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COLLEGE WOMEN AND IDENTITY

By

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ABSTRACT

COLLEGE WOMEN AND IDENTITY

by

Susanne Sommers

This study is concerned with a number of issues related to identity

formation among college women. As conceptualized by Erikson (1968),

this life-long process of self definition and re-definition includes a

series of critical junctures during which specific developmental tasks

become particularly salient. Existing empirical evidence (e.g.,

Constantinople, 1969; Marcia and Friedman, 1970; Marcia and Toder, 1973)

based on college samples indicates that this process may be more

problematic for women than for men.

Subjects were 106 female M.S.U. students who responded to a number

of paper-and-pencil instruments: a demographic questionnaire, an

Eriksonian-based identity measure, and the Bem Sex Role Inventory.

Also included were a "happy woman" projective instrument, designed to

assess what these women perceived as important components of their

identity as adults, and an objective-choice question concerned with

how subjects envisioned thmselves balancing the demands of childcare

with the demands of employment outside the home.

Questions addressed in this study included the impact of a psychology

of women course upon the course participants' identity scores, their

scores on the Bem Sex Role Inventory, and the content of their "happy

woman" stories. This course dealt specifically with identity issues of

importance to women and also offered its participants opportunities to discuss these issues among themselves.

A secondary set of questions (so labeled because subject selection precluded adequate testing of the hypotheses) involved the impact of educational level upon these same variables. Finally, the question concerning the relationship between subjects' identity scores and their BSRI scores was considered.

Results indicated that participation in the psychology of women course was not significantly related to subjects' identity scores, their BSRI scores, or the content of the happy woman stories (assessment was conducted on different groups of subjects at the beginning and at the end of the course). There was a tendency, however, toward better, although statistically insignificant, identity scores among the women assessed at the end of the course, as compared with control group women enrolled in an introductory psychology course.

Although the women comprising the four educational groups were non-randomly selected subjects, the results regarding educational level tended to confirm previous empirical findings of better identity achievement among senior women (in this case, all declared psychology majors enrolled in psychology of women courses), particularly when compared with freshmen. Educational level was not related to subjects' scores on the BSRI.

Subjects' scores on the Eriksonian-based identity measure were found to be significantly related to scores on the Bem Sex Role Inventory. The tendency was for androgynous women (who scored high on both the Masculine and the Feminine scales of the BSRI) and sometimes,

masculine-oriented women (who scored high on the Masculine scale and low on the Feminine scale) to score better in terms of relative identity achievement.

As regards these women's perceptions of that which is important to their identity as adults: analysis of the projective stories indicated that for the majority of these subjects, having it all--marriage, children, and a career--is now the ideal model for having successfully addressed the issues of love and work. Despite this ideal (which appears to reflect a modified version of the traditional feminine role), many of these same women indicated their willingness to interrupt their careers in order to care for their young children. The majority of subjects also indicated their awareness of some of the risks associated with this choice.

The few content differences in the happy woman stories were found among the stories of the senior women. These stories contained more frequent references to the importance of feeling successful at work, of feeling free to pursue other than the traditional feminine role, and of successfully having confronted and/or resolved issues pertaining to one's identity. This same group of women (again, all psychology majors enrolled in women's courses) also departed from the majority response to the objective choice question. Unlike the majority of subjects, who envisioned themselves stopping work in order to stay home with their young children, these women often envisioned themselves as foregoing having children altogether.

Suggestions for future research included the continued examination of the relationship between level of ego functioning and sex role orientation. Also offered was a reconsideration of the Eriksonian-based identity measure and its applicability to the assessment of women.

For Roberta Muldoon

and

the

Under Toad

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A Developmental Framework

In large part, the following study is concerned with the process of

identity formation: in this case, what current, college-aged women at

a large, Midwestern university perceive as important components of

their identity as adults and the manner in which they seek to realize

this identity. As defined by Erikson (1968), identity, or more specifi-

cally, ego identity, is

> The conscious feeling of having a personal identity...based on
> two simultaneous observations: the perception of the selfsameness
> and continuity of one's existence in time and space and the
> perception of the fact that others recognize one's sameness and
> continuity...ego identity...concerns more than the mere fact
> of existence; it is, as it were, the ego quality of this
> existence. Ego identity, then, in its subjective aspect, is
> the awareness of the fact that there is a self sameness and
> continuity to the ego's synthesizing methods, the style of
> one's individuality, and this style coincides with the sameness
> and continuity of one's meaning for significant others in the
> immediate community. (p.50)

Broadly, this much bantered, almost platitudinous term involves questions

concerning who one is: who one is, in relation to both oneself and to

others; who one is, by virtue of the contributions made by one's biology,

one's individual, personal history, and by one's culture.

Barring the occurrence of "identity foreclosure," a premature,

"totalistic" solidification of one's definition of oneself, the process

of identity formation is on-going and life-long, although particular

components, or "tasks" of this process of being and becoming are more

salient at particular points--phases, stages, "passages," "crises" of

development than are others. Erikson defines these developmental crises

not as periods of catastrophe, but rather, as necessary turning points,

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crucial moments, "when development must move one way or another, marshalling the resources of growth, recovery, and further differentiation." (p. 16)

Erikson's stages, together with their concommitant tasks are summarized in Table 1. The task during infancy, or during the "oral" stage of psychosexual development, as Freud has defined it, revolves around the establishment of trust, if development proceeds well, or of mistrust, if development proceeds less fortunately. The task of toddlerhood (the "anal" period) becomes the establishment of a solid sense of autonomy, as opposed to feelings toward the self characterized by shame and doubt. During early childhood (the "phallic" period), the developmental task becomes the struggle between feelings of initiative, as opposed to feelings of guilt. The school-aged ("latency" period) child becomes engaged with feelings involving a sense of industry, as opposed to feelings of inferiority.

If the child comes to adolescence having resolved sufficiently each of these earlier developmental tasks, or crises, on the "positive" side of the equation, so that he or she brings to adolescence sufficient trust, autonomy, initiative, and industry--together with all of the behaviors and emotions the labels themselves do not quite convey--he or she is in a better position than the child who has been less successful in the resolution of these crises, to tackle the primary task of adolescence, the establishment of a sense of identity, as opposed to a state of identity confusion.

This is a task which often involves the re-fighting of earlier developmental struggles, albeit in different forms. Thus, as indicated

				Ideological Commitment versus Confusion of Values			INTEGRITY versus DESPAIR
				Leader-and Followership versus Authority Confusion		GENERATIVITY versus STAGNATION	
				Sexual Polarization versus Bisexual Confusion	INTIMACY versus ISOLATION		
Mutual Recognition versus Autistic Isolation	Will to Be Oneself versus Self-Doubt	Anticipation of Roles versus Role Inhibition	Task Identification versus Sense of Futility	IDENTITY versus IDENTITY CONFUSION			
			INDUSTRY versus INFERIORITY	Apprenticeship versus Work Paralysis			
		INITIATIVE versus GUILT		Role Experimentation versus Role Fixation			
	AUTONOMY versus SHAME, DOUBT			Self-Certainty versus Self-Consciousness			
TRUST versus MISTRUST				Temporal Perspective versus Time Confusion			

TABLE 1

Erikson's Epigenetic Chart

by Table 1, trust issues, involving the individual's ability to operate from an adequate time perspective (this includes one's ability to review and accept the past and plan for the future: a much more difficult task, if one remains mired in "autistic isolation") again become prominent during the stage of identity establishment. Autonomy issues replay themselves in regard to whether the individual is able to assert and maintain feelings of self certainty, or whether he or she remains plagued by a sense of awkward, painful self consciousness. Initiative-related issues resurface as regards whether the individual is willing to engage in role experimentation, as opposed to suffering the effects of role confusion, fixation, or inhibition. Early industry struggles re-assert themselves in relation to work: whether the person feels confident of being able to mobilize energies in order to confront tasks, or suffers the effects of work paralysis.

The difficulty of the identity-achievement task is compounded, in the American culture at least, by the discontinuity the adolescence period creates between the child's previous images, experiences, and expectations of him or herself as a child, and the new images and expectations demanded of him or her as an adolescent (Benedict, 1938). Equally, the beginning and endpoints of the many years encompassed by the term, "adolescence," are only ambiguously defined. Adolescence appears to be the period of time which begins with the biological changes of puberty and ends with the culture's acceptance of the individual as an adult, one who is entitled to adult responsibilities and privileges (McKinney, 1977). For those who spend long years in the pursuit of professional training, this period may not formally and officially end until one's mid-to-late

twenties or early thirties,,. Specifically adolescent identity-
related issues are thus relevant to the college-aged women who are the
subjects of this study.

The three remaining stages, together with their concommitant tasks,
are, as noted in Table 1, foreshadowed by the adolescent struggle for
identity: "intimacy vs. isolation," which refers to the individual's
ability to form meaningful, intimate relationships with persons of the
same and other sex; "generativity vs. stagnation," which involves the
adult's relative ability or inability to give of him or herself to
others, either in the role of parent, and/or in his professional or other
activities; and "integrity vs. despair," when, "...the individual reaches
the fullness of adulthood...reviews himself and his lifestyle, and feels
a sense of wholeness or integrity, rather than despairing at his lot in
life." (Erikson, p. 139).

Passages: Erikson's Theory Popularized

Whether intended or not, journalist and author, Gail Sheehy, has
managed to popularize the broad outlines of Erikson's theory, by casting
his psychological concepts in contemporary terms. This study, in part,
seeks to examine the aspirations and desires of college-aged women, the
majority of whom are between the ages of 18 and 22. The writer was,
therefore, particularly interested in Ms. Sheehy's depictions of the
"passages" related to these years, "Pulling Up Roots" and the "Trying
Twenties."

Of the Pulling Up Roots passage, Sheehy notes, "In an attempt to
separate our view of the world from our family's view, despite vigorous

protestations to the contrary—'I know exactly what I want'—we cast around for any beliefs we can call our own." (p. 37) Sheehy details the tasks of this passage as locating oneself in a peer group, a sex role, an anticipated occupation, and an ideology or world view. She also addresses a number of this passage's major conflicts: the striving for independence and separation and the fear that one will fail; the replacement of parents by peers and the betrayal felt when those peers diverge from the newly founded "family"; and the incessant tug-of-war between the independently-oriented "seeker" self and the security-loving "merger" self which may be inclined to "piggyback" its development by attaching itself to a supposedly "stronger one." As a result of confronting the struggles of redefinition and of relocation inherent in Pulling Up Roots, "...we gather the impetus to leave home physically, and the identity to begin leaving home emotionally." (p. 39)

The period of Pulling Up Roots is succeeded, in Sheehy's formulation, by the Trying Twenties. During this time, the individual confronts the question of "how to take hold in the adult world. Our focus shifts from the interior turmoils of late adolescence—'Who am I?' 'What is truth?'— and we become totally preoccupied with working out the externals." (p. 39) In describing the characteristics of this period, Sheehy draws attention to the pervasive theme of the "should's," inherited largely from family models, "the press of the culture, or the prejudices of our peers"; the fearful, but mostly illusory conviction that choices made during this period will prove to be irrevocable; and the constant warring between the impulse to make a binding commitment (which brings with it, the accompanying danger of being "locked in," or, as Erikson would label it,

"foreclosed") and the impulse to experiment and explore (which brings with it the danger of never making a commitment, or remaining "transient," in Sheehy's terms, or "diffused," as Erikson would label it).

Sheehy follows her discussion of the Trying Twenties with equally deft depictions of "Catch-30," "Rooting and Extending," "The Deadline Decade," and "Renewal and Resignation," thus providing a lively, readable, and accurate expansion of the information condensed in Table 1.

Loving and Working Well: Concomitants of Identity Achievement

As noted earlier, this study, in its broadest sense, deals with the process of identity formation. As Havighurst (1951), in writing of this task during the period of adolescence, notes, and as Sheehy reiterates, this process involves attention to and mastery of a variety of emotions and behaviors: locating oneself in a peer group, a sex role, an antici-pated occupation, and an ideology or world view. This process of "locating" oneself, although it begins in adolescence, is also quite relevant to the college-aged women who are the subjects of this study.

This study is primarily concerned, however, with two issues, the resolution of which seems to be vital to one's sense of identity: the desire and striving for intimacy, and the desire and striving for meaningful work. In deciding to focus on these two issues, the writer took her cue from Erikson, who took his cue from Freud:

> Freud was once asked what he thought a normal person should be able to do well. The questioner probably expected a complicated, "deep" answer. But Freud simply said, "Lieben und Arbeiten" (to love and to work)... When Freud said, "love," he meant the generosity of intimacy, as well as genital love; when he said love and work, he meant a general work productiveness which would not preoccupy the individual to the extent that he might lose his right or capacity to be a sexual and loving being. (Erikson, 1968, p. 136)

A primary question of interest in this study is how college-aged women at a large Midwestern university during the mid-to-late seventies define the terms, "love" and "work" for themselves, together with the strategies these women envision themselves engaging in so that one, the other, or both are included in their lives.

Erikson's Theory and Women's Development: Some Reservations

The writer has devoted considerable space to Erik Erikson's theoretical formulations, including Gail Sheehy's contemporary rendering of this theory. The reasons for this decision were multiple. They included: the prominent position accorded Erikson's psychosocial theory by current, academic psychology and the centrality of the concept of identity within the theory; the fact that the broad outlines and sequencing of the theory have been validated empirically (although primarily in regard to male subjects); and the reality that for the writer and for many others, the theory makes powerful intuitive sense. One of the major instruments employed in this study (see <u>Methods</u> section) is based upon the theory pertaining to the first sex of Erikson's eight stages.

It might be noted, however, that Erikson's theory has escaped neither doubt nor criticism, especially as regards the degree to which the theory incorporates certain psychoanalytic and cultural biases. These biases become particularly critical in relation to Erikson's treatment of women's development, a problematical area for psychologists generally. Despite the humanity with which he writes, Erikson emerges as quite the traditionalist, as in "Womanhood and Inner Space" (1968), he poses a kindly wrought, yet distinctly recognizeable version of the anatomy-is-destiny argument:

But how does the identity formation of women differ by dint of the fact that their somatic design harbors an "inner space" destined to bear the offspring of chosen men and, with it, a biological, psychological, and ethical commitment to take care of human infancy? Is not the disposition for this commitment (whether it be combined with a career, and even whether or not it be realized in actual motherhood) the core problem of female fidelity? (p. 266)

Questions exist as to whether or not a woman may attain an acceptable or healthy identity status without either filling or fulfilling her "inner space." Equally, other writers (see next section, "Women and Identity Achievement") question whether it is necessary for any individual to make both an occupational and intimacy-related commitment in order to secure a solid sense of identity.

With these reservations in mind, the writer will discuss briefly three areas which are related directly to the issue of identity achievement among women: studies which focus specifically upon the process of women's identity achievement (locating oneself in an ideology), as the issue is approached from an Eriksonian framework; issues relating to women, work, and achievement (locating oneself in an occupation), as traditionally defined by psychologists; and the concept of psychological androgyny (locating oneself in a sex role).

* * * *

Women and Identity Achievement: Locating Oneself in an Ideology

There is some evidence, based upon empirical examination of Erikson's theory which supports the outline and sequencing of this theory. Evidence also suggests that identity achievement—which includes as central tasks, the resolution of ideological and occupational commitments—is more difficult for women than for men in this culture. James Marcia (1966,

1970), who, both by himself and in conjunction with other investigators, has conducted a good bit of the research in this area, has developed an interview technique by which he categorizes his subjects in terms of their relative identity achievement. Subjects are categorized as being either in the stage of "identity achievement" (those who have resolved the identity crisis and are committed to an occupational goal and ideology); "moratorium" (those who are in a crisis period and whose commitments are currently vague); "identity foreclosure" (those who have avoided the experience of crisis by making their occupational and ideological commitments on the basis of what others want them to become); or "identity diffusion" (those who are characterized primarily by a lack of commitment and who either may or may not be in crisis).

Following is a summary of the results of several studies of college-aged women in which Marcia's interview technique was employed. Marcia and Friedman (1970) in a study of 49 senior college women, found that female identity achievers carried more difficult majors and had lower self esteem scores. In contrast, foreclosures had higher self esteem scores, as well as more authoritarianism and anxiety. The authors conclude from their data that the foreclosure status may be particularly "adaptive" to women because their self esteem is higher than that of identity achievers. The authors also note, however, that such a conclusion poses a dilemma. It suggests that in order to be adaptive, a woman must either tolerate anxiety as a foreclosure, or must, as an identity achiever, tolerate low self esteem.

Other identity researchers, owever, do not support the Marcia and Friedman findings, and, in fact, report an inverse relationship between

anxiety and identity status in females (i.e., the better the identity status, the lower the anxiety). Schenkel and Marcia (1972) found that female identity achievers were higher in self esteem and less anxious than the subjects in the Marcia and Friedman study. The authors note, however, that this study involved a new generation of college women at a smaller college. Marcia and Toder (1973) reaffirm the contention that the task of achieving an identity is, indeed, more disruptive for women than for men: "It would appear that there is still more social support for the male while he breaks away from parental values and experiments with new roles than there is for the female, who can apparently count on less support."

Relatedly, Anne Constantinople (1969) has suggested that college environments in larger institutions may be less conducive to growth among female students. Constantinople, who studied 952 male and female students in four colleges and then ran a follow-up study on a number of her original subjects, noted the existence of certain "anti-developmental" trends among her female subjects. Although females were generally more mature than males when they entered college, males made greater gains in maturity over the next four years. Constantinople, thus, suggests that the college environment favors the developmental patterns of men. Equally, Constantinople (1970) notes that her male subjects generally showed an increase in happiness from their freshman to senior years, while females evidenced increased feelings of isolation.

This issue—the seemingly greater difficulty women encounter in attempting to forge an identity, other than within the context of the traditional, feminine role—is best exemplified to the writer by a

story told to her by a female friend, now a clinical psychologist.* The incident took place at this woman's college graduation ceremony. The woman and a male student, both of whom had graduated with honors, had been accepted to graduate schools. A male professor walked up to the two students and asked what their future plans were. Upon telling of his acceptance to graduate school and of his desire to pursue a doctorate, the male student received the professor's heartiest congratulations and wishes for the best of luck. In contrast, the female student, who stated identical hopes and plans, was met with the single comment, "Well, you certainly are an ambitious woman"--as the professor walked away.

This incident is now eight years old, and as Guardo (1975) notes, this incident, as well as the majority of the Marcia studies previously cited, took place before the full impact of the recent Women's Movement had a chance to make itself fully felt. It is possible, as Guardo and the Marcia and Schenkel data suggest, that the task of identity formation may become somewhat easier for women who are offered a greater range of options (and models), together with greater societal support for pursuing roles other than the traditional one of wife-mother-and-homemaker.

In fact, it seems that men as well as women may have more options for satisfactory identity achievement than were previously defined by the Marcia studies. Orlofsky and Marcia (1973), in addition to categorizing their 53 male subjects as either identity achievers, moritorium, diffusion, or foreclosure, deliniated yet another category, that of "alienated identity achievement." These men, although they lacked a clear

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*Dr. Camella Serum, personal communication

occupational commitment, seemed to have developed a strong rationale for this lack of choice. Scoring highest of all the groups on the autonomy and intimacy measures and scoring lowest of all groups on the social desirability and isolation measures, these men, who from the authors' descriptions, often seemed to have a "counter-culture" air about them, appeared to base their identity more on their style of relating to other people than upon matters of occupational and ideological choice. Their ideology consisted largely of their attitudes and values concerning intimate and interpersonal involvement: "It is as if he chooses to forgo the identity crisis in favor of the intimacy crisis, his stance toward the latter becoming the basis for his identity" (p. 217).

The writer, in her clinical practice, which, for the past two years has consisted exclusively of college men and women, has had contact with at least one woman who would seem to fit the "alienated achievement" category. This woman, also a counterculture-identified-co-op-dweller, exudes an undeniable sense of having "located" herself in regard to a number of areas deemed important to establishing a sense of identity. Although she is pursuing educational and occupational goals, the pursuit is without the urgency or the significance which she attaches to her interpersonal relationships. Nor does she feel herself to be bound irrevocably to the traditional requirements of the female role. Working well and loving well may, thus, be defined in a variety of ways. A solid sense of identity, too, may be variously defined.

* * * *

Women, Work, and Achievement: Locating Onself in an Anticipated
Occupation

As Mednick and Tangri (1972, p. 11) state, it is simply a fact that,
"virtually all adult women (except heiresses) work at at least one job
(housekeeper); most combine this with a second job (childcare); and a
growing proportion of these, plus all other women, hold still a third
job (employment outside the home)." Yet, as these writers further state,
there are several problems with these jobs. Traditionally defined
"women's work" is not even considered legitimate work by many (Rowbotham,
1973), and as Donelson and Gullahorn (1977) among others note, the fact
that the work involved in being a mother and a housewife develops out
of an ascribed, rather than an achieved role, leads to such work going
unacknowledged, undervalued, or unrewarded. Equally, the work that
women traditionally have done—housewifery, mothering, volunteer work of
all kinds—goes unpaid, a rather powerful statement in a culture wherein
worth is validated by salary.

When the work women do is paid, however, the payment is less, across
the board, than that earned by a male in a comparable position. This pay
differential, together with the actual numbers of women in professional
or high status positions has, in reality, worsened every decade since the
1920's (see Gullahorn, 1977). The greatest concentration of female
workers is confined to what has been christened the "pink collar ghetto,"
low status, low paying jobs which are often an extension of women's
traditional nurturing or domestic roles. It has been shown experimentally
that men's effort is more highly valued, both by male and female subjects,
than is comparable, even identical, effort made by women (Taylor and Deaux,

1973, 1975), and that the perceived desirability of a given profession decreases when subjects are informed that greater numbers of women will be entering that profession in the years to come (Touhey, 1974).

Within psychological circles, a concept closely allied with the notion of work--the motive to achieve, to strive for success in any situation where standards of excellence are applicable (McClelland, 1953)--has not, until recently, been viewed as a significant component of women's psychological makeup. As Alper (1977) notes, "Spurred by the original findings of McClelland and his associates, achievement motivation soon became one of the major areas of psychological research. All seemed to go smoothly as long as the investigators limited themselves to male subjects. Typically, the results of such experiments were statistically significant and consistent with stated hypotheses. But when female subjects were used, with few exceptions, the results were either equivocal or inconsistent." (p. 296)

Originally, women's motive to achieve was seen as being propelled primarily by their affiliative needs--the need to please and seek others' approval--rather than as being internalized and self directed, as it appeared was the case for men. Stein and Bailey (1973), in a comprehensive review of a substantial proportion of the achievement literature pertaining to white, middle class subjects, suggest otherwise. Arguing against the assumption that the male model of achievement is either an appropriate or a desirable model for women to emulate, Stein and Bailey contend that women are indeed motivated to achieve, particularly in those areas and on those tasks which are viewed as appropriate within the feminine role. Within this context, social skills are perceived

frequently by women as a legitimate arena for achievement efforts, "...the evidence discussed supports the hypothesis that social skills are a central area of _achievement_ concern for many females, not that female achievement efforts are instigated primarily by affiliation motives or a desire for social approval per se. The goal is attainment of a standard of excellence, but the areas in which attainment is most important are somewhat different from males" (p. 350). Stein and Bailey caution, however, that many achieving females depart from this pattern.

Even if women do not, in fact, differ greatly from males in their motivation to achieve, to pursue standards of excellence, it does appear to be the case that women tend to look upon the results of their efforts differently than men do. Experimental efforts have tended to demonstrate that female subjects, whether young children or adults, are more likely to attribute their success at a given effort or task to external conditions--to luck--than to their own competence (Feather, 1969; Feather and Simon, 1975; Deaux and Emswiller, 1974). Equally, as Stein and Bailey conclude from a survey of the pertinent literature, female subjects' expectancy (what the person believes he or she is able to do) of success, together with their level of aspiration (what level of goal difficulty the person actually attempts), are generally lower than that of male subjects, while females' anxiety about and personal acceptance of responsibility for failure are generally greater.

In recent years, it has been suggested that women's achievement behavior may be influenced by what Horner (1968) has labeled "fear of success," the arousal of the expectancy, in competitive situations, that success will lead to negative consequences. To this point, some 200

studies have been conducted in regard to this construct. Often, this
research has appeared to raise more questions than it has answered.
Widespread debate continues in regard to the percentage of women and men
who suffer the effects of such an expectation of negative consequences;
whether this expectancy actually affects performance in other than experi-
mental contexts; whether fear of success has increased or decreased in
recent years and why; what the correlates of fear of success are; and
what the term, "fear of success," in reality, means--what dimension of
a complex process the fear of success studies are actually tapping
(Tresemer, 1974, 1976). Additional questions concern the degree and
manner in which fear of success operates in other than white, middle
class subjects (Puryear and Mednick, 1974; Weston and Mednick, 1974),
together with the nature of its developmental course (Romer, 1977).

