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DIFFERENTIAL STYLES OF LIFE CHOICES AMONG POST-PARTUM WOMEN

The Ohio State University
Ph.D. 1983

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To Professor John E. Horrocks
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATIONS</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose of the Study</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Propositions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Base</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review of the Literature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Theory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision Theory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. RESULTS</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. DISCUSSION</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Findings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology and Possible Sources of Error</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications for Future Research</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. SUMMARY</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**LIST OF TABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Directions to the Subject</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Directions to the Judge</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Interview Format</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Categories of Decision Style</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Glossary of Dimensions</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Narrative Descriptions of Decision Categories</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Chart of Categories</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to establish patterns of decision making processes within the framework of self theory (Horrocks, 1972), of the theoretical growth of the individual toward the goal of integrity or product: synthesis-integration, specifically for those women nominally within the stage of Generativity (Erikson, 1959), and of the theoretical continued adult development and differentiation of experience (Whitbourne and Weinstock, 1976). These patterns are to be employed in the development of a multivariate model of decision style, of perception of choices, and of theory of self. This theory will be used for organizing data and to help to explain the individual's efforts in the process of the self to attain the goal of product: synthesis-integration. Within this context, the model has been utilized with the life choices of post-partum women.
General Propositions

An appropriate model for the study of adult life is the establishment of patterns of decision making within the framework of self theory. Within this study, it is assumed that adults have engaged in the process of self structure, that adults have engaged in decision making behavior, and that these processes are accessible to the adult and may be reported accurately. The following hypothesis were proposed to be tested:

H1 Adults judge their chronological achievements by a mental time line to which they attempt to adhere by controlling events and by adjusting deviations.

H2 Adults may be grossly characterized as attempting to preserve their sense of self or to change their sense of self at a point of choice.

H3 Adults may be characterized by categories in which processes concerning style of choice, types of choices, and self-structures may occur together.

Theoretical Base

At the base of this research is the theory of the self, originally proposed by Horrocks and Jackson (1972) as the basic process and the product of the innate drive of synthesis-integration. This drive may be seen as a governor of behavior, the most pervasively human of the drives. Synthesis-integration drives each person to make sense of his world and a meaning of himself as a phenomenom of his world. Man fulfills this drive with an ever growing net of meanings; born as theories, and placed in ever strengthened positions of belief.
with confirmatory testings of reality. One may envision a multi-dimensional matrix with its center composed of those theories of self most basic to the person's theory of his reality. The self structure extends axis of multiple self theories and supports other branches of meaning about the world, appropriately and inappropriately. Locations of particular importance and salience become loci or structural corner supports in which affect, conation, and cognition all play a part. These loci are clusters of the most vitally perceived self-theories which form identities, assemblies of self-reference meanings.

The self, then, is continually being created, and it in turn acts upon that which each person creates of himself. "Reality is constantly being created" (Whitehead, 1938), by the structure of self, while that reality and its interpretation alter the structure with new information and shades of meaning. This concept is similar in form to Piaget's equilibration, but refers to a more global process with theories of self at its core and with affect weighing variably in importance within the loci of the structure.

"Self and identities are not synonymous. Self-process involves the integration and the differentiation of a multiplicity of identities. Identities are cognitively synthesized from concepts of self and are capable of reconstruction by modification, reintegration, and combination with other self hypotheses" (Horrocks, 1972). In this context, self theories, identities, and self hypotheses will be used interchangeably. Roles refer to the representation of these identities in action and in thought.

Self-theories are subject to the same laws as any construct, as explicated by Popper in his description of World III, the world of theories and ideas. "In all
these matters it is the anchorage of the self in World III that makes the difference. The basis of it is human language which makes it possible for us to be not only subjects, centers of action; but also objects of our own critical thought, of our own critical judgment....In so far as we are the products of other minds, and of our own minds, we ourselves may be said to belong to World III" (Popper, 1978). The rules of logic imbue self-theories with emergent identities. As emergent identities, self-theories may evolve into new structures, discontinuous and qualitatively different from their prior structures. They may also exist as members of the world of thought independent of the person himself. In this manner, self-concepts and identities may exist and interact without the conscious control of the person involved, thus the person may be incapable of verbalizing the processes invoked by said entities, although he is aware that a process has occurred.

The person, then, may be aware that he has assigned a problem to his self process for resolution, he may retrieve a solution which he finds to be ego-syntonic (Freud, 1947), yet he may not be able to report the actual mechanisms of decision which he utilized. This phenomenon is similar to the pre-conscious functioning theorized by Sullivan (1953); the level of the mind in which thoughts not acceptable to the consciousness or so basic to the person as to not be verbalized. Within this context, the somatic and other nonverbal core loci of the self concept, and certain of the more peripheral emotional loci are also theorized to function outside conscious retrieval within circumstances specific to the individual. However, their product may be retrieved by the conscious in a search for self decisions.
Similar to the cognitive process of equilibration, the self governed by synthesis-integration seeks a final structure with which it can find internal consistency, a structure which allows it acceptance of its life work of itself. Unacceptable aspects must be exorcized or reformulated. As has been proposed by Sullivan, some of this material, unacceptable to the person's view of his self is placed in the structure so as to be inaccessible. In the process of self, a final synthesis can only be achieved if this material is retrieved and dealt with.

Erikson has theorized that Integrity is "the acceptance of one's own and only life cycle and of the people who have become significant to it as something that had to be, that, by necessity, permitted no substitution" (Erikson, 1980). Within the concept of self-theory, integrity becomes a goal of a lifetime of testing theories and building meaning. In this theory, the goal will be named product:synthesis-integration. Cohler (1982) has commented that "persons attempt successive subjective reformulation of their own life history across the course of life, a concept represented by Weber's 'search after meaning'." Klein (1964) also refers to the fact that earlier memories are revised as a function of subsequent experience." Tyler '(1978) in turn states that constructs of self vary in permeability. Change at levels of constructs rated most important to the self have further reaching results than more auxiliary concepts. Therefore, no objective "one and only life" exists to accept at the end of a lifetime. Within the concept of self-theory, integrity becomes a goal of a lifetime of testing theories and building meaning. The person has developed a multitude of identities to serve him through the arenas of his life. To reach integrity, one must make those decisions on a variety of fronts which allow him to eventually
reconcile all the aspects of self views into an acceptable Gestalt. Integrity then, is a goal with ramifications all through life, even though it may lie elusively at the end of the road.

The concept of the somatic self, established in infancy lies at the core of the self-structure. As the infant differentiates himself from his environment, and establishes somatic limits, the body is established as a lifelong important element in the formation of self concepts. Appearance, body functions, and physical competencey are attributes of the somatic self image which in turn feed into a multitude of self concepts which may develop and change throughout life. The earliest concepts however, are expressed nonverbally, and are particularly resistant to adult alteration. Also nonverbal are the earliest relationships with others, the first experiences of purposeful attending to the environment, and the first anlagen or predispositions of affect. Therefore, the most central core of the self concept structure consists of self expressed in tones of feeling affectively and physically. By the age of two, the average child speaks his own name and will recognize his face in the mirror (Amsterdam and Greenberg, 1977). The basis of verbal self-concepts is in place. Language develops in syntax and in modulation of meaning until the fifth year when the child's speech resembles that of the adult. The child enters a transitional state in which the self-concept begins to build in verbal form. As Bruner (Baldwin, 1967) has noted however, some individuals retain a preference for preverbal thought even with the attainment of the ability to think in the social symbols of language. These persons may be theorized to report intuitive decisions which "feel right" without an actual verbal narrative to report.
Although other important abilities and self structure develop throughout childhood, adolescence is marked by the birth of the ability for abstract thought. In fact, adolescence is classically marked by the lability of self theories when the person for the first time may conceive of an abstract identity for himself and test it in a conscious fashion. Loci of cogent affect and cognition have formed identities from self observations, somatic experience, and beliefs about himself. These identities may now be conceived in the abstract by the adolescent. He may test these identities against reality, receiving feedback from other people, events, and the interaction of other loci. One device the adolescent may employ is role playing. He "plays" the identity before taking it on as part of his self concept. The adolescent may conceive of new identities, forming new loci. As an abstract thinker, the person may role play this identity in his mind, testing the alternatives and rehearsing possible roles before assuming the identity. An example of an existing loci to be tested may be the person's identity as a physical member of his gender. Questions of attractiveness and competence may be tested by the adolescent alongside the new loci of "adult" sexuality. As this testing progresses, a hierarchy of identities is conceived, with the most vital and important identities at the core of the self matrix. At the margins of the matrix are the tentative identities which may remain labile even after the adolescent has tested them. Formed also at the juncture of young adulthood, is a continuity of self-history with a beginning, a middle, and an end (Erikson, 1980; Cohler, 1980). Also formed at this juncture are the ideal identities, the identity the person may assume were he able to manipulate his self in any possible way. Thus, identities are capable of
acting as goals in themselves.

Adulthood may be said to occur with the development by the individual of a consistent and appropriately stable self structure. A by-product of this process is "one of the most important of memorial phenomena in adulthood, the capacity for reminiscence, understood as reflection upon past experiences in the present" (Cohler, 1980). The individual accepts responsibility for his own identities and/or for his choice of those influences which help to shape his self-structure. Although he never stops testing and changing his view of himself, the focus of the adult years is rather the differentiation of existing identities and their utilization for growth within self-appropriate criteria. The adult's focus is switching from the forming of identities to their utilization, their differentiation, and their challenge in new points of choice.

As adult development continues to occur, a potent force continues to be the governor of synthesis-integration as the adult attempts to optimize his progress toward an ideal self concept in a less than ideal world. In choosing a dominant process he may strive for adaptation, or change, of himself in response to the desire for growth and in response to new challenges from the environment. The adult may also choose to preserve aspects of himself as he encounters new experience. Or he may choose to attempt a total preservation of the structure. The adult may choose, consciously or by default, one of these methods of self-process.

In choosing to attempt a change of his self-structure with new experience, inductive differentiation (Whitbourne and Weinstock, 1975); or to preserve his self-structure when presented with a new experience, deductive differentiation
(1976); or to balance the two approaches in attempting a selective
differentiation; the adult affects the actual decisions he makes. In return, new
experience may affect the method of differentiation chosen. Each new decision
may limit the person's ability to follow new paths of cognition. They may also
serve to add to his repertoire of available decisions. Personal determinants of
the impact of chance encounters include "developing potentialities that afford
access to particular social milieus." Binding relationships that have been
formed serve as a vehicle for personal change that can have long range effects"
(Bandura, 1982). In addition, the simple fact exists that every decision sets
some lines of reality in motion. Some potentialities are forever eliminated, while
others are added to the person's future constellation of decisions. Points which
force a confrontation with the self-structures then, may serve as entrances for
the researcher into the study of adult development.

In addition to the type of differentiation chosen, the adult utilizes a style
of decision making. The style reported in retrospect may involve a specific and
careful process, recognized by the adult, and tending toward either an
"affective" or a "cognitive" operating base. The person may purposefully utilize
the preconscious functioning. The adult may be unable to report a process
beyond an impulsive "happening". She may depend on other people to make her
decisions, or she may make decisions in joint responsibility in an intimate
relationship. A decision may be seen to follow in a predetermined path in
accordance with the person's view of himself. He may employ varying levels of
role playing within his decisions' style to help anticipate options. The most
potent choices are ones which change a previous internal time line or life plan,
or which runs counter to the person's view of himself to date. Internal or external factors may play a role in "forcing" this type of decision (Neugarten, 1972). Making this type of choice is likely to be viewed as a crisis. Retrospectively, the act of deciding may become a locus of its own in which self views of control and of appropriate accomplishment become located. A choice point may serve as a crisis or turning point which affects in a particularly cogent fashion the adult's view of himself and/or his style of making future decisions.

These choice points as perceived by the individual and as resolved by the individual may in tandem serve as a tool to organize data concerning adult development. More useful for the study of adulthood than specific decisions perceived to be universal, are the perceptions of what types of situations are viewed as choice points. Some specific decisions are made so frequently in adult life as to seem universal, and society has validated responses for such points of choice such that these responses may seem to be a stage. Bandura (1982) speaks to this influence of society in the milieu rewards, the symbolic environment and information management, and the control of the milieu of psychological input. In the case of this study, each subject is most certainly in Erikson's (1959) stage of Generativity. Although each woman in her way has provided the societally dictated security for her child, her view of her own stage of life varies from other women. Adult development must concern itself with that which the adult perceives and differentiates within himself. Therefore, the focus of this study lies with each adult and his recognized points of decisions in conjunction with the dimensions of his process for this decision.
in looking at more than one adult, the common patterns that may be exist along these dimensions may be defined.

Review of Literature

Self Theory and Adult Development

Process of Self Theory

The work of Horrocks and Jackson, in *Self and Role*, (1972) and in personal communication served as the germinal basis of the theory explicated in the previous section. Other theorists also contributed ideas at a molar level to the process of theory formation. At a logical level, Whitehead, Popper, and Langer propose hypotheses concerning theories' "creative advance into novelty" (Whitehead, 1938). Also speaking to the process of theory elaboration at a molar level are Kelly, Jung, and Werner.

