no longer active, but rather that their focus tends to begin to be a retrospective evaluation of their lives rather than a focus on future accomplishments.

It is impossible to establish exactly similar life situations for grouping subjects. For example, some subjects may remain single over these transitions while others may postpone having families until the middle years and continue to have children in the

home during the older age group years. Nonetheless, these divisions seem to reflect a somewhat normative pattern of developmental events in the population.

Measures

Relationship Self Inventory (RSI, Pearson, et al, under review). The RSI was created as an attempt to measure the Gilligan (1982) and Lyons (1983) constructs of the Separate Self characterized by the justice voice, and the Connected Self characterized by the care voice. The RSI was intended to provide an easily administered paper and pencil inventory for the evaluation of these constructs. The RSI consists of 60 items which subjects rate on a 5 point Likert scale ranging from "1 = Not like me at all" to "5 = Very much like me."

Confirmatory factor analyses yielded four internally consistent reliable scales: Separate Self; Connected Self; Primacy of Other Care; and Self and Other Care Chosen Freely. (Primacy of Other Care and Self and Other Care Chosen Freely are considered to be two manifestations of the Connected Self scale, and they were not used in the current study). The Relationship Self Inventory (RSI) consists of a random presentation of the 60 items from these scales. The RSI itself, scale reliabilities, scale intercorrelations, and item-scale total correlations are included in the Appendix.

Life Satisfaction Questionnaire. Both single item measures and multiple item scales have been used in the measurement of life satisfaction. Critics of single item assessments of life satisfaction argue that one item cannot possibly encompass all the aspects of life satisfaction. While it is true that single item assessments do not

provide a very differentiated appraisal of life satisfaction, validity and reliability of single item measures suggest they are adequate as an overall assessment of how a person views her current life situation (Andrews & Withey, 1976; Diener, 1984).

Multiple item scales for measuring life satisfaction have methodological problems as well. Diener (1984) reports that some of these scales have shown promising initial results, but they have not been adequately tested. Issues related to response interval sizes, sensitivity to change, and discriminant validity must be examined as better methods of measuring life satisfaction are sought.

Another criticism of life satisfaction measures concerns the validity of self report. As with any self report measure, the data are subject to individual interpretations as well as purposeful distortions, though by definition, life satisfaction is one's own evaluation. Acquiescence to a one direction item has also been regarded as a potential problem, but several studies have found good correlations between self report measures and observer ratings of related behaviors, such as smiling and laughing (Weinstein, 1982).

Measurement of life satisfaction for the current study will be a summation of 7 items. These include the global item of Andrews & Withey (1976; "In general, how are you feeling about your life as a whole?"), as well as six other items. Three of these items were generated at data collection to describe life satisfaction from a Separate Self orientation perspective (e.g., "How are you feeling about your independence and freedom--the chance to do what you want to do?"). Three other items describe life satisfaction from a Connected Self orientation perspective (e.g.,

How are you feeling about how much you are really contributing to other people's lives?").

Based on face validity and preliminary analyses, it was decided that all 7 items taken together would measure life satisfaction well in a study where interest was in both separate and connected manifestations of life satisfaction. To confirm this, two things were tested.

First, results of principal components factor analysis suggested only one factor and it included all 7 items.

Second, reliability analysis resulted in an alpha of .82.

Both of these tests indicated that use of the summation of the 7 items was a useful measure of life satisfaction that included items which could tap into both separate and connected dimensions of life satisfaction.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory. The 10-item version of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory (Rosenberg, 1965) was used to measure self-esteem. The Rosenberg inventory asks subjects to strongly disagree, disagree, agree, or strongly agree with both negative and positive items about the self. Rosenberg (1965) reports test-retest reliability of .92 and internal consistency of .72.

Interpersonal Dependency Inventory (IDI). The Interpersonal Dependency Inventory (Hirschfeld, Klerman, Gough, Barrett, Korchin, & Chodoff, 1977) was designed to measure interpersonal dependency, referred to by the authors as "a complex of thoughts, beliefs, feelings, and behaviors revolving around needs to associate closely with valued other people" (p. 610). Subjects responded to the entire

48 items of the Interpersonal Dependency Inventory. The Emotional Reliance On Others subscale (ERO) and the Assertion of Autonomy (AA) subscale were used to evaluate the level of interpersonal dependency of the subjects. A copy of the items from the complete IDI and the items for each of the scales are included in the Appendix.

Other measures. Two other measures were used. Subjects were asked for demographic information. For purposes of this study, two pieces of that information were used.

Subjects were asked how many children they had on a scale of "0" to "4 or more". No data were available for the youngest group as to whether they had children, though it is likely that most did not since they were almost completely traditional age college students in introductory psychology classes. It is possible that a few might be older, returning students, but not a significant number.

In addition, preliminary analyses of the data indicated that only 8 women in the middle age group did not have any children and only 4 women in the oldest age group had no children. Therefore, it was impossible to analyze the data with a dichotomous variable of children/no children. Because we felt it was important to include this variable in some form, we used a continuous variable which indicated the number of children the women had. While this was not ideal, and the most significant comparison might be between women who do and do not have children, it is also reasonable to argue that as the number of children increases, women's attitudes and behaviors

regarding their family responsibilities in relation to other factors in their lives might be affected. This in turn would be reflected in their estimation of their life satisfaction.

In addition, women were asked whether or not they worked outside the home. In the middle age group, 60% of women reported being employed. In the oldest age group, 33% reported being employed. This included both full and part-time work. The variable concerning employment is unavailable for the college age students. Rather than whether they worked or not, the students were asked about their college majors since this seemed to be an indicator of the type of career these young women might pursue. However, this is not comparable information to the employment data for the middle age and older groups, and therefore it was not considered in the analyses.

Analyses

Data analysis proceeded through several steps. First, descriptive statistics were calculated. Means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations for all variables were run for all age groups.

Next, to test the hypotheses of the study, ordinary least squares regression was used to examine the association between life satisfaction and the independent variables: Self Esteem, Emotional Reliance on Others, Assertion of Autonomy, number of children, and whether or not the woman worked outside the home. The use of successive regression models is appropriate when testing hypotheses because it allows the effects of the various individual variables to be isolated. Life satisfaction was

regressed on combinations of the five independent variables (Self Esteem, Assertion of

Autonomy, Emotional Reliance on Others, Number of Children and Employment

Status). The regression models were run separately for each age group.

The next step consisted of regressing the combinations of separate and

connected self orientation scores onto the life satisfaction scores apart from the four

independent variables. This was necessary to isolate whatever possible unique effects

the separate/connected combinations might have on the life satisfaction scores,

independent of the other variables.

The regression models proceeded in the following order (with the exception

that employment status and number of children were not included for the youngest age

group). Model 1 included self esteem, Emotional Reliance on Others, and Assertion

of Autonomy. Model 2 included employment status and number of children. Model 3

included the Separate/Connected self orientation group status only. Model 4 included

self esteem and Separate/Connected self orientation status. Model 5 included

Emotional Reliance on Others and Separate/Connected self orientation group status.

Model 6 included Assertion of Autonomy and Separate/Connected self orientation

group status. Model 7 included self esteem, Emotional Reliance on Others, Assertion

of Autonomy, and Separate/Connected self orientation group status. Model 8 included

number of children and Separate/Connected self orientation group status. Model 9

included employment status and Separate/Connected self orientation group status.