Achievement and "Femininity"

Regardless of the debate over whether or not successful achievement,
particularly in other than traditionally acceptable contexts for women,
may be an aversive rather than a rewarding experience, it is certainly
the case that many of the characteristics associated with a strong
achievement orientation--emotional independence, assertiveness, competi-
tiveness--are inherently antithetical to the traditionally defined feminine
role. Hoffman (1972) suggests that from infancy onward, females are
socialized away from the kinds of behavior that are essential to later
achievement. Hoffman pays particular attention to the societal insistence
that children separate from their mothers, the less intense demand made
of females in this regard, and a major consequence of this demand--women's
diminished feelings of competence.

In developing her argument, Hoffman initially notes that the female child is given inadequate parental encouragement in early independence strivings. The separation of the self is more delayed or incomplete for the girl because she is the same sex as her mother, shares the same sex role expectations, and is likely to experience fewer conflicts with her parents. As a result, she does not develop sufficient confidence in her abilities to cope independently with the environment. Less encouragement of her independence, greater parental protectiveness, less cognitive and social pressure for establishing an identity separate from that of her mother, together with less mother-child conflict which would normally heighten a sense of separation, results not only in diminished confidence, but also in lesser skills in coping with the environment. Lesser confidence and skills result in the girl's greater dependence upon adults for solving her problems, "and because of this, she needs her affective ties with adults" (Hoffman, 1972, pp. 137-138).

Hoffman notes that fears of abandonment are very common in infants and young children, even when the actual danger is remote. Involvement in mastery explorations which give rise to feelings of confidence and competence can alleviate those fears. For girls, however, these fears may continue into adulthood, "The anticipation of being alone and unloved, then, may have a particularly desperate quality in women...we propose that the all pervasive affiliative need in women results from this syndrome." (p. 147)

Suggesting that women's affiliative needs are at least, in part, based upon an insufficient sense of competence, and as such, may have a "compelling neurotic quality, "Hoffman's arguments are remininscent of

Horney's (1937) analysis of the mechanics of a culturally induced "neurosis." Horney, too, deals with the issue of fear of success, although not specifically related to women: "...in general, the neurotic will consider it safer not to do the thing he wants to do. His maxim is: stay in the corner, be modest, and most of all, do not be conspicuous... This implies sticking to conventional standards, staying out of the limelight, being no different from others... This fear of success results from fear of the begruding envy of others and thus the loss of their affection (emphasis added)...if he does have success...he does not even feel it is his own experience...he will diminish it by attributing it to some fortuitous circumstance..." (Horney, 1937, pp. 213-215).

Taking into consideration both Hoffman and Horney's analyses, the writer wonders whether at some level, the "fear of success" studies are tapping into subjects' fears of separation.

The direction of Hoffman's largely theoretical, admittedly speculative article is supported by Stein and Bailey's summary of the literature concerning the socialization of achievement patterns. This literature suggests that child-rearing patterns which are conducive to the development of feminine sex-role-typing are often antagonistic to those associated with achievement-oriented behavior. Stein and Bailey note that a female child is most likely to develop achievement behavior and independence when her parents are moderately warm, moderately to highly permissive, and when they encourage and reinforce achievement efforts. Encouragement of independence per se apparently leads to independence, but it is not clearly related to achievement behavior. Some concomitant features of the practices in families of highly achievement oriented females include

moderate punitiveness, high demands on the child, and acceleration attempts

by the mother. Achievement orientation can also be stimulated by a

mother who engages in a career, thereby providing an achieving female

model, "These chil-rearing practices are, in many instances, the reverse

of those that lead to high femininity" (Stein and Bailey, 1973, p. 362).

Clearly, sex-role-typing and the culturally sanctioned mechanisms

by which it is enforced and reinforced, may often result in a painful

conflict between a woman's need and desire for personal achievement and

her need and desire to maintain a sufficiently "feminine" conception of

herself. This makes the process of establishing a consistent, workable,

gratifying sense of identity a difficult task indeed.

In contrast to women, men are given a clear sanction to subordinate

the demands of interpersonal relationships to those of work and achieve-

ment, if that is deemed as necessary. For many men, this subordination

does take place, without there being the over-riding fear that they will

lose important attachments in the process (although many men do; further-

more, they are often trapped on the other side of the equation: the

insistence that they must achieve and succeed). Women, however, appear

to be forever engaged in a precarious kind of balancing act. In a

seemingly unending struggle to accommodate the culturally supported demand

that they nurture others, while at the same time they attempt to meet

their needs for personal achievement and competence, many women, as

Hoffman notes, choose to sacrifice their own achievement strivings for

attachment. These women then attempt to derive some satisfaction of the

sacrificed needs vicariously, through the enjoyment of their husbands'

and children's successes. Other women attempt to strike a balance by

selecting an appropriately "feminine" occupation, or by remaining in a low-status position or job. Fewer numbers of women pursue professional interests, while giving up or delaying marriage and motherhood, while other women attempt to do it all (Gullahorn, 1977): "With me, the house, the kids, and your job...Honey, I just don't see how you do it all..." The writer suspects that such a feat requires more than a daily swig of Geritol.

A primary question, then, that is relevant to this study, involves the choice(s) the women who are the subjects of this study envision themselves making: choices regarding the demands of achievement and affiliation, the desire for intimacy, the desire for meaningful work.

* * * *

The Concept of Psychological Androgyny: Locating Oneself in a Sex Role

Historically, the term, "androgyny," has been associated with a number of meanings and definitions (Stimpson, 1974), but the definition that is of importance to the writer is that of psychological androgyny, "the capacity of a sin-le person of either sex to embody the full range of character traits, despite cultural attempts to render some exclusively feminine and some exclusively masculine" (Secor, 1974, p. 139). Numerous writers (i.e., Carlson, 1974; Block, 1973), when speaking of androgyny, refer to the integration of "agentic," or "instrumental" (traditionally "masculine") traits, with "communal," or "expressive" (traditionally "feminine") traits. Such integration, for men, "...requires self assertion, self interest, and self extension be tempered by considerations of mutuality, interdependence, and joint welfare" (Block, p. 515). For women, such integration requires, "...concern for the harmonious

functioning of the group, the submersion of self, and the importance of concerns characteristic of communion be amended to include characteristics of agentic self assertion and self expression, aspects that are essential for personal integration and self actualization" (Block, p. 515).

In comparing several socialistic countries (Norway, Sweden, and Denmark) with the United States, Block notes that capitalism seems to require an exaggerated agentic orientation. This has been accomplished in the United States by clear and early sex typing, an early and obvious emphasis upon competitive achievement, and by a lesser demand for the control of aggression, particularly male aggression. Yet, varied, although fragmentary evidence exists which supports the contention that a high level of sex typing, of the kind that exists in the United States, may not be especially desirable if the goal is to produce flexible, adaptive human beings capable of utilizing the entire range of their emotional and behavioral potentials.

In referring to studies in which male and female subjects were assessed according to Kohlberg's scheme of moral development, Block (1973) notes that both male and female subjects at higher levels of moral development tended to be comparatively androgynous. High scoring male subjects, when given adjective check-lists and asked to indicate what they considered to be desirable traits, did not choose fewer agentic adjectives than low scoring males. High scoring males did, however, demonstrate a greater acceptance of communal adjectives, as well. High scoring female subjects endorsed not only communal adjectives, but they also evidenced a tendency toward agency.

Maccoby (1966) indicated that greater intellectual development and creativity among children were consistently related to cross-sex-typing. Rigid sex-role-typing has been found to be associated with lower intelligence, lower creativity, and lower spatial ability. Further studies (e.g., Gall, 1969; Mussen, 1961, 1962) suggest that high femininity in females is associated with high anxiety, low self esteem, and low social acceptance. High masculinity in boys, although correlated with better psychological adjustment during adolescence, is correlated, in adulthood, with high anxiety, high neuroticism, and low self acceptance. From data drawn from the Oakland Growth study (of 68 women between the ages of 30 and 40) Block concludes that high femininity and occupational mobility are inversely related.

Contending that, "...androgyny is immensely practical," Donelson (1977, p. 136) notes that particularly for women, for whom strict role adherence does not offer even the limited advantages it affords men, androgyny is associated with personal satisfaction and a more complete and spontaneous expression of basic human potentials than is strict sex-typing. Equally, Spence, Helmreich, and Strupp (1975) conclude that, "...androgyny, conceived as the possession of both masculinity and femininity, may lead to the most socially desirable consequences" (p. 35).

Bem (1975), in summarizing the results of several experimental studies she and her co-workers have conducted, concludes that a subject's adherence to rigidly sex-typed behavior clearly limits the kinds of behavior he or she is willing to engage in. Both androgynous men and women (in this case, college students) were willing and able to perform instrumental as well as expressive or nurturant tasks successfully

(expressive tasks included interacting with a kitten, a baby, and a lonely student confederate). High feminine men and women, however, were less instrumental, and high masculine men and women were less nurturant. That high masculine men were less responsive in all experimental conditions designed to elicit nurturant responses appeared to Bem to be cause for alarm, although she cautions that these men might have reacted differently if faced with situations other than laboratory-created ones.

Equally, the nurturance displayed by highly feminine women was not consistent. Although these women displayed more nurturant responses to the baby and to the lonely student than to the kitten, Bem notes that the kind of nurturance exhibited was a largely passive one. Although there was no need for these women to take responsibility for initiating and maintaining the interaction in the lab, Bem speculates that perhaps some degree of "masculinity" is necessary for the translation of nurturant feelings into appropriate action.

Although there is agreement among various investigators that androgyny may lead to a host of desirable consequences, debate does exist about how the concept should be operationalized. Both Bem (1975) and Spence (1975) view masculinity and femininity as separate dimensions (rather than as two end-points of a single continuum), and they agree that each dimension is present in both men and women, although typically, in different degrees. Yet, whereas Bem views the state of being androgynous as the relative balance between masculine and feminine traits, Spence views the androgynous individual as being high in both. This divergence in definition has resulted in differential usage of those instruments

designed to measure subjects' psychological androgyny (see Methods section). ·

For the purposes of this study, the writer was interested in how subjects would "locate" themselves in regard to their sex role, as indicated by their scores on an instrument designed to measure psychological androgyny; how subjects' scores on the androgyny measure would be related to their scores on an Eriksonian-based identity measure; and how subjects' androgyny scores might be influenced by an academic course, the content of which dealt with women's identity issues, including that of sex role.

* * * *

Statement of the Problem

This study concerns itself with the process of identity formation: that process of self definition and re-definition which occurs throughout an individual's lifetime. As conceptualized by Erikson, there are critical junctures during which specific developmental issues, or "tasks," become particularly salient. During these "passages," which may encompass a number of years, the individual re-defines, "relocates," him or herself in relation to who he or she was, who he or she is becoming, and who he or she will be in the future. An individual's sense of identity, itself a consequence of and predecessor to a layering of interactions (including the individual in interaction with his or her personal biology, history, and culture), takes place within and is influenced by a larger set of interactions. These include larger human biology, history, and culture.

An omnipresent feature of this process is change. Yet, the reality of change is accompanied, ideally, by an equally pervasive sense of

continuity. It is this sense of continuity throughout time which insures
that despite a variety of re-definitions and re-locations, the individual
remains "recognizeable" both to him or herself and to the community of
significant others that comprise his or her world.

The subjects of this study are college-aged women, mostly between
the ages of 18 and 22, who are attending a large, Midwestern university
during the mid-to-late 1970's. Theoretically, these women are grappling
with the passages, as denoted by Sheehy, of "Pulling Up Roots" and the
"Trying Twenties," concerned as they are with the developmental tasks of
late adolescence and early adulthood. Central among these tasks, as pre-
viously discussed, are issues relating to locating oneself within an
ideology, an anticipated occupation, and a sex role. As women, these
subjects are likely to encounter certain difficulties, as previously
noted, as they attempt to meet these tasks and resolve them successfully.
These difficulties include an apparent lesser degree of support the
college environment may provide for women, as opposed to men, who are
attempting to separate from parental and cultural expectations in order
to form a workable sense of identity. These women may also encounter
difficulties, both logistical and philosophical, in balancing the demands
of intimacy and personal achievement--love and work--given the restric-
tions of the traditionally defined "women's role." These restrictions
are challenged, both theoretically and practically, by support of and
movement toward a state of psychological androgyny.

This study seeks to address a number of identity-related questions.
The first of these involve an assessment of these subjects' current level
of identity achievement, as measured by an Eriksonian-based identity

instrument. Will subjects' scores be significantly affected by their educational standing, as was the case in the Constantinople study? Will subjects' scores be significantly affected by their participation in a psychology of women course? This is an academic course which deals specifically with identity issues of importance to women and which provides its participants with opportunities to discuss these issues among themselves.

Further questions include these subjects' "location" of themselves in regard to their sex role, as assessed by an instrument which measures an individual's degree of psychological androgyny. Will subjects' scores prove to be significantly affected by their educational standing? Will subjects' scores be affected by their participation in the psychology of women course? The content of this course includes information and discussion of sex roles, sex-role-typing and its effects upon women, and information concerning the concept of psychological androgyny. Additionally, what will be the relationship between subjects' identity scores and their sex role orientation (i.e., androgyny) scores.

Finally, the writer is interested in having subjects indicate what the important components of their identity as adult women might be. Of particular importance is how subjects envision themselves addressing the identity issues relating to intimacy and personal achievement. Despite empirical evidence which suggests that the resolution of these two issues may not be absolute prerequisites for the establishment of a satisfactory sense of identity, the writer's intuitive hunches, confirmed by data obtained in a pilot study (see Methods section) indicated that the issues of work and love would be addressed by a majority of subjects.

The tactic employed in this study in order to elicit this kind of information involved asking subjects to write a story about a hypothetical woman. Upon the celebration of her thirtieth birthday, "Ann" reviews her life and decides she is happy. In responding to the verbal lead, the writer assumed subjects would be required to project themselves to the end of their currently experienced "passage." The writer also assumed that if one (i.e., "Ann") had managed to resolve satisfactorily those issues important to having secured, for that point in one's life, a workable sense of identity, then the affective outcome of that successful resolution would be positive feelings of weel being, of satisfaction, of "happiness." Realizing that "happiness" is not a term often employed or directly explored by psychologists, the writer felt, nonetheless, that the term would strike a resonant affective chord and provide meaningful associations from these women. As subjects, these women are more used to thinking in "everyday" emotional language, as opposed to specifically psychological, operationalized terminology.

It might be noted that this proposed relationship between happiness and satisfactory identity achievement has received some empirical support. Constantinople (1970), who tested 48 male and 40 female college students in both their freshman and senior years, found that subjects' scores on an objective measure of happiness (a ten-point bipolar scale) were associated with their scores on four subscales of the Eriksonian-based identity measure: Trust, Mistrust, Isolation, and Identity.

The "happy woman" story, then, functions as a projective instrument. The writer assumed that the subject would, at least in part, identify herself with the "heroine," Ann. As the subject described the events

that had occurred in Ann's life since high school graduation, their sequence, the roles Ann had assumed, and the means by which Ann had met the demands of these roles, the subject would indicate that which had been important to Ann's happiness, her satisfactory sense of identity. By implication of the assumptions inherent in projective measurement, the subject would also indicate those behaviors which are important to achieving a positive sense of her own identity.

Again, the writer is interested in whether the content of the "happy woman" stories will be affected by the educational standing of the subject and whether content differences will arise as a result of subjects' participation in a psychology of women course.

As responses of projective measures often tend to be idealized, an objective choice question was also included. This question's content deals specifically with how the subject envisioned herself balancing the demands of working outside the home and raising children.

In order to address these questions, the writer solicited responses from women enrolled in a psychology of women course and relevant controls. In addition to experimental (psychology of women subjects) and control subjects, an additional group of women, mostly seniors, were included so that all undergraduate levels might be assessed and compared.

Subjects responded to a number of paper-and-pencil instruments: a demographic information questionnaire; an identity measure; an androgyny measure; the "happy woman" projective story; and the objective choice question pertaining to the subject's working outside the home and raising children.

The identity measure is designed to assess an individual's relative identity achievement as regards the first six of Erikson's eight stages (i.e., Trust vs. Mistrust; Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt; Initiative vs. Guilt; Industry vs. Inferiority; Identity vs. Role Diffusion; and Intimacy vs. Isolation). As this instrument was developed specifically for use among young adults who were also college students, its originators included items pertaining only to those stages they felt were germane to the developmental issues typically confronted by this age group. Items, then, pertaining to the later stages of Generativity vs. Stagnation and Integrity vs. Despair were not included in this instrument.

Based upon their responses to the androgyny measure (the Bem Sex Role Inventory), subjects were categorized as being "masculine," "feminine," "androgynous," or "undifferentiated." Spence's (1975) definition of androgyny (high levels of both masculinity and femininity), rather than Bem's (1975) definition (a relative balance of the masculine and feminine) was employed, together with Spence's median-split technique for categorization.

The following hypotheses are organized into two groups: course-related hypotheses and educational level-related hypotheses. Because subjects comprising the four educational-level groups were selected non-randomly, the following educational-level-related hypotheses, which cannot be adequately tested by this design, are proposed as secondary hypotheses. The easy availability of the juniors and seniors in the advanced psychology of women course (Psychology 439), however, offered the potential of obtaining information pertinent to the educational level

variable. In addition, these women comprise a special group whose

responses are important to the issue of the relevance of psychology of

women courses to women's identity development.

Course-related Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1:

Participation in the introductory psychology of women course will be significantly related to the subjects' scores on the Eriksonian identity measure. It is expected that the post-course experimental subjects will have significantly higher scores on the positive scales and significantly lower scores on the negative scales of the identity instrument than will the post-course control group.

Previously cited studies (i.e., Marcia and Friedman, 1970; Constan-

tinople, 1969) suggest that the college environment may be more supportive

of identity achievement among men than among women. One way in which the

academic environment may function to redress this lesser degree of support

is through the inclusion of such courses as The Psychology of Women, the

content of which deals with identity issues pertaining to women. This

hypothesis is based on the assumption that the effects of the kinds of

information received by class participants, together with the effects of

the opportunity afforded class members to discuss these issues among

themselves will be reflected in the identity scores of the post-course

experimental subjects, as opposed to the scores of the post-course control

group whose members have not received, discussed, and shared such

information.

Hypothesis 2:

Participation in the psychology of women course will be significantly related to subjects' scores on the androgyny measure. It is expected that the post-course experimental subjects will include a significantly greater frequency of androgynously oriented individuals than will the post-course control group.

As noted by Donelson (1977) and Block (1973), evidence exists which may indicate the possibility of an individual over-coming, transcending, or at least, modifying, the effects of sex role typing. Part of the content of the psychology of women course was explicit discussion of sex roles, sex role typing, and psychological androgyny. This hypothesis is based upon the assumption that such information might serve to give class participants "permission" to begin integrating both the masculine and feminine components of themselves. The effects of this process might be observed in a greater frequency of androgynously oriented individuals among the post-course experimental group, as opposed to the post-course control group.

Hypothesis 3:

> Participation in the psychology of women course will be significantly related to the content of the stories describing Ann, the happy woman. It is expected that the post-course experimental subjects will write more "realistic" stories, in that they will be more likely to include references to the typical kinds of conflict experienced by women attempting to balance the demands for personal achievements (i.e., career aspirations, doing for oneself) with the demands of interpersonal intimacy (i.e., relationship with husband/lover/children), as they attempt to forge a satisfactory sense of identity.

The content of the psychology of women course dealt explicitly with various roles, traditional and alternative, available to women, together with the various difficulties and conflicts attached to such roles. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that as a result of participating in this class, the post-course experimental subjects would be more aware of the kinds of conflict experienced by women who attempt to balance the demands of achievement and intimacy and that this awareness would be reflected in the content of the "happy woman" stories.

Educational-level-related Hypotheses (Secondary Hypotheses)

Hypothesis 4:

Educational level will be significantly related to subjects'
scores on the Eriksonian identity measure. It is expected
that juniors and seniors will score significantly higher
on the positive scales and significantly lower on the negative
scales than will freshmen and sophomores.

Results of an earlier experimental effort (Constantinople, 1969)

support the contention that identity, as measured by the instrument

employed in this study, becomes stronger as the individual moves through

college, although this relationship proved to be stronger for male

subjects than for female subjects. As this study involves a later

generation of college women during a time when the impact of the Women's

Movement might be greater, and the college environment might be more

responsive to the needs of women, it was expected that the trend toward

"better" identity scores, from freshman through senior years, would be

more pronounced than in the previous experimental study.

Hypothesis 5:

Educational level will be significantly related to subjects'
scores on the androgyny instrument. It is expected that the
junior and senior groups will include a significantly greater
frequency of androgynously oriented individuals than will the
freshman and senior groups.

The experience of college tends to be a liberalizing one for many

students, and there appears to be a tendency toward greater androgyny

after the conventional sex-typed socialization and intense role pressures

of adolescence (Donelson, 1977). It was, thus, expected that the impact

of these factors would be reflected in a greater frequency of androgy-

nously oriented individuals among the older groups of subjects than among

the younger groups.

Hypothesis 6:

Educational level will be significantly related to the content
of the stories describing Ann, the happy woman. It is expected
that the older subjects' (juniors and seniors) stories will prove
to be more "realistic" and will include more references to conflict
than will the stories of the younger (freshmen and sophomores)
subjects.

This hypothesis is based upon the assumption that as a result of

maturation and of greater experience, juniors and seniors will be more

aware of the kinds of conflict experienced by women attempting to balance

the demands of personal achievement and interpersonal intimacy than

would freshmen and sophomores, and that this awareness would be

reflected in the content of the "happy woman" stories.

Finally, it is proposed that in regard to the total sample of subjects:

Hypothesis 7:

There will be a significant relationship between subjects' scores
on the identity measure and their scores on the androgyny measures.
It is expected that the androgynously oriented individuals will
score significantly higher on the positive scales and significantly
lower on the negative scales of the identity measure than will
masculine-oriented, feminine-oriented, or undifferentiated
individuals.

Psychological androgyny implies a greater state of integration, in

that the individual is freer to utilize all parts of him or herself, rather

than restricting him or herself to feelings and behaviors that are deemed

"appropriate" to his or her sex. Numerous empirical studies (i.e., Block,

1973; Bem, 1975; Spence, 1975) have confirmed the "benefits" derived from

androgyny. These include the androgynous individual's greater flexibility,

adaptability, feelings of self esteem, etc. These benefits may prove to

be particularly important to women, who derive fewer advantages from a

strict adherence to their traditionally defined role than do men (Donelson,

1977; Block, 1973). It is expected that this greater sense of integration will also be reflected in the better identity scores among androgynous subjects in this study, as opposed to the scores received by the other three groups.

METHODS

Subjects

In order to assess the impact of the psychology of women course upon subjects' identity, androgyny, and story scores, the following four groups of subjects were compared:

### Group 1: Pre-course experimental subjects

This group was composed of 23 women, all of whom were enrolled in Psychology 139, "The Psychology of Women." Conducted by a female instructor (Dr. Barbara Reimer), the course took place during Winter Term, 1978. This group of women was assessed at the end of the first class meeting, prior to the actual teaching of the course. Included in the group were 6 freshmen, 11 sophomores, 3 juniors, 1 senior, one graduate student, and one woman who did not note her educational status.

Group 2: Pre-course control subjects

This group was composed of 24 women, all of whom were solicited from Psychology 160, an introductory social and personality psychology class. This class, taught by a male instructor (Dr. Andrew Barclay), also took place during Winter Term, 1978. This group of women was assessed early in the term, during the first full week of classes. The group included 21 freshmen, 2 sophomores, and 1 senior.