The "prototype of the process is what artists do in transforming raw materials into meaningful form...Reality is constantly being created" (Whitehead, 1938). This process of creation includes the reality of the self as the person views his own process. Popper (1977), in his theory of self, delineates the proposal that development can be viewed as a progression toward an internally consistent set of theories integrated to a self-structure. Popper explicates the Third World of ideas within which the theories discussed by Whitehead assume an independent existence following the rules of logic in their formation and in their
testing against reality. "Symbolization is a distinctive feature of human acts" (Langer, 1977). The activities of the Third World are therefore the hallmark of the human adult in the world.

Kelly speaks to an adjunct principle of elaboration of constructs (1955). Those constructs most capable of elaboration by the individual under consideration are the constructs he may be likely to pursue. Elaboration and delineation are assumed here to be positive developmental processes. In these processes, the person comes to expand on existing constructs and to define them succinctly. Kelly speaks of structure built of concepts having permeability, the ability to admit newly perceived elements to its context. The ideal structure serves as a support to view the world, but also adapts to confirmation and disconfirmation for an optimal anticipation of events. "There are many workable alternative ways for one to construe his world" (1955). By the same theory, there are many workable alternative ways for one to construe his self.

Jung speaks of the building of the self by intention to associate one bit of information with another. A key concept is the attention delegated to the thought process and the subsequent drawing of meaningful inferences from the process. He refers to complexes, "constellations of psychic elements (ideas, opinions, and convictions) grouped around emotionally sensitive areas" (Singer, 1973). These complexes would be analogous to emotional loci. Jung views the individual as moving toward individuation, "that which he is capable of being". (Jung, 1968) He specifies functional types of adults. Jung's theory has been criticized as diffuse, however, it serves as an early model of theorized adult
development as distinct from the Freudian theory which ends the developmental cycle with the end of adolescence.

The permeability of constructs spoken of by Kelly corresponds to the balance of deductive and inductive differentiation spoken of by Whitbourne and Weinstock (1976) whose more specific theory on adult development will be further addressed at a later point in the review. However, within their theory, Werner is cited in his elaboration of the theory of differentiation in which a "global or unified entity is refined, clarified, or broken down into smaller or more specific subunits". (1957)

Whitehead, in another context, proceeds to propose a model of the realities of choice in the narrowing of occasion. The potential occasion in the plural can be infinite. For the individual, the situation narrows with his own capacity for creativity. His actual decision becomes the singular "actual occasion", which in turn limits future potential occasions. Kuo (Tyler, 1979) also addresses the narrowing of possibility. "At the beginning of life, the individual possesses an enormous range of behavioral potentialities limited only by species differences in anatomical differences and functional capabilities. As ontogenesis proceeds, new behavior patterns are actualized out of potential patterns and added to the existing repertoire, at the same time (that) ontogenetic processes set a limit to the actualization of another pattern." The adult then, must discover his repertoire and its limits, and act to optimize his potential.

Neugarten and Rotter propose theories within the context of the process of adult mentality at a more molecular level. Neugarten's (1969) theory concerns an internal time line which each adult maintains for himself and to which he
attempts to adhere. "Men and women are aware not only of the social clocks that operate in various areas of their lives, but also of their own timing; and they readily describe themselves as 'early', 'late', or 'on time', with regard to major life events." Neugarten theorizes that variations from this internal clock, will compel the adult to attempt a correction in his timing in latter events. Also of interest within this theory is the definition of adulthood, "when he understands that the course of his own life will be similar to the lives of others and that the turning points are inescapable". Turning points "call forth changes in self-concept and in sense of identity, they mark the incorporation of new social roles, and accordingly they are the precipitants of new adaptations."

Another molecular theory with application within this context is Rotter's locus of control. Rotter discusses the impact that the belief that a decision is implemented by the person as agent or the person as subject of other people's decisions. He also discusses the issue of changers versus non-changers. By this differentiation, Rotter is indicating the concern with stability in non-changers, versus the willingness to change for changers. Dunkleberger and Tyler (1961), using the California Psychological Inventory, found that changers tended to be more mature than those people concerned with stability.

Stage Theory

Several theorists have proposed stages of adult development which are specifically at issue within this context. Erikson's theory may be viewed as one of the most dominant stage theories. In speaking of adult development, Erikson continues to propose the epigenetic principle, theorizing a universality of stages with critical periods of development, to explain the further growth of the adult.
These stages are all present at the outset of the organism and follow an invariant sequence (Erikson, 1959). The adult stage of Intimacy, in which the individual must resolve the conflict of Intimacy vs. Isolation by finding a partner in friendship, sex, and cooperation, is relevant in this research due to the married state of each subject. Some subjects reported this intimacy as a choice-point. Additionally, some subjects reported intimacy as a factor in the decision process itself, in that their partners were involved in self-choices because of their involvement in the subject's self-concept.

Cohler (1980) speaks of the revolution of thought proposed in 1950 by Erikson in 1950 in his proposal that development continue to occur throughout the life cycle. However, Cohler states, "Not only do important developmental shifts occur across life, but these shifts also may not occur according to the same dynamics in childhood or necessarily in a predictable sequence."

All the subjects interviewed for this study would be judged by Erikson to be engaged in the crisis of Generativity vs. Self-absorption, "To be, to take care of" (1959). This stage involves a greater interest in giving and loving than in getting and being loved. An alternative path at this stage is productivity and creativity in one's chosen work. Erikson is unclear in his theoretical stance on the realization of Generativity for women. In his earlier work, Childhood and Society, Erikson states, "The concept Generativity is meant to include such more popular synonyms as productivity and creativity, which, however, cannot replace it." (p. 167) Erikson, in fact, sees a risk in the failure to bear children in that the intimate couple may fall back into a pseudo-intimacy, making each other their children. Erikson takes a more classical analytical stance in this
stage, positing, "The ability to lose oneself in the meeting of bodies and minds leads to the gradual expansion of ego-interests and to a libidinal investment in that which is being generated. Generativity thus is an essential stage on the psychosexual as well as on the psychosocial schedule. Maturity needs guidance as well as encouragement from what has been produced and must be taken care of."

In Erikson's later work, *Insight and Responsibility*, Erikson states that, "Parenthood is, for most, and for many, the prime generative encounter, yet perpetuation of mankind challenges the generative ingenuity of workers and thinkers of many kinds." (1964) In this context, Erikson specifically states that man generates from "his works and ideas as well as for his children", a self-verification arising from the ego "adhering to irreversible obligation". However, he also states that, "Woman's preparation for care is anchored more decisively in her body, which is, as it were, the morphological model of care, at once protective abode and fountain of food." Erikson then implies that for women, he holds to his earlier position that Generativity must be achieved in the actual physical act of bearing and raising children. He apologizes to the reader in all works not to have treated the subject in more depth. Conspicuously absent is any consideration of a clash of differing forms of generativity: work and childbearing.

In *Reflections on Womanhood* (1964), although reasserting that anatomy is destiny, Erikson also states that while childbearing is the sphere of the woman, "No woman lives or needs to live in this extended somatic sphere....the modern world offers her ever greater leeway in choosing, planning, or renouncing her
somatic tasks more knowingly and responsibly." Thus, while not relinquishing childbearing as woman's destiny, Erikson theorizes a place for woman in the outer community, as long as it reflects "the potentialities and needs of the feminine psyche." Clearly, even in this work, Erikson views the woman as one who must fulfill her somatic destiny in order to possess an integrated ego.

Erikson then defines the stage of Integrity vs. Despair. "It is the acceptance of one's own and only life cycle and of the people who have become significant to it as something that had to be and that, by necessity, permitted of no substitutions." It is Erikson's concept of Integrity which inspired the concept of the process of integrity which plays in the theoretical base of this research. However, throughout adulthood, the person continually resynthesizes and reintegrates the self concept. In conceptualizing a crisis or a stage for Integrity, a possible static product is implied. Whitehead has written (1938), "My importance is my emotional worth now, embodying in itself derivations from the whole; and from the other facts, and embodying in itself reference to future creativity." At the end of Erikson's crisis of Integrity, no future process is implied. In addition, while each of Erikson's stages are theorized to be reactivated at each crisis, this theory does not address the multiplicity of self concepts, identities, and the arenas which are involved with the process of self as theorized by the present writer.

A "new generation" of theorists has attempted to theorize adult life as a series of stages. Gould in Transformations (1978), Levinson in Season's of a Man's Life (1978), and Sheehy in Passages (1977) all addressed the major issues and crisis that each adult would pass through. Methodically, these authors
utilized interviews and case histories of varying numbers of individuals. Their books not only responded to a relatively new emphasis in developmental psychology on the continued development of the adult after the completion of adolescence, these authors also addressed the lay person. These works were published by the "popular press", and Sheehy especially was particularly widely read. This literary success would suggest to the academic community, a need felt by many persons to examine their lives as they progress and to look to "experts" to help them understand this process of adulthood. Yet, although adults follow a plurality of paths, the stage theorists each proposed one path of passage, transformation, or season, again, not allowing for the variety of arenas and of roles through which each adult attempts to synthesize and integrate his identities. Not considered were the interactions of a specific individual and his view of himself with the theorized stages proposed in each study.

Loevinger (1976) presents a more sophisticated theory. "Ego development is at once a developmental sequence and a dimension of individual differences in any age cohort." Her stages consider four dimensions: impulse control, interpersonal style, conscious preoccupations, and cognitive style. The later stages are most likely to affect the adult life. Individualistic is the stage in which respect for individuality, the problem of dependence, differentiation of inner life from outer, and distinction of process and outcome. The Autonomous stage finds the person coping with conflicting inner needs, respecting autonomy, integration of psychological and physiological concerns, and increased conceptual complexity. Finally, Integrated, the person reconciles inner conflicts
and renounces the unattainable, comes to cherish individuality, and adds identity as a conscious preoccupation. In theorizing four dimensions, Loevinger's stages are a more useful tool for evaluating adult development than is traditional stage theory. In addition, Loevinger escapes the trap of anchoring the growth of the individual to societal events. As reading for this paper progressed, the writer found the stage of Integrated as proposed by Loevinger to more closely address those goals of individual growth than does Erikson's Integrity. However, as a stage theory, Loevinger still routes all adults over the same route, albeit mental, and therefore theorizes all deviation to consist of the type and time of advancement through invariant stages.

Several theorists have written criticisms of stage theory in describing adult life. Mortimer, Finch, and Kunker (1980) cite Mischel and Gergen as theorists who criticize this approach to adult development in favor of "contingent character and situational determination of attitudes and behaviors" in adulthood. Mischel (1968) further notes "A more adequate conceptualization must take full account of man's extraordinary adaptiveness and capacities for discrimination, awareness, and self-regulation." Endler, Hunt and Rosenstein (1960) stated "differences between situations were responsible for a much larger proportion of variance than were personality differences." This theoretical stance would indicate a need for the inclusion of differences in situations in adult theory. At a more methodical level, Tyler (1978), in discussing the study of the individual notes that, "It is apparent then that multivariate methods are much better suited to the study of the complexity of individuality than are one-at-time methods. The individual is an organized
complex system." Tyler then goes on to cite Escalona (1935) that "patterns of factors are predictive rather than individual factors." Tyler further states that "patterning of activity is found to be the most individual thing about a person." Stage theory routing each person through the same life course can not consider this adaptiveness.

As an added note, even within the various stage theories, no work has been done on integrating the experience of childrearing into the view the parent holds of his self. Whitbourne and Weinstock (1976), have stated "There is no information on how parents react to parenting at a deeper level: the incorporation of the role of parent into identity." Gutman (1980) refers to parenthood as a sense of "chronic emergency" in which parents struggle to provide "good-enough" care. He states that more study is required beyond the tendency to identify with the parenting of one's own parents. Gardner (1980), in his developmental textbook, refers to the lack of information concerning the impact on the self-image of parenthood.

**Alternative Theories of Adult Development**

Valliant, Whitbourne and Weinstock, and Cohler have proposed alternative views of adult development. Valliant in *Adaptation to Life* (1977), followed a sample of adults in an attempt to explain adult development at a more fundamental level. In the use of a classification system based on the type of defenses used by an adult, he attempted an examination of his subjects based on more than observation and utilized an approach more adapted to the flexibility of adult life. His approach is limited by the unilateral nature of his set of measures. In addition, Valliant in his consideration of the life-course of men,
placed a primary value on success in career in the judgment of his subjects' lives.

Whitbourne and Weinstock in *Adult Development: The Differentiation of Experience* (1976), seek to define adult experience in "concepts based upon processes of development (which) form the only suitable means of capturing the variety and individuality that characterizes the adult." (p. 5) These authors wish to study the "interaction between the individual life experiences and certain processes of seeking and reacting to such experiences", (p.6) Examples of these processes are changes in self-perception, reaction to experience, and types of experiences". As has been noted, these theorists build the differentiation theory of Werner to designate the two cycles of differentiation: deductive differentiation, in which one's identity forms the basis for the interpretation of an experience; and inductive differentiation, in which experience effects some type of change within the identity. "The differentiation model focuses upon specifying the content of identity, its organizing function, and ways in which identity may vary across adults and within the same person over time." (p. 57) As opposed to the theory at the base of this work, in which multiple identities are theorized, this framework proposes a collection of qualities in identity, "the individual's self-attribution of numerous personal and interpersonal qualities". Within this proposed process, change may only occur with a perceived disequilibrium in the differentiation cycle.