Model 10 included number of children, employment status, and Separate/Connected

self orientation group status. Model 11 included all the variables: self esteem,

Emotional Reliance on Others, Assertion of Autonomy, employment status, number of children, and Separate/Connected self orientation group status.

For these regression models, the Separate/Connected Self Orientation groups were entered into the analyses as dummy variables. In other words, the analysis compared each of the groups to the other three groups. This allowed us to maximize cell sizes relative to an ANOVA design. Because subjects in the Low-Low group represent the lowest levels of both Separate and Connected self orientation, it was decided they were probably the group of least interest when making the comparisons relevant to the hypotheses, and based on this they were used as the comparison group. The question to be asked, then, was how does the separate-connected group status relate to life satisfaction **in comparison to the other three separate/connected combinations**. This is purely a methodological convenience that allows one to make smaller divisions in the subject population and not lose their uniqueness in the analyses. The dummy variables were D1 (High Separate/High Connected), D2 (High Separate/Low Connected), and D3 (High Connected/Low Separate).

The final regression analysis (Model 11) entered the dummy variables into the model along with the four other independent variables. Life satisfaction was regressed onto the whole group at once. The question of interest was what variables dropped in and out of significance between the models.

Finally, also of interest was what differences might exist in the various predictor variables based on Separate/Connected Self orientation status. To examine these relationships, MANOVAs were run by age group to determine what differences

might exist between the various combinations of Separate and Connected Self

Orientations on the independent variables of Self Esteem, Emotional Reliance on

Others, and Assertion of Autonomy.

RESULTS

Subjects were divided into groups based on their Separate and Connected scores on the RSI. Using a median split, the women were divided into 4 groups: High Separate/High Connected; High Separate/Low Connected; Low Separate/High Connected; and Low Separate/Low Connected.

Medians used for these divisions in each age group are as follows:

	Separate Median	Connected Median
Age group 1 (17-30)	2.56	4.17
Age group 2 (31-55)	2.44	4.17
Age group 3 (55-78)	2.61	4.17

Distribution of the women's scores into these groups is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Distribution of Separate/Connected Self Orientations by Age Group.

Age group	1-LCLS	2-HCLS	3-LCHS	4-HCHS
1 (17-30)				
count	17	50	26	43
row pct	12.5	36.8	19.1	31.6
col pct	23.6	32.7	29.9	30.7
tot pct	3.8	11.1	5.8	9.5
Age group				
2 (31-55)	37	50	33	61
	18.4	34.8	16.4	30.3
	51.4	45.8	37.9	43.6
	8.2	15.5	7.3	13.5
Age group				
3 (56-78)	18	33	28	36
	15.7	28.7	24.3	31.3
	25.0	21.6	32.2	25.7
	4.0	7.3	19.2	8.0
Column				
Total	72	153	87	140
	15.9	33.8	19.2	31.0

Chi square analysis showed no differences between expected and observed frequencies, suggesting distribution of individuals into Separate and Connected self orientation groups was the same across all three age groups.

Note that the most subjects were in the High Connected groups (HCLS and HCHS). More women were in the High Connected groups than in the Low Connected

groups and this is consistent with Gilligan's (1982) theory that women are more likely to have a Connected self orientation.

Two initial ANOVAs were run with life satisfaction as the dependent variable and age group and self orientation group as the independent variables. Results showed that people in the oldest age group were significantly more satisfied with their lives than people in the youngest age group, but did not differ from people in the middle age group ($\underline{F}$ (3, 448) = 3.97, p ≤ .042).

With regard to self orientation group, people in the High Connected/Low Separate group reported significantly greater life satisfaction than individuals in the other three self orientation groups ($\underline{F}$ (3, 448) = 3.97, p≤ .008). These results supported the design of this study in which self orientation group was included in each set of the analyses, and these analyses were run separately for each age group.

Means and standard deviations for all of the variables for each of the age groups are presented in Table 2. Though between age comparisons were not part of this study because the focus was on patterns of relationships between the variables within age groups, note that the numbers suggest a trend of higher scores in the older age groups on Life Satisfaction, Self Esteem, and Assertion of Autonomy. In contrast, Emotional Reliance on Others showed an opposite pattern, with lowest levels at the older ages. It is also noted that means and medians were very close in each age group. In addition, subjects in the study tended to score higher on the Connected Self orientation scale than on the Separate Self orientation scale. It is also noted that

means and medians were very close in each age group, suggesting relatively little

skewness of the distributions.

Table 2.   Means and Standard Deviations for all variables, all age groups.

Variables	Youngest (17-30)		Middle (31-55)		Oldest (56-78)	
	M	Sd	M	Sd	M	Sd
Life Satisfaction	25.85	4.11	26.5	3.64	27.03	3.28
Self Esteem	3.17	.49	3.30	.45	3.37	.46
Emotional Reliance on Others	2.38	.51	2.25	.52	2.12	.49
Assertion of Autonomy	1.78	.42	1.84	.40	1.93	.48
Number of Children	N/A		3.84	1.13	4.01	1.09
Connected Self Score	4.13	.44	4.06	.55	4.06	.58
Separate Self Score	2.56	.52	2.50	.46	2.62	.56

Other descriptive statistics for all variables used in the analyses are included in

Tables 3, 4, and 5 for the young, middle, and oldest age groups respectively. In each

age group, self esteem was positively correlated with life satisfaction, but the size of

the correlation was highest in the young group (.57), next in the middle group (.48),

and lowest in the older group (.30). In each age group, Emotional Reliance on Others was negatively correlated with life satisfaction (-.37, -.34, -.24 respectively). Assertion of Autonomy was not significantly correlated with life satisfaction in any age group. In the oldest age group, however, Assertion of Autonomy was significantly and positively correlated with Emotional Reliance on Others (.26). Employment was correlated with self esteem in the oldest age group only (.23). Having children was not correlated significantly with any of the other variables at any age.

In each age group, being in the High Separate/High Connected group was significantly correlated with Emotional Reliance on Others (.17, .14, .30 respectively), suggesting that women with elements of both self orientations value Emotional Reliance on Others over Assertion of Autonomy.

In the oldest group only, being in the High Separate/High Connected group was significantly negatively correlated with Life Satisfaction (-.19). In the middle age group, being in the High Separate/Low Connected group was significantly negatively correlated with Life Satisfaction (-.17).

In the young and middle groups, being in the High Separate/Low Connected group was significantly correlated with Assertion of Autonomy (.37, .17 respectively). This relationship was stronger in the youngest group than in the middle age group, and was not significant in the older group. In all three age groups, being in the High Connected/Low Separate group was significantly negatively correlated with Assertion of Autonomy (-.22, -.25, -.28 respectively).

Table 3.   Age Group 1 (17-30). Bivariate Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations for all variables in the analyses (n = 136).

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Life Satisfaction	1.00						
2. Self Esteem	.57***	1.00					
3. Emotional Reliance on Others	-.37***	-.32***	1.00				
4. Assertion of Autonomy	.07	.15	-.10	1.00			
5. D_1 (HSHC)	.12	.01	.17*	.02	1.00		
6. D_2 (HSLC)	-.10	-.05	-.16	.37***	-.33***	1.00	
7. D_3 (HCLS)	.12	.10	-.01	-.22*	.17	-.37***	1.00
8. Mean	25.85	3.17	2.38	1.78	.32	.19	.37
9. Standard Deviation	4.11	.49	.51	.42	.47	.40	.48

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$

Table 4.   Age Group 2 (31-55). Bivariate Correlations, Means, Standard Deviations, and R^2 for all variables in the analyses (n = 201).