Group 3: Post-course experimental subjects

This group was composed of 19 women, all of whom were enrolled and completed Psychology 139, the psychology of women course. Assessed
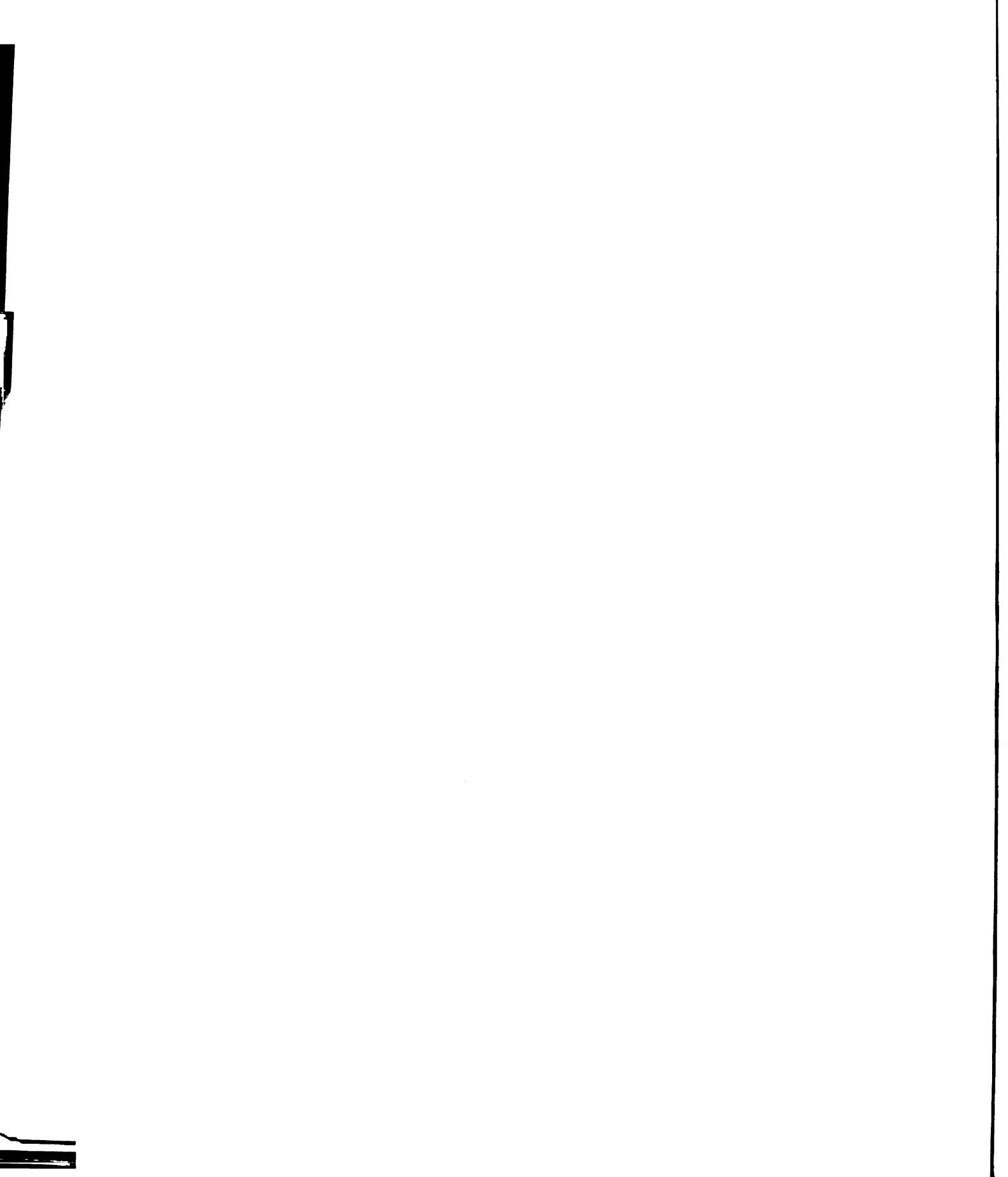
upon completion of the course, this group included 6 freshmen, 2 sophomores, 3 juniors, and 8 seniors.

Group 4: Post-course control subjects

This group was composed of 23 women, again, all members of Psychology 160, an introductory social and personality psychology course. They were assessed at the end of Winter quarter, during the last week of classes. The group included 22 freshmen and 1 sophomore.

In order to assess the impact of educational level upon subjects' identity, androgyny, and story scores, the freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior women from the previously described groups were included, as well as women from two additional groups:

Groups 5 and 6: Upper level women

These two groups totalled 19 women, mostly seniors, who were solicited from Psychology 439, "Selected Topics in the Psychology of Women." Taught by a female instructor (Dr. Elaine Donelson), the course took place during Spring term, 1978. Eight of these women (Group 5, which included 1 junior, 6 seniors, and 1 graduate student) were assessed at the beginning of the term; nine women (Group 6, which included 2 juniors, 6 seniors, and 1 graduate student) were assessed at the end of the term.

Procedure

Experimental subjects

Subjects in the pre and the post experimental groups (Groups 1 and 3) were strongly encouraged by the instructor to participate in this study. At the end of the first class meeting, the class was randomly divided in half. Half of the subjects stayed for approximately an hour, and they

completed the instruments. The data provided by three male subjects were not included in the subsequent analysis.

Toward the end of the quarter, the instructor requested that those class members who had not participated in the initial assessment do so then. This group was given complete instructions about filling out the instruments and were allowed to take the research packets home, complete them, and return them to the instructor. The writer estimates that approximately six subjects failed to return the completed instruments.

Control subjects

The control subjects, Groups 2 and 4, all volunteers from Psychology 160, received two experimental credits for their participation in this study. Each group met in an available classroom in Olds Hall for approximately an hour, the time it took to complete all the instruments. As noted earlier, the pre-course control subjects (Group 2) were assessed early in the term, while the post-course control subjects (Group 4) were assessed later in the term.

Upper level women

The instructor for Psychology 439 distributed the research packets, together with complete instructions for filling them out, to her class members. The women took the packets home, filled them out, and returned them to the instructor. Eight women (Group 5) followed this procedure early in the term, while nine women (Group 6) followed this procedure toward the term's end.

Instruments

A number of paper-and-pencil instruments were employed in this study. These included:

A demographic information questionnaire

This is a 13 item questionnaire, devised by the experimenter, which solicited information concerning the subject's age, her marital, racial, and educational status, her religious and political affiliations, and the self-reported strength of these religious and political views. Also included were questions concerning the subject's family size, the number of brothers and sisters in her family, the subject's birth order, and whether or not the subject's mother had been employed outside the home.

Identity achievement measure

This instrument is a revision of a Q-sort instrument, devised by Wessman and Ricks (1966), consisting of five items reflecting successful, and five items reflecting unsuccessful resolution of each of Erikson's first six stages of psychosocial development (60 items total). The wording of the items, revised from the original, was the same as that used by Brahms (1978), who, in previous research of the instrument, found that subjects were often confused by the wording of the original version. The original instrument had also been devised for use among male subjects only. A number of the items, in their initial state, would have been difficult for female subjects to respond to (both versions of the instrument are included in the Appendix to this study).

In her study, Constantinople (1969) substituted a 7-point scale for the Q-sort format and found that the alternative method yielded data

comparable to that obtained with the original instrument (correlations between the Q-sort and 7-point forms for 53 pilot subjects ranged from .68 to .97 for the six subscales concerning the fourth, fifth, and sixth Eriksonian stages). This study, too, utilized the 7-point format. Subjects were asked to indicate the number, from one ("Never, or almost never true of me") to seven ("Always, or almost always true of me"), to describe how characteristic or uncharacteristic the word or phrase was of her. The ratings of the five items for each of the twelve subscores were then summed to obtain twelve subscale totals (Trust, Mistrust, Autonomy, Shame and Doubt, Initiative, Guilt, Industry, Inferiority, Identity, Role Diffusion, Intimacy, and Isolation).

Constantinople notes that the psychometric status of the Eriksonian measure is, "adequate, but not impressive." Test-retest reliabilities (the interval between testings was six weeks) for the six subscales for the three stages she considered as being most central to college students (Industry, Inferiority, Identity, Role Diffusion, Intimacy, and Isolation), ranged from .45 for Role Diffusion to .81 for Intimacy, with a median reliability of .70 (N was 150). No validity estimates have been made for the subscales, although, "...the degree of congruence found by Wessman and Ricks between these data and those for other psycho-metric devices and clinical data is encouraging." (Constantinople, p. 359) Research by others as well as by Constantinople indicates that the instrument has some construct validity. Constantinople further notes that social desirability set seemed to have some, although not an over-whelming, influence on the scores obtained from her subjects.
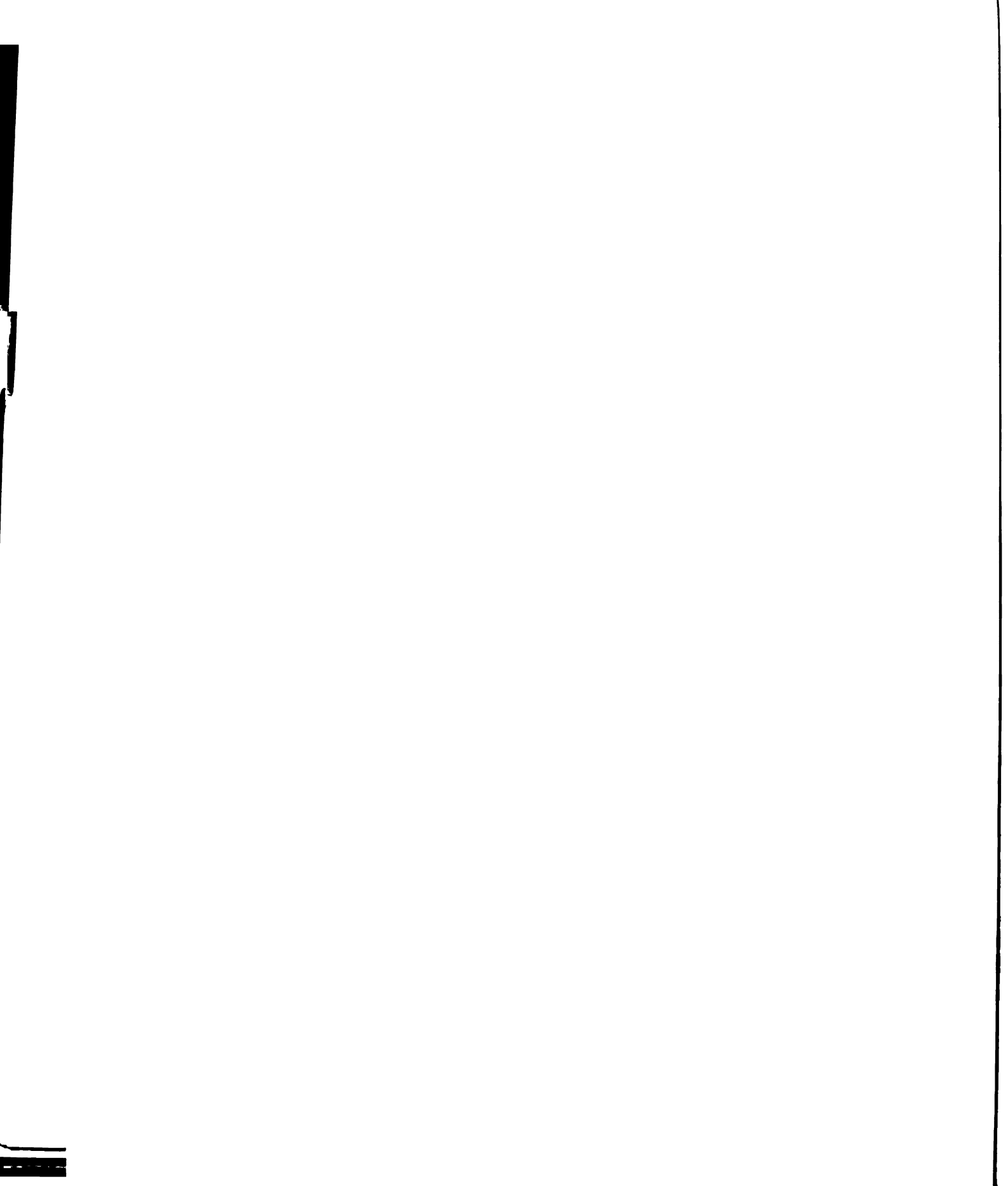
Separate factor analysis of the data for males and females revealed three clear bipolar factors, reflecting basic trust vs. basic mistrust, industry vs. inferiority, and intimacy vs. isolation. An identity factor was clearer among males than among females, and, in subsequent analysis, clearer among seniors than among freshmen.

In the present study, this writer found the psychometric properties of the Eriksonian instrument to be less adequate and less impressive than did Constantinople. Table 2 includes reliability alphas for each of the twelve subscales. Table 3 includes means, standard deviations, and the range of scores, both possible and actual, based upon the total sample of 106 women. As can be seen, Autonomy, Role Diffusion, and Isolation were the weakest of the subscales. Trust, Initiative, and Industry arose as the strongest of the subscales, with the remaining subscales falling in between. Table 4 includes intercorrelations among all twelve of the subscales, together with the M and F scales of the Bem Sex Role Inventory.

TABLE 2

Reliabilities of the Subscales of
the Eriksonian Identity Measure

Successful		Unsuccessful	
Trust	.613	Mistrust	.592
Autonomy	.348	Shame	.401
Initiative	.652	Guilt	.403
Industry	.711	Inferiority	.590
Identity	.598	Role Diffusion	.330
Intimacy	.417	Isolation	.381

TABLE 3

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges
on Identity Subscales for the Entire Sample

	X̄	SD	ACTUAL MIN.	ACTUAL MAX.	Possible Range
Successful					
Trust	25.31	4.34	14.0	35.0	5.35
Autonomy	24.90	4.14	14.0	34.0	5.35
Initiative	27.76	4.44	12.0	55.0	5.35
Industry	27.08	4.39	15.0	35.0	5.35
Identity	27.07	4.19	14.0	35.0	5.35
Intimacy	28.12	3.76	15.0	35.0	5.35
Unsuccessful					
Mistrust	12.66	4.71	6.0	27.0	5.35
Shame	17.03	4.25	7.0	27.0	5.35
Guilt	15.00	4.65	7.0	26.0	5.35
Inferiority	15.67	4.98	6.0	30.0	5.35
Role Diffusion	15.98	3.99	6.0	25.0	5.35
Isolation	13.66	4.12	6.0	26.0	5.35

It might be noted that the majority of significant correlations are found to exist between a number of the Eriksonian subscales and the M scale. Trust, Mistrust, Autonomy, Industry, and Inferiority all correlate significantly with the M scale. The Initiative and Identity subscales are significantly correlated with both the M and the F scales, although in both cases, the stronger relationship is with the M scale. Shame, Guilt, Diffusion, and Isolation show no significant correlation with either M or F, and only the Intimacy subscale correlates significantly and solely with F.

TABLE 4

Correlations Among Identity Subscales and "M" & "F" Scales of BSRI

	TRUST	MISTRUST	AUTONOMY	SHAME	INITIATIVE	GUILT	INDUSTRY	INFERIORITY	IDENTITY	ROLE DIFFUSION	INTIMACY	ISOLATION	MASCULINE	FEMININE
TRUST	1.00	-.45**	.35**	-.14	.29**	-.19	.32**	-.26	.57**	-.22*	.31**	-.27	.34**	.14
MISTRUST	-.45	1.00	-.09	.34**	-.25	.55**	-.23*	.43**	-.42***	.50***	-.43**	.52	-.17	-.16
AUTONOMY	.35	-.09	1.00	-.06	.27	-.14	.23*	.01	.33**	-.05	.26	-.11	.32**	.08
SHAME	-.14	.34	-.06	1.00	-.02	.38**	-.04	.17	-.14	.27	-.14	.39***	.06	.02
INITIATIVE	.29	-.25	.27	-.02	1.00	-.33*	.40**	-.23*	.46**	-.28	.47**	-.24	.61**	.32**
GUILT	-.19	.55	-.14	.38	-.33	1.00	-.23	.32**	-.40***	.49***	-.27	.40**	-.25	.01
INDUSTRY	.32	-.23	.23	-.04	.40	-.23	1.00	-.58**	.41**	-.30**	.21	.40**	.45**	.07
INFERIORITY	-.26	.43	.01	.17	-.23	.32	-.58	1.00	-.24	.35***	-.15	.18	-.29**	-.08
IDENTITY	.57	-.42	.33	-.14	.46	-.40	.41	-.24	1.00	-.40	.49***	-.31	.53**	.37**
ROLE DIFFUSION	-.22	.50	-.05	.27	-.28	.49	-.30	.35	-.40	1.00	-.36**	.43***	-.21	-.07
INTIMACY	.31	-.43	.26	-.14	.47	-.27	.21	-.15	.49	-.36	1.00	-.48***	.33**	.56**
ISOLATION	-.27	.52	-.11	.39	-.24	.40	.40	.18	-.31	.43	-.48	1.00	-.09	-.26
MASCULINE	.33	-.17	.32	.06	.61	-.25	.45	-.29	.53	-.21	.33	-.09	1.00	.17
FEMININE	.14	-.16	.08	.02	.32	.01	.07	-.08	.37	-.07	.56	-.26	.17	1.00

* Significant at .01
** Significant at .001

Androgyny measure

Bem (1975) states that unlike previous measures of masculinity and femininity, the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) treats masculinity and femininity as two orthogonal dimensions, rather than as two ends of a single dimension. Further, masculinity and femininity each represent positive domains of behavior.

Specifically, the BSRI consists of twenty masculine personality characteristics (e.g., ambitious, self-reliant, independent, assertive) and twenty feminine characteristics (e.g., affectionate, gentle, understanding, sensitive to the needs of others). The instrument also contains twenty neutral items (e.g., truthful, happy, conceited, unsystematic), which serve as filler items. These items also comprise a social desirability scale.

When responding to the BSRI, the subject is asked to indicate, on a scale from "1" ("Never, or almost never true of me") to "7" ("Always, or almost always true of me") how well each of the characteristics describes him or her. In past studies, Bem has defined the degree of sex role stereotyping in the individual's self concept as Student's t-ratio for the difference between the total points assigned to the masculine and to the feminine attributes. In this manner, if an individual's masculinity score is significantly higher than the femininity score, that person is said to have a masculine sex role. If a person's femininity score is significantly higher than the masculinity score, that person is said to have a feminine sex role. If a person's masculinity and femininity scores are approximately equal, he/she is said to have an androgynous sex role. Bem's normative data for a sample of over

2,000 undergraduates from both a university and a community college

indicated that approximately one third of both populations could be

classified as significantly sex-typed. Another one third could be

claysified as androgynous. Fewer than ten percent were found to be

sex-reversed.

For the purposes of this study, Spence's (1975) definition of the

androgynous individual--one who is relatively high in both masculinity

and femininity--as opposed to Bem's (1975) definition--one who has a

relative balance of masculine and feminine components--was employed.

Spence notes that the correlation between male valued and female valued

items and their individually strong positive relationship with self

esteem suggests that the two factors may function in an additive way in

determining an individual's self concept and behavior, "...androgyny,

conceived as the possession of both masculinity and femininity may lead

to the most socially desirable consequences; the absolute strength of

both components influencing the attitudinal and behavioral outcomes for

the individuall."

As one approach to quantifying the additive concept of androgyny,

Spence has developed a four-point masculinity and femininity index. By

means of a median split, subjects are categorized as one of four groups.

Those subjects falling above the median (in this case, for the total sample

of 106 subjects) on the M scale, but below the median on the F scale, are

said to have a masculine sex role orientation. Those subjects falling

above the median on the F scale, but below the median on the M scale are

said to have a feminine role orientation. Those subjects falling above

the median on both the M and F scales are said to have an androgynous

sex role orientation, while those subjects falling below the median on both the M and F scales are said to be undifferentiated in their sex role orientation. Such was the method of classification employed in this study.

Spence notes that this approach differs from the subtractive method used by Bem and that descrepancies in classification would be expected and do occur between the two systems. Using a selected sample of subjects' M and F scores and reclassifying them according to her method, Spence (1975) illustrated that more than one half of the subjects, high in both M and F, fail to be classified as androgynous by the Bem method. Equally, more than one third of the subjects classified by Bem's system as andro-gynous were found by Spence's method to be undifferentiated. (It should be noted, however, that since 1976, Bem has adopted a scoring system which also employs the median-split technique.)

Table 5 includes both the absolute a relative frequencies for each of the four sex role orientation categories for the subjects in this study. Also included is comparable data from another recent study in which the four-point index, as outlined by Spence, was employed. The percentages for the four sex role categories in both these studies are quite similar. It should also be noted that the university student subjects involved in the Monroe-Cook study were not drawn from psychology of women courses.

As Bem notes, psychometric analyses of the BSRI indicate that it is quite satisfactory as a measuring instrument. As Bem anticipated, masculinity and femininity scores were found to be empirically, as well

TABLE 5

Frequencies of Sex Role Categories

Current Study

Category	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
M	22	20.8
F	21	19.8
A	33	31.1
U	30	28.3
	106	100%

MdnM = 96
 [actual range: 47-125]

MdnF = 104
 [actual range: 57-129]

$\overline{XM}$ = 98.07 SD = 14.94

$\overline{XF}$ = 101.66   SD = 11.74

L. Monroe-Cook, 1979. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Subjects: Split Sample (N = 95; N = 93). Undergraduate College women. Average age = 20

Category	Absolute Frequency		Relative Frequency	
	1st half	2nd half	1st half	2nd half
M	19	20	19.8	21.5
F	19	23	19.8	24.7
A	28	24	29.2	25.8
U	29	26	30.2	28.0
	95	93	100%	100%

as conceptually, independent. Moreover, the t-ratio itself was found to be internally consistent (average alpha coefficient was .86), reliable over a four-week interval (average r was .93), and uncorrelated with the tendency to describe oneself in a socially desirable manner (average r was -.06).

This writer, too, found the BSRI to be psychometrically sound. The reliability coefficient for the M scale was .85, with the mean score for the entire sample being 98.07, and a standard deviation of 14.94. The

reliability coefficient for the F scale was .75, with a mean of 101.66

and a standard deviation of 11.74. The two scales showed a low, positive,

statistically insignificant correlation with one another (r = .17).

"Ann, the happy woman" instrument

This instrument was devised by the experimenter during a pilot study,

conducted during the summer of 1977. For the pilot study, 17 members of

Dr. Elaine Donelson's Psychology 225 class wrote stories to one of four

cues:

> Today is Ann's thirtieth birthday. She has spent the morning
> thinking about the events in her life, particularly the last
> ten years, since she finished high school.
>
> Ann decides she is (happy/unhappy/successful/unsuccessful).
>
> Describe Ann and the important events that have taken place in
> her life these last ten years. Why does she feel she is
> (happy/unhappy/successful/unsuccessful)? What are her plans
> for the next ten years.

The "happy" and the "successful" stories led to content which was

virtually identical. The "successful" cue did not elicit a greater

frequency of professional or work-related responses, to the exclusion

of intimacy-related responses, as the writer had speculated that it

might. For these subjects, a "happy" or a "successful" life included

both love and work. For the purposes of this study, as the writer was

interested primarily in what kinds of things might lead to a positive,

rather than to a negative sense of identity, as depicted by their

subjects in response to the "Ann" cue, the "unhappy" and "unsuccessful"

cues were dropped, and only the "happy" cue was employed. Of the 106

subjects, 103 wrote stories that were then scored for the presence or

absence of the particular kinds of events and statements as outlined in

Table 6.

TABLE 6

Items Included in Content Analysis of the "Happy Woman" Stories

Education

1. Ann completed a college degree. (Yes/No/Can't score)
2. Ann dropped out of college, but returned at a later date to complete her degree.
3. Ann completed a degree beyond a B.A. at some point.
4. Ann is either planning to return to school, or is currently in school to complete a degree beyond a B.A.

Employment outside the home

5. After completing her degree, Ann went to work.
6. Ann is depicted as working, but no mention is made of her receiving a degree first.
7. Ann's job is in a traditionally "female" area, i.e., teaching, nursing, etc.
8. Ann's job is non-traditional for a woman (i.e., business, engineering, computer science, physician, university professor, etc.)
9. Work is depicted as being important to Ann.
10. Ann is depicted as being successful at her work.

Marriage

11. Ann married.
12. Ann's marriage took place immediately after her graduation from college.
13. Ann lived on her own for a period of time before she married.
14. Ann is unmarried, but involved in an intimate relationship.
15. Because of her work, or other identity-related issues, Ann delayed marrying and/or decided against marrying.
16. Ann is a lesbian.

Relationship with husband/lover

17. Ann's husband/lover is depicted as being successful.
18. Ann's husband/lover is depicted as being supportive of her (i.e., he/she likes bright, independent women, is in favor of her career aspirations, etc.)
19. Ann's relationship with her husband/lover is in any way described.
20. Ann and her husband/lover are depicted as sharing housekeeping/childcare responsibilities.

Children

21. Ann has children.
22. Although childless, Ann plans to have children.
23. How many? (existing and planned)

24. Because of career aspirations, or other identity-related issues, Ann decides to delay having children and/or forgo having children.
25. Ann's relationship with her children is in any way described.

Childcare-and-work-patterns

26. Ann stopped working after the birth of her first child; no mention is made of her plans to return to work.
27. Ann stopped working after the birth of her first child; mention is made of her plans to return to work sometime in the future.
28. Ann continued working part-time.
29. Ann continued working full-time.