Whitbourne and Weinstock adapted Marcia's categories of the outcome of Erikson's identity crisis to adult identity status. The dimensions are the existence of the crisis and the degree of commitment to resolving the crisis.
Janis and Mann (1977) have noted that stress in a decision is heightened by a strong commitment to the present course of action so that a conflict over the necessity for change is created. A strong commitment to the present path requires equally strong vectors toward the commitment to change for movement to occur mentally. Lewin (1951) has noted the "freezing effect", or tendency to retain a decision once made. This "freeze" may especially occur when the decision interacts with a particularly salient identity. When no crisis occurs and the commitment to the status quo remains high, the adult is in foreclosure with a projecting of his present identity and its perceptions upon the world.

"Deductive differentiation, then, would be used to deal with events, with projection of identity as the means through which this is implemented. With a concurrent crisis, the adult engages in Identity Achievement in his resolution of these conflicting forces of the crisis and a commitment to present values. The achieving adult balances the processes of deductive and inductive differentiation. While the presence of a crisis with no commitment to past identity evolves into moratorium, the accompanying process is that of inductive differentiation out of balance with deductive differentiation. Any experience may shift the balance with no real identity established. Finally, the adult with no crisis and no commitment may find himself identity diffuse with no direction toward identity formation. His inductive differentiation far outweighs his deductive differentiation; he is the man with many masks but none within. In this theory, as in self theory, equilibrium in one area may exist at the same time imbalance prevails in another. In this pattern of determining how adults react to life events, "It may be possible to trace patterns of development in
adulthood." An adult may not necessarily remain at any one of these positions, indeed, new points of crisis may prompt him to move within the matrix.

This theory provides a framework within which to view the process of self-theory as a structure. It is, however, basically bidimensional, by crisis and by commitment. Although elements of each identity status may conclude with positive results, only one status, that of Identity Achieving is a desirable outcome. This theory is then limited in its explanatory power over the diverse processes of self defining, with its identity achievement in one arena or one identity of development and its diffusion in another. In addition, it does not provide a framework by which the content of adult differentiation may be explained.

Cohler (1980) speaks to the person's need for a sense of sameness as accessibility to change and new experiences. Persons will attempt "successive reformulations of their own life history across the course of life" (Weber, 1955). However, Cohler criticizes the demonstrations of stability over time as the failure of the theorist to consider aspects "as an important parameter in the study of lives". He cites Kagan (1980), Mischel (1968), and Runyan (1978) in this criticism. "Study of lives over time should be concerned with the impact of these unanticipated changes, particularly with the manner in which persons make sense of these changes and maintain an intelligible narrative over time, rather than with the elusive search for evidence of stability across the life span." (p.210) An additional point of variance is Brim's observation (1980), "Environment is not a situational entity but a varied succession of life events that vary in their properties to affect the direction lives take." A theory which
would adequately structure the data of adult development must take all these conditions of variance into account.

Decision Theory

Decision theory classically addresses the components subjects may utilize in making a specific type of decision. "Most of the work of behavioral scientists who deal with problems of decision making consists of developing exclusively normative models that specify how they think decisions should be made and that are usually tested by asking college students to answer questions about hypothetical choices or nonconsequential issues" (Janis and Mann, 1977). However, several more molar theories directly impact on the framework of decision theory. Lewin's field theory and Heider's theory of naive psychology address a general theory of behavior with implications in this context. Authors dealing with molecular applications of decision theory speak to the dynamics of adult choices. In addition, Cohler in a molecular application within this context provides conceptions useful within this context. Finally, perhaps the most comprehensive attempt to theorize decision process within a broad context, is the work of Janis and Mann (1977). Missing from the literature however, is the interaction of the individual with a style of decision making and with the different decisions presented to his attention. Just as the individual develops identities and roles, so he develops preferred styles of decision making for the roles he adopts. When points of choice may challenge these identities, so may these styles of choice change. Indeed, an identity as a decision maker may
Lewin in his field theory explored the problems of psychological conflict (Baldwin, 1967) within the life space. Here again, differentiation as a maturational process is theorized. In this context, the term refers to an increase in the number of regions in life space, simultaneously rigidification occurs as the strength of the boundaries between regions increases. Within the life space, forces are responsible for the conflicts represented by the various combinations of approach and of avoidance. "The strength of the force toward or away from a valent region increased with decreasing distance." Lewin goes beyond this negative-positive force and addresses the behavior of the person who approaches a positive valence which is blocked by a barrier. The person must leave the field of attraction to detour the barrier. Lewin predicted "how a psychological structure spontaneously changes under the pressure of its own dynamics" (Baldwin, 1967). The conflict theory is useful in describing the tensions of decision process within the context of the self structure. However, Lewin does not theorize how a specific event becomes a valence of either value or what differences between individuals determine detour behavior versus frustration. The theory does not specify an optimal state of adulthood or account for more than one path of differentiation.

Heider's psychology of interpersonal psychology is concerned with "the processes by which man "knows" his world and, more importantly knows what he knows". Heider speaks of naive psychology, the perception of the layman of the science of the "psyche". (Baldwin, 1967; Kelley, 1973) In Heider's theory lie the
roots of attribution theory which concerns itself with the qualities man perceives in others and in himself. A person will attribute certain qualities to other and to himself based on certain lawful observations of behavior covarying with the environment. For example, "An effect is attributed to the one of its possible causes with which, over time it covaries." (Kelley, 1973) Heider has an important application in this context. The present research compiles its data from the "naive" subject's perception of her own life and her reporting of the meaning she attaches to her own actions. Heider speaks of the experiments the naive psychologist conducts in observing behavior and affirming or disaffirming theories. The subject is most likely to have confidence in her own validity if the response occurs distinctively with the stimulus, if consensus is available, and if observations are consistent. Naive psychology believes the adult has access to his own motivation and can report it. Naive psychology also assumes the existence of an objective truth. At this point, naive psychology becomes inadequate to explain the view of the self.

While the clinical interview does assume to some degree the ability of man to report his motivation, the interview is also structured by the researcher to elicit a specific train of thought. (Singer, 1973) As has been cited above (Cohler, 1980), the person will restructure his narrative to fit consistently with his present view, therefore, the present truth is only the truth of the present. In some cases, the subject had not constructed a theory on the subject until asked to do so. Even the act of asking will alter the attention of the subject and so influence his report. Within this context, no absolute truth is assumed to exist. Self is a process, so the psychologist can only view it within the frame of a
given moment through the understanding of a consistent frame of reference. (Cohler, 1980; Baldwin, 1967).

Returning to more classical decision theory several theorists have spoken directly to specific areas of the act of decision. Kelley (1973), in his paper on causal attribution, builds on Heider's theory to propose that an individual has a "repertoire of thought", models of reality. Kelley is concerned with the conditions under which each one is evoked. He cites Chapman in his study of "the conflict between existing structures and new data and of the process by which they interact and become reconciled". The application of this paper is the theorizing that the person takes in judging the actions and the personality of other persons, yet, each person also judges himself. At the molecular level, Kelley disputes the notion that a preference for simple schemata persists into adulthood. He believes that the adult will search for the interdependence among complex factors. Another concept he addresses is the issue of free will. Kelley disputes that free will is always present when the subject believes it to be so. He cites his own experiments in which he consistently was able to force a subject to comply while believing in his own free will. Kelley was able to create an illusion of free will and of responsibility by labelling, by implications that compliance is mildly unacceptable, and by concealing external pressure. Another concept that Kelley speaks to was originally proposed by Nisbett (1971). "Actors attribute their own actions to situational requirements but for observers of the same action to explain them by reference to stable personal dispositions." Kelley believes this tendency to be due to the difference between actor and observer in the information available to them and in the salience of
that information. These tendencies of attribution add a note of caution in analyzing the data on a subject when obtained by self-report. The subject by definition will not be able to report those situational pressures of which he is unaware. "People lack awareness of the factors that affect their judgment." (Nisbett, 1971).

In fact, many decision theorists are unimpressed with man's ability or utilization of his ability to make decisions. Slovic, Fischoff, and Lichtenstein (1977) discriminate between how man should make decisions, the normative, and how man does make decisions, the descriptive. They describe a theory in which man utilizes a number of attributes in making a decision, yet comment that large decisions, such as marriage, are often made without the benefits of any reasoning.

Janis and Mann (1977) have attempted to form a comprehensive theory to be used in "describing when, how, and why psychological stress generated by decisional conflict imposes limitations on the rationality of a person's decisions". Within the parameters of their goal, Janis and Mann also supply a review of the literature within the range of their theory. This team concerns themselves with decision makers in all situations. They see him "committed to a certain line of action as he faces a series of subsequent choices over a relatively long period of time". The impact of an important decision is long range.

To Janis and Mann, the ideal decision maker is the vigilant decision maker who canvasses the range of action, considers the objectives and the values implicated, and weighs the consequences of each alternative. He then searches
for new information, assimilating it even at a cost to himself, re-examining consequences, and making provisions for implementation. The authors assume that this conscious and rationally based process is the only optimal process for any decision designated as important. The author's speak to the arousing of resources in an emotionally "hot" decision. Abelson (1963) speaks to affect laden decisions in which there is a strong desire to take action to alleviate emotional tension. However, this model views non-vigilant modes of decision making to be suboptimal.

The authors cite several studies in which maximizing strategies are not employed. Simon (1976) claims that maximizing behaviors are rarely used because too much information is required. The decider may "satisfice", seeking a decision that is good enough by considering new options one at a time until one better than the present option is found. Simon sees the average man as "a basically serial information processor endowed with multiple needs (who usually) behaves adaptively and survives in an environment that presents unpredictable threats and opportunities". (1967) Lindblom presents a similar view in the incremental approach. Another name for this process is muddling through, as each decision is made by satisficing. Lindblom (1965) states, "Little is to be found in the literature about muddling through on personal decisions. Probably the same type of incremental change, based on a simple satisfacing strategy, is adopted whenever a person is ignorant of the fundamental issues at stake or when he wishes to avoid investing a great deal of time and energy in wrestling with a problem." A different strategy that may be utilized is scanning in which the
person uses decision resources only when necessary and avoids commitments as long as possible.

Janis and Mann further develop their model to account for stress in the decisional conflict. The outcome of such a decision may be inertia, when risks from no action are not perceived to be dangerous; unconflicted change, when the most protective action presents no counter risks; defensive avoidance, when no solution is believed to be within reach; hypervigilence, when a panic decision is reached due to believed lack of time; and the optimal vigilence when the other factors are not present. In this context, Festinger's concept of bolstering, or highlighting positive aspects of the decision, is discussed. This action reduces the cognitive dissonance of a decision after it is made, and according to the authors, sometimes before it is made. The type of bolstering chosen may depend on the situation, but is probably a preconscious action. Especially important in the context of this research is the consideration of bolstering as a means to heal, "...a wound to one's self-esteem, a painful feeling or sense of degradation excited in the consciousness of having done something unworthy of one's previous idea of one's own excellence. To restore the damaged image is to change himself in some fundamental way" (Lynd, 1958). Part of this process is to minimize emotional setbacks. At issue may also be the person's desire to maintain a self-image as a free agent, one which Kelley manipulated in a study cited above. At this stage, role playing is described as a strategy to help make the best decision or to inoculate against post-decisional regret. The subject wishes to avoid the unknown risk.
After the decision, regret may occur leading to vigilance, hypervigilance with rapid undoing behavior, or defensive behavior such as avoidance, bolstering, shifting responsibility, or bolstering. Rokeach (1971) addresses the state following a regretted decision. "Man is consciously aware of states of inconsistency that exist chronically within his own value-attitude system below the level of his conscious awareness." Klein (1964) states, "Earlier memories are continually revised as a function of subsequent experiences." This is an assertion that has been made in other contexts cited within this paper, and important concept to deal with in the utilization of recalled data in an interview concerning past decisions. Although the present writer would not agree that vigilance would be the only optimal decision style, Janis and Mann provide a valuable framework from which to evaluate some aspects of reported decisions.
METHODOLOGY

Subjects

Twenty-four women from a post-partum class for infants and their mothers were interviewed. The class was available for a nominal fee to any member of a community service organization. Of the original group of twenty-seven, all members volunteered to participate; however two women moved from the area and one woman was subsequently too busy with a full time career to participate.

The interview sample varied in age from twenty-five to forty, with most of the women in their late twenties or early thirties. A variety of pre-partum occupations were reported. Education ranged from high school to master's level degrees. However, those with some type of secondary degree represented 90% of the sample. All husbands were employed. A high rate of homogeneity existed with all participants having at least one infant under the age of six months, being married, and having made the specific effort towards a perceived enrichment for their child of under six months in the present class. In addition, these women
had not returned or begun work after the traditional six week maternity leave. That fact implies a higher economic level than the population as a whole. This group met the original criterion of a group, meeting regularly with a common purpose so that some homogeneity would exist, in addition this group of women were available to the researcher during the day.