Var.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Life Satisfaction	1.00								
2. Self Esteem	.47***	1.00							
3. Emotional Reliance on Others	-.34***	-.28***	1.00						
4. Assertion of Autonomy	-.10	.04	.06	1.00					
5. Employed vs. Not	.09	.03	.01	.02	1.00				
6. # of Children	-.02	.02	-.00	-.04	.04	1.00			
7. D₁ (HSHC)	-.03	-.01	.14*	.12	.07	-.02	1.00		
8. D₂ (HSLC)	-.17*	.03	-.03	.17*	.02	.13	-.29***	1.00	
9. D₃ (HCLS)	.16*	.08	.06	-.25***	-.03	-.00	-.48***	-.32***	1.00
10. Mean	26.5	3.30	2.25	1.84	.61	3.84	.30	.16	.35
11. Standard Deviation	3.64	.45	.52	.40	.50	1.13	.46	.37	.49

* p≤ .05, ** p≤ .01, *** p≤ .001

Table 5.   Age Group 3 (56-78). Bivariate Correlations, Means, Standard Deviations, and R^2 for all variables in the analyses (n = 115).

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Life Satisfaction	1.00								
2. Self Esteem	.30*	1.00							
3. Emotional Reliance on Others	-.24*	-.27**	1.00						
4. Assertion of Autonomy	-.18	.02	.26**	1.00					
5. Employed vs. Not	.08	.23*	.18	.04	1.00				
6. No. of Children	-.01	.06	.06	-.01	.05	1.00			
7. D_1 (HSHC)	-.19*	-.03	.30**	.15	.01	-.08	1.00		
8. D_2 (HSLC)	-.09	-.08	-.07	1.38	-.10	.04	-.38***	1.00	
9. D_3 (HCLS)	.18*	.06	.00	-.28**	-.12	.07	-.43***	-.36***	1.00
10. Mean	27.03	3.37	2.12	1.93	.31	4.01	.31	.24	.29
11. Stand Dev	3.28	.46	.49	.48	.46	1.1	.47	.43	.45

* p≤ .05, ** p≤ .01, *** p≤ .001

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<u>Tests of the hypotheses</u>

To test the hypotheses of the study, a series of statistical regression models were tested for each age group. These models allow for examination of individual effects of each of the variables, as well as the examination of each of the variables in relation to the other variables.

Age Group 1 (17-30). Relevant data are presented in Table 6.

In the youngest age group, individuals with high self esteem, low Emotional Reliance on Others, and who were in the High Connected/High Separate or the High Connected/Low Separate group reported the highest levels of life satisfaction. However, Model 3 indicates that self esteem accounted for some of the variance in life satisfaction that was predicted by being in the High Separate/High Connected and High Connected/Low Separate groups. Furthermore, High Separate/High Connected and High Connected/Low Separate group status also made a unique contribution to life satisfaction as manifest by their remaining significant when self esteem was in the model.

Emotional Reliance on Others, on the other hand, uniquely predicted life satisfaction and did not account for any of the variance in life satisfaction predicted by self orientation group status. However, part of the variance in life satisfaction predicted by low Emotional Reliance on Others was accounted for by the association of self esteem and life satisfaction.

Age group 2 (31-55). Relevant data are presented in Tables 7.

Patterns of results in age group 2, the middle age group, were less strong than in age group 1, the youngest group. Self esteem was again the strongest predictor of life satisfaction. Low Emotional Reliance on Others also predicted higher life satisfaction. High Separate/Low Connected self orientation group status predicted lower life satisfaction for the middle age group.

Neither High Separate/High Connected nor High Connected/Low Separate self orientation group predicted life satisfaction in this age group. Women in this age group who have a high separate self orientation have lower life satisfaction.

Age Group 3 (56-78) Relevant data are presented in Table 8.

For the oldest age group, only self esteem was a significant predictor of life satisfaction. Low Emotional Reliance on Others predicted life satisfaction when entered in Model 5 with Separate/Connected group status, but it did not make a unique contribution to the variance in life satisfaction when self esteem was in the model, indicating that all of its variance was accounted for by self esteem.

High Connected/High Separate self orientation group showed a significant negative prediction of life satisfaction in this oldest age group. However, this effect is only seen when number of children was also in the model. Since number of children was non-significant, it is not clear why High Connected/High Separate self orientation groups was significant. Therefore it was considered to be a statistical fluke.

Table 6.   Age Group 1 (17-30). Self-esteem, Autonomy/Assertiveness, Emotional Reliance on Others, Separate/Connected Levels regressed on Life Satisfaction. (n=136) Standardized Coefficients (BETAS)

Variables	Model 1 SE, ERO A/A	Model 2 D_1,D_2,D_3	Model 3 D_1,D_2,D_3 SE	Model 4 D_1,D_2,D_3 ERO	Model 5 D_1,D_2,D_3 AA	Model 6 D_1,D_2,D_3 SE, ERO, AA
Self Esteem	.51***		.54***			.46***
Emotional Reliance on Others	-.21**			-.41***		-.26***
Autonomy/Assertiveness	-.03				.09	-.01
D_1 (compares HSHC to other 3 groups)		.36***	.28**	.42***	.34**	.33**
D_2 (compares HSLC to other 3 groups)		.15	.12	.12	.12	.11
D_3 (compares HCLS to other 3 groups)		.36**	.25*	.37**	.36**	.27**
R^2	.36	.07	.36	.23	.08	.42

*p ≤ .05   **p ≤ .01   ***p ≤ .001

Table 7. Age Group 2 (31-55). Self esteem, Emotional Reliance on Others, Assertion of Autonomy, Number of Children, Employed vs. not, Separate/Connected Levels regressed on Life Satisfaction. (n=201). Standardized Coefficients (BETAS).

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11
	SE, ERO A/A	Employed vs not, no. children	D1D2D3	D1D2D3 SE	D1D2D3 ERO	D1D2D3 A/A	D1D2D3 SE, ERO A/A	D1D2D3 No. of Children	D1D2D3 Employ vs not	D1D2D3 Employed vs not No. of Children	D1D2D3 SE, ERO Employ vs not No. of Children
Self-esteem	.42***			.48***			.42***				.42***
Emotional Reliance On Others	-.21***				-.36***		-.22***				-.22***
Assertion of Autonomy	-.10					-.04	-.05				-.04
Employed vs. not		.09							.10	.10	.08
No. of Children		-.02						-.001		-.01	-.01
D₁ (compares HSHC to other 3 groups)			-.02	-.10	.05	-.05	-.02	-.05	-.06	-.06	-.02
D₂ (compares HSLC to other 3 groups)			-.15	-.21**	-.10	-.14	-.16*	-.15	-.16	-.15	-.16*
D₃ (compares HCLS to other three groups)			.10	.03	.19*	.10	.09	.10	-.10	.10	.09
R²	.28	.01	.04	.28	.17	.05	.32	.05	.05	.05	.33

*p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001

Table 8. Age Group 3 (56-78). Self esteem, Emotional Reliance on Others, Assertion of Autonomy, Number of Children, Employed vs. not, Separate/Connected Levels regressed on Life Satisfaction (n=115). Standardized Coefficients (BETAS).