Conflict

30. Mention is made of Ann's having experienced any kind of difficulty, conflict, or stress during the past ten years.
31. Reference is made to some kind of "sacrifice," compromise, or accommodation Ann has made (i.e., interrupting her schooling, taking a semi-professional, rather than a professional job, etc.)
32. Reference is made to conflict between Ann and her parents.
33. Reference is made to conflict between Ann and her husband/lover as regards Ann's professional life (i.e., she wants to work; he/she doesn't want her to; she makes more money than him/her, etc.).
34. Reference is made to Ann's conflict concerning her desire to work and her desire to raise a family (i.e., her feelings about leaving a small child; worries about the availability of day-care; worries about re-entering the labor market).
35. Reference is made to conflicts between Ann and her husband/lover concerning how she will strike a balance between the demands of working and being a mother.

Happiness is...

36. Ann is happy because she has it all: husband, career, and children.
37. Ann is happy because she is fulfilling successfully the traditional feminine role (i.e., that she is happy being a good wife and mother; no mention is made of positive feelings being related to other than caring for others).
38. Ann is happy because she feels free to do what she wants; she does not feel obligated to pursude traditional roles.
39. Ann is happy because she has addressed/resolved successfully issues having to do with her identity (the term, "identity" may be used directly, or reference may be made to Ann's finding out who she is, what she wants, what is important to her, and being able to make choices which are "right" for her, consonant with her values as a woman, as a person).
40. Ann has had the opportunity to travel, to meet new people, experience new places.

41. Being able to afford/enjoy material comforts is important to Ann.
42. Religious involvement is important to Ann.
43. Community involvement is important to Ann.
44. Friends are important to Ann.
45. Ann is physically attractive.
46. Ann is in good physical health.

Future

47. Reference is made to Ann's plans for the future.
48. Ann plans to continue doing whatever she is doing now.
49. Major changes will occur for Ann in the next ten years.
50. Reference is made to apprehension, fright, sadness, depression, or some other negative affect in regard to Ann's future.

Objective choice question

The final instrument employed in this study was a multiple choice objective question, comparable to that used by Komarovsky (1976), as outlined in The Dilemmas of Masculinity. Subjects were instructed to: "Assume you will marry and that your husband will make enought money so that you will not have to work unless you want to. Under these circumstances, would you prefer: (1) Not to work at all, or stop after child-birth, and decide later whether to go back; (2) To quit working after the birth of a child, but definitely to go back to work; (3) To continue working, with a minimum interruption for child-bearing; (4) To continue working and not have children." The subject was also asked to note the advantages and disadvantages, as the subject viewed them, of the choice she had indicated.

Analysis

1. When considering whether subjects' participation in the psychology of women course had made a difference, in terms of the subjects' identity, androgyny, and story scores, the pre-course experimental group (Group 1)

was compared with the pre-course control group (Group 2), and the post-course experimental group (Group 3) was compared with the post-course control group (Group 4), as consonant with a non-equivalent control group design (Campbell and Stanley, 1963, pp. 47-50).

2. When considering the effect of educational status upon identity, androgyny, and story scores, freshmen (N = 55), sophomores (N = 16), juniors (N = 11), and seniors (N = 20) were compared. The data provided by three graduate students and the one subject who did not record her educational status were excluded from this analysis.

3. When considering the relationship between subjects' identity and androgyny scores, analysis was based upon the data from the total sample of 106 subjects.

4. Whenever analysis involved the Eriksonian identity measure, a SPSS program for a multivariate analysis of variance was employed. This method was chosen because of the number (12) of dependent scales which comprise the instrument. The program provides a means for standardizing alpha levels and reducing the possibility of a Type II error.

The MANOVA program is designed in such a manner that if significant differences are occurring anywhere in the sample, this will be indicated by an initial multivariate F test. Univariate F tests then specify where in the sample the differences are occurring.

Multivariate analysis of variance was employed: (a) in analyzing the relationship between subjects' identity scores and group (i.e., #1 above), to ascertain if participation in the psychology of women course had made a difference; (b) in analyzing the relationship between subjects' identity scores and their educational status (i.e., #2 above);

and (c) in analyzing the relationship between subjects' identity scores and their androgyny scores (i.e., #3 above).

5. When androgyny categories were compared, both in regard to group and to educational level, the statistic, chi square, was employed.

6. When analyzing subjects' responses to the objective choice question, both by group and by educational level, the statistic, chi square, was employed.

7. In order to analyze the content of the stories written by 103 of the 106 subjects, the 50 item scoring system, designed by the experimenter and outlined in Table 6 (p. 49) was utilized. As indicated in Table 6, items included in this content analysis addressed themselves to a variety of areas: education, employment outside the home, marriage, relationship with husband/lover, childcare-and-work-patterns, conflict, and the future. Also included were a number of items specifically intended for assessing what it was in Ann's life that was responsible for her feelings of happiness, that which was important to her sense of identity at age 30. It might be noted that stories were also checked for instances of irrevocable tragedy and misfortune, common in Horner's work concerning fear of success.

Additionally, certain types of stories were noted by the scorers: stories which were too global and vague for the reader to ascertain exactly what choices Ann had made; stories which were basically an unelaborated list of events; stories in which several options were presented, but in which no particular coice was specified; and stories which were seemingly muddled, jumbled, or contradictory.

For each item, the subject received a "yes" or the presence of the content of that item, a rating of "no" for the decided absence of the item's content, and a rating of "can't score" if such a rating proved applicable. With the aid of two (female) Psychology 490 students, who received academic credit for their help, an initial sample of twelve stories was scored by both raters. Agreement in scoring between the two raters was 95%. Discrepancies in ratings were then discussed until agreement was reached, and each rater felt that she was interpreting the scoring system in a like manner. The remaining stories were then divided between the two raters, who then scored and returned them.

The results of the ratings were then coded and stored on the computer. Frequencies of "yes" and "no" responses in regard to a selected number of the original pool of items were then compared, both across group (this included both experimental groups, both control groups, and the two "upper level" groups) and educational level, by means of the statistic, chi square, in order to ascertain if the stories' content differed significantly.

RESULTS

Following a brief comment concerning the subjects who participated

in this study, this summary of results will address each of the formally

stated hypotheses in the order in which they were proposed. Exceptions

are the two hypotheses pertaining to the "happy woman" stories; these

hypotheses will be addressed toward the end of this section, along with

other information relevant to the analysis of these stories.

Subjects

A breakdown of the demographic data for the total sample of 106

women revealed the majority (90) of the subjects to be white (16 were

black), single, and between the ages of 18 and 22. The sample included

55 freshmen, 16 sophomores, 11 juniors, and 20 seniors, together with

three graduate students and one woman who did not specify her educational

status. These women, who were fairly well distributed across the con-

ventional political spectrum (26 Republicancs, 35 Democrats, 35 Indepen-

dents), tended to describe themselves as "somewhat liberal" or "moderate"

politically and "womewhat" or "slightly" religious. They came from

families ranging in size from one child to ten, with the majority coming

from families of one, two, or three children. Primarily middle and

last-born children, the majority of the women (62%) reported that their

mothers had, at one time or another during their daughters' lives,

worked outside the home.

A comparison of these subjects' mean identity subscale scores by

educational level with those from Constantinople's (1969) crossectional,

female data, revealed an almost unbroken tendency for the women in this

study to score higher on the positive scales and lower on the negative scales than did Constantinople's subjects (Table 7). Exceptions to this trend involved negative subscale scores as regards this study's freshmen and sophomores: these freshmen's higher scores on Mistrust; these freshmen and junior's higher scores on Shame; these freshmen's higher scores on Guilt; these sophomore's higher scores on Inferiority; and these freshmen's higher scores on Isolation.

Bem's (1975) normative data for 2,000 undergraduate university and community college students revealed one third of her sample to be significantly sex-typed, while another one third could be classified as being androgynous. Results for this sample of subjects, which were categorized according to Spence's four-point classification system, revealed that slightly more than one third (40.6%) of these women were significantly sex-typed (20.8% masculine; 19.8% feminine). Slightly under one third of this sample were androgynous (31.1%), while the remaining 28.3% fell into the undifferentiated category. (As the percentages in this study are based upon an all female sample, it is to be expected that the total F percentage would be higher and the total M percentage would be lower than in a combined sample of males and females.

DEMOGRAPHIC SUMMARY

AGE		EDUCATION		RACE		MARITAL STATUS	
17-	1	Fr.	55	W	90	S	96
18-	11	Soph.	16	B	16	M	7
19-	24	Jr.	11			D	1
20-	9	Sr.	20			Engaged	1
21-	14	Grad.	3			?	1
22-	7	?	1				
23-	3						
24-	2						
26-	1						
31-	1						
34-	1						
50-	1						
? -	1						

TABLE 7

Comparison of Eriksonian Subscale Means
W Means of Constantinople (1969) Study

Scale	Freshmen	Sophomore	Junior	Senior
(Successful)				
TRUST				
1965	22.1	22.1	22.7	22.3
1966		22.4	21.3	23.3
1967			23.2	21.8
1978	24.9	24.8	26.4	25.7
AUTONOMY				
1965	22.9	23.0	22.3	23.1
1966		23.4	22.7	23.2
1967			22.9	23.0
1978	23.8	23.9	23.8	24.6
INITIATIVE				
1965	24.0	25.0	25.1	24.8
1966		24.4	24.7	25.5
1967			24.7	24.4
1978	28.3	26.6	27.8	26.9
INDUSTRY				
1965	24.2	24.4	24.5	25.7
1966		23.5	22.9	25.4
1967			24.6	24.3
1978	26.4	25.4	27.2	29.4
IDENTITY				
1965	23.0	23.6	24.2	24.3
1966		24.0	23.5	25.5
1967			24.7	24.8
1978	26.7	27.3	28.2	27.0
INTIMACY				
1965	25.9	26.6	26.2	26.4
1966		26.1	26.1	26.9
1967			26.3	26.8
1978	28.1	28.6	27.2	28.4
(Unsuccessful)				
MISTRUST				
1965	12.8	13.0	12.2	12.4
1966		13.3	13.7	12.0
1967			13.6	12.7
1978	13.2	12.3	11.1	12.2
SHAME				
1965	15.7	15.9	15.1	15.9
1966		15.4	15.6	14.7
1967			16.1	14.9
1978	18.4	15.4	17.0	14.8

Scale	Freshmen	Sophomore	Junior	Senior
(Unsuccessful)				
GUILT				
1965	14.4	14.9	15.4	14.6
1966		14.2	14.0	14.2
1967			13.6	14.0
1978	15.5	15.0	14.3	13.8
INFERIORITY				
1965	17.8	17.6	16.7	16.0
1966		18.0	16.9	16.3
1967			17.8	15.7
1978	15.6	17.9	16.6	14.0
ROLE DIFFUSION				
1965	16.6	17.5	17.0	16.8
1966		17.3	16.7	16.3
1967			17.1	16.1
1978	15.7	16.7	16.8	15.6
ISOLATION				
1965	13.6	14.8	14.4	14.7
1966		14.7	15.2	14.3
1967			15.2	14.5
1978	14.0	11.5	14.5	13.4

Note: Constantinople data (years 1965, 1966, 1967)
is from her Cross-sectional female means.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1:

Participation in the introductory psychology of women class will
be significantly related to subjects' scores on the Eriksonian
identity measure. It is expected that the post-course experimental
subjects will have significantly higher scores on the positive
scales and significantly lower scores on the negative scales of
the identity instrument than will the post-course control group.

As stated in the Methods section, the analysis pertaining to the

testing of this hypothesis involved four different groups of subjects:

Group 1, 23 Psych 139 (psychology of women) women, tested prior to the

teaching of the psychology of women course; Group 2, 24 Psych 160

(introductory psychology) women, tested prior to the teaching of the

introductory psychology course; Group 3, 19 Psych 139 women, tested

after their completion of the psychology of women course; and Group 4,

23 Psych 160 women, tested after their completion of the introductory

psychology course. Group 2 was to serve as a control group for Group 1;

Group 4 was to serve as a control group for Group 3.

The first step in the analysis involved a comparison of Groups 1

and 2, to ascertain if the groups differed significantly from one another.

If the two groups did not differ significantly, then Group 2 could be

considered to be a "true" control group for Group 1. If Group 2 proved

to be a true control group, and if Groups 3 and 4 significantly differed,

then a case could be made for the psychology of women class having had

an effect. If, however, Groups 1 and 2 differed significicnatly (and

Group 2, therefore, was not a true control group), any significant

differences between Groups 3 and 4 would be moot, as there would be no

basis for concluding that the psychology of women course had created the

differences between Groups 3 and 4.

Multivariate analysis of variance, which compared Groups 1 and 2,

indicated that the two groups did differ significantly (p < .04, df´= 1,40).

As indicated by Table 8, the overall significant difference was created

by significant differences between the two groups on the Industry

(p < .03), Role Diffusion (p < .03), Initiative (p < .01), and Identity

(p < .003) subscales. In regard to these subscales, Group 2 women

scored higher on the positive scales (Industry, Initiative, and Identity)

and lower on the negative scale (Role Diffusion) than did the Group 1

women. Generally (Table 9) those women enrolled in the introductory

psychology class tended to score higher on the positive scales and lower

on the negative scales than the initial group of women tested from the

TABLE 8

Identity Subscales: Univariate F Tests for
Pre-Course Experimental Group (Gr. 1)
& Pre-Course Control Group (Gr. 2)

Scale	Between Group	Within Group	F	Significance of F	D.F.
(Successful)					
Trust	13.78	22.52	.61	.43	1,45
Autonomy	17.25	19.29	.89	.34	
Initiative	89.05	13.27	6.71	.01	
Industry	89.52	19.03	4.70	.03	
Identity	154.64	16.52	9.35	.003	
Intimacy	30.73	12.16	2.52	.11	
(Unsuccessful)					
Mistrust	5.39	27.91	.19	.66	
Shame	41.69	19.89	2.09	.15	
Guilt	8.66	18.84	.45	.50	
Inferiority	47.14	28.57	1.65	.20	
Role Diffusion	78.93	16.12	4.89	.03	
Isolation	8.12	21.10	.38	.53	

TABLE 9

Identity Subscales: Means & Standard Deviations
for Experimental & Control Groups

Scale	Pre Course Experimental G1		Pre Course Control G2		Post Course Experimental G3		Post Course Control G4	
(Successful)								
Trust	24.00	4.65	25.08	4.83	27.32	3.54	24.91	3.69
Autonomy	22.91	4.48	24.13	4.30	23.10	3.88	24.39	3.88
Initiative	26.96	3.84	29.67	3.43	28.21	4.30	26.34	5.70
Industry	24.74	4.75	27.50	3.96	28.42	3.22	25.91	4.39
Identity	24.91	4.31	28.54	3.81	28.47	3.62	26.39	4.23
Intimacy	27.17	3.62	28.79	3.34	28.58	3.06	28.26	4.65
(Unsuccessful)								
Mistrust	12.73	5.33	13.40	5.24	11.57	3.94	13.22	4.54
Shame	16.78	4.78	18.67	4.12	15.63	3.37	18.26	4.27
Guilt	15.61	4.09	14.75	4.51	13.36	5.14	16.48	5.04
Inferiority	17.08	5.41	15.09	5.28	14.01	3.70	16.69	5.12
Role Diffusion	17.21	3.74	14.62	4.26	15.21	3.61	16.83	4.24
Isolation	13.95	3.88	13.12	5.80	12.63	3.45	14.43	4.12
	N = 23		N = 24		N = 19		N = 23	

psychology of women course. Perhaps, one of the motivating factors for these women's decision to enroll in a psychology of women course might have been their disorganization, their questions, their conflicts concerning identity issues. (Equally, it is possible that the better identity scores of the Psych 160 women owed themselves to the effects of identity foreclosure; all appears well if one denies underlying conflicts and conforms to expectation.)

Having established the reality of significant differences between Groups 1 and 2, the next step in the analysis involved a comparison between Groups 3 and 4. The multivariate F test indicated that these two groups did not differ significantly (p < .24, df = 1,40). Results of the univariate F tests are included in Table 10. This hypothesis, therefore, was not supported. Yet, again, if significant differences between these two groups had occurred, it would have not been possible to attribute the differences to the psychology of women course, as Groups 1 and 2 had differed initially.

It might be noted, however, that the mean scores for Groups 3 and 4 (Table 9) indicate that the direction of the scores favors those subjects who had completed the psychology of women course. Except for Group 3's scores for Autonomy, the women who completed the psychology of women course tended to score higher on the positive scales and lower on the negative scales, as contrasted with the women who had completed the introductory psychology course. It must also be emphasized that an initial significant difference, one that favored the Psych 160 women, dropped out completely.

TABLE 10

Identity Subscales: Univariate F Tests
for Post-Course Experimental Group (Gr. 3)
& Post Course Control Group (Gr. 4)

Scale	Between Group	Within Group	F	Significance level	D.F.
(Successful)					
Trust	60.06	13.14	4.56	.03	1,40
Autonomy	17.20	15.08	1.14	.29	
Initiative	36.10	26.25	1.37	.24	
Industry	65.44	15.06	4.34	.04	
Intimacy	1.05	16.12	.06	.79	
(Unsuccessful)					
Mistrust	27.93	18.46	1.51	.22	
Shame	71.92	15.12	4.75	.03	
Guilt	100.62	25.85	3.89	.05	
Inferiority	69.81	20.56	3.39	.07	
Role Diffusion	27.15	15.81	1.71	.19	
Isolation	33.83	14.75	2.29	.13	

Hypothesis 2:

Participation in the introductory psychology of women course will
be significantly related to subjects' scores on the androgyny
measure. It is expected that the post-course experimental subjects
will include a significantly greater frequency of androgynously
oriented individuals than will the post-course control group.

This hypothesis was not supported by the data. Table 11, which

includes sex role category frequencies and percentages for both experi-

mental groups, both control groups, and the two upper level groups,

reveals an insignificant relationship between subject group and sex

role category. Further chi square analysis, which compared each

experimental group with its comparable control group, and the two upper

level groups with one another, also failed to reveal significant

relationships.

TABLE 11

Chi Square Contingency Table:
Androgyny Frequencies by Group

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre Course Experi- mental	Pre Course Control	Post Course Experi- mental	Post Course Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	
MASCULINE	4	5	4	3	1	5	
	18.2	22.7	18.2	13.6	4.5	22.7	22
	17.4	20.8	21.1	13.0	12.5	55.6	20.8
	3.8	4.7	3.8	2.8	9	4.7	
FEMININE	7	5	2	6	1	0	
	33.3	23.8	9.5	28.6	4.8	0	21
	30.4	20.8	10.5	26.1	12.5	0	19.8
	6.6	4.7	1.9	5.7	.9	0	
ANDROGYNOUS	5	10	7	8	1	2	
	15.2	30.3	21.2	24.2	3.0	6.1	33
	21.7	41.7	36.8	34.8	12.5	22.2	31.1
	4.7	9.4	6.6	7.5	.9	1.9	
UNDIFFERENTIATED	7	4	6	6	5	2	
	23.3	13.3	20.0	20.0	16.7	6.7	30
	30.4	16.7	31.6	26.1	62.5	22.2	28.3
	6.6	3.8	5.7	5.7	4.7	1.9	
Column	23	24	19	23	8	9	
Total	21.7	22.6	17.9	21.7	7.5	8.5	

Chi square = 18.55
df = 15
Significance = .23

Hypothesis 4: (Secondary hypothesis)

Educational level will be significantly related to subjects' scores
on the Eriksonian identity measure. It is expected that the older
subjects (i.e., juniors and seniors) will score significantly
higher on the positive scales and significantly lower on the
negative scales than will the younger (i.e., freshman and sophomore)
subjects.

By and large, this hypothesis was supported by the data, Table 12

includes the means and standard deviations for each of the twelve

TABLE 12

Identity Scales: Means and Standard Deviations
According to Educational Level

Scale	Freshmen X	SD	Sophomores X	SD	Juniors X	SD	Seniors X	SD
(Successful)								
Trust	24.98	4.58	24.81	4.02	26.45	5.06	25.70	4.00
Autonomy	23.80	3.83	23.93	4.89	23.81	5.47	24.65	3.67
Initiative	28.30	4.61	26.62	3.63	27.81	4.60	26.95	4.76
Industry	26.49	4.37	25.43	4.70	27.27	4.33	29.40	3.40
Identity	26.78	4.63	27.31	3.60	28.27	4.05	27.05	3.77
Intimacy	28.12	3.83	28.68	3.68	27.27	3.22	28.45	3.67
(Unsuccessful)								
Mistrust	13.23	4.99	12.37	5.21	11.18	3.62	12.25	4.42
Shame	18.40	4.39	15.43	3.30	17.00	4.56	14.80	3.44
Guilt	15.52	4.76	15.00	3.96	14.36	5.50	13.85	4.60
Inferiority	15.61	5.06	17.93	5.28	16.63	5.83	14.40	3.47
Role Diffusion	15.70	4.25	16.75	3.54	16.81	3.45	15.60	4.30
Isolation	14.07	4.46	11.56	3.48	14.54	4.03	13.45	3.42
	N = 55		N = 16		N = 11		N = 20	

identity subscales for freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors. Except
for the Intimacy, Isolation, and Initiative subscales, juniors and
seniors tended to have the highest scores on the positive scales and the
lowest scores on the negative scales.

The multivariate F test indicated an overall difference among the
four educational levels which reached the .01 level of significance.
As the univariate F tests (Table 12) indicate, the two scales which
contributed most of the overall difference were the Shame ($p < .003$)
and the Industry ($p < .02$) subscales. The direction of scores for these
two scales favors the senior women.

TABLE 13

Identity Subscales: Univariate F Tests
As Regards Educational Levels

Scale	Between Group	Within Group	F	Significance of F	D.F.
(Successful)					
Trust	9.00	19.77	.45	.71	3,98
Autonomy	3.68	17.44	.21	.88	
Initiative	16.74	20.28	.82	.48	
Industry	56.43	18.12	3.11	.02	
Identity	7.14	18.26	.39	.75	
Intimacy	4.92	13.86	.35	.78	
(Unsuccessful)					
Mistrust	15.63	23.03	.67	.56	
Shame	81.01	16.71	4.84	.003	
Guilt	15.39	22.11	.69	.55	
Inferiority	40.50	24.21	1.67	.17	
Role Diffusion	8.04	16.72	.48	.69	
Isolation	29.66	16.76	1.76	.15	

A further step in the analysis involved a comparison of freshmen with seniors, sophomores with seniors, and juniors with seniors.* Results (Table 13) indicated that for the Shame subscale, the difference between the seniors' and freshmen's scores was the only significant contrast. For the Industry subscale, it was again, the contrast between the senior's and the freshmen's scores, as well as the contrast between the senior's and the sophomore's scores, that were creating the overall significant difference on this subscale.

As predicted then, there were significant differences among educational levels, in scores on the Eriksonian identity measure. These differences were most pronounced for the Shame and Industry subscales,

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*These comparisons which comprise Table 13 are the result of "simple," non-independent statistical contrasts.

TABLE 14

Identity Subscales and Educational Levels: Comparisons Among Groups

.	Coefficient	Std. Error	T	Significance of T
TRUST				
Freshman vs. Senior	- .71	1.16	- .61	NS (.53)
Sophomore vs. Senior	- .88	1.49	- .59	NS (.55)
Junior vs. Senior	.75	1.66	.45	NS (.65)
AUTONOMY				
Freshman vs. Senior	- .85	1.09	-..77	NS (.43)
Sophomore vs. Senior	- .71	1.40	- .50	NS (.61)
Junior vs. Senior	- .83	1.56	- .53	NS (.59)
INITIATIVE				
Freshman vs. Senior	1.35	1.17	1.15	NS (.25)
Sophomore vs. Senior	- .32	1.51	- .21	NS (.83)
Junior vs. Senior	.86	1.69	.51	NS (.60)
INDUSTRY				
Freshman vs. Senior	-2.90	1.11	-2.61	.01
Sophomore vs. Senior	-3.96	1.42	-2.77	.006
Junior vs. Senior	-2.12	1.59	-1.33	NS (.18)
IDENTITY				
Freshman vs. Senior	- .26	1.11	- .24	NS (.81)
Sophomore vs. Senior	.26	1.43	.18	NS (.85)
Junior vs. Senior	1.22	1.60	.76	NS (.44)
INTIMACY				
Freshman vs. Senior	- .32	.97	- .33	NS (.74)
Sophomore vs. Senior	.23	1.24	.19	NS (.84)
Junior vs. Senior	-1.17	1.39	- .84	NS (.40)
MISTRUST				
Freshman vs. Senior	.98	1.35	.78	NS (.43)
Sophomore vs. Senior	.12	1.60	.07	NS (.93)
Junior vs. Senior	-1.06	1.80	- .59	NS (.55)
SHAME				
Freshman vs. Senior	3.60	1.06	3.37	.001
Sophomore vs. Senior	.63	1.37	.46	NS (.64)
Junior vs. Senior	2.20	1.53	1.43	NS (.15)
GUILT				
Freshman vs. Senior	1.67	1.22	1.3	NS (.17)
Sophomore vs. Senior	1.15	1.57	.72	NS (.46)
Junior vs. Senior	.51	1.76	.29	NS (.77)
INFERIORITY				
Freshman vs. Senior	1.21	1.28	.94	NS (.34)
Sophomore vs. Senior	3.53	1.65	2.14	.03
Junior vs. Senior	2.23	1.84	1.21	NS (.22)
ROLE DIFFUSION				
Freshman vs. Senior	.10	1.06	.10	NS (.91)
Sophomore vs. Senior	1.15	1.37	.83	NS (.40)
Junior vs. Senior	1.21	1.53	.79	NS (.42)
ISOLATION				
Freshman vs. Senior	.62	1.06	.58	NS (.56)
Sophomore vs. Senior	-1.88	1.37	-1.37	NS (.17)
Junior vs. Senior	1.09	1.53	.71	NS (.47)

with the contrast between senior's and freshmen's scores accounting for

the majority of the overall differences. The seniors in this sample seemed

to fare best in terms of their relative identity achievement, as measured

by this particular instrument.