The researcher considered the particular homogeneity of this group to be an asset in that a sample was presented which possessed an objectively similar set of life circumstances on which to report possible divergent views of the present situation or of the course which brought the subject to this circumstance. The fact of a similar sociological stage of childbearing would hopefully allow a concentrated study of processes underlying the progress to that point. In addition, as new mothers, this group presents the researcher with an opportunity to speak to the self process of a group all formally belonging to Erikson's Generativity stage. As new parents, research concerning their self process in adapting to parenthood is almost nonexistent. (See Chapter One)

Procedure

Twenty-seven women, all enrolled in a post-partum exercise class for mothers and infants, were asked by the author to participate in a psychology project involving questions about their decisions and about how they had made these decisions. Participation was requested from the assembled group, and a sign up sheet was passed around. The researcher assured the group of anonymity and explained the procedure for assuring privacy. The group was told that
signing up for the experiment presented no commitment, and that any member could withdraw at any time. This withdrawal would also remain confidential. As has been stated, all subjects agreed to participate, and twenty-four subjects were able to complete the project.

Each subject was called by the researcher and an appointment was set up at the convenience of the subject at the home of the author or of the subject. In all cases, the subjects were encouraged to include their infant in the interview to avoid the problem of babysitting. In some cases, the infant of the author was also present. The children served to relax the subject, and were not old enough to have content concealed from them. Each subject was read the procedure for confidentiality in Table 1 and asked to sign the consent form which had been assigned by the Committee of Human Subjects. These forms are available through the researcher.

Each subject was interviewed. The interviews were taped with the permission of the subject. The interviews were taped under a code number for identification. The examiner is the sole possessor of the code numbers with the names in question. All subjects agreed to my retention of this key for any possible follow-up study. This agreement was specified as no commitment to participate in any further research. Following completion of all the interviews, the tapes were transcribed verbatim. Four transcripts were chosen at random, and case histories were written. The case history consisted of the material written in prose form and placed in chronological order. A summary of the answers to the process questions was placed at the end of the case history. Where additional clarity was needed, quotations from the subject were used.
At Ohio State University, we are studying the kinds of decisions adults learn to make. Anything we discuss will be confidential. This tape will be transcribed and a number attached to it. Only I will know the code numbers and these will be destroyed at the end of my research. Most of the information within this study will be analyzed compositely, but any quotations I use from you will have identifying material changed. The names of this organization will be omitted from any transcripts.
Every effort was made to preserve the intent of the answers. Where interpretation was used, it was so noted. The case history was chosen for the manipulation of the data because of the ability it imparts to organize the data by time, to note pauses and other nonverbal communications from the tape, and to summarize statements made by the subject at several places within the interview. Also an advantage of the case history over the transcription, is the ability to summarize conflicting material in an efficient manner for reviewer's repeated review. Cohler (1982), in discussing personal narrative, suggests that such efforts be "evaluated in terms of the internal interpretation in understanding and accounting for the several events or 'facts' of an account of a life history is that which maintains internal consistency apparent to both the person and also to others hearing the account." The researcher is enabled to judge based on shared language and modes of understanding. Within this context, the case history provides the reader with the first line of interpretation of the narrative within the overall interpretation of data. Although biases of the researcher would enter the account, these biases would be common to all case histories under consideration.

The original four case histories were used to as a construction sample (Loevinger, 1976) from which tentative dimensions of the decision process were derived. These dimensions, in turn, were used to develop prototypical categories of decision style. Upon the completion of this step, the other twenty case histories (Appendix A) were completed identified only by their numbers, a precaution to avoid researcher bias between subjects. A chart was constructed with each case history entered by number onto the chart along one axis. The dimensions to be evaluated, each divided into the various components, or type of
answer, into which a subject might be categorized were entered on the opposite axis. The dimensions and their components were derived from the case studies in response to the interview format. Options or components, as recorded, of the subjects' judgment of their own process, of the quality of their own decisions, and of the group's ideal decision maker were entered. The hypotheses, time line and preservation of self image, were developed into dimensions and entered by their reported components. Both these dimensions contained reported components not theorized in the original proposal. Components of role playing and decision style were entered. The turning point designated by each woman was also charted with a general category of the typology of the turning point. Unexpected as a point of variance was control, yet this factor was specified by several women as a major consideration. Upon inspection, several components of the dimensions were combined and renamed. One component was divided and renamed. Following this evaluation of the chart, the case histories were divided into five categories. Each category varied along nine dimensions, and a case history was entered only if only one or no dimension was in variance. The case histories were then read within each dimension and evaluated for impressions of validity. One case history was reevaluated and found to have been clerically mischarted. Another case history was rechecked for dimensions. Although similar language was used for the purpose of charting, the intent of the subject had been religious in nature and so did not strictly belong in the category of dependent decision style. The final step was the writing of a narrative description of each decision style to assist the evaluating of the material by providing a profile of the decision style in question. The use of narratives was thought to be a clearer method of
interpreting these results to explicate the shorthand labelling that the author employed in designating the dimensions and the categories. Finally, the author would hope for a more easily manipulated "gestalt" impression from each category of decision style, so the narrative was provided to facilitate this process for the reader. A glossary of the dimensions, the categories, and the narratives will be specified and discussed for content in the section "Results".

The case histories were then submitted to a judge familiar with this project, and who had been instrumental in the design of the interview format. The co-rater was a fellow student in developmental psychology who has completed his doctoral work. He was provided with the twenty-four case histories, the dimensions and their glossary, the categories, the narrative description of each category, and instructions for judging the case histories (Table 2). The coding procedures were also thoroughly reviewed. The judge independently placed all twenty-four case histories in the designated categories according to his independent judgment. Consensus was 93%. Differences between raters were resolved and consensual ratings were used.

With the judge's suggestion, short titles were composed for each category. These titles used one or two key phrases to assist the reader in discriminating the categories while evaluating the research.

Instruments

The interview format is presented in Table Three. It is a semi-structured interview with opportunities for the researcher to impose additional structure if and when needed. The concept of this format was taken from Jackson and
TABLE 2

Directions to the Judge

1. Enclosed are 24 case histories, an outline of five separate categories, a corollary narrative of each of the five categories, and a glossary of the dimensions of each category.

2. Please read all the interpretive material.

3. Read each case study. Each case history is to be placed in one of the five categories. Ideally, this should be achieved on a global or gestalt level, assigning the case histories based on your overall impression. If this method does not yield judgments to your satisfaction, a check list method may be used. I will send you an empty graph of the dimensions by the subjects. In some instances, one dimension will be at variance with the category; in this case, your decision should be made on your overall impression based on the other dimensions. No case history varies on more than one dimension.

4. Judgments which are noted are those reported by the subject. Direct quotations are used for clarity.

5. When the subject has changed within a dimension during the time reported, the dimension is rated as the current one.

6. If you are dissatisfied with your results or with any aspect of the process, please call for clarification.

7. When the process is complete, recheck the categories by reading the case history in each category for an impression of validity.

8. My own categories are in a sealed envelope. Please compare our results, and contact me so that we can discuss covalidation of disputed categories.
TABLE 3

Interview Format

1. Please list the more important decisions you have reached as an adult. Please give me your approximate age and a general description of the circumstances which surrounded each decision. Did you perceive yourself as earlier or later than most people in these decisions? Did this perception affect later decisions? How else did this decision affect you? Were any of these decisions turning points for you?

2. Which decision was the most difficult to make? Was the impact mostly on yourself or on others? What were the ramifications of the choice? What impact was there from outside influences? Were you able to make your first choice?

3. Which decision was the easiest to make? Why? How was it different from the difficult decision?

4. Let's consider the other decisions one at a time. Do other decisions come to mind now? Do you believe that sometimes you make decisions by allowing circumstances to decide for you? Do you view these decisions as a continuous process?

5. Do you see any pattern to your decision process? What is it? Have you changed the way you make your decisions, how? How do you view the decisions you have made? Are they "good or bad"? How do you feel about the process you use when you make your decisions? Sometimes people mentally picture themselves taking on the roles which would result from a decision. Do you play roles in your mind when making a decision?

6. How did you feel about yourself when you made these decisions? Did some of them affect the way you see yourself more than others did? When you made the decision, would you ideally have wished to remain the same or to change as a result of your decision?

7. Would you change any decision now? How or why?

8. Sometimes people make decisions based on their idea of an appropriate time to make a certain action. Are you influenced by time in this manner? Had you planned a certain course for your life? Did any of your decisions change this course?

9. Please give me the name of another member of the club whom you consider especially competent with decisions and explain your choice.

(Note: Not all secondary questions were asked of all subjects.)
Horrocks' format in *Self and Role*. The questions were originally formulated based on a theoretical model of the desired information to be obtained. This model is drawn from the "Assumptions and Hypotheses" outlined in the previous chapter. The format has been evolved through discussions with Dr. Horrocks and from a pilot interview with another graduate student who is familiar with the theoretical base of this work. Throughout the trial interview, this student attempted to answer the questions as they were phrased and not as he believed them to have been intended. Later, feedback was elicited. Also the researcher had been familiar with the life events of the student interviewee to sharpen questions which failed to elicit material the researcher believed would have been of use within this context if the interview were part of the data base. Two additional interviews were held with naive subjects known to the interviewer. These subjects were also instructed to answer the questions as they had been asked. At the conclusion of each interview, the interviewer asked each subject why pertinent data had not been elicited. The format was then further modified to its current state.

Optional questions were included in the event that desired areas of process were not discussed in the original response, and to provide the researcher with some flexibility with each individual subject. However, an effort was made not to lead the subject. Conversely, an effort was made to allow inclusion of unanticipated material which may have been offered from the subject's introspection. In cases of perceived ambiguity, the researcher asked the subject to explicate the answer, and in some cases, the researcher paraphrased the subject's answer and asked if that was the desired meaning.
CHAPTER III

RESULTS

The first hypothesis, 'Adults judge their chronological achievements by a mental time line to which they attempt to adhere by controlling events and adjusting deviations', proved to be a variable factor for the sample interviewed. The women reported varying degrees of commitment to a mental time line with accompanying differences in the attempts to adhere to a mental chronology. This result then, became one of the dimensions by which the five categories of adult decision style was determined.

The second hypothesis states that, 'Adults may be grossly characterized as attempting to preserve their sense of self or to change their sense of self at a point of choice.' This hypothesis was also modified by the data in that a third preference was reported. A group of women reported a preference for preserving their basic view of themselves while continuing to grow or evolve in general or to change along an isolated dimension as preferred outcome of a decision. This finding was also evolved into a dimension of the categories proposed in the third hypothesis.

The third hypothesis as stated, 'Adults may be characterized by categories in which processes concerning style of choice, types of choices, and self-structures may occur together', was confirmed. Five categories (Table 4)
were formed along the variables of decision style, of type and judgment of choice especially concerning turning points, and of self-structure. These categories were defined along nine dimensions (Table 5) drawn from the material elicited by the interview format. Further, to aid the reader, a narrative (Table 6) was written of each category, and a one page summary was drawn. (Table 7) The assignment of categories achieved an inter-rater agreement of 93%, and consensual ratings were reached after further discussion.

The nine dimensions drawn from the interview data were the preservation of self image, decision style, role playing, quality of decisions, control, time line, quality of process, ideal decision maker, and turning point. As had been noted in "Methodology", these dimensions were taken from the case history and charted. Each one will be examined in detail in this chapter. Following the examination of the dimensions, each of the five categories will be discussed.

Omitted, however, from the dimensions were the lists of specific decisions made by each woman. The actual decisions made by each person were very similar across subjects. The importance of each decision lay not in its objective weight within the person's life, but how each subject viewed the decision. Each subject was asked to describe the circumstances under which the decision was made. Because one decision could impact differently due to the circumstances present or to the subject's interpretation of the situation, the actual decisions did not vary with the other dimensions. For this reason, a list of types of decisions was not a variable in any category.
TABLE 4
Categories

A

1. Attempts to change self-concept
2. Impulsive decision style, process not recalled, dependent—decisions made by others.
3. No role playing.
4. Decision judged by subject to have worked out for the best. One or more decisions may have been regretted.
5. Subject does not speak of lack of control or of confusion, but may not feel in charge.
6. Time line unimportant. No career path planned.
7. Process judged by subject to be poor or is not judged by subject.
8. Ideal decision maker is unlike self or is not indicated.
9. Turning point toward independent decisions may have been reached, but subject reverted to original style.

B

1. Subject attempts to change self-concept, and believes this change to be important.
2. Emotional decision sometimes justified with rational process. Decision made with mate in mutual process, may have some dependent components. Emotional component dominant.
3. Role playing utilized.
4. Decisions seen as correct, but often is not the first choice of the subject. May yield to others' needs. Feels large decisions are presently "on hold". Mired by daily small decisions.
5. Subject complains of lack of control.
6. Time line a current decision issue.
7. Criticizes own process, although seen as workable for self.
8. Ideal decision maker is unlike self.
9. Turning point appears to be occurring now or in the future. Questions own adult status.

C

1. Subject attempts to change self-structure as a result of decisions. Direction of change is considered in decision process.
2. Rational process utilized. Emotional components considered as part of process. May utilize mate for mutual decisions.
3. Role playing utilized.
TABLE 4 continued:

4. Subject views decisions as good.
5. No control problem discussed.
6. Time line unimportant. "Master" career path not planned.
7. Process viewed by subject to be good. Possibly too long.
8. Ideal decision maker may be like or unlike self.
9. Turning point left subject more confident in her own decisions.