Variables:	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11
	SE, ERO A/A	Employed vs. not, no. child	$D_1D_2D_3$	$D_1D_2D_3$ SE	$D_1D_2D_3$ ERO	$D_1D_2D_3$ A/A	$D_1D_2D_3$ SE, ERO A/A	$D_1D_2D_3$ No. of Children	$D_1D_2D_3$ Employed vs. not	$D_1D_2D_3$ Employed vs. not, No. of Children	$D_1D_2D_3$ SE, ERO AA, Employed vs. not No. of Children
Self esteem	.26**			.27**			.25**				.23*
Emotional Reliance on Others	-.13				-.20*		-.10				-.11
Assertion of Autonomy	-.15					-.11	-.09				-.13
Employed vs. not		.08							.09	.09	.07
No. of Children		-.04						-.04		-.05	-.06
D_1 (compares HSHC to other 3 groups)			-.25	-.24	-.16	-.25	-.18	-.27*	-.23	-.24	-.15
D_2 (compares HSLC to other 3 groups)			-.18	-.18	-.17	-.20	-.15	-.21	-.20	-.20	-.14
D_3 (compares HCLS to other 3 groups)			.01	.04	.10	.02	.05	.04	.06	.06	.07
R^2	.14	.01	.06	.16	.13	.10	.18	.09	.09	.09	.18

*p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01

Characteristics of Self Orientation Groups--MANOVA results

The primary questions of this research focused on the different patterns of certain variables in their relationship to life satisfaction in the context of four different combinations of Separate and Connected Self orientations. However, also of interest was what differences might exist in the various predictor variables based on Separate/Connected Self orientation status. In keeping with the design of the study, Separate/Connected Self orientation groups were examined for differences in Self Esteem, Emotional Reliance on Others, and Assertion of Autonomy. MANOVAs were run for each of the age groups individually. Results of these analyses are reported below, separately by age group.

Age Group 1 (17-30)

Multivariate tests were significant in age group one (F(9, 307) = 3.87, p≤ .000). Univariate tests results are as follows.

Women in the Low Connected/High Separate group reported significantly higher levels of Assertion of Autonomy than did women in the other three Separate/Connected groups (F(df 3, 128,) = 8.26, p≤ .000). The groups did not differ in Self Esteem or Emotional Reliance on Others at this age.

Table 9.   Age Group 1 (17-30). Means and Standard Deviations of variables used in MANOVA.

	Low Connected Low Separate		High Connected/ Low Separate		Low Connected/ High Separate		High/C High/S	
Variables	M	Sd	M	Sd	M	Sd	M	Sd
Self Esteem	3.02	.59	3.24	.48	3.12	.53	3.18	.44
Emotional Re- liance on Others	2.33	.53	2.37	.55	2.21	.46	2.51	.46
Asser- tion of Autonomy	1.62[b]	.39	1.66[b]	.41	2.11[a]	.43	1.79[b]	.33

Superscripts denote differences of one group from others.

Age Group Two (31-55).

Multivariate tests were significant in the middle age group also ($F(9, 453)$ = 3.53, $p \leq .000$). Univariate test results are as follows.

Women in the High Connected/Low Separate group reported significantly lower levels of Assertion of Autonomy than women in the Low Connected/High Separate and the High Connected/High Separate groups ($F (3, 188)$ = 4.96, $p \leq .002$). Women in the Low Connected/Low Separate group reported significantly lower levels of Emotional Reliance on Others than did women in either the High Connected/Low Separate group or the High Connected/High Separate group ($F (3, 188)$, = 3.27, $p \leq .022$). The groups did not differ in Self Esteem.

Table 10. Age Group 2 (31-55). Means and Standard Deviations of variables used in MANOVA.

Variables	Low Connected/ Low Separate		High Connected/ Low Separate		Low Connected/ High Separate		High/C High/S	
	M	Sd	M	Sd	M	Sd	M	Sd
Self Esteem	3.20	.43	3.35	.45	3.34	.54	3.30	.41
Emotional Reliance on Others	2.03[a]	.47	2.27[b]	.51	2.21	.52	2.36[b]	.52
Assertion of Autonomy	1.83	.40	1.70[a]	.38	1.99[b]	.39	1.91[b]	.38

Superscripts denote differences of one group from others.

Age Group Three (56-78).

Multivariate tests were significant in age group three (F (9, 241) = 3.06, p≤ .002). Univariate tests results are as follows.

In this age group, women in the High Connected/Low Separate group reported significantly lower levels of Assertion of Autonomy than did women in the High Connected/High Separate group (F (3,101) = 3.16, p≤ .028).

Women in the Low Separate/Low Connected group reported significantly lower levels of Emotional Reliance on Others than did women in the High Separate/High Connected group (F(3, 101) = 5.38, p≤ .002).

The groups did not differ in self esteem.

Table 11. Age Group 3 (56-78). Means and Standard Deviations of variables used in MANOVA.

Variables	Low Connected/ Low Separate		High Connected/ Low Separate		Low Connected/ High Separate		High/C High/S	
	M	Sd	M	Sd	M	Sd	M	Sd
Self Esteem	3.42	.38	3.41	.52	3.30	.34	3.34	.52
Emotional Re- liance on Others	1.81[a]	.32	2.12	.40	2.06	.40	2.33[b]	.57
Asser- tion of Autonomy	1.93	.30	1.73[a]	.37	2.03	.40	2.04[b]	.62

Superscripts denote differences of one group from others.

DISCUSSION

Some of the hypotheses of this study were confirmed, others were not. In addition, much other information was gleaned through the examination of the hypotheses in the three different age groups. Self esteem was the most consistently significant predictor of life satisfaction when tested against all the other variables, emerging as significant in every model in which it was tested. This is consistent with previous research which has shown self esteem to be a very significant factor in ratings of life satisfaction, even when evaluated against other variables such as standard of living, family life and work (Campbell, 1981). Hong, et. al (1993) also found clear relationships between self esteem and reports of life satisfaction. In their study, all subjects who reported high levels of self esteem also reported higher life satisfaction. Clearly women in the current study also base much of their evaluation of how satisfied they are with their lives on how satisfied they are with themselves.

Tests of the second hypothesis turned up interesting patterns in the results. Emotional Reliance on Others was consistently a negative predictor of life satisfaction in all three age groups, contrary to the prediction the high Emotional Reliance on Others would predict higher life satisfaction in the middle and older age groups. However, Assertion of Autonomy did not predict life satisfaction for any age group,

by itself or in combination with any other variables. This variable, which was expected to exemplify a more separate self characteristic, seemed not to figure significantly into these women's evaluation of their life satisfaction. This was true even for women who scored high on the separate self orientation, for whom Assertion of Autonomy might be expected to be salient on theoretical grounds.

Hypothesis 3 was not confirmed. Neither number of children nor employment status predicted the life satisfaction of the women in this study, regardless of age group or other variables. It is possible that the measurement of these two variables was inadequate to test this hypothesis. As mentioned above, it was necessary to use the continuous variable of number of children rather than the dichotomous variable of children/no children in the analyses. This may account for the lack of significant results showing possible relationships between family status and life satisfaction. It is also noteworthy, however, that number of children was not associated with any of the self orientation groups, though this might have been expected. For this sample, it is clear that the number of children did not have a significant relationship to reported life satisfaction nor to the degree to which a woman scored high on separate or connected self orientation measures.