Hypothesis 5:   (Secondary hypothesis)

Educational level will be significantly related to the subjects'
scores on the androgyny instrument. It is expected that the
older groups of subjects will include a significantly greater
frequency of androgynously oriented individuals than will the
younger groups of subjects.

This hypothesis was not supported by the data. As Table 15 reveals,

the relationship between educational level and sex role category is not

significant.

Hypothesis 7:

In regard to the total sample of 106 subjects: there will be
a significant relationship between subjects' scores on the identity
measure and their scores on the androgyny measure. It is
expected that the androgynously oriented individuals will
score significantly higher on the positive scales and signi-
ficantly lower on the negative scales of the identity measure
than will the masculine-oriented, the feminine-oriented, or
the undifferentiated individuals.

This hypothesis, which involved comparisons among the total sample

of 106 subjects, was, by and large, supported by the data. The multi-

variate F test indicated that differences among sex role categories as

regards subjects' scores on the Eriksonian identity measure reached the

.00001 level of significance.

As the univariate F tests (Table 16) reveal, there were significant

differences among sex role groups on all of the positive scales and two

of the negative scales. Of the positive scales, differences on Initiative,

TABLE 15

Chi Square Contengency Table:
Androgyny Frequencies by Educational Levels

Count Row PCT Col PCT TOT PCT	Freshmen	Sophomore	Junior	Senior	
MASCULINE	9	3	2	6	
	45.0	15.0	10.0	30.0	20
	16.4	18.8	18.2	30.0	19.6
	8.8	2.9	2.0	5.9	
FEMININE	11	5	1	4	
	52.4	23.8	4.8	19.0	21
	20.0	31.3	9.1	20.0	20.6
	10.8	4.9	1.0	3.9	
ANDROGYNOUS	19	5	5	3	
	59.4	15.6	15.6	9.4	32
	34.5	31.3	45.5	15.0	31.4
	18.6	4.9	4.9	2.9	
UNDIFFERENTIATED	16	3	3	7	
	55.2	10.3	10.3	24.1	29
	29.1	18.8	27.3	35.0	28.4
	15.7	2.9	2.9	6.9	
Column Total	55 53.9	16 15.7	11 10.8	20 17.6	

Chi square = 6.44
df = 9
Significance = .69 (NS)

Identity, and Intimacy were most pronounced, while differences on Trust, Autonomy, and Industry were highly significant, although less pronounced. Of the negative scales, the differences on the Guilt and Isolation scales also reached significant levels, although the differences were less significant than had been the case for any of the positive scales.

TABLE 16

Identity Subscales: Univariate F Tests
as Regards Sex Role Categories

Scale	Between Group	Within Group	F	Significance of F	D.F.
(Successful)					
Trust	71.89	17.30	4.15	.008	3,10
Autonomy	70.34	15.59	4.51	.005	
Initiative	232.03	13.42	17.28	.00001	
Industry	85.83	17.31	4.95	.002	
Identity	197.64	12.29	16.08	.00001	
Intimacy	155.75	9.98	15.60	.00001	
(Unsuccessful)					
Mistrust	20.51	22.31	.91	NS (.43)	
Shame	.98	18.52	.05	NS (.98)	
Guilt	52.44	20.71	2.53	.06	
Inferiority	47.75	24.15	1.97	NS (.12)	
Role Diffusion	28.47	15.59	1.82	NS (.14)	
Isolation	54.50	15.88	3.43	.019	

TABLE 17

Means and Standard Deviations for Identity Subscales
by Sex Role Category

Scale	Masculine $\overline{X}$	SD	Feminine $\overline{X}$	SD	Androgynous $\overline{X}$	SD	Undifferentiated $\overline{X}$	SD
(Successful)								
Trust	26.13	3.53	24.28	3.93	26.96	4.71	23.60	4.07
Autonomy	24.72	3.20	23.28	4.60	25.45	4.33	22.00	3.47
Initiative	28.72	2.99	25.57	4.47	31.00	2.58	25.00	4.45
Industry	28.72	4.28	26.00	4.54	28.42	4.10	25.18	3.83
Identity	28.36	3.18	26.95	3.62	29.45	3.66	23.56	3.46
Intimacy	27.36	3.28	29.14	3.11	30.54	2.70	25.30	3.53
(Unsuccessful)								
Mistrust	12.09	4.43	12.90	3.17	11.90	4.65	13.73	5.77
Shame	16.72	3.69	17.00	5.13	17.18	3.52	17.10	4.83
Guilt	13.40	3.67	16.19	5.07	14.15	4.77	16.26	4.48
Inferiority	14.27	5.24	16.95	3.58	14.75	5.33	16.80	4.97
Role Diffusion	15.63	3.55	16.47	4.36	14.87	3.70	17.10	4.17
Isolation	13.81	4.66	13.28	3.68	12.21	3.86	15.40	3.77
	N = 22		N = 21		N = 33		N = 30	

Table 17 includes means and standard deviations for each of the twelve subscales for the four sex role categories. There is a tendency for the androgynously oriented individuals to score higher on the positive scales and lower on the negative scales than do the other three groups. Exceptions to this pattern are for the Shame, Guilt, and Inferiority subscales, where the masculine-oriented individuals received the lowest scores, and on the Industry subscale, where the masculine-oriented women received the highest scores. For both Industry and Inferiority, however, the scores of the masculine-oriented group and the androgynous group are very close.

A further step in the analysis involved a comparison of the masculine-oriented women with the other three groups; a comparison of the feminine-oriented women with the androgynous and undifferentiated women; and a comparison of the androgynous women with the undifferentiated women.*
As Table 18 indicates, on nearly all of the subscales where the univariate F tests had revealed a significant difference among sex role groups, it is the difference between the androgynous and the undifferentiated women which is the most prominent. For the Trust, Autonomy, Intimacy, and Isolation subscales, the difference between the androgynous and undifferentiated subjects provided the sole significant difference. For the Initiative subscale, although the contrast between the androgynous and undifferentiated women was, by far, the most significant, the contrast

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*These comparisons, which comprise Table 18, are the result of a series of Helmert contrasts, chosen because such contrasts are statistically independent; they, therefore, reduce the possibility of Type I error. With four degrees of freedom, three series of contrasts are then possible.

TABLE 18

Comparisons Among Sex Role Groups
on Subscales of Identity Measure

	Coefficient	Std. Error	T	Sig. of T
TRUST				
M vs F, A, U	3.55	3.00	1.18	NS (.23)
F vs A, U	-1.99	2.09	- .95	NS (.34)
A vs U	3.36	1.04	3.21	.001
AUTONOMY				
M vs F, A, U	3.44	2.84	1.2	NS (.22)
F vs A, U	- .88	1.99	- .44	NS (.65)
A vs. U	3.45	.99	3.46	.0007
INITIATIVE				
M vs F, A, U	4.6	2.64	1.74	.08
F vs A, U	-4.8	1.84	-2.62	.009
A vs U	6.0	.92	6.49	.00000
INDUSTRY				
M vs F, A, U	6.62	3.00	2.20	.02
F vs A, U	1.55	2.09	- .74	NS
A vs U	3.29	1.04	3.13	.002
IDENTITY				
M vs F, A, U	5.11	2.52	2.0	.04
F vs A, U	.88	1.76	.49	NS (.61)
A vs U	5.88	.88	6.65	.00000
INTIMACY				
M vs F, A, U	-2.89	2.27	-1.27	NS (.20)
F vs A, U	2.44	1.59	1.53	NS (.12)
A vs U	5.24	.79	6.58	.00000
MISTRUST				
M vs F, A, U	-2.27	3.40	- .66	NS (.50)
F vs A, U	.16	2.38	.07	NS (.94)
A vs U	-1.82	1.19	-1.53	NS (.12)
SHAME				
M vs F, A, U	-1.10	3.10	- .35	NS (.72)
F vs A, U	- .28	2.16	- .12	NS (.89)
A vs U	.08	1.08	.07	NS (.94)
GUILT				
M vs F, A, U	6.38	3.28	-1.94	.05
F vs A, U	1.96	2.29	.85	NS (.39)
A vs U	2.11	1.14	1.84	.06
INFERIORITY				
M vs F, A, U	-5.69	3.54	-1.60	NS (.11)
F vs A, U	2.34	2.47	.94	NS (.34)
A vs U	-2.04	1.23	-1.64	NS (.10)
ROLE DIFFUSION				
M vs F, A, U	-1.54	2.84	- .54	NS (.58)
F vs A, U	.97	1.99	.48	NS (.62)
A vs U	-2.22	.99	-2.22	.02
ISOLATION				
M vs F, A, U	.55	2.87	.19	NS (.84)
F vs A, U	-1.04	2.00	- .51	NS (.60)
A vs U	-3.18	1.00	-3.17	.002

between the masculine-oriented subjects and the other three categories, and the contrast between the feminine and the undifferentiated and androgynous groups, also reached significance. For both the Industry and Identity subscales, it was, again, the contrast between the androgynous and undifferentiated groups which was most significant (Industry: $p < .002$; Identity: $p < .0000$), although for both subscales, the contrast between the masculine group and the rest of the sample also reached significance of a lower order (Industry: $p < .02$; Identity; $p < .04$).

To summarize, then: for the total sample of 106 subjects, the differences among the masculine, feminine, androgynous, and undifferentiated subjects as regards their scores on the Eriksonian measure of identity achievement were highly significant. These differences were pronounced on all of the positive scales, but also on two of the negative scales (Guilt and Isolation). Analysis revealed that significant differences in regard to each subscale were most pronounced when the androgynous individuals were compared with the undifferentiated individuals. The contrast in scores between the masculine-oriented group and the rest of sample also reached significance on two of the subscales. It appears that androgynous women, and sometimes, masculine-oriented women, fare better in terms of relative identity achievement, as indicated by this particular instrument.

Story Data

As noted previously, the writer expected that the "happy woman" stories would indicate these subjects' perceptions of the kinds of behaviors and choices which would result in a positive sense of identity

both for "Ann" and for the subject who, in responding to the verbal lead, identified herself with Ann. The item included in the content analysis of these stories addressed themselves to a number of areas. Included were: education, employment outside the home, marriage, relationship with husband/lover, children, and childcare-and-work patterns.

In reading the stories,[*] that which was most striking both to the writer and to the two women who helped rate the stories, was the similarity, the consistency of content, among the 103 scoreable stories. This impression of great similarity seems to have been borne out by the chi square analysis conducted on twenty of the items selected from the original pool of fifty. Analysis was conducted both across group, which included the two experimental groups, the two control groups, and the two upper level groups, and across educational levels, in order to ascertain if a relationship existed either between group or educational level and the specific item.

There was no significant relationship, either by group or by educational level in regard to the following items:

 --whether Ann received a college degree

 --whether Ann received a degree beyond that of a B.A.

 --whether Ann planned, at some point in the future, to return to school to complete a further degree

 --whether Ann obtained a job following her graduation from college

 --whether Ann's work was in a traditional area for a woman

 --whether Ann's work was in a non-traditional area for a woman

 --whether Ann's work was depicted as being important to her

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*Sample stories are in Appendix C.

--whether Ann married

--whether Ann had children

--whether Ann's husband/lover was depicted as being successful;
whether he/she was supportive of her; whether the relationship
was in any way described; whether Ann and her husband/lover
were depicted as sharing housework and childcare responsibilities.

Additionally, there was no significant relationship, either by group
or by educational level in whether Ann was depicted as being happy
because she had it all--husband, children, and career--or whether Ann was
depicted as being happy because she was content with the traditional role
of mother and housewife.

Analysis indicated that for three items, a significant relationship
existed, either by group* or by educational level. These items were:
whether Ann was depicted as being successful at her work; whether Ann
was depicted as being happy because she felt free to do what she wanted,
that she did not feel obligated to pursue the traditional, feminine role;
and whether Ann was depicted as being happy because she felt she had
addressed/resolved successfully some issue relating to her identity. The
results of the chi square analysis of these items seemed to reveal a
similar pattern.

The "success" item was significant by group (Table 19) and almost
significant by educational level (Table 20). Results indicated that
Group 6 (the second of the upper level groups) had, in every case, made
a statement concerning Ann's having been successful, although it is only
a small number of women (eight) who are included in this group. By
educational level, a greater percentage of seniors, relative to freshmen,
sophomores, and juniors, included such a statement in their stories.

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*"Group" refers to Groups 1-6: both experimental, control and upper
level groups.

TABLE 19

Story Data: Success Item by Group

Item: Ann is successful at her work

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre Experi- mental	Pre Control	Post Experi- mental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	3	3	7	5	2	8	28
	10.7	10.7	25.0	17.9	7.1	28.6	29.8
	16.7	13.6	43.8	22.7	25.0	100.0	
	3.2	3.2	7.4	5.3	2.1	8.5	
No	15	19	9	17	6	0	66
	22.7	28.8	13.6	25.8	9.1	0	70.2
	83.3	86.4	56.3	77.3	75.0	0	
	16.0	20.2	9.6	18.1	6.4	0	
Column	18	22	16	22	8	8	94
Total	19.1	23.4	17.0	23.4	8.5	8.5	100.0

Chi Square = 25.18609   df = 5

Significance = .0001   Missing Observations = 12

TABLE 20

Story Data: Success Item by Educational Level

Item: Ann is successful at her work.

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshmen	12	38	50
	24.0	76.0	54.9
	44.4	59.4	
	13.2	41.8	
Sophomores	3	10	13
	23.1	76.9	14.3
	11.1	15.6	
	3.3	11.0	
Juniors	2	7	9
	22.2	77.8	9.9
	7.4	10.9	
	2.2	7.7	
Seniors	10	9	19
	52.6	47.4	20.9
	37.0	14.1	
	11.0	9.9	
Column	27	64	91
Total	29.7	70.3	100.0

Chi Square = 6.08098   df = 3

Significance = .1077   Missing Observations = 15

As regards the "non-traditional" item, results were significant both by group (Table 21) and by educational level (Table 22), with educational level showing the more highly significant relationship. By group, it is again the women in Group 6, as well as the women in Group 5 (the first of the upper level groups) who had included such a statement with the greatest frequency. By educational level, it was, again, the senior women who had included such a statement to a greater degree than had the other three educational groups.

The "identity" item was significant by both group (Table 23) and by educational level (Table 24). Again, it is the upper level groups, especially Group 6, by group, and the senior women, by educational level, who were most likely to have included such a statement in their stories.

Differences in the content of the "happy woman" stories, then, although there were not many of them, seemed to occur between the upper level groups and the rest of the sample, when the analysis was conducted by group, and between the senior women and the rest of the sample, when the analysis was conducted by educational level. As the upper level groups and the group of senior women overlap largely, it appeared that the same women were accounting for the bulk of differences in regard to each of the three significant items.

There were two formally stated hypotheses concerning the story data:

Hypothesis 3:

Participation in the introductory psychology of women course will be significantly related to the content of the stories describing "Ann," the happy woman. It is expected that the post-course experimental subjects will write more realistic stories, in that they will be more likely to include in their stories references

TABLE 21

Story Data: "Non-traditional" by Group

Item: Ann is happy because she feels free to do what she wants; she does not feel obligated to pursue the traditional feminine role.

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre Experi- mental	Pre Control	Post Experi- mental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	4	2	3	2	3	4	18
	22.2	11.1	16.7	11.1	16.7	22.2	17.6
	18.2	8.7	16.7	8.7	37.5	50.0	
	3.9	2.0	2.9	2.0	2.9	3.9	
No	18	21	15	21	5	4	84
	21.4	25.0	17.9	25.0	6.0	4.8	82.4
	81.8	91.3	83.3	91.3	62.5	50.0	
	17.6	20.6	14.7	20.6	4.9	3.9	
Column	22	23	18	23	8	8	102
Total	21.6	22.5	17.6	22.5	7.8	7.8	100.0

Chi Square = 10.48401   df = 5
Significance = .0626   Missing Observations = 4

TABLE 22

Story Data: "Non-traditional" by Educational Level

Item: Ann is happy because she feels free to do what she wants; she does not feel obligated to pursue the traditional feminine role.

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshmen	6	48	54
	11.1	88.9	54.5
	35.3	58.5	
	6.1	48.5	
Sophomores	1	15	16
	6.3	93.8	16.2
	5.9	18.3	
	1.0	15.2	
Juniors	2	8	10
	20.0	80.0	10.1
	11.8	9.8	
	2.0	8.1	
Seniors	8	11	19
	42.1	57.9	19.2
	47.1	13.4	
	8.1	11.1	
Column	17	82	99
Total	17.2	82.8	100.0

Chi Square = 11.09746   df = 3
Significance = .0112   Missing Observations = 7

TABLE 23

Story Data: Identity Item by Group

Item: Ann is happy because she has addressed/resolved successfully
       issues having to do with her identity.

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre- Course Experi- mental	Pre- Course Control	Post Course Experi- mental	Post Course Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	5 13.5 22.7 4.9	8 21.6 33.3 7.8	6 16.2 33.3 5.8	5 13.5 21.7 4.9	5 13.5 62.5 4.9	8 21.6 100.0 7.8	37 35.9
No	17 25.8 77.3 16.5	16 24.2 66.7 15.5	12 18.2 66.7 11.7	18 27.3 78.3 17.5	3 4.5 37.5 2.9	0 0 0 0	66 64.1
Column Total	22 21.4	24 23.3	18 17.5	23 22.3	8 7.8	8 7.8	103 100.0

Chi Square = 20.52170   df = 5
Significance = .0010   Missing Observations = 3

TABLE 24

Story Data: Identity Item by Educational Level

Item: Ann is happy because she has addressed/resolved successfully
       issues having to do with her identity.

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshmen	14 25.5 38.9 14.0	41 74.5 64.1 41.0	55 55.0
Sophomores	3 18.8 8.3 3.0	13 81.3 20.3 13.0	16 16.0
Juniors	3 30.0 8.3 3.0	7 70.0 10.9 7.0	10 10.0
Seniors	16 84.2 44.4 16.0	3 15.8 4.7 3.0	19 19.0

Chi Square = 24.04436   df = 3
Significance = .0000   Missing Observations = 6

to the typical kinds of conflict experienced by women attempting
to balance the needs for achievement (i.e., career aspirations,
doing for oneself) with the needs and demands of interpersonal
intimacy (i.e., relationship with husband/lover and children,
caring for others).

Hypothesis 6:   (Secondary hypothesis)

Educational level will be significantly related to the content
of the stories describing "Ann," the happy woman. It is expected
that the older subjects' stories will be more realistic and
include more references to conflict as Ann attempts to balance
the demands of work and love, than will the stories written by
the younger subjects.

Neither hypothesis was confirmed by the data. References to conflict

or to any untoward event simply were not frequent among the stories. This

may have something to do with the cue, "happy," a word which may inspire

fairy-tale-like accounts, wherein events fall smoothly into place ("happi-

ness" is the absence of conflict, or the disagreeable?). This seemed to

be the case for the vast majority of stories. They read like fairy tales,

minus the requisite bit of adversity which must be overcome before the

happy ending is reached. Only twelve subjects (11.3%) mentioned Ann's

having experienced any difficulties of any kind; five (4.7%) referred to

a sacrifice or accommodation Ann had made; none reported conflict between

Ann and her parents; one reported conflict between Ann and her husband/

lover concerning Ann's career aspirations; two referred to conflict con-

cerning Ann's desire to work and her desire to raise a family; and none

referred to conflict between Ann and her husband/lover concerning Ann's

desire to work and her desire to raise a family. When the item—whether

Ann had experienced any difficulties at all—was analyzed, both by group

and by educational level, no significant relationships appeared.

In order to see if these subjects were aware of the potential
reality of these conflicts, but simply had not included references to
them in their stories, the data provided by the subjects' responses to
the objective choice questionnaire (the multiple choice question
pertaining to the subject's working outside the home and raising children)
was reviewed. Subjects had been asked to make a choice and to list the
advantages and disadvantages of that choice. If, in citing the advan-
tages and disadvantages, the subject referred to the kinds of conflicts
for which the stories were scored, even if the subject had not referred
to this conflict in her story, note was made of this.

Seventy-one percent of the subjects made some reference to the
kinds of difficulties confronting women attempting to balance the demands
of achievement and interpersonal intimacy. Subjects referred to the
potential boredom involved in being a full-time mother and housewife;
the importance of a separate identity; the economic dependence engendered
by the traditional, feminine role; the difficulties facing a woman,
should she divorce or should her husband die, and she is not employed;
difficulties in returning to the labor market after years of absence;
difficulties in securing promotions, should she leave the labor market;
the unavailability of good, affordable daycare facilities, etc. Subjects
did not differ, either by group or by educational level, in their aware-
ness of such difficulties, as indicated by their responses to the objective
choice questionnaire, although it appeared to the writer that the senior
women's concerns were better articulated than the comments made by the
younger subjects. It might, thus, be concluded that although many of

these subjects were aware of the potential conflicts facing women
attempting to balance the demands of achievement and interpersonal
intimacy, the cue, "happy," may not have been sufficient to inspire the
women to write about them.

A primary question pertinent to this study involved these subjects'
perceptions of what kinds of behaviors and choices were important to
their identity as adult women. From the vantage point of these college-
aged women, who are projecting themselves to the end (age 30) of their
currently experienced "passage"—Pulling Up Roots and the Trying Twenties—
women who are struggling with identity issues of late adolescence and
early adulthood, the most frequently depicted resolution appeared to
involve doing it all. Ideally, happy women, such as Ann (and, by
implication, the subject), women who have "located" themselves success-
fully in regard both to love and work, are those who are married, are
mothers, and who also work outside the home.

Sixty-seven percent of the subjects (N = 71) reported that Ann went
to work after obtaining a degree, with another 18.9% (N = 20) who reported
Ann's working, but without mention of her first having obtained a degree.
Sixty-seven percent depicted Ann as being married, with another 11.3%
(N = 12) who depicted Ann as being unmarried, but involved in a stable,
affectionate relationship that might or might not lead to marriage. Forty-
nine percent (N = 52) of the subjects depicted Ann as a mother (most
commonly, as a mother of two children), with another 18.9% who depicted
Ann as childless, but planning for children.

Although stories were scored for whether Ann's work was traditional
or non-traditional, the majority of subjects did not specify Ann's field

of employment (nor did they tend to specify her college major). The most common pattern depicted in the stories was Ann's graduation from college, her securing a "good" job, one which she "enjoyed," her working for a while (a year or more) before marrying, and her decision, at some later date, to become a mother. What was not clear, from the story content, at least, was how the majority of subjects envisioned Ann juggling the demands of being a wife, housewife, mother, and independent wage-earner.

When the data for work-and-childcare-patterns were analyzed, that which was most striking was the comparative absence of response: 7 subjects reported that Ann stopped working after the birth of her first child and included no reference to Ann's future plans for returning to work; 16 subjects depicted Ann as stopping working, but with plans to return, usually, after her youngest child was old enough to enter school. Eight subjects depicted Ann as continuing to work part-time, and 3 subjects depicted Ann as continuing to work full-time. The remainder of the subjects did not include a childcare-and-work pattern in their stories.