D

1. Subject attempts to maintain self identity. Subject feels strongly on this subject.
2. Emotional decision process used. Intuitive. May justify original decision with rational process.
3. Role playing used.
4. Subject views decisions as good.
5. Control has been a problem, but has been resolved.
6. Career path planned and disrupted at turning point. Subject evolved new life plan taking new elements into consideration.
7. Process good as judged by subject.
8. Ideal decision maker may be like or unlike self.
9. Turning point at disturbance of career path or life plan. New plan made. Decisions prior to turning point already planned tend not to be listed.

E

1. The subject would like to evolve, retaining parts of her self process, but changing others.
2. Rational decision process utilized. Based on emotional component, but following an orderly process.
3. Role playing used, described as important and vivid.
4. Good decisions as seen by subject. Decisions seen as important processes and are readily available for reporting.
5. Control problem resolved at present.
6. Time line or career path disturbed at some point in reported development.
7. Process judged as good, especially after turning point.
8. Ideal decision maker similar to self.
9. Turning point at disruption of time plan or career path. Subject incorporates uncertainty into resolution process. Speaks of relinquishing control or recognizing fate.
TABLE 5
Glossary of Dimensions

1. Preservation of self image. In response to the question, "When making a decision, would you consider it desirable to change the way you perceive yourself or do you attempt to remain true to your present view of yourself?"

Preserver - Subject states strongly that she wishes to remain the same. She tries to make a decision which will allow her to preserve her image of herself.

Changer - Subject states strongly that she wishes to change. She believes change is a necessary element of choice and welcomes this change. She wants to become different in the way she views herself.

Evolver - Subject believes decisions may lead to growth but also mentions a desire to stay essentially the same. May desire the change of one specific element in her self image.

2. Decision style - Subject may combine these styles. The style may have changed over the span of time reported in the interview. The subject was then classified in her designated present style.

Impulsive - Subject reports that "things just happen". Cannot report any process. May report an avoidance of a decision until the last minute.

Dependent - Subject depends on another person to make her decisions, or allows another person to do so.

Intimacy/mutual - Subject makes decisions in tandem with another person. In this study, that person was most often the mate.

Rational - Subject utilizes an organized process of conscious thought to make decisions. Usually emphasizes cognitive loci of decision process.

Intuitive - Subject utilizes emotional component in making decisions. She may consciously allow her mind to evolve a decision without actually controlling the process although she can report this process.

3. Role playing - This term is used in the same fashion (Horrocks, 1977) used role rehearsal.

Role player - Uses mental visualization of outcome of decision to in decision process.

No role playing or ineffective - Does not visualize roles. May attempt to do so using verbal labels which do not aid the subject in making choices.

4. Decisions as judged in quality by the subject. May designate actual decision as poor, but the outcome is seen as acceptable.

5. Control - Subject discusses the issue of controlling her situation. May refer to inability to control decisions or make decisions, although may refer to inability to utilize first choices in deference to other peoples's needs. May be viewed in the context of failed goals.
TABLE 5 continued:

6. Time line, career path, life plan - Subject begin reported adult life with a plan in which certain goals are to be reached. These plans may be conceived at any point in life.

7. Process - Quality of process as judged by the subject.

8. Good decision maker - Subject was asked to choose a good decision maker from the group. Her similarity to the subject was not elicited, but was usually volunteered.

9. Turning point - A turning point was asked of each subject. The subject designated her own crisis or turning point and discussed the quality of the decision. In some cases, more information was elicited by the researcher.
"A-the identity diffuse muddler" subject gives the impression of not having introspected her decisions before the interview. She has some trouble reporting, marked by pauses, requests for clarification, and statements that the questions were unusual and/or difficult. The subject indicated an attitude of fatalism with statements such as "things just work out or not". Also, the subject would indicate a preference for allowing events to decide issues if possible. The subjects in this group are impulsive, and cannot usually report any process. Even an emotional reaction is not usually indicated. No role playing is employed, in fact, the subject may report an avoidance of considering the decision with that much intensity. The person may allow or depend on another person to make her decisions, but does not report a discomfort with lack of control. She considers her process to be a poor one, which may or may not distress her. She may speak of making a decision because of a dislike of herself or of her situation, therefore, she expresses the desire that her decision change her. Each decision is made as necessary; no time line or career path has been formulated with any degree of commitment. If this person reports a turning point in which she took control and made her own decision consciously, she returned to the status quo for later decisions. Her ideal decision maker was either not indicated or was unlike herself.

"B-the moratorium in crisis" has a strong belief that decisions should bring change in the self, and that this change is desirable. She makes decisions on an instinctive level with varying degrees of formal process. Emotional components are important to the decision. She may have relinquished important factors to other people, but this is a conscious voluntary decision. She may have placed herself second to her family from a sense of duty, but this action has left her with a feeling of a lack of control. She feels that she must make a major decision to begin a career path, but feels mired by daily decisions. She may even feel that the long range decisions of daily life are not made because of the pressure of smaller decisions. Thus, she describes a classic "moratorium". Her turning point, or crisis appears to be occurring now, she questions her status as an adult. This subject may criticize her decision process at an objective level, but she believes it works well for her. Her ideal decision maker is unlike her perception of herself.

"C-the vigilant changer" visualizes herself as a methodical decision maker with emotional components present. She attempts to follow a version of the ideal or vigilant decision maker as explicated by Janis and Mann (1977). Role playing is used in this process. Ideally, a decision should change her. The turning point has left the subject with new faith in her self and in her decision ability. It may have changed her former process completely. Presently, she approves of her decisions and the process she employs. If control has been at issue, it has been resolved. She had not formulated a life plan or a time line. The ideal self may be like or unlike self.
"D, the planned preserver" believes strongly that decisions should be made to preserve her view of herself. She has formulated a life plan or a time line to implement this effort. The reported turning point involved a disruption of this plan. The subject reacted by compromising and rebuilding in order to put a new plan into effect. She may use a strongly intuitive decisions process with emotional components stressed. The subject may utilize a system of rational decisions to bolster her decision. She may interact in an intimate process also. Role playing is an important tool to establish the suitability of a choice to her view of herself. Although the process may appear at a preconscious level, it is a purposeful and predetermined method of decision making. This process is important to the subject in that it must "feel right". She views her decisions as good, and has resolved any control problems which evolved. Her ideal decision maker may be like or unlike self.

"E, the evolver" would ideally have her decisions leave her basically the same, but allow growth or change in a specified area. The subject may utilize the intuitive process outlined in "D, the planned preserver", but tends more to include a cognitive process. This subject will tend to report a more conscious process with emphasis on either the affective or cognitive loci. She views decisions as important responsibilities, and is pleased with the process that she utilizes. The subject had evolved a life plan or a time line which was disrupted at her reported turning point. However, unlike "D, the planned preserver", she has adapted a new approach in that she leaves more planning to a day to day approach. She may speak of allowing fate or chance more of a part in the decisions which come to her for resolution. The issue of control has been resolved by allowing for uncertainty in her future. She makes the decisions which she needs to make, but does not attempt to control future issues which may evolve. Her ideal decision maker is like herself.
### Chart of Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Impulsive/dependent</td>
<td>2. Rational</td>
<td>2. Rational/emotive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. No role playing</td>
<td>3. Role playing</td>
<td>3. Role playing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Decision good</td>
<td>4. Decision good</td>
<td>4. Decision good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Control not at issue</td>
<td>5. No control problem</td>
<td>5. Control resolved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. No time line</td>
<td>6. No time line</td>
<td>6. Time line dropped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Unlike self</td>
<td>8. Like or unlike self</td>
<td>8. Like self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case #1, #2, #6, #8, #21</td>
<td>Case #3, #11, #12, #16, #20</td>
<td>Case #7, #15, #18, #19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Changer</td>
<td>1. Preserver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Emotional/intuitive</td>
<td>2. Intuitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Role playing</td>
<td>3. Role playing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Control problem</td>
<td>5. Control resolved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Time line current</td>
<td>6. New time line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Unlike self</td>
<td>8. Like or unlike self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Future or present</td>
<td>9. Disturbance of time line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case #4, #22, #23, #24</td>
<td>Case #5, #9, #10, #13, #14, #17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, the decisions influenced the judgment of other variables. Fifteen of the twenty-four subjects designated entering college as the start of adulthood. Only one of the fifteen also designated that decision as the turning point which enabled her to enter her present level of adult functioning. All of the subjects in "C-the vigilant changer" designated one of her decisions to be a decision which was made with abstract components with a view to changing her style of decision making. "D-the planned preserver" group tended not to include decisions which were predecided in a "life plan" formed before the designated start of adulthood. These decisions were seen as so much part of the self that they were not volunteered. This information was elicited by the researcher near the end of the interview in response to the question "Can you add any decisions that other people might see as major?" "B-the moratorium in crisis" group was designated as in crisis due to the indication, in response to the question, that a choice was in progress at that point.

The turning point designated by each subject is another dimension directly evolved from the list of decisions. The particular decision at which a turning point was designated by most subjects emerged as an important variable. In four of the five categories, this turning point was defined as a choice which resulted in a new pattern of decision making, and/or a new attitude toward decision processes. Once again, the actual decision which was designated a turning point was not a meaningful variable. How the subject chose the turning point is a useful dimension. In summary, although a list of choices was not one of the dimensions, the choices did directly influence other dimensions.
Dimensions

The categories, then, were composed of nine dimensions which were in turn drawn from the interview format. As such, these dimensions represent those elements of the interview which speak to the theoretical considerations of the proposed research. Thus the interview and the resultant dimensions both serve to highlight the areas of interest, and to elicit that direction of response. The dimensions have been defined in the Glossary (Table 5). The present discussion will focus on the theoretical implications of the research results concerning these dimensions. The first dimension, "preservation of self image", has its strong grounding in self theory as explicated in Chapter One. Within this small sample, desire to change as a result of change was found as a multiple factor in three distinct categories of adults. "A" group wished to change due to a dislike of the self-concept under consideration at that time. While both "B" and "C" held change as philosophically desirable, "D" viewed this process as one outside their present reach, while "C" methodically controlled decisions so as to optimize change. Only one group, "D", desired a complete preservation of self-concept within choice. This group's other dimensions all combined to optimize this desire. The "evolvers" viewed this aspect of choice to be just one dimension rather than a superordinate goal. This dimension then, was found to be discriminatory by type, as was expected; and by interpretation of purpose; which was not considered at the outset.

Decision style as defined in this research varied consistently in only three of the five categories. "A-the identity diffuse muddler" predictably utilized an inefficient, impulsive style of choice. Decision being an activity disliked and
avoided, its skills were not developed or introspected. Reporting was difficult. “C-the vigilant changer” were a group of women who accepted responsibility for change and predictably evolved an optimal style of decision making. “D-the planned preserver” utilized intuitive elements in their attempt to retain the self-concept at risk whenever possible. However, “B” and “E” both were composed of subjects who utilized different styles of decision making. “B-the moratorium in crisis” group had not decisively evolved an identity as decision maker, or as adult. “E, the evolver” allowed the situation to aide in designating the type of process utilized. Of the dimensions, this dimension was least theoretically based in its formation. Future research would benefit from more precisely defined decision styles. This topic will be further discussed in the area, “Implications”.

Role playing, designated by Horrocks in its original form as “role rehearsal” was found to be used in all categories except “A-the identity diffuse muddler”. This group was aware of the method, but consciously avoided it as another unwanted source of information which would force decision process. The most vivid role playing appeared to have been utilized by “E, the evolver”, perhaps because this group had no specific position to defend and thus allowed themselves to rehearse possibilities with a minimum of self-censure.

Most subjects judged their decisions to be good or at least for the best. Not uncommonly, if one decision were regretted, a turning point occurred in its eventual resolution. Subjects tended to at least tolerate their decisions even when condemning the processes they utilized. In turn, all the groups except “A” believed their decision process to be best for them, even if they reported some
objective criticism regarding it. "C" group did not in fact condemn their decision process or its style, but their own failure to enact it to implement major change.

Interestingly, the choice of ideal decision maker from within the class did not always follow a predictable pattern. Group "A", unsurprisingly, chose a woman unlike themselves, and specified this difference. Group "B", again as might be expected, designated women who seemed to have gained control of their situations. However, "C" and "D" subjects chose women both like themselves and unlike themselves. This finding may indicate a weakness in the dimension itself for prediction, or a less pronounced satisfaction of those subjects in their own decision processes.

Time line proved to be a discriminatory variable, an unexpected finding. Also varying from the original proposition was the inclusion in this variable of a major life plan or a superordinate goal. These methods of structure were not strictly formulated in the theory of chronological time proposed by Neugarten, but do serve as a structure utilized by some subjects above the level of most other decisions. Group "A" who avoided major decisions had avoided setting forth a life plan or a time line outside the biological limits of childbearing. Group "B" was only now approaching a construction of a superordinate goal with its attendant time pressure. Group "C" did not address decisions along the dimension of a plan as such, but as constructing new identities as needed in cautious and rational form. "D-the planned preserver" most consistently dealt with time and with a life plan, while "E, the evolver" came to reject this consideration or governor.