As for employment status, measurement of employment status in the sample included both full and part time work. Women may vary in their evaluation of employment as a contributor to their life satisfaction based on whether they work full time, part time, in a career position, or in a more menial labor position. It may also make a difference whether or not the woman is choosing to work or whether she must

work out of economic necessity. Whether a woman works may be less important for life satisfaction than a woman's satisfaction with her work, i.e., whether she likes it and/or chooses to do it. Future studies could separate these possibilities and examine these relationships in more exacting ways.

The final hypothesis predicted congruence between individual values, as evidenced by the Separate/Connected self orientation groups, and other variables. In the youngest age group, when identity issues, separation issues, and concerns for individuation are pressing, being in the High Separate/High Connected group was consistently a predictor of higher life satisfaction. It seems reasonable that for these young women having the capacity to function successfully in many diverse situations might allow them to better define their own identity and, in the broadest sense of the term, take care of themselves.

Two of the self orientation groups were significant predictors of life satisfaction in the youngest age group, though they were not particularly so in the other two age groups. Along with High Separate/High Connected group status as a significant predictor of life satisfaction in this youngest age group, being in the High Connected/Low Separate group was the other significant predictor of life satisfaction. This is consistent with what would be expected for an all-female sample based on Gilligan's theory which argues that women are more likely to develop in relation to others.

Also in this youngest age group, there was a significant correlation between High Separate/Low Connected group status and Assertion of Autonomy. However,

neither of these variables was a significant predictor of life satisfaction. Rather, young

women in this age group value connection, relationships, and collaboration as the

avenues to life satisfaction in their development as evidenced by the significant

prediction of life satisfaction by High Connected/Low Separate group status.

In the middle age group, High Separate/High Connected group status was not a

significant predictor of life satisfaction in any model. As if to reinforce this finding,

another result in this middle age group showed that group status in the High

Separate/**Low Connected** was a significant **negative** predictor of life satisfaction when

tested against self esteem alone, or against Emotional Reliance on Others, Assertion of

Autonomy and self esteem. In other words, being connected, or at least low separate,

is important for these women during middle age. For these middle aged women who

are at the time of life when the most balancing must be done considering the demands

of both family and work, or having made the choice to give up one or the other, not

having a strong connected self orientation leads to lesser satisfaction with one's life.

In this age group, being in the High Separate/Low Connected group was also

significantly negatively correlated with self esteem, further supporting the notion that

the lack of connection at this age is a detriment to women's well-being; or possibly

that having a self orientation which counters that expected for women makes it

difficult to also maintain high self esteem. Similar findings occur in identity research:

high identity achievement has uniformly positive correlates for men, but mixed

correlates for women (Matteson, 1975). These high separate women may be likely to

be out of sync with their cohort for whom developmental and cultural pressures and

expectations are focussed on family oriented activities. It may be that these results were not confirmed by significant relationships between High Separate/High Connected or High Connected/Low Separate group status because women in these self orientation groups find themselves torn between social expectations and their own self orientations.

This confusion may also be evidenced by a significant correlation between High Separate/High Connected group status and Emotional Reliance on Others, as well as a very significant negative correlation between High Connected/Low Separate group status and Assertion of Autonomy.

For the oldest age group, only self esteem remained significant as a predictor of life satisfaction when all variables were entered into the model. Separate and Connected self status showed some expected correlations. High/High group membership correlated positively with Emotional Reliance on Others, but negatively with life satisfaction. There was also one unexpected correlation: it was membership in the High Connected/Low Separate group that correlated positively with life satisfaction in these older women.

The age group differences in the constellations that contribute to reported life satisfaction found in this study could reflect either developmental processes or cohort influences. On the developmental side, the differences are consistent with Erikson's (1959) theory of psychosocial theory of development. According to Erikson's theory, the psychosocial crisis to be resolved in young adulthood is between intimacy and isolation. Results of the current study suggest that for women in the youngest age

group being high on both Separate and Connected self orientations was a significant predictor of life satisfaction. The task of these young women is to establish both the capacity to work towards a specific career objectives and to involve themselves in an extended intimate relationship. This pattern of results in the younger group may mean that the young women in the High/High group have more opportunities and avenues by which to pursue life satisfaction, in the realms of both intimacy and career. It would follow that being comfortable functioning in both a more connected and a more separate arena would lead them to report higher life satisfaction.

Results for the middle age group also are consistent with Erikson's conflict of middle adulthood, that of generativity vs. stagnation. The healthy resolution of this conflict involves the individual becoming concerned with others beyond the immediate family and focusing on future generations and society. The only separate/connected combination that predicted life satisfaction at this age was High Separate/Low Connected, but it was a negative predictor. It seems that women at this time of life are less satisfied with their lives when they are more oriented toward a separate self which focuses attention on individual achievements rather on the well-being of others and the contribution one makes to the larger society.

Self orientation showed no significant relationship to life satisfaction in the older group. Erikson believes that the successful resolution of the old age crisis of integrity vs. despair is characterized by the individual who acquires a sense of satisfaction when looking back on her life. The individual must come to terms with whatever she has done, taking disappointments and regrets into account. Consistent

with this conceptualization, women in the oldest age group of the current study showed only self esteem as a predictor of life satisfaction, with no other variables making a significant contribution. It may be that these women have resolved the crisis of moving into their later years and now their opinion of themselves is at least one of the most relevant criterion for evaluating their life satisfaction.

In addition to developmental considerations for thinking about the results of the current study, cohort differences may also have a role. Each of these age groups of women were at different stages of development during the evolution of the women's movement in this country. The youngest group, whose results show their life satisfaction was predicted by their being in the High/High group, have experienced the message of the women's movement during their formative adolescent years when they were newly forming their own identities. They have been told that they can have it all, both the career and status usually associated with the separate self orientation and the family and intimate relationships which might be more consistent with a connected self orientation. In fact, for these young women being in the High/High group does predict higher life satisfaction than does being in the other groups. This is consistent with the notion that they believe they will be able to flourish in both domains. In addition, in this youngest group, being in the High Connected/Low Separate group also predicted higher life satisfaction. This result is not inconsistent with the above, and may reflect only that the sample is all female--and/or that traditional orientations for women are alive and well. In any case, for the youngest women in the study who

have been told by the women's movement to expect to have it all, having a balanced self orientation is consistent with higher life satisfaction.

Women in the middle age group are likely to have the most confusion about their place in the world as it relates to the women's movement. Many of these women grew up with traditional stay-at-home mothers who were barely aware of the women's movement until their daughters and grandaughters began to choose life paths different from their own. Many of these women had children before they were confronted with the women's movement which suggested that they might not be satisfied to stay at home, presenting them with a dilemma at a time when they were less able to make choices for themselves because of their existing responsibilities. The women in this group in the current study show self esteem as the most consistent predictor of life satisfaction, as did the other groups, but they also showed high Emotional Reliance on Others and being in the High Separate/Low Connected group predicted lower life satisfaction. These results suggest a confusion for these women between their connections to others and their status as individuals interested in more individual achievements as evidenced by their High Separate/Low Connected status. One possibility is that it is the quality of these women's relationships that may be a factor in their evaluation of Emotional Reliance on Others as a predictor of life satisfaction. This would be an direction for future research.

In a sense the women's movement is least relevant to the personal life satisfaction of women in the oldest age group. For them life satisfaction is primarily focused on the past, on how they have lived their lives and the choices they made or

perhaps did not have, though current conditions of their lives may also affect their evaluation of their life satisfaction. Perhaps for these women what matters is only how they view themselves and their lives. The data are consistent with this view in that self esteem was the only predictor of life satisfaction in these women. Self orientation group did not predict life satisfaction for these older women. They were not confronted with the choices the women's movement offers to the young women of today, nor were they confused by the messages of the women's movement once they had started families or entered the work force.