Again, rather than the story content, it was the objective-choice questionnaire which provided a clearer picture of how these subjects envision themselves balancing the demands of working outside the home and raising children. Of the 96 women who provided scoreable responses (4 women did not fill out this questionnaire, and 6 checked more than one option):

—18.9% (N = 20) said they planned either not to work, or planned

to stop work with no particular plans to return to the work force

after the birth of their children;

—31.1% (N = 33) planned to stop work, but also definitely planned

to go back at some later data;

—25.5% (N = 27) planned to continue working, with minimum inter-

ruption for childbearing; and

—15.1% (N = 16) planned, at this point in their lives, not to have

children.

It might be remembered, however, that these choices were predicted on the

assumption that the subjects' husbands would earn enough money so that

the subjects did not have to work, unless they chose to do so. The labor

statistics for September, 1978, however, which indicated that for the

first time, a majority of American women (50.1%) are either employed

outside the home or are looking for work, raise serious questions con-

cerning a family's ability to live on the salary of one (male) wage-

earner.*

When the above frequencies were analyzed- both by group and by

educational level, the results were not significant by group, but they

were significant by educational level (Table 25). Again, it was the

group of senior women who differed from the rest of the sample. Not

one of these women chose option 1 (not to work, or to stop work and

decide later whether to return). They were also less likely to choose

option 2 (stopping work with plans to return), and more likely either

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*This is not to imply, however, that women choose to work solely for the
purpose of supplementing their husbands' income.

TABLE 25

Objective Choice Question: Options by Educational Level

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	1	2	3	4	Row Total
Freshmen	12 23.5 60.0 12.9	24 47.1 77.4 25.8	8 15.7 30.8 8.6	7 13.7 43.8 7.5	51 54.8
Sophomores	5 35.7 25.0 5.4	3 21.4 9.7 3.2	5 35.7 19.2 5.4	1 7.1 6.3 1.1	14 15.1
Juniors	3 30.0 15.0 3.2	2 20.0 5.5 2.2	3 30.0 11.5 3.2	2 20.0 12.5 2.2	10 10.8
Seniors	0 0 0 0	2 11.1 6.5 2.2	10 55.6 38.5 10.8	6 33.3 37.5 6.5	18 19.4
Column Total	20 21.5	31 33.3	26 28.0	16 17.2	93 100.0

Chi Square = 24.21239   df = 9
Significance = .0040   Missing Observations = 13

Choice Options: 1 - Stop work--no plans for return
2 - Stop work, plan to return
3 - Minimum interruption of working for childbearing
4 - No children

to continue working with minimum interruption for childbearing, or to forego having children.

It seemed to the writer, from reading the advantages and disadvantages cited by the subjects in response to the objective choice questionnaire, that although most of the women appeared to be aware of the difficulties facing women who are either full-time mothers and housewives, or who drop out of the job market, however temporarily, the issue which was of overriding concern was that their children should have a "good" mother. Often, what the subjects appeared to be saying was that a "good" mother

is a full-time mother, a mother who stays at home, particularly when her children are young. Repeatedly, subjects made statements to the effect that their children's needs would and should come first, and that for at least the child's first five years, mothers should be at home. Subjects' statements also seemed to indicate that mothering is one way for women to be powerful, be in charge, and to exercise a degree of control that might not be as easily achieved in employment situations outside the home. At any rate, being a mother remains crucial to the majority of these subjects' sense of identity, and the majority of women in this sample hoped they would be able to stop working, at least for a while, after their children were born. In contrast, the senior women in this sample, seemed to have addressed this potential conflict in another direction, often, by the projected decision to forego having children altogether.

Regardless, then, of the ideal state of identity resolution expressed so consistently in the "happy woman" stories--that Ann will have it all-- these subjects, via their responses to the object choice questionnaire, seemed to imply that decisions must be made, and that the contemporary woman may not be able, nor want, to have it all, at least simultaneously. Considering the choice that was made most frequently by the women in this study, that outside employment will be given up, even if temporarily, the writer is led to conclude, as did Gump (1972), that the view of femininity most acceptable to these women is one which, "attests to the importance and feasibility of assuming the roles of wife and mother, while concomitantly pursuing careers which would gratify needs for self realization and achievement..." Although neither these subjects, nor

Gump's were traditional in the sense that the roles of wife and mother were depicted as being sufficient for "fulfillment," or for a satisfactory sense of identity, "...neither were they proposing radical alternatives to the traditional view..." (Gump, 1972, p. 91).

DISCUSSION

College Women and Identity: A Review

The previously described study deals with the process of identity

formation: that process of self definition and re-definition which occurs

throughout an individual's lifetime. As conceptualized by Erikson, there

are critical junctures during which specific developmental issues, or

"tasks," become particularly salient. During these "passages," which may

encompass a number of years, the individual re-defines, "relocates," him

or herself in relation to who he or she was, who he or she is becoming,

and who he or she will be in the future. An individual's sense of

identity, itself a consequence of and predecessor to a layering of

interactions (including the individual in interaction with his or her

personal biology, history, and culture), takes place within and is

influenced by a larger set of interactions. These include larger human

biology, history, and culture.

An omnipresent feature of this process is change. Yet, the reality

of change is accompanied, ideally, by an equally pervasive sense of

continuity. It is this sense of continuity throughout time which insures

that despite a variety of re-definitions and re-locations, the individual

remains "recognizeable" both to him or herself and to the community of

significant others that comprise his or her world.

The subjects of this study are college-aged women, mostly between

the ages of 18 and 22, who are attending a large, Midwestern university

during the mid-to-late 1970's. Theoretically, these are women who are

grappling with the passages, as denoted by Sheehy (1977), of "Pulling

Up Roots" and the "Trying Twenties," concerned as they are with the developmental tasks of late adolescence and early adulthood. Central among these tasks are issues pertaining to locating oneself within an ideology, an anticipated occupation, and a sex role. As women, these subjects are likely to encounter certain difficulties, as they attempt to meet these tasks and resolve them successfully. These difficulties include an apparent lesser degree of support the college environment may provide for women, as opposed to men, who are attempting to separate from parental and cultural expectations in order to form a workable sense of identity (Marcia and Friedman, 1970; Constantinople, 1969). These women may also encounter difficulties, both logistical and philosophical, in balancing the demands of intimacy and personal achievement—love and work—given the restrictions of the traditionally defined "woman's role." The writer believes, and available empirical evidence seems to support the contention that these role-related restrictions are challenged, both theoretically and practically, by support of and movement toward a state of psychological androgyny.

As noted earlier, the writer was interested in a number of identity-related questions which this study sought to address. These questions included an assessment of these subjects' current level of identity achievement, as measured by an Eriksonian-based identity instrument. Would these subjects' scores be significantly affected by their educational standing, as had been the case in an earlier empirical study (Constantinople, 1969)? Would these subjects' scores be significantly affected by their participation in a psychology of women course? This was an academic course which dealt specifically with identity issues of

importance to women and which provided its participants with the opportunity to discuss these issues among themselves.

Further questions included these subjects' "location" of themselves in regard to their sex role, as assessed by an instrument which measures an individual's degree of psychological androgyny. Would subjects' scores prove to be significantly affected by their educational standing? Would subjects' scores be affected by their participation in a psychology of women course? The content of this course included information and discussion of sex roles, sex role typing and its effects upon women, together with information concerning psychological androgyny. What would be the relationship between subjects' identity scores and their sex role orientation scores?

Finally, the writer was interested in having these subjects define what the important components of their identity as adult women might be. Of particular importance to the writer was how subjects envisioned themselves resolving, or at least addressing, the identity issues pertaining to intimacy and personal achievement.

As noted earlier, the means employed in order to elicit this kind of information involved asking subjects to write a story about a hypothetical woman, "Ann," who, upon the celebration of her thirtieth birthday, reviews her life to that point, and decides she is "happy." In responding to the Ann cue, the writer assumed that subjects would project themselves to the end of their currently experienced passage. And, as noted earlier, the writer assumed that if one (i.e., Ann) had managed to resolve satisfactorily those issues important to having located oneself, to having secured a workable sense of identity, then

the affective result of that successful resolution would be positive feelings of well being, of satisfaction, of "happiness." Would the content of such stories be affected by the educational standing of the subject? Would content differences arise as a result of a subject's participation in a psychology of women course?

The "Happy Woman" Stories: A Comment

At this point, the writer would like to draw attention to Mohr's 1978 study. Working within a Piagetian theoretical framework, Mohr contends, "...once identity constancy, based on externally oriented self identity is well in hand, regularities in behavior would serve as a developmental predecessor and transition to internal variants of identity" (p. 427). In short, one's notion of one's identity proceeds from an externally based definition to one which is internally based. A self definition tied primarily to behaviorally-based referents serves as a transition between external and internal definitions. Mohr found support for this proposed progression through his empirical work with children in grades one through six. He asked children open-ended kinds of questions not that dissimilar in spirit from the projective measure employed in this study (e.g., "What will/not change about yourself when you grow up?" "What has not changed about yourself since you were a baby?").

The Ann cue employed in this study might be viewed as inherently supplying an internal definition of sorts: Ann feels happy. The effect the cue seemed to have on the majority of these subjects was to "pull" for responses that were largely behavioral in nature. Subjects supplied the events, the happenings, the behaviors (graduation from college, marriage, employment, children, friends, money, etc.) which they felt

would result in Ann's internal feelings of happiness. What is of great interest to the writer is that the many items which referred to behaviors mostly failed to distinguish one group of subjects from another. The three items which did distinguish one group from another all referred to some internal definition: Ann's feeling that she was successful at her work; Ann's feeling that she was not bound by the constraints of women's traditional role; Ann's feeling that she had successfully addressed/ resolved some issue of importance to her identity.

It is the writer's speculation that had these stories been scored for the simple presence of absence of any internal references (other than a simple restatement of the fact that Ann is happy), that more differences among the groups of women (older vs. younger subjects; Psych 160 vs. Psych 139 women; and possibly, differences among sex role orientation groups and identity achievement groups) might have appeared. These are differences which may not have been tapped by the primarily behavior-oriented scoring system applied to this sample of stories.

Methodological Considerations

Before discussing the actual results and their implications of this study, the writer would like to draw attention to a number of methodological concerns. The first of these is subject selection. This study is typical of many current psychological studies, in that it employs a college student sample. Caution should be taken in generalizing the results of this study to women of similar ages who are not attending college. Equally, all of the subjects who participated in this study were drawn from undergraduate psychology classes. The senior women,

in particular, were almost all declared psychology majors, many of whom were enrolled in a course devoted to "selected topics in the psychology of women." Many of the differences arising among the subjects were found to exist between these senior women and the rest of the sample. There is no claim made that this particular group of women is representative of other senior women in other academic departments.

Although the choice of women enrolled in Psych 139 (psychology of women) and Psych 439 (selected topics in the psychology of women) as subjects might be viewed as unrepresentative sampling, the writer feels that there are advantages in having selected precisely these women. The focus of this study is a variety of issues of importance to college women's identity. It is the writer's conviction that these kinds of issues are of basic concern to most, if not all women. Women may, and in fact, do vary in regard to their awareness of their role(s) as women, the conflicts inherent in that role, the salience they perceive the role and its conflicts having for them, etc. That which may, in part, distinguish women who enroll in psychology of women courses is their awareness of role-related issues and the fact that they are motively dealing with these issues; or at least that they entertain a willingness to do so.

Gathering data from such women, then, may not be equivalent to exploring the responses of a biased, "special interest," unrepresentative group. Rather, it is exploring responses of persons who, as any and all women in this culture, have experienced certain role-related assumptions, expectations, and training in the kinds of behaviors consonant with those assumptions and expectations. That the women enrolled in psychology of

women courses might be more aware, more conflicted, more active, angrier, less tolerant in dealing with the questions involving their identity as women does not alter the reality that all women must and do live with these questions. (These reactions are associated with the experience of "crisis" in an Eriksonian sense: a temporary state of disorganization and frequently, discomfort, which are often necessary for further growth and development.) The reality comes with the role. A woman's age, her race, her class, whether she is "straight" or gay, may serve only to amplify, to further complicate, the reality of her role as a woman in a still sexist, although slowly changing culture.

Thus, if one believes, as does the writer, that the reality of being a woman in this culture raises certain identity-related questions of concern to all women, and if one is interested in women's perceptions of these questions, their proposed solutions, and the process by which questions are formulated and answers sought, then it seems reasonable to elicit responses from women actively engaged in this process. Hence, the selection of women enrolled in psychology of women courses.

* * * *

A second methodological concern involves the Eriksonian identity instrument. As noted earlier, several of the subscales included in the instrument proved to be extremely weak statistically. The low reliabilities make apparent results questionable. Equally, there is no validity information available for the instrument. The writer is hesitate to draw hard-and-fast conclusions based upon differences among subjects in regard to several of the subscales. A valid, reliable measure for identity achievement is certainly needed. The writer does

not feel that this instrument, the only one of its kind to the writer's
knowledge, fulfills these requirements to an impressive extent.

It might be emphasized, however, that this instrument was developed
from responses elicited solely from male college students. That several
subscale reliabilities, based upon the responses of an exclusively female
sample, were so low might be due to a number of possibilities. It may be
that the items which comprise certain subscales, even when they are
worded in a seemingly gender-unbiased fashion, are inappropriate for
women. Recall that of the twelve subscales, five correlated significantly
and solely with the Masculinity scale of the Bem instrument, while two
correlated more significantly with the M scale than they did with the
Femininity scale. Four subscales correlated with neither M nor F, while
only Intimacy (composed of several traditionally feminine adjectives—
"warm," "sympathetic," "tactful") correlated solely and significantly with
F.

As women in a college environment receive less support for separating
from certain parental and cultural expectations, they may be more con-
flicted. This conflict might manifest itself in the form of less stable
identity scores. Equally, current college women might be viewed as being
in a state of transition. Having all been exposed, to greater or lesser
degrees, to traditional role prescriptions, they now find themselves
confronted by other, often conflicting prescriptions and proscriptions,
as defined by the recent feminist movement. An indication of this
conflict might be seen in their less stable identity scores. It is also
possible that the process of identity consolidation for women simply
proceeds differently—less straightforwardly, more ambivalently, less

stably--for women than it does for men, given the strange assortment
of messages a woman developing in the culture receives at various
stages in her life. A much modified instrument might be required in
order to tap into and accurately discern the outlines of this develop-
mental process.

Finally, result patterns (much lower means and reliabilities for
the negative subscales, as compared with the positive subscales) may,
in large part, be the outcome of the nature of the items that compose
each subscale, together with the nature of subjects' typical responses
to such items. It is the writer's impression that the positive items
are easier to endorse than many of the negative items not solely because
the positive items are more socially desirable, but because of the reality
that people generally (and therefore, the majority of these subjects)
are more often active, confident, hardworking, optimistic, conscientious,
etc., than they are very lonely, overly preoccupied with themselves,
hesitant and doubting, cold and remote, etc. Normally occurring unhappy
periods aside, people, unless they are from clinic populations, do not
describe themselves ad characteristically being in the states described
by many of the negative subscales (See Appendix: Instruments).

Further, it seems to the writer, also a clinician, that several of
the low reliability negative subscales describe essentially clinical
states in their thumbnail sketches of individuals who have thoroughly
"failed" a particular developmental stage. The Shame subscale (e.g.,
automatic, overorganized, hesitant, doubting, apologetic, thinks one is
being followed) suggests compulsivity with paranoid overtones. The
Isolation subscale (little regard for the world, very lonely, cold and

remote, secretly pays no attention to others) suggests both alienation and narcissism. The Diffusion subscale (a fake, spreads self too thin, never knows how one feels, afraid to get involved) suggests psychopathy or perhaps, hysteria (which are often related).

Often, it appears to be the case that a "normal" subject may be able to strongly endorse one or two of these subscale items, but not all of them. If then, for several reasons, a person's response to the items which comprise these subscales is likely to be inconsistent, then the likelihood of the overall reliability (in this case, arrived at by splitting the sample and comparing the halves) being low is quite under-standable. An added factor in the low reliability of the Diffusion subscale might involve the fact that Identity vs. Identity Diffusion is particularly salient for college students.

The two strongest negative subscales, Mistrust (the items reflect pessimism and frustration) and Inferiority (items reflect an inability to do one's work) are, in comparison with Shame, Diffusion, and Isolation, more likely to be endorsed consistently. The remaining negative subscale, Guilt, is composed almost entirely of items reflecting concern with sexual incompetence. Although this scale was not correlated with the Masculinity scale of the BSRI, the tone of the items suggests to the writer a male approach to sexuality: that sexual activity is a task approached with hopes of mastery and fears of performance failure.

In regard to the positive scales: Industry (the items of which appear to ask the question: Do you do your work well?), Initiative (the question appears to be: Do you engage the external world?), and Trust (question: Are you secure, hopeful, adaptable?) are all high

reliability scales. The characteristics they describe are both easy to endorse and are often stable over time. Responses to the items of the Identity subscale (question: Are you confident?) may tend to vary with the person's level of confidence; identity questions are also central to college students. The extremely weak Autonomy subscale appears to ask the question: Do you take responsibility for yourself and your actions? The scale contains several items (e.g., valuing independence above security, standing on one's own two feet, knowing when to assert oneself) that may be particularly problematic for women. As previously noted, the Intimacy subscale is composed, in part, of typically feminine characteristics. Curiously, the scale implies no reciprocity, no mutuality of the intimate relationship. It is also the only positive subscale which implies the existence of another person. It appears to the writer that because of the nature of the items, a female subject could appear to have resolved Intimacy without first having resolved Identity, an outcome characteristic of women who organize their identity around a husband and children and who may neither expect nor demand reciprocal nurturance, as the scale does not allow differentiation between internally-defined identity as contrasted with externally organized, or foreclosed, identity.

A last methodological concern: attention must be drawn to the fact that much of the same data (the results of both the objective instruments and the projective stories) was analyzed a number of times. The writer realizes that such an approach increases the probability of arriving at significant findings by chance alone.

Results

Course-related findings

Analysis revealed that participation in an introductory psychology of women course had no significant impact upon subjects' identity scores, androgyny scores, or the content, especially regarding the inclusion of specific kinds of conflict of the "happy woman" stories.

Identity scores and course participation: Analysis revealed no significant differences in identity scores between the post-course experimental group (Psych 139 women) and the post-course control group (Psych 160 women). There were, however, significant differences between the pre-course experimental and control groups, particularly as regards subjects' scores on the Identity subscale of the Eriksonian instrument. Comparison of the two pre-course groups indicated that the direction of the scores favored the control subjects. Although the differences between the two post-course groups were insignificant, the direction of the differences tended to favor the experimental group.

In comparison with the Psych 160 women, the women entering the psychology of women course were "worse" in terms of their relative identity achievement. The possibility exists that the identity scores of the Psych 160 students, the majority of whom were freshmen, reflected the effects of identity foreclosure. Foreclosure implies an identity organization which is in accordance with external expectations (e.g. those of parents). This type of organization is both common and approved of for groups (such as high school students and entering fresh-men) who have not yet separated from their families of origin. The phenomenon of the "sophomore slump," in fact, has often been regarded as

a reflection of the disorganization accompanying the transition between
a primarily parent-identified (or child) sense of self and the self-
defined (or adult) identity. As noted earlier, this transition is often
more difficult for women who are often encouraged to maintain an
externally organized, or foreclosed, identity (e.g., a self definition
which revolves around their relationships with their husbands and
children). Because an externally organized, foreclosed sense of self is
in many ways appropriate for freshmen, it is perhaps unsurprising that
these Psych 160 women tended to score well in terms of their identity
achievement.

Equally, the identity scores of the initial group of Psych 139 women
may be viewed as reflecting the effects of conflict which are typical
of college students who experience a developmentally appropriate "psycho-
social moratorium." It must be remembered, however, that the significant
differences which initially existed between these two groups of women
dropped out altogether, when the second group of Psych 160 women was
compared with the women who had completed Psych 139.

Additionally, subject self selection might be a factor in the
identity scores of the Psych 160 women. Instructors of this introductory
psychology course have observed and commented upon differences among
students enrolled in this course as regards who participates in experi-
mental research and when in the term participation occurs. Women appear
consistently to outnumber men in their willingness to participate, even
when the credits the subjects receive may be applied to their course
grades. The better organized, planful students tend to sign up early
in the term. Panicked students who realize they are in grade trouble,

seem to flock to volunteer later in the term. This factor might be implicated in the better scores of the initial group of Psych 160 women and the lower scores of the second group.

These theoretical and methodological speculations aside, the writer is prepared to argue that the psychology of women course did have some modest effects on the subjects' identity scores, although it is perhaps unreasonable to expect that any ten-week course, regardless of its content and whatever opportunity it may have afforded its members to share common concerns, could have much of an immediate impact upon developmental changes that normally encompass a number of years.

It must also be noted that at least six post-course experimental subjects failed to return their completed research packets. It is not possible to predict if, or how, results might have been altered had the missing data been included in the analysis.

Androgyny and course participation: Analysis revealed a lack of relationship between subjects' participation in the psychology of women course and their sex role orientation, as measured by the Bem Sex Role Inventory.

Story Content and course participation: Participation in the psychology of women course was not related to subjects' including more references to conflict in their stories describing Ann, the happy woman.

Education level-related findings

A cautionary note: Throughout this study, the variables, age and educational status, have been referred to interchangeably. For a

college sample, this interchange might be justified, as freshmen are generally the youngest are generally the youngest group, seniors the oldest, while sophomores and juniors are the younger and older of the middle groups. For the vast majority of subjects in this sample, the correspondence between their chronological age and educational status conformed to expectation.

Generally, however, educational status and chronological age are not interchangeable entities. Even in a college population, where the correspondence is close, it is not identical. Results of this study were often significant by educational level. Whether these results were a function of age alone, of educational status alone, or of some combination of the two (with the variables either equally or differentially "weighted"), the writer cannot state with certainty. Her bias as a psychologist leads her to favor an interactional explanation which postulates an interplay between a person who is becoming older (and the biological, cognitive, etc. changes that this implies) with an environment (college) which steadily demands greater differentiation and complexity in that person's thought and behavior.

With the foregoing in mind (together with the further caution that the subjects who comprise the four educational-level groups were chosen non-randomly and that therefore, the educational-level related hypotheses were presented as secondary), it appeared that the educational status of the subject had more to do with the variables under consideration than did specific course participation. As regards identity scores: there were significant differences among subjects of varied educational levels, with a tendency toward "better" identity scores among the

senior women. The contrast among freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors appeared to be the greatest when seniors and freshmen were compared. Educational level was not, however, related to subjects' sex role orientation, as measured by the Bem Sex Role Inventory. Nor was educational level related to whether a subject included more references to conflict in writing of Ann, the happy woman.

Although educational level was not related to whether or not the subject included references to conflict in her story, it appeared that the few differences in content which did occur among the stories were more likely to appear in the stories written by the senior women. Equally, it was the senior women who were more likely to differ from the rest of the sample in their projected choice concerning how they saw themselves managing outside employment and childcare. These women were less likely to see themselves interrupting their careers and more likely to see themselves as foregoing having children.

Again, it must be noted that nearly all of these senior women were declared psychology majors. All of them participated in a psychology of women course (the majority in Psych 439; a smaller number in Psych 139). These women may not be representative of the majority of senior women. Additionally, all of the subjects comprising the educational-level groups were chosen non-randomly.

Despite the introduction of these biases, the educational-level results as regards the Eriksonian identity measure, tended to confirm Constantinople's earlier findings. That which was absent in the results of this study are the "anti-developmental" trends Constantinople found

among her female subjects (i.e., increasing isolation among women from freshman through senior years, etc.). Constantinople viewed these trends as a possible result of the lesser degree of support the college environment may provide for women in their struggle to establish a satisfactory sense of identity. It is the writer's speculation that women who are identified with the feminist movement or who participate in psychology of women courses, may receive kinds of support which may function to offset such anti-developmental trends. Perhaps, other groups of women whose departments are less responsive to the needs of women and do not provide such courses or other kinds of support groups may be more subject to increased isolation and other negative developments as they proceed through college.

Identity and Androgyny

When the entire sample of 106 women was considered, highly significant differences were found among the four sex role orientation categories and those subjects' scores on the Eriksonian identity measure. Whereas differences among educational groups had affected only a couple of the identity subscale scores (notably, Shame and Industry), differences among sex role orientation categories affected all six of the positive scales and two of the negative scales (Guilt and Isolation, both low reliability subscales). Typically, either the androgynous women or the masculine-oriented women fared best in terms of relative identity achievement, with the differences among groups being the greatest when androgynous, and sometimes, masculine-oriented women were compared with undifferentiated women.