Finally, turning point as discussed in a previous paragraph, proved to be an unexpected dimension varying fairly consistently across groups. "A-the identity
diffuse muddler", had encountered a turning point at which they adopted a specific process of decision, but from which they regressed following the choice. "B-the moratorium in crisis" were encountering that turning point at the present time. "C-the vigilant changer" came to accept their own processes more securely while "D-the planned preserver" were forced to interrupt a time line or a life plan, but chose to reinstate a new one with modifications and compromises. "E, the evolver" chose at that point to abandon the life plan or time line as an effort of control.

Categories
The first category,"A-the identity diffuse muddler", is first defined by the desire to change the self image as a result of choice. This category is the first of three categories in which this dimension is marked by a desire for change. However, the subjects in each category stated different reasons for their preference. As the caption for this category might imply, the subjects in "A" category desired change as an escape from the identity, or identities, under consideration at the time of the choice. As might also be inferred from the caption, this category of subjects described an ineffectual style of decision making in the second dimension defining this category. The term "muddler" is utilized by Lindblom (1965) in describing a satisficing strategy in which the individual makes decisions only when necessary and then only in the smallest increments possible. A major decision such as career may be made in small steps, or may be deferred to other people. Specifically, the subject is often attempting to avoid the time, energy, and affect of a major decision. "A-the identity diffuse muddler" is unable to actually to report a process of decision making. The
judgment of ineffectuality is one made by the subject, and serves as the seventh
dimension. This category of subjects was the only category marked by a
continuing overall attitude of "things happening". Members of this group may
essentially escape the role of decision maker by allowing or relegating the
spouse all the decisions. Decision making is a burden to be avoided if possible.
Role playing is not utilized. In two cases, the subject stated that this method of
self rehearsal is avoided as an added manifestation of the presence of a
problem.

The decisions made were judged by the subject to have worked out for the
best. This group especially would appear to be utilizing the bolstering effect
described by Festinger. Some decisions were described as not well made at the
time, but the subject appeared to have added favorable aspects to the choice and
accepted the choice. (Janis and Mann, 1976). Each subject spoke of at least one
major decision regretted, however. This point did seem to damage the self-esteem
of the subject as described by Simon (1967) such that her next decision was an
attempt to change that self-image. Sometimes this was marked as a turning
point. If the turning point was noted in which the subject used a different style
of making decisions, in each case, once past this point of change, the subject
returned to an impulsive, satisficing style of choice. Time as a pressure was not
a factor for these subjects. They did not report any life plan or career path from
the past. Although these subjects might indicate their feeling of a lack of
control over the course of their lives, this fact was not disturbing to them unless
a decision to be made became evident. When indicating an ideal decision maker
from the group, these subjects either had no opinion on the subject or designated
one unlike herself, emphasizing the disparity as a desirable trait.

The second group, "B-the moratorium in crisis", also expressed a preference for change as a result of choice. However, this group chose this position because of a philosophical belief that change is necessary for the growth of a person. In the seventh dimension, this group also criticized their own process, however this group considered their decisions to be too emotionally based although each subject indicated that this process was best for herself. The subjects in this group reported a process of considering options on an emotional basis. For some decisions, this process was justified with a cognitive or rational consideration of the emotional decision just made. This decision process might be classified as satisficing or as unconflicted change, both suboptimal styles, by Janis and Mann (1977). However, many of the described emotional decisions in this and the other categories would be judged by the examiner to have been optimal for the circumstance described. Some decisions regarding emotional issues appropriately are to be resolved in an emotional manner. The loci of identity may have an emotional loading. In that circumstance, an appropriate structural fit may not be formed in the process terms of vigilance. Although this group was most adamant of the three groups concerning the necessity for change in the self-process, only this group of subjects consistently referred to the necessity for a decision to "feel right". To this end, role playing was utilized.

In the fourth dimension, the subjects viewed their decisions to be correct. However, some decisions, especially current decisions, would not have been the subject's first choice. The decision made was best for her family, her husband and/or her children. Simon (1976) addresses this type of altruistic decision. The
subject believes to consider other alternatives would be wrong. In this situation Simon describes the type of emotional process which was reported by these subjects. Although these subjects believe their decisions to be the only possible correct ones, the recent decisions especially have left the subjects feeling out of control. The subjects report a feeling that important decisions are on hold as they deal with the minor decisions of daily life. (Fifth dimension). "B-the moratorium in crisis" is indeed marked by a forced moratorium of growth. Each person stressed a belief for change countered by a belief that she is currently mired and without a clear identity of herself outside her roles of family and of work. This group had goals for themselves which were more or less specific which were in conflict with their present roles. "B-the moratorium in crisis" seemed to be in the current crisis of resolving this conflict. Only the subjects of this group questioned their current status as a "true" adult within the course of the interview. These subjects implied that the resolution of a career or life plan and the assumption of major decisions, would aid in the attainment of adult status. In indicating an ideal decision maker, this group all chose women specified as unlike themselves.

"C-the vigilant changer" varied along the other dimensions in still another constellation. This group viewed change as a rationally desirable outcome. These subjects most closely resembled the vigilant decider described by Janis and Mann (1977) as optimal in process. On the second dimension, decision style, these subjects utilized a careful search of options, considered the consequences, and objectives and values with the aid of role playing, considered any new information, and implemented the decision. These subjects believed their
decisions were good decisions and were pleased with their decision process although it might be considered to take too long. Interestingly, two of these subjects believed their decision style to be more conservative and slow than most people's style. They believed their "vigilant" style, although good for themselves, to be out of step with most people. These same subjects indicated an ideal decision maker as different from themselves, while the remaining subjects in group "C" chose women whose style was similar. The turning point for this group was often abstract, for example one woman decided to "be my own person". However, even the more concrete decisions left the subject reinforced in her opinion of their own capacity for making decisions and in the style they used.

"D-the planned preserver" was the sole group of women who stated a preference for remaining the same as a result of choices. This group varied along the other dimensions in a predictable sequence for maintaining self-process. The subjects as a group reported a process of intuitive decision making. They would designate a choice to be made and attempt to adhere to their view of themselves in making the decision. This decision however, was not necessarily made quickly as might be implied by the intuitive base. Sometimes the process itself would occur at a preconscious level, but other subjects used a methodical approach of considering options along intuitive guidelines. "D-the planned preserver" approaches the designation made by Whitbourne and Weinstock (1979) of the foreclosure adult utilizing deductive differentiation over inductive differentiation. Janis and Mann (1977) describe the decision process of unconflicted inertia in which to remain the same presents no evident risk. The situation of inertia referred to more material decisions, yet has the same
implications when applied to the inertia of self-preservation. Role playing was utilized to enable a choice which fit the identity presently in place. This group reported a life plan or a timeline in place at the designated start of adulthood. Several major events were not designated by this group as choices, because the event had been planned for as a part of the self-process. The decisions and the process utilized by this group were seen as appropriate in that a continued self-view was utilized. Each woman reported a turning point at which she was unable to continue the plan originally set forth. At this point, the person would make a choice enabling her to set a new plan in motion while continuing to protect the highest proportion of her self-process. At this point of crisis, several of the subjects reported utilizing a process similar to the vigilant process described in group "C". Interestingly, some subjects of the group designated the ideal decision maker as unlike herself.

"E, the evolver" would like to retain her basic self image while growing or changing specific aspects of herself. The evolver position is also represented in only one group. This group includes a mix of subjects who utilized the intuitive process of the "D" group and of subjects who utilized a vigilant process such as the "C" group. Role playing, however, was used by all the subjects. This group regards decisions as important opportunities for controlled growth. The subjects all appeared to have utilized their decisions in their own self narratives; they were thorough and complete reporters. By the same token, each subject regarded her own decision style as appropriate for herself.

This group reported a life plan or a timeline in place at the outset of the designated point of adulthood. However, each woman had reached a turning point
which challenged that plan. At that point, these subjects, unlike the "D" group, abandoned both the life plan of the moment and the concept of life plans in general. Subjects reported such decisions as "opening my life to opportunity", or coming to terms with not controlling every aspect of a situation ahead of time. This group designated their ideal decision maker as similar to themselves. They most closely would be classified Identity Achieving (Whitbourne and Weinstock), and two of the subjects also utilized the ideal vigilant decision process of Janis and Mann (1977). In fact the remaining subjects also utilized some type of formal process for decision making upon which she relied.

Within Chapter 4, the implications for these results will be discussed.
CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

This discussion covers three major areas. First the main findings associated with the general propositions will be reviewed. The five categories and their components will be discussed in relation to the theoretical base presented in the first chapter. Next, the format of the interview used within this study will be examined with a discussion of possible sources of error. Finally, the third area focuses on the implications of these findings including specific recommendations for follow-on research.
Main Findings

The first hypotheses, 'Adults judge their chronological achievements by a mental time line to which they attempt to adhere by controlling events and correcting deviations,' failed to be confirmed as stated in the sample as a whole. However, one fourth of the women did attempt a consistent adherence to a mental plan which included a time line. Another group of women attempted utilization of a time line, but abandoned it and the concept of the time line itself upon a point of crisis. A third category of women reported preliminary movement toward the concept of a time line at the time of the interview. Therefore, this hypotheses served as one of the variable dimensions from which the major categories were formed.

A specific issue arising from the first hypothesis is the expansion of the concept of internal time line. Aside from the finding that the utilization of this process varied among individuals, subjects reported broader usages of a chronology. These individuals described not only a timetable, but salient goals which accompanied the timeline. Other individuals reported that the more important feature of the chronology was the attainment of the goals which were set for the future. These women considered time only in terms of "real" deadlines, such as the biological end of the childbearing years. These subjects usually reported the existence of a "grand plan" at the point which they designated as the start of adulthood. As has been reported and discussed, only subjects in "D-the planned preserver" and "E, the evolver" reported these time lines. "B-the moratorium in crisis" were feeling the pressures of time at the point of the interview. The outcome of that conflict is unknown to the researcher.
The second hypothesis, 'Adults may be grossly characterized as attempting to preserve their sense of self or to change their sense of self at a point of choice,' also failed to be supported as stated originally. However, the women in the sample did vary along this dimension with the addition of the characterization of attempting to preserve their sense of self while growing or while changing one specific dimension. This hypothesis too, became the basis of one of the dimensions used to form the major categories.

The third hypothesis, 'Adults may be characterized into categories in which processes concerning style of choice, types of choices, and self-structures may occur together,' was confirmed. Five categories of adult differentiation were formed along nine dimensions. The assignment of subjects into the categories was validated by an independent judge at an inter-rater agreement of 93%.

The extension of the results of this exploratory research which is of specific salience is the use of this data as an alternative to stage theory in adult life. An adjunct of this first proposed discussion is the specific differential among new mothers, a group which has not been the focus of self-theory. In rejecting stage theory, one would not expect a universal reaction or even a universality of reaction to this specific event. A proposition to be explored is that parenthood affects new parents in accordance with the process of the self-structure to that point, in combination with the circumstances of the experience, and within the parameters of the person's perception of his situation. In short, parenthood is a particularly salient example of a life event which nonetheless impacts on the individual within varying degrees. Decision
theory holds a third area of expansion. The use of emotional and/or intuitive decisions has been studied only as a sub-optimal decision strategy. The researcher would propose that for some persons, and appropriate circumstances, these "non-vigilant" decisions are in fact optimal. Finally, the categories which were constructed from this data present an opportunity for judgment of the various approaches to the end goal of Integrity, as defined in Chapter One, utilized by the groups of subjects. The question arises if judgment is appropriate and if so, by what standards?

To fulfill the role of replacing stage theory, a theory must be able to account for development as opposed to simple chronological changes and the theory must challenge the assertion that theories which propose a multiplicity of paths are simply measuring the same path of development at different stages. In addition, the proposal of typologies varying along several dimensions escapes the necessity while allowing the option of judging one level above other levels.

Dimension nine, turning point, as reported by the majority of the subjects, represented a conscious change in structure of the self. This change was confirmed by subsequent changed decision making behavior and/or altered view of one or more identities in a majority of the subjects reporting a turning point. Within "A-the identity diffuse muddler", three of the four subjects reported a turning point discontinuous with their former process of choice. These women, however, allowed themselves to return to former patterns of behavior and choice. "B-the moratorium in crisis" reported a turning point type of decision which was followed by changed behavior. In addition, this group reported a lack of control and a sense of allowing large decisions to escape their control which gave the researcher the impression of a new current crisis. This crisis in turn could
resolve into a turning point changing the subject's future self-structure again. Subjects in the other three groups all reported turning points, discussed in the previous chapter in detail, followed by permanent changes in their self-structure. These are specific examples of developmental changes accounted for within the categories proposed by this research. In future research, it is anticipated that the same type of change will be explained and structured using longitudinal data within the same framework.