Furthermore, women in this older age group may have included some who were "empty-nesters" as well as some women who still had children at home, though it is reasonable to expect most children of women 55 and older would be grown. Future research could attempt to separate this group into older women who continue to have child responsibilities and those who do not. Another possible distinction in this older group might be between women who are married, widowed, divorced, or married to a retired or not retired spouse. It is possible that employment and children would show differing salience to life satisfaction if these distinctions could be made.

Elder's (1979) work on cohort differences suggests historical change can influence life patterns and personality. Other work cited above has shown no cohort differences in life satisfaction. Future research must address these issues longitudinally in order to separate what might be developmental factors in contribution to life satisfaction and what might be the influence of historical context. Ravenna Helson and her colleagues (Helson, Mitchell, & Moane, 1984) have suggested the use

of a "social clock" framework for understanding life span development. They argue

for a reciprocal influence between life events and personality: who we are affects life

choices and life events, but these in turn affect who we are. Individuals who engage in

on-time social clock projects, such as beginning families in their twenties or early

thirties, for example, may develop differently than individuals who complete these

tasks off-time, or perhaps not at all. Future research might also examine how separate

and connected self orientations might shape life experiences and how those in turn

might affect separate and connected self orientations over time. Separate and

connected self orientations have not been examined longitudinally for consistency over

time and this would also be relevant information.

A related idea, and one which may also be relevant to the results of this study,

is possible shifts in salience of variables with age. Particularly in regard to the

shifting pattern of separate/connected groups and life satisfaction, it is possible that

these personality characteristics may carry different priorities and meanings for women

of different ages. But in addition, other variables such as quality of relationships,

family and career concerns, and interpersonal dependency issues may mean different

things to women at different ages as well. This possibility is evident in the current

data based on results for hypothesis 2. For women in the oldest age group only, the

interpersonal dependency measure of Emotional Reliance on Others dropped out of

significance as a predictor of life satisfaction when all variables were entered into the

final model. This suggests that this association may be of decreasing relevance to life

satisfaction in later years.

Research using the RSI to examine self orientation and its relevance to different outcome variables seems intriguing and appropriate. Ideally a longitudinal study could follow the self orientations of individuals over time, and the possible changing influences of those orientations in regard to life events and life choices.

Another more specific line of research could examine predictions of satisfaction with different types of occupations and careers in relation to separate and connected self orientations, both in the context of family considerations and without those considerations.

The current study has shown that differences do exist in constellations of life satisfaction for women in three different age groups. Consistent with previous research, this work also identifies self esteem as the most consistent predictor of women's satisfaction with their lives. It is noteworthy that the proposed model here was supported only in the youngest age group. Two considerations might be relevant to this outcome.

First, developmental theory would suggest that for younger people, personality traits, such as having a Separate or Connected Self orientation, might be more salient to evaluations of one's life than for older people for whom life experiences may shape those evaluations to a greater degree. In effect, as we grow older we have more data with which to evaluate our lives. Our priorities change and different considerations take precedence. This added maturity in the older age groups may begin to explain why the Separate and Connected self orientation groups were meaningful predictors of life satisfaction in the youngest group only.

If we consider also that the vast majority of social science research has been conducted with college student populations, it should not surprise us that our predictions fit more easily with that group's data. Perhaps we have only begun to learn how we must ask our questions differently for individuals who have achieved more advanced levels of maturity and have more complex lives. Future research should also be open to these issues and consider giving more attention to the experience of older populations. These older individuals, with their varied and shared experiences, may provide us with rich information about constellations of life satisfaction.

It should be noted that the data used in this study were collected several years ago and do not contain some information that might be quite useful and interesting now. No data on the race or ethnic group of the women were collected. At the time of this data collection, questions of this sort were considered inappropriate because of their use in the past to draw conclusions based on differences between racial and ethnic groups. The prevailing climate dictated avoiding any separating of groups in general. Therefore, any conclusions drawn from this study cannot address those differences. Results of this study apply only to a particular group of women who attended an on campus College Week, an adult enrichment program sponsored by the Home Extension Service of Michigan State University and a group of undergraduates at MSU. While specific information is not available on the diversity of the sample, College Week attendees were mostly Caucasion, while the undergraduate population from which the present sample was drawn includes about 9% non-caucasion students.

In conclusion, the study of Separate and Connected Self orientations and their possible relevance to many aspects of women's lives (and men's lives as well) is a new and open line of research. The RSI now offers the possibility of examining self orientation in regard to many other variables and providing new information about development of the self.

APPENDICES

RELATIONSHIP SELF INVENTORY (RSI)

Instructions: Read each statement below and decide how much it describes you. Using the following rating scale, select the most appropriate response and blacken the corresponding circle on the answer sheet.

Not like
me at all

Very much
like me

1   2   3   4   5

1. I believe I must care for myself because others are not concerned with my needs.

2. When I help someone I feel good because I've done my duty.

3. What is right is right.

4. It's worse for me to be a failure in my chosen vocation than to have no one with whom to share my life.

5. Activities of care that I perform expand both me and others.

6. Caring about other people is important to me.

7. True responsibility involves making sure my needs are cared for as well as the needs of others.

8. I enjoy taking care of my own health.

9. Love is an activity, not something you have.

10. I believe that in order to survive I must concentrate more on taking care of myself than on taking care of others.

11. I try not think about the feelings of others when there is a principle at stake.

12. It's hard for me to tell others how much I care about them.

13. Doing things for others makes me happy.

14. Sometimes I have to accept hurting someone else if I am to do the things that are important in my own life.

15. If other people are going to sacrifice something they want for my sake I want them to understand what they are doing.

16. I want to learn to stand on my own two feet.

17. All you really need to do to help someone is to love them.

18. I can feel confident in myself even when I do not have the approval of those who are close to me.

19. If someone does something for me, I reciprocate by doing something for them.

20. I like to acquire many acquaintances and friends.

21. In choosing a vocation, helping others is more important to me than money, prestige, or personal challenge.

22. I cannot always do what my loved ones want if it causes me to make a sacrifice.

23. When I am feeling "needy," I am comfortable asking others to help out rather than doing it all myself.

24. In a close relationship you nearly always give up more than you get.

25. When I make a decision it's important to use my own values to make the right choice.

26. I expect others to treat me as I treat them.

27. I like competing with others.

28. Relationships are a central part of my identity.

29. If someone offers to do something for me, I should accept the offer even if I really want something else.

30. Even though I am sensitive to others' feelings, I make decisions based upon what I feel is best for me.

31. I feel better when I choose to do a favor than when I think that I am expected to.

32. The feelings of others are not relevant when deciding what is right.

33. I try to approach relationships with the same organization and efficiency as I approach my work.

34. Those about whom I care deeply are part of who I am.

35. I cannot choose to help someone else if it will hinder my self-development.

36. The worst thing that could happen in a friendship would be to have my friend reject me.

37. I do not want others to responsible for me.

38. I no longer think this way, but I used to believe that the greatest good is self-sacrifice.

39. It is necessary for me to take responsibility for the effect my actions have on others.

40. I cannot afford to give attention to the opinions of others when I am certain I am correct.

41. Loving is like a contract: If its provisions aren't met, you wouldn't love the person any more.

42. Being unselfish with others is a way I make myself happy.

43. I deserve the love of others as much as they deserve my love.

44. If someone asks me for a favor I have a responsibility to think about whether or not I want to do the favor.

45. Sometime others do for me what I want to be able to do for myself.

46. I feel empty if I'm not closely involved with someone else.

47. When a friend traps me with demands and negotiation has not worked, I am likely to end the friendship.

48. I find it hard to sympathize with people whose misfortunes I believe are due mainly to their own shortcomings.

49. I like to see myself as interconnected with a network of friends.

50. I often try to act on the belief that self-interest is one of the worst problems facing society.

51. Sometimes I think I do too much for others and not enough for myself.

52. Those who are strong and happy deserve my care as much as those who are needy.

53. I believe that I must care for myself because others are not responsible for me.

54. The people whom I admire are those who seem to be in close personal relationships.

55. I make decisions based upon what I believe is best for me and mine.

56. In my everyday life I am guided by the notion of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

57. I believe that one of the most important things that parents can teach their children is how to cooperate and live in harmony with others.