These findings stand somewhat in contrast to Heilbrun's 1964 study of college students, wherein Heilbrun found that although there was a positive relationship between degree of identity achievement and degree of masculinity among his male subjects, the same type of relationship did not hold for his female subjects. Either a distinct masculine orientation or a distinct feminine orientation was found to be related to better identity achievement among these female subjects. A mixed role orientation, as measured by an adjective check-list, tended to lower the female subject's "R.V." score ("R.V." refers to "role variability," Heilbrun's measure of identity achievement. Subjects were asked to rate themselves on eight adjectives, while considering a particular context. Contexts included an interaction with a same or other-sex parent, an interaction with a same or other-sex friend, etc. The assumption is that the less changeable a person perceives him or herself being from context to context, the greater the person's perceived "continuity," and hence, identity achievement).

It is evident that Heilbrun's identity achievement measure differs conceptually from the one employed in this study, although both methods are influenced by Erikson's theory. Equally, Heilbrun's subjects are, in some senses, from a different "generation" of college women, a generation which may have received less support for integrating and utilizing all potential aspects of their personalities. The writer also wonders about the meaning of "mixed role orientation." By the categories employed in this study, both androgynous and undifferentiated women could be considered as being "mixed role." The writer wonders whether a

preponderance of Heilbrun's "mixed role" women were, in fact, undif-
ferentiated in terms of their sex role orientation, and, therefore,
lower in terms of their relative identity achievement.

Heilbrun's findings notwithstanding, a host of empirical findings
and certain theoretical constructions do support the contention that a
positive relationship exists between an androgynous sex role orientation
and "higher" forms of ego development--especially for women. As indi-
cated by the quotation from Erikson, which appears on the initial page
of this study, one's sense of identity, entwined as it is with the
cultural and the biological, is essentially an ego function ("...more
than the mere _fact_ of existence; is is, as it were, the _ego quality_ of
this existence...").

Contending that sex role definitions "represent a synthesis of
biological and cultural forces as they are mediated by cognitive and ego
functions," Block (1973) proposes an expansion of Loevinger's model of
ego development to include the individual's conception of sex role
development at each stage of ego development. The most advanced stage
of ego development, that of "integration," corresponds, by Block's
expansion, to the development of an equally integrated conception of
one's sex role: the integration of both the masculine and the feminine
components of the self. Such is one definition of psychological
androgyny.

Block (1973) reviews empirical studies, most of which were cited
earlier in this study, which support the relationship between androgyny
and more advanced ego development. She notes that her own findings,
based upon data drawn from the Berkeley Guidance and Oakland Growth

studies, confirm that among her female subjects, strict adherence to the
dictates of sex role typing, together with high degrees of socialization
(as measured by the Femininity and Socialization scales of the California
Personality Inventory) are particularly detrimental to women's psycho-
logical development.

The relationship between sex role orientation and level of ego func-
tioning appears to the writer to be an extremely important one and an
area that would certainly merit further research, especially as the
results of this study tend to confirm, once again, the positive benefits
(here, in terms of identity achievement) which derive from a woman's
androgynous sex role orientation.

* * * *

The writer is not content to leave the topic of identity and
androgyny without returning to the issue of definition. As noted earlier,
although a number of writers (Bem, Spence, Block) agree that androgyny
implies some combination of the masculine and the feminine, differences
exist as to the nature of that combination. Bem (1975) speaks of a
relative balance between the masculine and the feminine. Spence (1975)
speaks of high levels of both. Block (1973) speaks of a holistic
integration of communion and agency: self extension tempered by mutuality;
communion amended by self assertion and self expression.

This writer, too, views psychological androgyny as implying a
state of integration wherein development has proceeded in such a manner
that a result is that all of the person's resources (or, to use Bem's
adjectives)--his or her "self reliance," "warmth," "independence,"
"understanding," "assertiveness," "tact," "ambition," "sensitivity,"

regard for self, and regard for the other—is readily available to be used as the situation demands, without regard to the gender of the person, the situation, or the psychological characteristic. Such a state implies that both the individual and the larger culture view such characteristics as neither "appropriately" and exclusively "masculine," nor "appropriately" and exclusively "feminine," but simply and inclusively human. This definition corresponds closely to Hefner, Rebecca, and Oleshansky's (1975) description of a state they label as "sex-role transcendence." Segregating such characteristics by gender diminishes both men and women and the resources available to them for coping with themselves, each other, and the complexities of the larger world.

* * * *

College women's perceptions of that which is important to their identity as adult women

Analysis of the "happy woman" stories indicated that for the majority of subjects, having it all—marriage, children, and career—is now the ideal model for having successfully "located" oneself in regard to the issues of love and work. Despite this ideal, many of these same women indicated that they would be willing to give up working, however temporarily, in order to raise their children, although appeared to be aware, if only intellectually, that such a choice entails certain risks (i.e., damage to career aspirations and the various liabilities involved in being a full-time wife and mother). As noted earlier, the senior women in this sample tended to depart from this pattern.

The picture that emerges from these stories, together with the data obtained from the subjects' responses to the objective choice question, is one of some, although not striking, departure from the traditional

feminine role. This seemed to be in line with recently published
findings of a study of female high school graduates, conducted by the
University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research (Detroit Free
Press, September 22, 1978). Study findings indicated that nine out of
ten of these high school graduates planned on careers outside the home.
They reported that they wanted to go to college, even for Ph.D.'s, in
the same proportion as boys. Yet, in terms of their career choices,
many planned to enter the fields already dominated by women, and, as a
goodly number of women in this study, they wanted to stay home full-
time, especially when their children are young. Alternative arrangements,
involving househusbands, daycare, and part-time work, tended to have
little support.

Final comments

It appears that the recent femininst movement has made women of all
ages more aware of the possibilities, the alternatives, and of the pit-
falls associated with particular choices, but the actual choices women see
themselves as making are in no way strikingly "radical." It is the
writer's feeling that not only do women need options, but also the
preparation necessary for being able to take advantage of these options.
As the direction of Hoffman's (1972) article suggests, parenting of
female children must include training requsite for future autonomy.
In order to take advantage of greater options, one must be willing to
take greater risks. Overly "protective" parenting of female children
may result in socially acceptable femininity, but not necessarily in the
initiative, the autonomy, the self security needed to depart from
established roles.

As Block (1973), among other writers suggests, the father's contri-
bution to the eventual sex typing and role development of the child may
be of greater importance than the mother's. The writer feels that it
is crucial for fathers to become more equal partners in the day-to-day
care and raising of the children, as it is crucial that mothers become
more equal partners in bread-winning. It is to the child's benefit,
male or female, to observe, experience, and interact with two balanced,
integrated "models." Dinnerstein (1976) views such an arrangement as
being not only beneficial, but imperative. She proposes that as long
as mothers continue in their roles as primary, if not exclusive care-
givers, particularly of young children, the task of psychological
separation, essential to a future sense of autonomy and individual
responsibility, will remain largely unaccomplished.

Such a reality calls for a major re-evaluation of the male sex
role and its accompanying assumptions, expectations, and behaviors,
together with a concommitant restructuring of the world of work so that
men and women are both able to take part in the child care process
(it is evident that the writer has big plans for American culture...).

To return to the focus of this study: That which is important
to women's sense of identity appears to the writer to be an area that is
worth looking into from time to time, in order to assess the direction
of what women's hopes and wishes for themselves are and the extent to
which the surrounding culture appears to be supportive of or resistant
to those directions. Certainly, if this study had been conducted
twenty-five years ago, one might have expected that the "happy woman"

ideal would have conformed more directly to the traditional feminine role, rather than to the modified traditional role espoused by these subjects. The writer might suggest, however, that future investigators might wish to employ a less unwieldy research instrument than the projective stories used in this study.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Instruments

APPENDIX A

INSTRUMENTS

Demographic Questionnaire

Part I

Please complete the following questionnaire. Answer every item, either by circling the appropriate response, or by filling in the blank.

1. What is your age? _____

2. What is your marital status? _____

3. To which racial group do you belong? _____

4. What is your current educational status?
   a. Freshman
   b. Sophomore
   c. Junior
   d. Senior
   e. Graduate student

5. What is your present religious preference?
   a. Atheist, agnostic
   b. Protestant
   c. Catholic
   d. Jewish
   e. Other _____

6. What is your political affiliation?
   a. Republican
   b. Democrat
   c. Independent
   d. Other _____

7. How would you describe your political views?
   a. Very liberal
   b. Somewhat liberal
   c. Moderate
   d. Somewhat conservative
   e. Very conservative

8. How religious would you say you are?
   a. Very religious
   b. Somewhat religious
   c. Slightly religious
   d. Not at all religious
   e. Anti-religious

9. How many children, including yourself, are in your family? _____

10. How many brothers are in your family? _____

11. How many sisters, aside from yourself, are in your family? _____

12. What is your birth position in your family (i.e., only child; first born; last born, etc.)? _____

13. Was your mother employed outside the home?
   a. Yes
   b. No

Eriksonian Identity Instrument--Revised

For Parts II and III, please use the answer sheet enclosed in the research packet. LEAVE THE FIRST FOUR ITEMS (#1, 2, 3, & 4--the top row) BLANK. Begin with item #5. Use only the boxes marked [1] through [7]. Disregard boxes [0], [8], and [9].

Part II (items 5-64)

Please indicate how well each of the following words or phrases describes you as you see yourself. Use the 7-point scale noted below. Remember to use only those boxes on the answer sheet labeled [1] through [7].

```
/ 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 7 /
Never or                        Always or
almost never                    almost always
true of me                      true of me
```

5. Calm and untroubled
6. An automatic response to all situations
7. Likes adventure
8. Can't reach my goals

9. Full of confidence
10. Little concern for the rest of the world
11. Not able to stand frustration; everything frustrates me
12. Values independence more than security

13. Find it difficult to have sexual feelings
14. Upright and hard working
15. A fake, pretend to be what I'm not
16. Honest, not afraid to show myself

17. Open to new ideas
18. Careful about details and overorganized
19. Active
20. Don't try as hard as I am able

21. Natural and genuine
22. Overly concerned with myself
23. Can't share things with anybody
24. Free and nature

25. Afraid of sexual failure
26. Interested in learning; like to study
27. Spread myself too thin
28. Warm and friendly

29. Always an optimist
30. Cautious, hesitant, doubting
31. Ambitious
32. Waste my time

33. At ease and well mannered
34. Very lonely
35. Pessimistic, little hope
36. Stand on my own two feet

37. Think too much about the wrong things
38. Serious, have high standards
39. Attempt to seem at ease
40. Have sympathetic concern for others

41. Able to take things as they come
42. Feel as if I am beeng followed
43. Inventive, enjoy finding new answers to new problems
44. Ineffective, don't amount to much

45. Know who I am and what I want out of life
46. Cold and distant
47. Long for lost paradise
48. Quietly go my own way

49. A lot of talking and planning, but little action
50. Get much done
51. Never know how I feel
52. Tactful in personal relations

53. Deep, unshakeable belief in myself
54. Always in the wrong, feeling sorry
55. Sexually aware
56. Living for pleasure, always "fooling around"

57. Proud of my own character and values
58. Secretly don't pay attention to the opinions of others
59. Never get what I really want
60. Good judge of when to comply and when to make myself heard

61. Controlled, never let myself go.
62. Do well in my work
63. Afraid to get involved
64. Comfortable in close relationships

Identity Instrument: By Subscale

Basic Trust

* 1. calm and untrobuled--Revised wording
      (placid and untroubled)--Original wording
*13. open to new ideas
      (accessible to new ideas)
*25. always an optimist
      (imperturbable optimist)
 37. able to take things as they come
 49. deep, unshakable faith in himself (herself)

Basic Mistrust

* 7. not able to stand frustration and everything frustrates him (her)
      (incapable of absorbing frustration and everything frustrates
      him (her)
 19. can't share things with anybody
 31. pessimistic, little hope
*43. longs for lost paradise
      (dim nostalgia for lost paradise)
 55. never gets what he really wants

Autonomy

* 8. values independence more than security
      (values independence above security)
*20. free and natural
      (free and spontaneous)
 32. stands on his (her) own feet
 44. quietly goes his (her) own way
*56. good judge of when to make himself (herself) heard
      (good judge of when to assert himself (herself))

Shame and Doubt

 2.   an automatic response to all situations
*14. careful about details and overorganized
      (meticulous and overorganized)
 26. cautious, hesitant, doubting
 38. feels as if he (she) were being followed
*50. always in the wrong, feeling sorry
      (always in the wrong, apologetic)

Initiative

* 3. likes adventure
      (adventuresome)
*15. active
      (dynamic)
 27. ambitious
*39. inventive, enjoys finding new answers to new problems
      (inventive, delights in finding new solutions to new problems)
 51. sexually aware

Guilt

* 9. finds it difficult to have sexual feelings
      (sexually blunted)
*21. afraid of sexual failure
      (afriad of impotence)
 33. thinks too much about the wrong things
*45. a lot of talking and planning, but little action
      (big smoke but no fire)
*57. controlled, never lets himself (herself) go
      (inhibited and self-restricted)

Industry

*10. upright and hardworking
      (conscientious and hardworking)
 22. interested in learning and likes to study
 34. serious, has high standards
*46. gets much done
      (accomplishes much)
*47. does well in his (her) work
      (excels in his (her) work)

Inferiority
* 4. can't reach his (her goals
      (can't fulfill his (her ambitions)
*16. doesn't try as hard as he (she is able
      (doesn't apply himself (herself) fully
*28. wastes his (her) time
      (fritters away his (her) time)
 40. ineffective, doesn't amount to much
*52. living for pleasure, always "fooling" around
      (a playboy, always "hacking" around)

Identity

* 5. full of confidence
     (confidence is brimming over)
 17. natural and genuine
*29. at ease and well mannered
     (poised)
 41. knows who he (she) is and what he (she) wants out of life
*53. proud of his (her own character and values
     (pride in his (her) own character and values)

Role Diffusion

*11. a fake, pretends to be what he (she) isn't
     (a poseur, all facade and pretence)
 23. spreads himself (herself) thin
*35. attempts to seem at ease
     (attempts to appear at ease)
 47. never knows how he (she) feels
*59. afraid to get involved
     (afraid of commitment)

Intimacy

*12. honest, not afraid to show himself (herself)
     (candid, not afraid to expose himself (herself))
 24. warm and friendly
 36. has sympathetic concern for others
 48. tactful in personal relations
*60. comfortable in close relationships
     (comfortable in intimate relationships)

Isolation

* 6. little concern for the rest of the world
     (little regard for the rest of the world)
*18. overly concerned with himself (herself)
     (preoccupied with himself (herself))
 30. very lonely
*42. cold and distant
     (cold and remote)
*54. secretly doesn't pay attention to the opinions of others
     (secretly oblivious to the opinions of others)

BEM Sex Role Inventory

Again, please indicate how well each of the following characteristics describes you as you see yourself. Use the same seven-point scale, and remember to use only those boxes on the answer sheet labeled 1 through 7.

/ 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 7 /
Never or almost   Always or almost
never true of me   always true of me

65. Self reliant
66. Yielding
67. Helpful
68. Defends own beliefs

69. Cheerful
70. Moody
71. Independent
72. Shy

73. Conscientious
74. Athletic
75. Affectionate
76. Theatrical

77. Assertive
78. Flatterable
79. Happy
80. Strong personality

81. Loyal
82. Unpredictable
83. Forceful
84. Feminine

85. Reliable
86. Analytical
87. Sympathetic
88. Jealous

89. Has leadership abilities
90. Sensitive to the needs of others
91. Truthful
92. Willing to take risks

93. Understanding
94. Secretive
95. Makes decisions easily
96. Compassionate

97. Sincere
98. Self sufficient
99. Eager to soothe hurt feelings
100. Conceited

101. Dominant
102. Soft spoken
103. Likeable
104. Masculine

105. Warm
106. Solemn
107. Willing to take a stand
108. Tender

109. Friendly
110. Aggressive
111. Gullible
112. Inefficient

113. Acts as a leader
114. Childlike
115. Adaptable
116. Individualistic

117. Does not use harsh language
118. Unsystematic
119. Competitive
120. Loves children

121. Tactful
122. Ambitious
123. Gentle
124. Conventional

"Happy Woman" Projective Instrument

<u>Part IV</u>

Today is Ann's 30th birthday. She has spent the morning thinking about the events in her life, particularly the last ten years since she finished high school.

Ann decides she is happy.

Describe Ann and the important events that have taken place in her life these past 10 years. Why does she feel she is happy? What are her plans for the next 10 years? Please be as specific in your description as possible.

Objective Choice Instrument

Part V

Assume that you will marry and that your husband will make enough money
so that you will not have to work unless you want to. Under these
circumstances, would you prefer:

1. Not to work at all, or stop after childbirth, and
   decide later whether to go back..................._____

2. To quit working after the birth of a child, but
   definitely to go back to work...................._____

3. To continue working with a minimum interruption
   for childbearing................................._____

4. To continue working and not have children......._____

What are the advantages and disadvantages, as you see them, of the
choice you have indicated?

APPENDIX B

Content Analysis: Frequencies

Contingency Tables for Selected Items
(non-significant)

CONTENT ANALYSIS: FREQUENCIES

ITEM*	YES	%	NO	%	CAN'T SCORE	%	BLANK
1	78	(73.6)	1	(.9)	24	(22.6)	3
2	3	(2.8)	76	(71.7)	24	(22.6)	3
3	17	(16.0)	61	(57.5)	25	(23.6)	3
4	12	(11.3)	68	(64.2)	23	(21.7)	3
5	71	(67.0)	4	(3.8)	28	(26.4)	3
6	20	(18.9)			83	(78.3)	3
7	19	(17.9)	23	(21.7)	61	(57.5)	3
8	24	(22.6)	18	(17.0)	61	(57.5)	3
9	50	(47.2)	44	(41.5)	9	(8.5)	3
10	28	(26.4)	66	(62.3)	9	(8.5)	3
11	71	(67.0)	19	(17.9)	13	(12.3)	3
12	8	(7.5)	25	(23.6)	70	(66.0)	3
13	23	(21.7)	10	(9.4)	70	(66.0)	3
14	12	(11.3)	79	(74.5)	12	(11.3)	3
15	5	(4.7)	94	(88.7)	4	(3.8)	3
16	1	(.9)	98	(92.5)	4	(3.8)	3
17	20	(19.9)	63	(59.4)	20	(18.9)	3
18	25	(23.6)	58	(54.7)	20	(18.9)	3
19	36	(34.0)	47	(44.3)	20	(18.9)	3
20	10	(9.4)	72	(67.9)	21	(19.8)	3
21	52	(49.1)	41	(38.7)	10	(9.4)	3
22	20	(18.9)	57	(53.8)	25	(23.6)	3
23	1=7 (6.6) 2=31 (29*)		3=8 (7.5)		4=3 (2.8)	5=2 (1.9)	
24			99	(93.4)	4	(3.8)	3
25	17	(16.0)	48	(45.3)	38	(35.8)	3
26	7	(6.6)	40	(37.7)	56	(52.8)	3
27	16	(15.1)	31	(29.2)	56	(52.8)	3
28	8	(7.5)	19	(17.9)	76	(71.7)	3
29	3	(2.8)	24	(22.6)	76	(71.7)	3
30	12	(11.3)	91	(85.8)			3
31	5	(4.7)	98	(92.5)			3
32			103	(97.2)			3
33	1	(.9)	86	(81.1)	16	(15.1)	3
34	2	(1.9)	82	(77.4)	19	(17.9)	3
35			79	(74.5)	24	(22.6)	3
36	36	(34.0)	66	(62.3)	1	(.9)	3
37	10	(9.4)	92	(86.8)	1	(.9)	3
38	18	(17.0)	84	(79.2)	1	(.9)	3
39	37	(34.9)	66	(62.3)			3
40	32	(30.2)	71	(67.0)			3
41	25	(23.6)	78	(73.6)			3
42	5	(4.7)	97	(91.5)	1	(.9)	3

*See Table 6 for list of items (page 49)

ITEM	YES	%	NO	%	CAN'T SCORE	%	BLANK
43	7	(6.6)	95	(89.6)	1	(.9)	3
44	25	(23.6)	77	(72.6)	1	(.9)	3
45	2	(1.9)	100	(94.3)	1	(.9)	3
46	6	(5.7)	97	(91.5)			3
47	24	(22.6)	79	(74.5)			3
48	38	(35.8)	65	(61.3)			3
49	54	(50.9)	49	(46.2)			3
50	2	(1.9)	101	(95.3)			3

Item: Ann completed a college degree

By Group

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre- Experi- mental	Post Control	Post Experi- mental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	16	17	12	19	7	7	7.8
	20.5	21.8	15.4	24.4	9.0	9.0	98.7
	100.0	100.0	92.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	20.3	21.5	15.2	24.1	8.9	8.9	
No	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	0	0	100.0	0	0	0	1.3
	0	0	7.7	0	0	0	
	0	0	1.3	0	0	0	
Column	16	17	13	19	7	7	79
Total	20.3	21.5	16.5	24.1	8.9	8.9	100.0

Chi Square = 5.14   df = 5

Significance = .39   Missing Observations = 27

By Education

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshman	40	0	40
	100.0	0	52.6
	53.3	0	
	52.6	0	
Sophomore	12	0	12
	100.0	0	15.8
	16.0	0	
	15.8	0	
Junior	6	1	7
	85.7	14.3	9.2
	8.0	100.0	
	7.9	1.3	
Senior	17	0	17
	100.0	0	22.4
	22.7	0	
	22.4	0	
Column	75	1	76
Total	98.7	1.3	100.0

Chi Square = 9.98   df = 2

Significance = .11   Missing Observations = 30

Item: Ann completed a degree beyond a B.A.

<u>By Group</u>

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre-Experimental	Pre Control	Post Experimental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	4	3	4	0	3	3	17
	23.5	17.6	23.5	0	17.6	17.6	21.8
	25.0	17.6	30.8	0	42.9	42.9	
	5.1	3.8	5.1	0	3.8	3.8	
No	12	14	9	18	4	4	61
	19.7	23.0	14.8	29.5	6.6	6.6	78.2
	75.0	82.4	69.2	100.0	57.1	57.1	
	15.4	17.9	11.5	23.1	5.1	5.1	
Column Total	16	17	13	18	7	7	78
	20.5	21.8	16.7	23.1	9.0	9.0	100.0

Chi Square = 9.54   df = 5
Significance = .089   Missing Observations = 28

<u>By Education</u>

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshman	6	34	40
	15.0	85.0	53.3
	42.9	55.7	
	8.0	45.3	
Sophomore	1	10	11
	9.1	90.9	14.7
	7.1	16.4	
	1.3	13.3	
Junior	1	6	7
	14.3	85.7	9.3
	7.1	9.8	
	1.3	8.0	
Senior	6	11	17
	35.3	64.7	22.7
	42.9	18.0	
	8.0	14.7	
Column Total	14	61	75
	18.7	81.3	100.0

Chi Square = 4.20   df = 3
Significance = .24   Missing Observations = 31

Item: Ann is planning to return to school or is currently in school
to complete a degree beyond a B.A.

By Group

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre- Experi- mental	Pre Control	Post Experi- mental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	1	3	1	2	3	2	12
	8.3	25.0	8.3	16.7	25.0	16.7	15.0
	6.3	16.7	7.7	10.5	42.9	28.6	
	1.2	3.7	1.2	2.5	3.7	2.5	
No	15	15	12	17	4	5	68
	22.1	22.1	17.6	25.0	5.9	7.4	85.0
	93.8	83.3	92.3	89.5	57.1	71.4	
	18.8	18.8	15.0	21.2	5.0	6.3	
Column	16	18	13	19	7	7	80
Total	20.0	22.5	16.2	23.8	8.8	8.8	100.0

Chi Square = 7.11   df = 5
Significance = .21   Missing Observations = 26

By Education

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshman	4	37	41
	9.8	90.2	53.2
	33.3	56.9	
	5.2	48.1	
Sophomore	25.0	75.0	15.6
	25.0	13.8	
	3.9	11.7	
Junior	2	5	7
	28.6	71.4	9.1
	16.7	7.7	
	2.6	6.5	
Senior	3	14	17
	17.6	82.4	22.1
	25.0	21.5	
	3.9	18.2	
Column	12	65	77
Total	15.6	84.4	100.0

Chi Square = 2.81   df = 3
Significance = .42   Missing Observations = 29

Item: After completing her degree, Ann went to work

By Group

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre Experi- mental	Pre Control	Post Experi- mental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	15	15	10	18	6	7	71
	21.1	21.1	14.1	25.4	8.5	9.9	94.7
	93.8	93.8	90.9	94.7	100.0	100.0	
	20.0	20.0	13.3	24.0	8.0	9.3	
No	1	1	1	1	0	0	4
	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	0	0	5.3
	6.3	6.3	9.1	5.3	0	0	
	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	0	0	
Column	16	16	11	19	6	7	75
Total	21.3	21.3	14.7	25.3	8.0	9.3	100.0

Chi Square = 1.09   df = 5

Significance = .95   Missing Observations = 31

By Education

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshman	37	2	39
	94.9	5.1	54.2
	54.4	50.0	
	51.4	2.8	
Sophomore	12	1	13
	92.3	7.7	18.1
	17.6	25.0	
	16.7	1.4	
Junior	5	0	5
	100.0	0	6.9
	7.4	0	
	6.9	0	
Senior	14	1	15
	93.3	6.7	20.8
	20.6	25.0	
	19.4	1.4	
Column	68	4	72
Total	94.4	5.6	100.0

Chi Square = .45   df = 3

Significance = .92   Missing Observations = 34

Item: Ann's job is in a traditionally female area.