The categories which have been proposed are based on a single observation. "A-the identity diffuse muddler" with a return to an earlier decision style may well "grow" or "evolve" into one of the other categories. "B-the moratorium in crisis" appears to be meeting the stated goal of changing their self-structure, but this is conjecture. It would seem unlikely that "C-the vigilant changer" would "grow" or "develop" into "D-the planned preserver" or "E, the evolver". Although Tyler et al., as cited in Chapter One, have proposed that a person who views himself as a changer is more mature than the person concerned with preservation; there is no evidence that the multidimensional categories proposed within this research share that quality. There is no evidence to propose that any of the categories "C","D", or "E" are more mature or prone to develop into any other category. The data appears to contradict a theory that these various categories simply measure the same path of development at different points, however only additional research incorporating some longitudinal data will provide this information.

Finally, no one of the last three categories present any evidence of superior development to the other two. On the other hand, the first category with impulsive, dependent decisions appears to be at a lower level of development than
the other four categories. The second category appears to be a category on which judgment would best be reserved. One may accept Loevinger's (1976) theory that acceptance of ambiguity represents a developmental increment and thus place "E, the evolver" with their acceptance of fate to be more mature. However, the structure of the categories per se do not demand a judgment of this type. Indeed several categories, for example "C","D", and "E" may be found to be equally mature but varying paths of development. Thus, the categories proposed within this research, while on an exploratory stage would imply a possible alternate to stage theory. In summary this theory and its multidimensional categories account for development as opposed to simple chronological changes, the categories have the potential for providing a multiplicity of developmental paths rather than different points in a unilateral path of development, and these categories may also be viewed as differing optimal paths of development rather than levels of maturity.

A second extension of the results of this exploratory research in the effect of bearing children on the self-structure of the parents. Of twenty-four subjects, nineteen subjects listed some part of the process of having children as a major decision. Five subjects were reacting to an unplanned pregnancy, and the remaining subjects were planning to become pregnant in their childbearing decision. Of the five subjects not reporting childbearing decisions, two women had unplanned pregnancies and three women had planned pregnancies. Therefore, it would seem that the control of a planned pregnancy versus an unplanned pregnancy is not a factor in reporting this decision. Those not reporting childbearing were questioned by the researcher at the end of the interview regarding the reason of this omission. In all cases, the subjects reported that
having a child was seen as so clearly in keeping with their view of themselves that the process did not fit the concept of a decision.

Of those reporting childbearing as a major choice, only one person listed it as a turning point, an "E, the evolver". This person had become pregnant inadvertently and had accepted her pregnancy by accepting the role of the unknown in general within her view of her life. Within this category, all but one of the other women listed having a child as a decision. Only one other woman discussed the adjustment to her self-structure which occurred due to parenthood. All the women in "B-the moratorium in crisis" had found that the role of parenthood had played a major role in their perceived loss of control. One of these women, accidentally pregnant, had perceived this loss from the point of the discovered pregnancy. One subject in "C-the vigilant changer" reported difficulty in adjusting her view of herself and her lifestyle following the decision to have a child. The four other subjects in this group reported having a child as a major decision, but remarked on no adjustment process. Of the six subjects in "D-the planned preserver" five listed childbearing as a major decision, but all these women discussed changing their identity structure as a result of the birth. The woman who had not listed having a child as a major decision, did list changing her life plan in response to raising her child as a turning point. Finally, in "A-the identity diffuse muddler" all but one subject reported having a child as a major decision, but no self-structure adjustments were discussed.

One may conjecture concerning these data. "A" reported little data concerning self-structure over all, so this omission in the department of parenthood is not a surprise. "B" subjects, feeling loss of control as a current status perhaps would inevitably report the recent role of parenthood within this
crisis. The changers of "C" would perhaps be more expectant of change and thus not so prone to the pressures on the self-structure. While "D-the planned preserver" would logically be more likely to feel the pressure of a threatened self view. One might expect a middle position from "E, the evolver". However, these are all theories until further research may provide more information concerning the stability of categories and the effects of parenthood, in general or within the categories, in combination of the effect of the age of the child. One may state that parenthood is a potentially powerful event which nonetheless effects the individual in varying degrees.

Within the dimension of decision style, only one group, "C-the vigilant changer" appeared to meet the conditions of optimal decision style as proposed by Janis and Mann (1976). Subjects within the "E, the evolver" also utilized a vigilant decision style. While "A-the identity diffuse muddler" group employed a method a decision style which appears to be clearly sub-optimal, the remaining subjects employ a style implied by Janis and Mann and their sources to be sub-optimal also. Within "B", "D", and "E" groups some subjects described a an intuitive, emotional process. Many of the subjects described achieving a type of "mind set" to make a decision and allowing a choice to come to mind without consciously manipulating the process. These subjects did specify the decision needed to "feel" as if it fit into their view of themselves. Sometimes, elements of the process might be reported. Some subjects would then engage a vigilant cognitive process to back the decision already made at the intuitive level. The impression given the interviewer was of a process which operated at an optimal level for the person disposed to its use and in the correct circumstances. However, this judgment is one of impression and would require further study of
the process to confirm. In further research, specific questions would be directed specifically toward this phenomenon.

The movement of a subject within different categories toward the end goal of "Integrity" or "Product: Synthesis-Integration", the reconciliation of all aspects of the self-view into an acceptable gestalt, is again one of conjecture. One might prophecy that the non-introspective "A" subject has less of this reconciliation than the "E" subject who has come to terms with a life plan which has been terminated. In bringing differentiation into consideration, the "E" subject might again be considered more mature in the balance of inductive and deductive differentiation which Whitbourne and Weinstock (1979) view as approaching the goal of Identity. However, without more data concerning the reliability and validity of the categories with the use of more subjects and longitudinal data, one may only theorize concerning the comparative state of the process within various categories. The ability of any theory to predict future events is desirable. As opposed to stage theory, these categories have the potential to predict more than one optimal array of dimensions for the attainment of "Product: Synthesis-Integration". Therefore, while this theory does not necessitate the judgment of level of the categories, such a judgment can provide the researcher with valuable information.

Methodology and Possible Sources of Error

The interview format utilized in this research was developed within the theoretical position of the process of self. The questions reflected the bias of
the researcher in that the subject was directed to a specific line of thought in reporting a self narrative. Absolute objectivity was not sought in this research. As has been cited in Chapter One, no one "truth" exists to be studied in adult self-process. As events occur, the structure of the self changes and the life account is altered so as to continuously create continuity (Weber, 1955; Cohler, 1980). The narrative can only be "evaluated in terms of the internal consistency of the particular interpretation in understanding and accounting for the several events or 'facts' of the life course as a whole" (Cohler, 1980). The interview format was discussed with Dr. Horrocks and with the doctoral committee and tested with a cohort familiar with the theoretical base in question. Naive subjects were utilized outside the data base for feedback. With these sources, the interview was evolved so that the questions reflected a consistent approach to the subject and presented accurate inquiry as intended by the research at hand.

A second source of bias rests with the subject. To discover the "real truth" would require expiating subject bias as described by Nesbett (1971), Kelley (1973), or Heigger (Baldwin, 1967). However, absolute truth is not at issue here, but the view the person has of himself within the parameters of the requests made by the interview. The interview, like a cross-section slide of an organ, is a slice of the process which has been selectively chosen and treated for the purpose of study. The slides, and the interviews then, must be treated equally as possible, in a known fashion, so that the product under study may be interpreted correctly. In utilizing the interview, one utilizes a frozen segment of the process of self in which past and present are represented by the subject.
Multiple questions were developed to use at the discretion of the researcher for the needs of each interview. While these questions did establish a flexibility, the judgment involved also allowed for subject and interviewer interaction which was not controlled for consistency over different subjects. The depth and direction of responses could thus have been affected by the use or non-use of the optional probes. This possible source of error could be controlled for with the consistent use of all question in each interview. The use of the present format in the present research has provided more extensive information concerning those questions most likely to require explication. A proposed future form would include a more specific lead-in question with required probes. If an answer had been supplied spontaneously, these probes could conceivably retrieve further information or at worst be a neutral duplicate. This control would seem to be vital in future research in order to maximize the similarity of subject-test interaction.

A second possible source of error is the sample utilized. As has been stated, the group in question were strongly self-selected. The age of the infants ranged from six weeks to six months. This lower age probably excluded working mothers from the sample due to the common maternity leave of six weeks, especially in unskilled positions. The women participating were further selected by their ability to provide transportation, time, and money for a non-necessity at a period of financial stress for many families. The program of post-partum exercise for mother and infant is a relatively new one, and one which would and did attract a fairly high ratio of educated and higher class women. The small size of the sample provides further source of error.
A third possible source of error is the apparent failure or inability of some subjects to report their decision processes accurately or at all. "A-the identity diffuse muddler" typically responded to process questions with "I don't know why." or "It just happened." Some subjects reported a process utilized only intermittently. One subject complained, "I don't like to think about these things. I don't introspect." Another subject said, "I must have thought about it. I always think." The position of this paper would be to regard this as evidence of individual differences. This group proposes the question of the etiology of different abilities to report. Kohler (1980) has proposes the ability to report a narrative coherently is an adult ability. Thus the question arises of adult status of a person unable to report a process for a decision deemed important for himself. Other theories might be an impulsive style based in material unacceptable to self (Sullivan), an immature early-adult process, a lack of motivation to report, or simple cognitive inability at this abstract level. These theories require the use of a process question such as the one proposed in Implications to determine the ability to report on a controlled problem and the use of longitudinal research to determine any maturational affects.

Implications for Future Research

This research was intended as exploratory in nature. In serendipity, the sample chosen possessed a common homogeneity in their common new motherhood. "Little information of the impact on parents' self-image with childbearing is available." (Gardner, 1980) Whitbourne and Weinstock (1979) state "There is no information on how adults react to parenting at a deeper level: the incorporation
of the role of parent into identity." Even Erikson, within whose stage of Generativity these women belong, apologizes in his work for the lack of detail with which he describes this stage. Clearly, the population of new mothers is a group in need of further study. The hypothesis to be researched would be, "Motherhood, as a life event, presents the opportunity to study the individual at a potential point of change in the self-process. The presence, direction, and strength of that change however, would differ with the person's self-process, her perception of the event, and her style of resolving conflict."

Sullivan (1949) has stated, "Because of the general effect on personality which accompanies every newly matured need or capacity in the early stages of each developmental phase, the functional activity of the self-system invariably does change somewhat in direction and characteristics; and it it is at those times that the self-system is peculiarly open to fortunate change." Motherhood is not a universal stage, nor are the reactions to it universal among those women experiencing it. In most cases however, this event entails the evolution of new roles at the least, and to new structures of the self-system at a higher level of impact upon the individual. As a societal change of particular salience, motherhood offers a natural population for the study of individual differences and the construction of common categories as proposed in the current study.

A proposed next step would be the expansion of the sample using the interview format with the proposed use of required questions for all subjects. The sample base could be widened with the use of birth notices as a subject pool. Preselection may still occur with the mothers who agree and with the limitations on the researcher in terms of time and resources. However, a more diverse group of women would be available for interviewing. The first hypothesis to be tested
would be the continued applicability of the dimensions and the categories found in the present study. Should these hypotheses be confirmed, the interview format could be rewritten such that the questions directly focus on each dimension for the next set of interviews.

Another technique to be added to the next set of interviews would be the proposal of a hypothetical decision that conceivably could arise in the life of the subject. The subject would be asked to make a theoretical decision, but one which she believed she would in fact choose if the occasion should arise. The subject would be asked to verbalize, if possible, the line of thought she follows in resolving the question, as well as reporting any processes she might carry out if given an indefinite amount of time in which to make the decision.

After validation research, assuming the same categories are reaffirmed, a sub-sample of each category could be chosen to interview longitudinally once every six months. These interviews may follow the same format to enable the subjects to participate in the evaluation of change at a conscious level. Or the interviews could be reworded so that the subjects would be directed to report their introspection without so obvious a link to past questions. With the longitudinal data, the categories could be evaluated from a different perspective. Are some categories more likely to report satisfaction over time? Do some categories evolve into other categories within the original five? Are entirely different categories formed with the passage of time? What is the unconscious contribution to self-structure of the age of the child? The longitudinal study in particular could contribute to the study of the reaction of mothers as a group and of mothers as they react within categories.
New research then could continue to address the use of multidimensional categories as an alternative to stage theory in adult life. In particular, the categories proposed within this paper need to be tested within a larger sample. In addition, further research needs to address the theory that parenthood affects women in accordance with the process of self-structure to that point, in combination with the circumstances of the experience, and within the parameters of the person's perception of her situation. Decision style in particular needs further explication within the use of intuitive and primarily affective decisions. Finally, the categories, once reliably established can be studied for those which are optimal in achieving "Product: Synthesis-Integration."
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

This study was designed to determine (1) the use of a mental time line by adults to regulate events, (2) the existence of categories of adults as basically "changers" or "preservers" of self-concepts, and (3) the ability to place adults in meaningful categories constructed of dimensions of self-concept, decision style, and life events as an alternative to stage theory in explaining adult development and differentiation.

Twenty-four adult women, from a class involving newborn infants and their mothers, were interviewed using an interview format based in self-theory as proposed by Horrocks and Jackson (1972). Case histories were transcribed from the taped interviews. Five categories of style, each varying within nine variables, were extracted from the case histories. The case histories in turn were each placed in one category. An independent judge placed the case histories in the categories with .93 co-rater agreement. A consensual validation was reached.