58. Even though it's difficult, I have learned to say no to others when I need to take care of myself.

59. Sometimes a good way to support others is to tell them of your own faults and problems.

60. In order to continue a relationship it has to let both of us grow.

61. The best way to help someone is to do what they ask even if you don't really want to do it.

62. I often tell people what to do when they are having trouble making a decision.

63. Being unselfish with others is more important than making myself happy.

64. If I am to help another person it is important to me to understand my own motives.

65. I want to be responsible for myself.

66. I feel that my development has been shaped more by the persons I care about than by what I do and accomplish.

67. I accept my obligations and expect others to do the same.

68. I try to curb my anger for fear of hurting others.

69. I no longer think this way, but I used to believe that true responsibility is the same as caring for others, even if it means less care for myself.

70. If I knew I were to die within the year, I would be more concerned for my loved ones than for my unfinished occupational goals.

71. Sometimes a good way to give to others is to tell them what you need for yourself.

72. What it all boils down to is that the only person I can rely on is myself.

73. I would never compromise something I truly believe in.

74. To sustain a relationship I play many roles.

75. I don't feel very pleased with myself if I help someone "automatically" without thinking of what I'm doing.

76. Once I've worked out my position on some issue I stick to it.

77. In making decisions, I can neglect my own values in order to keep a relationship.

78. When I am feeling "needy," I think I have the right to ask others to help out rather than doing it all myself.

79. You've got to look out for yourself or the demands of circumstances and other people will eat you up.

80. When dealing with a tough situation, my first concern is to be fair.

81. To keep the relationships going, I often tell others I care more about them than I really do.

82. When important changes are going on in my life, I like to retreat into myself for awhile.

83. I believe that I have to look out for myself and mine, and let others shift for themselves.

84. If what I want to do upsets other people, I try to think again to see if I really want to do it.

85. Before I can be sure I really care for someone I have to know my true feelings and reasons.

86. Being your own person is doing what ever you want, as long as you do not step on other people's rights or wants.

87. I will not let others help me unless I can do the same thing for them.

88. My own personal achievements are rarely important enough to justify causing hurt and pain to others.

89. If I am really sure that what I want to do is right, I do it even if it upsets other people.

90. To really help someone, it is as important to know them and their desires as it is to love them.

91. I am guided by the principle of treating others as I want to be treated.

92. I often keep quiet rather than hurt someone's feelings, even if it means giving a false impression.

93. A close friend is someone who will help you whenever you need help and knows you will help if they need it.

94. I don't often do much for others unless they can do some good for me later on.

95. People who don't work hard to accomplish respectable goals can't expect me to help when they're in trouble.

ITEM-SCALE TOTAL CORRELATIONS AND SCALE RELIABILITIES OF
THE RELATIONSHIP SELF INVENTORY
BY SCALES

Inventory number	Scale	Item-Total correlations*	
		Women	Men
	Separate-Objective Self		
47. I believe that in order to survive I must concentrate more on taking care of myself than on taking care of others.		.50	.49
13. I try not to think about the feelings of others when there is a principle at stake.		.36	.37
34. Even though I am sensitive to others' feelings, I make decisions based upon what I feel is best for me.		.31	.41
43. The feelings of others are not relevant when deciding what is right.		.39	.47
58. I try to approach relationships with the same organization and efficiency as I approach my work.		.21	.36
3. I cannot choose to help someone else if it will hinder my self-development.		.50	.58
53. I cannot afford to give attention to the opinions of others when I am certain I am correct.		.45	.59
9. Loving is like a contract: if its provisions aren't met, you wouldn't love the person any more.		.41	.36
21. When a friend traps me with demands and negotiation has not worked, I am likely to end the friendship.		.32	.36
6. I find it hard to sympathize with people whose misfortunes I believe are cue mainly to their own shortcomings.		.43	.53

Inventory number	Scale	Item-Total correlations*	
		Women	Men
45. I make decisions based upon what I believe is best for me and mine.		.32	.46
10. In my everyday life I am guided by the notion of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."		.43	.62
33. What it all boils down to is that the only person I can rely on is myself.		.40	.48
52. You've got to look out for yourself or the demands of circumstances and other people will eat you up.		.46	.54
19. I believe that I have to look out for myself and mine, and let others shift for themselves.		.57	.71
14. I don't often do much for others unless they can do some good for me later on.		.41	.49
26. People who don't work hard to accomplish respectable goals can't expect me to help when they're in trouble.		.47	.56

Connected/Relational Self Scale

15. Activities of care that I perform ' expand both me and others.		.50	.60
55. Caring about other people is important to me.		.59	.67
49. Doing things for others makes me happy.		.51	.60
54. If someone does something for me, I reciprocate by doing something for them.		.42	.52
60. I like to acquire many acquaintances and friends.		.43	.30

Inventory number	Scale	Item-Total correlations* Women Men	

Inventory number / Scale	Women	Men
27. Relationships are a central part of my identity.	.48	.39
37. Those about whom I care deeply are part of who I am.	.51	.45
41. It is necessary for me to take responsibility for the effect my actions have on others.	.40	.46
20. Being unselfish with others is a way I make myself happy.	.38	.35
36. I like to see myself as interconnected with a network of friends.	.42	.30
12. I believe that one of the most important things that parents can teach their children is how to cooperate and live in harmony with others.	.41	.44
18. I am guided by the principle of treating others as I want to be treated.	.39	.45

Primacy of Other Care

	Women	Men
50. All you really need to do to help someone is to love them.	.29	.35
29. If someone offers to domething for me, I should accept the offer even if I really want something else.	.41	.44
30. The worst thing that could happen in a friendship would be to have my friend reject me.	.35	.47
22. I feel empty if I'm not closely involved with someone else.	.32	.36

Inventory number	Scale	Item-Total correlations*	
		Women	Men
1. I often try to act on the belief that self-interest is one of the worst problems facing society.		.30	.33
40. The people whom I admire are those who seem to be in close personal relationships.		.33	.26
48. The best way to help someone is to do what they ask even if you don't really want to do it.		.43	.30
8. Being unselfish with others is more important than making myself happy.		.48	.52
25. I feel that my development has been shaped more by the persons I care about than by what I do and accomplish.		.37	.19
7. I try to curb my anger for fear of hurting others.		.41	.46
5. In making decisions, I can neglect my own values in order to keep a relationship.		.28	.23
16. If what I want to do upsets other people, I try to think again to see if I really want to do it.		.26	.30
28. I often keep quiet rather than hurt someone's feelings, even if it means giving a false impression.		.43	.45
2. A close friend is someone who will help you whenever you need help and knows that you will help if they need it.		.34	.27