By Group

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre Experi- mental	Pre Control	Post Experi- mental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	1 5.3 12.5 2.4	7 36.8 70.0 16.7	1 5.3 25.0 2.4	7 36.8 70.0 16.7	2 10.5 50.0 4.8	1 5.3 16.7 2.4	19 45.2
No	7 30.4 87.5 16.7	3 13.0 30.0 7.1	3 13.0 75.0 7.1	3 13.0 30.0 7.1	2 8.7 50.0 4.8	5 21.7 83.3 11.9	23 54.8

Chi Squares = 11.08   df = 5

Significance = .14   Missing Observations = 64

By Education

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshman	14 56.0 77.8 35.9	11 44.0 52.4 28.2	25 64.1
Sophomore	1 25.0 5.6 2.6	3 75.0 14.3 7.7	4 10.3
Junior	0 0 0 0	1 100.0 4.8 2.6	1 2.6
Senior	3 33.3 16.7 7.7	6 66.7 28.6 15.4	9 23.1
Column Total	18 46.2	21 53.8	39 100.0

Chi Square = 3.14   df = .36

Significance = .14   Missing Observations = 67

Item: Ann's work is non-traditional for a woman.

By Group

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre Experi- mental	Pre Control	Post Experi- mental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	7	3	4	3	2	5	24
	29.2	12.5	16.7	12.5	8.3	20.8	37.1
	87.5	30.0	100.0	30.0	50.0	83.3	
	16.7	7.1	9.4	7.1	4.8	11.9	
No	1	7	0	7	2	1	18
	5.6	38.9	0	38.9	11.1	5.6	42.9
	12.5	70.0	0	70.0	50.0	16.7	
	2.4	16.7	0	16.7	4.8	2.4	
Column	8	10	4	10	4	6	42
Total	19.0	23.8	9.5	23.8	9.5	14.3	100.0

Chi Square = 13.79   df = 5

Significance = .11   Missing Observations = 64

By Education

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshman	11	14	25
	44.0	56.0	64.1
	50.0	82.4	
	28.2	35.9	
Sophomore	3	1	4
	75.0	25.0	10.3
	13.6	5.9	
	7.7	2.6	
Junior	1	0	1
	100.0	0	2.6
	4.5	0	
	2.6	0	
Senior	7	2	9
	77.8	22.2	23.1
	31.8	11.8	
	17.9	5.1	
Column	22	17	39
Total	56.4	43.6	100.0

Chi Square = 4.57   df = 3

Significance = .20   Missing Observations = 67

Item: Work is depicted as being important to Ann.

By Group

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre Experi- mental	Pre Control	Post Experi- mental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	9	9	7	12	6	7	50
	18.0	18.0	14.0	24.0	12.0	14.0	53.2
	50.0	40.9	43.8	54.5	75.0	87.5	
	9.6	9.6	7.4	12.8	6.4	7.4	
No	9	13	9	10	2	1	44
	20.5	29.5	20.5	22.7	4.5	2.3	46.8
	50.0	59.1	56.3	45.5	25.0	12.5	
	9.6	13.8	9.6	10.6	2.1	1.1	
Column	18	22	16	22	8	8	94
Total	19.1	23.4	17.0	23.4	8.5	8.5	100.0

Chi Square = 7.30   df = 5

Significance = 19   Missing Observations = 12

By Education

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshman	26	24	50
	54.2	55.8	54.9
	52.0	48.0	
	28.6	26.4	
Sophomore	5	8	13
	10.4	18.6	14.3
	38.5	61.5	
	5.5	8.8	
Junior	3	6	9
	6.3	14.0	9.9
	33.3	66.7	
	3.3	6.6	
Senior	14	5	19
	29.2	11.6	20.9
	73.7	26.3	
	15.4	5.5	
Column	48	43	91
Total	52.7	47.3	100.0

Chi Square = 5.77   df = 3

Significance = .12   Missing Observations = 15

Item: Ann married.

By Group

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre Experi- mental	Pre Control	Post Experi- mental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	14	16	14	17	5	5	71
	19.7	22.5	19.7	23.9	7.0	7.0	78.9
	77.8	76.2	82.4	81.0	83.3	71.4	
	15.6	17.8	15.6	18.9	5.6	5.6	
No	4	5	3	4	1	2	19
	21.1	26.3	15.8	21.1	5.3	10.5	21.1
	22.2	23.8	17.6	19.0	16.7	28.6	
	4.4	5.6	3.3	4.4	1.1	2.2	
Column	18	21	17	21	6	7	90
Total	20.0	23.3	18.9	23.3	6.7	7.8	100.0

Chi Square = .58   df = 5
Significance = .98   Missing Observations = 16

By Education

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshman	38	11	49
	77.6	22.4	56.3
	55.9	57.9	
	43.7	12.6	
Sophomore	11	2	13
	84.6	15.4	14.9
	16.2	10.5	
	12.6	2.3	
Junior	8	1	9
	88.9	11.1	10.3
	11.8	5.3	
	9.2	1.1	
Senior	11	5	16
	68.8	31.3	18.4
	16.2	26.3	
	12.6	5.7	
Column	68	19	87
Total	78.2	21.8	100.0

Chi Square = 1.76   df = 3
Significance = .62   Missing Observations = 19

Item: Ann has children

By Group

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre Experi- mental	Pre Control	Post Experi- mental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	11	13	13	10	3	2	52
	21.2	25.0	25.0	19.2	5.8	3.8	55.9
	57.9	56.5	76.5	47.6	50.0	28.6	
	11.8	14.0	14.0	10.8	3.2	2.2	
No	8	10	4	11	3	5	41
	19.5	24.4	9.8	26.8	7.3	12.2	44.1
	42.1	43.5	23.5	52.4	50.0	71.4	
	8.6	10.8	4.3	11.8	3.2	5.4	

Chi Square = 5.74 df = 5

Significance = .33 Missing Observations = 13

By Education

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshman	27	24	51
	52.9	47.1	56.7
	52.9	61.5	
	30.0	26.7	
Sophomore	8	5	13
	61.5	38.5	14.4
	15.7	12.8	
	8.9	5.6	
Junior	8	1	9
	88.9	11.1	10.0
	15.7	2.6	
	8.9	1.1	
Senior	8	9	17
	47.1	52.9	18.9
	15.7	23.1	
	8.9	10.0	
Column	51	39	90
Total	56.7	43.3	100.0

Chi Square = 4.85 df = 3

Significance = .18 Missing Observations = 16

Item: Ann's husband/lover is depicted as being successful.

<u>By Group</u>

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre Experi- mental	Pre Control	Post Experi- mental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	3 15.0 17.6 3.6	5 25.0 26.3 6.0	3 15.0 18.8 3.6	6 30.0 33.3 7.2	1 5.0 16.7 1.2	2 10.0 28.6 2.4	20 24.1
No	14 22.2 82.4 16.9	14 22.2 73.7 16.9	13 20.6 81.3 15.7	12 19.0 66.7 14.5	5 7.9 83.3 6.0	5 7.9 71.4 6.0	63 75.9
Column Total	17 20.5	19 22.9	16 19.3	18 21.7	6 7.2	7 8.4	83 100.0

Chi Square = 1.78   df = 5

Significance = .87   Missing Observations = 23

<u>By Education</u>

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshman	12 28.6 63.2 15.0	30 71.4 49.2 37.5	42 52.5
Sophomore	2 15.4 10.5 2.5	11 84.6 18.0 13.7	13 16.2
Junior	1 10.0 5.3 1.2	9 90.0 14.8 11.2	10 12.5
Senior	4 26.7 21.1 5.0	11 73.3 18.0 13.7	15 18.8
Column Total	19 23.8	61 76.3	80 100.0

Chi Square = 2.15   df = 3

Significance = .54   Missing Observations = 26

Item: Ann's husband/lover is depicted as being supportive of her.

By Group

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre Experi- mental	Pre Control	Post Experi- mental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	5	4	5	4	4	3	25
	20.0	16.0	20.0	16.0	16.0	12.0	30.1
	29.4	21.1	31.3	22.2	66.7	42.9	
	6.0	4.8	6.0	4.8	4.8	3.6	
No	12	15	11	14	2	4	58
	20.7	25.9	19.0	24.1	3.4	6.9	69.9
	70.6	78.9	68.8	77.8	33.3	57.1	
	14.5	18.1	13.3	16.9	2.4	4.8	
Column Total	17	19	16	18	6	7	83
	20.5	22.9	19.3	21.7	7.2	8.4	100.0

Chi Square = 5.63   df = 5
Significance = .34   Missing Observations = 23

By Education

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshman	8	34	42
	19.0	81.0	52.5
	36.4	58.6	
	10.0	42.5	
Sophomore	2	11	13
	15.4	84.6	16.2
	9.1	19.0	
	2.5	13.7	
Junior	5	5	10
	50.0	50.0	12.5
	22.7	8.6	
	6.3	6.3	
Senior	7	8	15
	46.7	53.3	18.8
	31.8	13.8	
	8.8	10.0	
Column Total	22	38	80
	27.5	72.5	100.0

Chi Square = 7.76   df = 3
Significance = .15   Missing Observations = 26

Item: Ann's relationship with her husband/lover is in any way described.

By Group

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre Experi- mental	Pre Control	Post Experi- mental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	4	9	7	8	4	4	36
	11.1	25.0	19.4	22.2	11.1	11.1	43.4
	23.5	47.4	43.8	44.4	66.7	57.1	
	4.8	10.8	8.4	9.6	4.8	4.8	
No	13	10	9	10	2	3	47
	27.7	21.3	19.1	21.3	4.3	6.4	56.6
	76.5	52.6	56.3	55.6	33.3	42.9	
	15.7	12.0	10.8	12.0	2.4	3.6	
Column	17	19	16	18	6	7	83
Total	20.5	22.9	19.3	21.7	7.2	8.4	100.0

Chi Square = 4.72   df = 5

Significance = .45   Missing Observations = 23

By Education

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshman	15	27	42
	35.7	64.3	52.5
	44.1	58.7	
	18.8	33.7	
Sophomore	6	7	13
	46.2	53.8	16.2
	17.6	15.2	
	7.5	8.8	
Junior	5	5	10
	50.0	50.0	12.5
	14.7	10.9	
	6.3	6.3	
Senior	8	7	15
	53.3	46.7	18.8
	23.5	15.2	
	10.0	8.8	
Column	34	46	80
Total	42.5	57.5	100.0

Chi Square = 1.81   df = 3

Significance = .61   Missing Observations = 26

Item: Ann and her husband/lover are depicted as sharing housekeeping/childcare responsibilities.

By Group

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre Experi- mental	Pre Control	Post Experi- mental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	.2	2	4	2	0	0	10
	20.0	20.0	40.0	20.0	0	0	12.2
	11.8	10.5	25.0	11.1	0	0	
	2.4	2.4	4.9	2.4	0	0	
No	15	17	12	16	6	6	72
	20.8	23.6	16.7	22.2	8.3	8.3	87.8
	88.2	89.5	75.0	88.9	100.0	100.0	
	18.3	20.7	14.6	19.5	7.3	7.3	
Column Total	17 20.7	19 23.2	16 19.5	18 22.0	6 7.3	6 7.3	82 100.0

Chi Square = 4.18   df = 5
Significance = .52   Missing Observations = 24

By Education

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshman	3	39	42
	7.1	92.9	53.2
	33.3	55.7	
	3.8	49.4	
Sophomore	2	11	13
	15.4	84.6	16.5
	22.2	15.7	
	2.5	13.9	
Junior	3	6	9
	33.3	66.7	11.4
	33.3	8.6	
	3.8	7.6	
Senior	1	14	15
	6.7	93.3	19.0
	11.1	20.0	
	1.3	17.7	
Column Total	9 11.4	70 88.6	79 100.0

Chi Square = 5.58   df = 3
Significance = .13   Missing Observations = 27

Item: Mention is made of Ann's having experienced any kind of difficulty, conflict, or stress during the last ten years.

By Group

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre Experimental	Pre Control	Post Experimental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	15	15	12	19	7	8	76
	19.7	19.7	15.8	25.0	9.2	10.5	75.2
	75.0	62.5	66.7	82.6	87.5	100.0	
	14.9	14.9	11.9	18.8	6.9	7.9	
No	5	9	6	4	1	0	25
	20.0	36.0	24.0	16.0	4.0	0	24.8
	25.0	37.5	33.3	17.4	12.5	0	
	5.0	8.9	5.9	4.0	1.0	0	
Column Total	20	24	18	23	8	8	101
	19.8	23.8	17.8	22.8	7.9	7.9	100.0

Chi Square = 6.73 df = 5

Significance = .23 Missing Observations = 5

By Education

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshman	35	19	54
	64.8	35.2	55.1
	47.9	76.0	
	35.7	19.4	
Sophomore	13	2	15
	86.7	13.3	15.3
	17.8	8.0	
	13.3	2.0	
Junior	7	3	10
	70.0	30.0	10.2
	9..6	12.0	
	7.1	3.1	
Senior	18	1	19
	94.7	5.3	19.4
	24.7	4.0	
	18.4	1.0	
Column Total	73	25	98
	74.5	25.5	100.0

Chi Square = 8.13 df = 3

Significance = .06 Missing Observations = 8

Item: Ann is happy because she has it all: husband, career, and children.

By Group

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre Experi- mental	Pre Control	Post Experi- mental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	8 22.2 36.4 7.8	10 27.8 43.5 9.8	6 16.7 33.3 5.9	8 22.2 34.8 7.8	2 5.6 25.0 2.0	2 5.6 25.0 2.0	36 35.3
No	14 21.2 63.6 13.7	13 19.7 56.5 12.7	12 18.2 66.7 11.8	15 22.7 65.2 14.7	6 9.1 75.0 5.9	6 9.1 75.0 5.9	66 64.7
Column Total	22 21.6	23 22.5	18 17.6	23 22.5	8 7.8	8 7.8	102 100.0

Chi Square = 1.46   df = 5
Significance = .91   Missing Observations = 4

By Education

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshman	20 37.0 57.1 20.2	34 63.0 53.1 34.3	54 54.5
Sophomore	6 37.5 17.1 6.1	10 62.5 15.6 10.1	16 16.2
Junior	3 30.0 8.6 3.0	7 70.0 10.9 7.1	10 10.1
Senior	6 31.6 17.1 6.1	13 68.4 20.3 13.1	19 19.2
Column Total	35 35.4	64 64.6	99 100.0

Chi Square = .34   df = 3
Significance = .95   Missing Observations = 7

Item: Ann is happy because she is fulfilling successfully the traditional feminine role.

By Group

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Pre Experi- mental	Pre Control	Post Experi- mental	Post Control	Senior 1	Senior 2	Row Total
Yes	2	1	3	4	0	0	10
	20.0	10.0	30.0	40.0	0	0	9.8
	9.1	4.3	16.7	17.4	0	0	
	2.0	1.0	2.9	3.9	0	0	
No	20	22	15	19	8	8	92
	21.7	23.9	16.3	20.7	8.7	8.7	90.2
	90.9	95.7	83.3	82.6	100.0	100.0	
	19.6	21.6	14.7	18.6	7.8	7.8	
Column	22	23	18	23	8	8	102
Total	21.6	22.5	17.6	22.5	7.8	7.8	100.0

Chi Square = 4.98   df = 5

Significance = .41   Missing Observations = 4

By Education

Count Row PCT Col PCT Tot PCT	Yes	No	Row Total
Freshman	6	48	54
	11.1	88.9	54.5
	60.0	53.9	
	6.1	48.5	
Sophomore	2	14	16
	12.5	87.5	16.2
	20.0	15.7	
	2.0	14.1	
Junior	2	8	10
	20.0	80.0	10.1
	20.0	9.0	
	2.0	8.1	
Senior	0	19	19
	0	100.0	19.2
	0	21.3	
	0	19.2	
Column	10	89	99
Total	10.1	89.9	100.0

Chi Square = 3.37   df = 3

Significance = .33   Missing Observations = 7

APPENDIX C

Sample Stories

SAMPLE STORIES

Part IV

      Today is Ann's 30th birthday.. She has spent the morning thinking about the events in her life, particularly the last ten years since she finished high school.

Ann decides she is happy.

Describe Ann and the important events that have taken place in her life these past 10 years. Why does she feel she is happy? What are her plans for the next 10 years? Please be as specific in your description as possible.

Story 1

      Ann is happy because she has "been her own boss." She didn't follow the conventional way of life of marrying and becoming a housewife. As a matter of fact, she didn't even marry. She went to college and later to graduate school and she's been able to make it on her own. She is doing what she wants to do--working with children--and yet she still has time to do what she enjoys doing outside of work. She has been able to main- tain an active sex life, with someone she loves and shares all of her thoughts and feelings with. The two of them eat healthy food, exercise regularly, and are still able to have time to enjoy their farm (where they own dogs and horses and grow their own vegetables). They swim, hike, sail and ride their horses regularly, and in the winter they cross county ski every day in the woods.

      Ann is happy because she is able to love someone and still maintain independence. Her 30th birthday does not indicate that she is getting old; it makes her realize how lucky she is to be alive and healthy and have at least 30 more years ahead of her.

P.S. Ann is gay.

Story 2

      She spent the first four years going to college as an accounting major. After that she married and has two children. She works as an accountant during the morning and is with her children the rest of the time. The family does many happy things together.

Story 3

She has completed college and earned a B.A. in some field which she has gone on to get a good-paying job in (which she loves). She's met lots of guys and has fallen in love and married at about 25. She had a child at 28.

She is now going to have another child and after a few years at home with the kids, she will go on and take some more schooling (possibly a Masters). When her youngest child is about 8 or 9, she'll go back to her full-time career.

Story 4

She probably went to college for 4 or maybe 5 years then found a good, stable happy job within the next year. Of course, she found a man, got married, and is perfectly happy with him and his ideas, even though his job is completely different than hers. She probably has one child who is about 3 or 4 years old, so during those past 3-4 years she's only been working part-time. She loves her home, neighborhood, which is mostly the trees and child and she has traveled out West and maybe even to Europe!

Plans for the next 10 years are to keep on working, maybe have one or two more kids, and keep on going to school on the side—possibly for her Doctorate.

Story 5

Ann is happy because she likes her life just the way it is and wants to go on living her life in the same fashion. Ann has a happy home and family. She enjoys her job, takes pride in it, and does it well.

Since high school, Ann has established to herself a perfect life and likes it that way. She has pursued her career and established a family. During the next 10 years she will go on living the same way she has been.

Story 6

Ann has answered certain questions about herself in terms of what she values and what kinds of things she wants to work towards. She has decided how she feels about the society she lives in and what her relationship to the society will be. She is in touch with all her wants, needs, goals, and beliefs. She has certain priorities and is willing to give up some things in order to get others. She has enough room to grow in the situation she's living in now, enough time for pleasure. She's in good physical condition and is aware of her emotions.

Ann now has a career in which she is helping others. She is living with someone she really loves. She's still close to her family members.

Ann has a wonderful sense of humor and is able to laugh at herself and at life sometimes. In the next 10 years, she will improve as a counselor and improve the way she feels about herself. She will learn still more, and do more, about health.

Ann loves art, poetry, books, theatre, movies, exercise and good food. She cares about what's going on in the world and does something about it (demonstrations, meetings, etc.). As far as Ann is concerned, there aren't enough hours in a day.

Story 7

The Ann I see is college-educated—why?—I guess because she took the time to, what sounds to me, critically evaluate her life.

To me, it seems as if she went to college, got a job and then married. If she has children, I would guess maybe 1 or 2, they are now just about old enough for daycare and she has continued to work again. Her husband has a good job and so does she (i.e., she is more than just a secretary).

She feels happy because she has been able to be <u>Ann</u>. Together, her husband and herself have allowed 'Ann' to develop into a person, not just a reflection. She feels that she has accomplished a great deal and grown a great deal in 10 years.

In the next 10 years, she hopes for job advancement. Plans to share with her family, watch her children grow and develop into individuals. Hopes to grow in her relationship with her husband.

Story 8

After graduating from high school, Ann went on to college. At college she met her husband. They married about a year after her graduation. Both Ann and her husband found good jobs. After about 2 or 3 years Ann had a baby. It was a boy. She quit her job to stay home and care for the child herself. While her husband's pay wasn't the greatest, they were happy for they had enough to get by on. Ann has another baby boy when the first is about 2. She loves children and doesn't mind staying home to care for her children and husband. Ann is 30 and she is pregnant with a third child. She and her husband both hope for a girl. Ann's future plans: Within the next two years Ann and her husband plan to build a big house for their growing family, now that Ann's husband has a better job. Ann and her husband plan on at least 2 more children in the next 4 years. After all her children are

in school, Ann plans to go back to work. She and her husband have a nice home and all the things they need. Their children are well dressed and fed. Ann is happy.

Story 9

Ann is a white, middle-class liberal. She has been married for the past 3 years, but has no children. Both she and her husband have full-time careers, neither wishes for children right now, although it is a future possibility. Neither of them earn a great deal of money, but together they make enough to live comfortably and to pursue their individual and common interests.

Ann has a career she decided on while in college. She has a M.A. degree in her area, and continues to take courses that interest her at a nearby University.

Ann has a sense of fullfillment about herself as a person. She is doing what she wants, and she is good at it. She has a husband who supports her sense of independence, they both love and respect each other.

In the next 10 years, Ann sees the possibility of children. Whether they have children or not, she plans to develop her career and outside interests.

Story 10

Ann is happy because she has spent her life doing what she felt she wanted to do and in doing so, made herself fill fulfilled. Ann is presently married with one child (4 years) and works outside the home. Ann went to college and received her degree (B.A. and M.S.W) in Social Work and has since received a job working with mentally ill people. She loves her work and her family.

Ann wants to continue working outside the home and her husband is in favor of it. Ann has decided that her life is happy with just one child and both her and her husband want only the one child they have.

Ann, her husband and their daughter plan on traveling--they want to learn more about different cultures and they think it will be educational for their daughter.

Ann is also thinking about applying at the University of Michigan to receive her Ph.D. in Social Work.

Story 11

Ann is a wife and mother of two. She is healthy and has a girlish figure; she is athletic and plays with her husband and her friends. She has a part-time job as a fashion illustrator and takes classes at the University. Her children are well-adjusted and appear to be happy. Her husband is enjoying a successful career and is good to his family, paying them as much attention as he can and appearing to enjoy it. They have a good sex life; he has had a vasectomy. She has a harmonious relationship with her parents and his. They live in a pleasant neighborhood in a comfortable house. No pressing material needs are on her mind. Her children and husband are doing well; she feels this is largely to her credit, which in actuality it is. She gets out of the house and works and plays. She doesn't have to work full time, but if she wanted to she might do it, after considering pros and cons, but now she likes her life.

Her plans are not extensive. She feels secure. Perhaps she'll get an advanced degree or a full-time job; she is intelligent and competent, but feels no big desire to move the world. She feels she can do what she wants. Right now, she doesn't want to do much more than what she's doing, because she feels happy. She's active, in good health, and involved in good supportive relationships. No big areas of discontentment. Her husband does not get in her way. Not much--but she rather likes it that way.

Story 12

Ann feels self confident. She has a strong sense of her identity and is comfortable with herself. She has a career as a photographer, which she enjoys and feels a sense of accomplishment in. She makes enough money to support herself comfortably--she is involved in woman consciousness raising/problem solving group, receiving and giving support. Ann is having an intimate, sexual relationship with a man who respects and loves her. She also has other friends whom she loves and shares with--some male, female, children, elderly. She is sexually aware and active--having more casual sex with both sexes. She lives by the ocean in a house by herself, but is close enough to a city for intellectual and cultural stimulation. She allows herself to experience a large realm of emotions--accepting her sadness, anger, pride, jealousy, vaniety, joy and self satisfaction. She plans to travel again soon, this time prowling Europe with her camera and spirit of adventure.