Self and Other Care Chosen Freely

42. True responsibility involves making sure my need are cared for as well as the needs of others.		.38	.40

Inventory number	Scale	Item-Total correlations* Women	Men
23. Sometimes I have to accept hurting someone else.		.30	.17
56. If other people are going to sacrifice something they want for my sake I want them to understand what they are doing.		.40	.44
11. I want to learn to stand on my own two feet.		.53	.59
17. I do not want others to be responsible for me.		.35	.46
51. I deserve the love of others as much as they deserve my love.		.31	.32
44. If someone asks me for a favor I have a responsibility to think about whether or not I want to do the favor.		.43	.40
39. I believe that I must care for myself because others are not responsible for me.		.45	.46
35. Even though it's difficult, I have learned to say no to others when I need to take care of myself.		.31	.42
24. In order to continue a relationship, it has to let both of us grow.		.52	.40
59. If I am to help another person, it is important to me to understand my own motives.		.47	.38
4. I want to be responsible for myself.		.63	.50
38. I accept my obligations and expect others to do the same.		.47	.51
32. Before I can be sure I really care for someone I have to know my true feelings.		.37	.32

Inventory number	Scale	Item-Total correlations* Women	Men
57. When I make a decision it's important to use my own values to make the right choice.		.43	.45
31. If I am really sure that what I want to do is right, I do it even if it upsets others.		.42	.46

*Corrected for item overlap

Relationship Self Inventory
Internal Consistencies (Cronbach's Alpha)

	Separate Self	Connected Self	Primacy of Other Care	Self and Other Care
Women (n=930)	.77	.76	.68	.78

Relationship Self Inventory

Scale Alphas by Age Groups

Age Groups	Separate/ Objective Self	Connected/ Relational Self	Primacy of Other Care	Self and Other Care Chosen Freely
16-18 (n=146)	.82	.80	.67	.77
19-20 (n=277)	.82	.76	.68	.77
21-29 (n=176)	.83	.75	.72	.77
30-41 (n=167)	.75	.75	.65	.79
42-55 (n=192)	.72	.72	.67	.75
56-78 (n=183)	.80	.80	.67	.78

Means and Standard Deviations

Scale	Total Sample (n=604)		Women (n=465)	
Revised Relationship Self Inventory	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Connected Self[1]	4.1	.51	4.1	.51
Separate Self[1]	2.6	.53	2.5	.51
Psychological Adjustment Scales				
Assertion of Autonomy[2]	26.6	6.3	26.6	7.9
Emotional Reliance[3]	41.4	9.2	39.6	9.2
Rosenberg Self Esteem[4]	3.2	.51	3.2	.57

[1] = 5 point scale
[2] = Total score 1 - 56
[3] = Total score 1 - 72
[4] = 4 point scale

Means & Standard Deviations on RSI Scales for Younger & Older Women

Scale	All Women (N= 465)		Women 16-29 (N= 144)		Women 30-78 (N= 320)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Connected Self	4.1	.51	4.1	.43	4.1	.56
Separate Self	2.5	.50	2.5	.51	2.5	.51

INTERPERSONAL DEPENDENCY SCALE

Instructions: Look at each of the items below and decide the extent to which each is characteristic of you. Blacken the number that best corresponds to how you see yourself. Use the following scale to make your response.

Not characteristic of me	Somewhat characteristic of me	Quite characteristic of me	Very characteristic of me
1	2	3	4

1. I prefer to be by myself.

2. When I have a decision to make, I always ask for advice.

3. I do my best work when I know it will be appreciated.

4. I can't stand being fussed over when I am sick.

5. I would rather be a follower than a leader.

6. I believe people could do a lot more for me if they wanted to.

7. As a child, pleasing my parents was very important to me.

8. I don't need other people to make me feel good.

9. Disapproval by someone I care about is very painful to me.

10. I feel confident of my ability to deal with most of the personal problems I am likely to meet in life.

11. I'm the only person I want to please.

12. The idea of losing a close personal friend is terrifying to me.

13. I am quick to agree with opinions expressed by others.

14. I rely only on myself.

15. I would be completely lost if I didn't have someone special.

16. I get upset when someone discovers a mistake I've made.

17. It is hard for me to ask someone for a favor.

18. I hate it when people offer me sympathy.

19. I easily get discouraged when I don't get what I need from others.

20. In an argument, I give in easily.

21. I don't need much from people.

22. I must have one person who is very special to me.

23. When I go to a party, I expect that other people will like me.

24. I feel better when I know someone else is in command.

25. When I am sick, I prefer that my friends leave me alone.

26. I'm never happier than when people say I've done a good job.

27. It is hard for me to make up my mind about a TV show or movie until I know what other people think.

28. I am willing to disregard other people's feelings in order to accomplish something that's important to me.

29. I need to have one person who puts me above all others.

30. In social situations I tend to be very self-conscious.

31. I don't need anyone.

32. I have a lot of trouble making decisions myself.

33. I tend to imagine the worst if a loved one doesn't arrive when expected.

34. Even when things go wrong I can get along without asking for help from my friends.

35. I tend to expect too much from others.

36. I don't like to buy clothes by myself.

37. I tend to be a loner.

38. I feel that I never really get all that I need from people.

39. When I meet new people, I'm afraid that I won't do the right thing.

40. Even if most people turned against me, I could still go on if someone I love stood by me.

41. I would rather stay free of involvements with others than to risk disappointments.

42. What people think of me doesn't affect how I feel./

43. I think that most people don't realize how easily they can hurt me.

44. I am very confident about my own judgment.

45. I have always had a terrible fear that I will lose the love and support of people I desperately need.

46. I don't have what it takes to be a good leader.

47. I would feel helpless if deserted by someone I love.

48. What other people say doesn't bother me.

Emotional Reliance on Others scale includes items:
13, 16, 17, 19, 22, 25, 26,29, 32, 36, 39, 43, 45, 50, 53, 55, 57, 57.

Assertion of Autonomy scale includes items:
1, 4, 8, 11, 14, 18, 21, 25, 28, 31, 34, 37, 42, 48.

Life Satisfaction - Well-Being

Instructions: Below are some questions about how you feel about things. Answer each item by deciding whether you are delighted with it, feel that it is terrible, or you feel somewhere in between about it. Using the same small brown answer sheet, blacken the circle corresponding to your responses. Use the following scale to make your responses.

1	2	3	4	5
Delighted	Mostly Satisfied	Mixed About equally Satisfied and Dissatisfied	Mostly Dissatisfied	Terrible

How are you feeling about...

1. ...what you are accomplishing in your life?

2. ...your independence or freedom--the chance you have to do   what you want?

3. ...how much you are admired or respected by other people?

4. ...how much you are accepted and included by others?

5. ...how much you are really contributing to other people's   lives?

6. ...the extent of care you give to people who are important
   to you?

7. ...in general, how you feel about your life as a whole?

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory

Instructions: Read each statement below and decide how much it describes you. Using the following rating scale, select the most appropriate response and blacken the corresponding circle on the answer sheet.

1. I feel I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with   others.

2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

3. All in all, I am inclined to feel I am a failure.

4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.

5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.

9. I certainly feel useless at times.

10. At times I think I am no good at all.

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