Within the categories, those women wishing to change their self-construct as a result of choice varied among three categories, while "preservers" were found to covary within only one category. A third dimension, "evolvers", who wished to remain basically the same but to change selected aspects of self, covaried within one category also. The role of time line was found to vary among...
groups, and the concept itself was reported in an expanded form of life plan. Decision styles and types of turning points were also found to be particularly salient variables among groups.

Proposed future research was discussed. Issues to be explored are differential experience of new mothers, alternative optimal decision styles, and a possible hierarchy of categories with several at optimal level. The use of a larger sample and the modification of the interview format were also proposed.
APPENDIX A:

Case Histories
Subject One

The first subject is a white female in her late twenties. She is married and lives with one of two stepchildren from her husband’s first marriage, her husband, and their infant son. Her husband owns his own business. She has a degree in a related field and has taught in that area. Presently, she remains at home with their children. She listed her decisions as finding a job out of college, getting married, having children, and buying a boat.

Case One listed her first major adult decision as her choice of job after college. This decision was also listed as her most difficult decision. This was the one decision that the subject viewed as differing in type from her other decisions. This decision she made entirely on her own. She would be the only person affected in a major way. The subject decided to accept a job in the present geographical area despite the fact that the job itself was not her first choice. She reported applying at an employment service and waiting for her choices to reveal themselves. Although she reported this decision as being a major one for her, she could not report any thought process. "It’s hard for me to remember the things I was thinking about." This decision was designated as a turning point in that it "was a fence that set a chain of events into action".

Her other decisions fit into her preferred style of decision making. "I want to have someone else make them along with me. I can kind of share the responsibility." This woman characterized herself as one who does not make decisions easily. She takes time and allows possibilities to become apparent. After her job decision, she became involved with her present husband, and
subsequently, she moved in with him. She reported the opposition of her parents due to his age and his prior marriage. She also reported the pressure brought to bear upon her by her boyfriend to become committed to the relationship. However, she cannot report any process of resolution either in a "rational" weighing of choices, or in an emotional insight. She simply states that she allowed the situation to unfold for a "long time" and then decided.

The process to marry was also made with her husband with no special process remembered. The implication was made that her husband decided to marry in order to have a family right away. The subject wished to work for a while. While she was resolving herself on the to the position of beginning a family, "my husband wasn't as ready". His stepson moved in with them. Then her husband decided to buy a boat. "It was inevitable, and I might as well go along with it." This decision necessitated the subject's working another year. The couple were building their own home, and its completion would be postponed while they lived in the completed section. Subject One agreed to the sailboat with the implication that she would quit work in a year and have a child then. At the time, this agreement was not made explicit by the subject either to her husband or to herself.

To summarize, Subject One describes herself as having trouble making decisions. She judges herself to be generally happy with the result of her decisions, although she may have felt some ambivalence at the time of their resolution. She would "feel more adult if I were making them all by myself instead of trying to get someone to help". She finds that she has this problem even with day to day decisions. She usually elicits another person's help in
making her decisions. She is often unhappy with these routine decisions.

This subject does not rehearse roles in her mind. She comments that she cannot remember any specific thing "that I think about" and could not outline a plan of decision making strategy. She would hope to change as a result of her decisions. She sees change as inevitable from the turning points of choice. She assumes the choices she lists are major enough to necessitate change, and "only hopes for the best". Change would hopefully make her a better person. Although her choice of job was seen as a turning point into adulthood because she had made this decision by herself, she relinquished this style of choice immediately. She yielded this power to her boyfriend. This person had no internal time line and no career path which she planned mentally. In choosing a good decision maker, she chose those women who have spoken emphatically about their own decisions. She would like to feel that confident about her own decisions and she would like to exert "that kind of control". However she noted that the type of control she would like to gain would not necessitate the type of hardness and/or brashness which she perceived in these women.
Subject Two

Subject Two is a white female of 31. She has been divorced once and is living with her husband and their infant son. This subject holds an advanced degree. She has worked in a variety of nursery school situations, and one year in her graduate field. The subject presently remains at home with her son. Her husband works in middle management in a technical field. Subject Two originally listed a chain of decisions in her choice of career and the decision to "be married and have children".

The subject reported her decisions in a confusing manner with contradictory statements and protests that "I just don't think of these things." The examiner attempted to clarify the report, but still received some contradictory information. The subject stated that she herself was confused by this task. No line of thought can be recalled in the process.

The subject "just decided" her career path. She did little mental rehearsal. When a career occurred to her, she appeared to have tried the career to discover its suitability rather than think about her choices.

The career decision listed as her first major decision was actually a chain of decisions. "I think the career decision is one of the major decisions, what you're going to major in in college. And that's something that I decided on one thing and changed my mind and decided on something else and quit college after three semesters. I was in Germany for three years and came back and changed my major." The subject's original major had been French literature. She changed that major to child development and dropped out of college to get married. The
subject completed her degree in child development three years later. "What I wanted to do was to have a nursery school in my home and have my own children. But since then I've decided that that isn't a good idea either." The subject did run a nursery school. She also worked in several unskilled labor jobs. Finally she obtained an degree in a related field and worked in that field for a year before her second marriage and her resigning that job to have a child.

The first intervening factor in her career search was her marriage and her subsequent divorce. She had dropped out of college at the point of changing her major from French and moved to Germany with her new husband. Subject Two did not list this marriage as a decision because "I just sort of got pressured into it....I think I wanted to leave school for a while....I realized while I was doing it that I didn't want to do it." Her first marriage was recounted primarily as a factor in her other life decisions. It was partly her confusion over a major that compelled her to marry knowing that she would move out of reach of her college in her husband's overseas posting. The subject did return to school after their return to this country, because "we were both in school and working part time". Their life was on campus, and it was at this time that the subject completed her degree in child development. Eventually, the marriage failed, and she became disillusioned with her nursery school work. In embarrassment, she fled the area to worked in a factory and as a waitress in Florida. "I lived in a house that didn't have any heat, because this was Florida, and in November it got really cold. I thought, 'If I'm going to freeze, I'm going home.' " This move prompted a series of attempts to obtain jobs in specialized areas of education. The subject found herself unqualified for any of the jobs which attracted her.
After the subject returned to this area and found herself unqualified for the jobs which she desired, she decided to return to graduate school in a specialized field. This decision she classified as a turning point. The time to this point was "pre-adulthood" or "practice adulthood". Now she would accept the fact that she may have to support herself and would obtain a degree toward that end. Again, however, the subject could not report any thought process. She stated her reasons for her move, but reported that her thoughts were more on the "why not" line. The decision for the degree was not in response to a desire of her own, but because the jobs which paid more demanded the training.

In a side note, the subject also discussed her separation and subsequent divorce as a factor in her other life decisions. These actions were not viewed as decisions, but almost as natural consequences of an unwise marriage. She stated that she and her husband were growing apart, and her husband was cheating on her. The subject had been warned against the marriage by her father, and when her father died, she felt free to leave her husband. All she can report of the process was a ten day vacation alone after which she said, "Yup, that's it!" She and her husband had an amiable separation and divorced three years later so that he could remarry. It was at this point of separation that the subject fled to Florida to work any place she found employment.

This subject's most difficult decision was to get married the second time. She had been divorced once and was afraid of failing again. The subject gave conflicting versions of this decision. She originally stated that the decision was "to get married and stay home with children". When questioned, she stated that this was a specific decision to marry her husband. Later, however, she spoke of
She was dating a graduate student at the time "who I knew I couldn't marry, so I just broke off with him". In another part of the interview, she stated the choice as "Do I want to be married or single? I knew I wanted to be married, I had just been married to the wrong person." Subject Two reported that during graduate school, "All of a sudden I made a commitment to stay with one person, you know, for the rest of my life." She looked for the right person. She and her husband had been dating for some time when she saw a proposal approaching. "I just said yes right away." In this case, the subject did have doubts as the wedding approached, but she quelled them.

Subject Two states that the decision to have children was the easiest to make, because she had always wanted them. However, in this case again, she stated that she made the decision quickly, and dealt with her doubts once the pregnancy was underway. "You finally realize that it's going to be a lot of fun, but it's also a big responsibility."

This subject stated that she was not the type to introspect or to philosophize. In reporting her style of decision, she stated that she would recognize, "Here is a problem." However, she cannot report any process of thought or any emotional component of her decisions, even the very recent ones. She just makes a decision "without hesitation". She may have later doubts, but she "pushes them out of my mind." Her only pressure of time was the biological pressure of having children. Her career plans changed constantly over time. Her role playing consists of naming the different identities she might acquire as a result of her decision, yet she does not utilize this method until after the
decision has been made and is essentially unalterable. This subject states that she makes her decisions so that she can change, "to put purpose in my life". Change is a vital component of choice since the self-concept she holds at that point is usually deficient.

Her ideal decision maker is one who says, "I am what I am and sticks to it." The subject reports that she herself does not control her decisions, she feels basically "wishy-washy". "I am indecisive. People like me, bug me." She wants to be an ideal mother, but finds herself mired in her decisions. She tries to make rational decisions in raising her son, but finds herself making impulsive decisions or no decisions at all. Therefore, in choosing her ideal decision maker of the group, she chose a real "take charge person". Someone who is unlike herself.
Subject Three

Subject Three is a white female of thirty. She has a college degree and has worked for several years in a commercial job. She and her husband live in their own home with their infant daughter. He works in middle management in a highly technical field, and she remains at home with their child. Her decisions were to go to college, to marry, and to have a child.

The subject's easiest decision was to attend college. Upon reflection, she stated that this was not a true decision. Her parents had pressured her for a large part into making the decision.

In the decision to marry, the subject had vacillated several times. She had been engaged several times and had broken the agreements. She had then utilized her preferred method of rational consideration, and using several single professional women as models, had decided never to marry. Then she met her husband, "and just out of the blue, that was that". She describes "a very traumatic time of my life". She was happy with the decision, but the uncharacteristic form of decision making made her uncomfortable. In this decision, she moved away from a dominant mother, beginning a chain of more independent thought. It evolved that she and her husband moved quite often for his job, putting geographical distance between her and her family.

The subject designated the decision to have a baby as her most difficult choice, because "motherhood is forever". Unlike her day to day habit, she made this decision with her husband. "Most times we run our marriage like a business. He has her list of things which he is responsible for, and I have my set." They
had decided to wait until they were older to have a child, but the time came when they were afraid that they would be too old. She and her husband followed a characteristic process of rational decision making in which they sat down and attempted to consider all the aspects of the situation before making a choice.

The subject did not list their decision for her husband to change jobs, to settle in this region, or to buy a house as major decisions. She did mention that these decisions were made on a rational, carefully considered basis. However, these decisions were made as adjuncts to the following decision which the subject added to her list and designated as a major turning point in her life. She decided never again to live near or with her parents, and not to bring her parents into her home. This decision was made after her marriage and marked her true adult status to herself. She felt she would never again be controlled by her mother. She states that her decisions became set in her preferred pattern of rational volition. She has now become more at ease with her habit of taking a long time to reach a decision.

In summary, this subject typifies herself as a rational, careful decision maker. This style has evolved from her early decisions, one of which was made under pressure and one of which was made emotionally. Although she states that she has been happier with herself since her decision not to live with her parents, she states that the decision to have a child has brought more adjustments than she had anticipated. She and her husband have successfully adjusted to the lack of freedom.

Subject Three has felt the stress of time only in the biological sense of childbearing. She did not refer to a career plan or landmarks of achievement.
which she felt should occur at any given time. She views herself as a conservative, however once a decision is made, change then becomes a welcome factor. She believes the self should be open to new experiences. In making a choice, the subject employs role playing using other people as models. She hopes in this way to control the decision she makes.

Despite the subject's reported happiness with her own style of decision making, she chose a person unlike herself to be her ideal decision maker. One person she admired for being completely in control. This person she viewed as being more successful than she herself is in the rational style of choice. The subject also chose another person for her open attitude and spontaneity. This person she admired for being her opposite.
Subject Four

Subject Four is a white female of twenty-five. She and her husband live with their infant daughter in an apartment. The subject has done graduate work. Her husband holds a graduate degree and works in private industry. She stays at home with their child. She lists her decisions as a joint choice of graduate school location with her husband, and how to cope with an unplanned pregnancy.

Both the decisions involved the subject and her husband coming to a compromise. In neither case could both of them pursue their first choice of goal. Although the subject reported an attempt to maximize both person's gains, in both cases, the subject was the person to forfeit her goals. The subject did not list her decision to attend college in a different state than her boyfriend, or her decision to marry. She stated the she "always knew" that she would reach those decisions, and implied that this easy continuity from childhood plans did not involve adult processes.

Thus, the first decision came when she and her husband decided for him to attend graduate school where she had not as yet been accepted. He had received a scholarship. The subject felt her husband's funding was the most important consideration. They were in fact able to work out an arrangement whereby both of them were able to pursue their studies.

The more difficult decision came with her pregnancy. She and her husband were unsure if they should continue in school, if she should go to work, or if they should both quit school. Finally, they came to live with her parents while he finished his thesis. The decision was difficult because the outcome was
uncertain. The subject was also giving herself over to another person's efforts.

The subject had a small difficulty describing her decision process. She could remember a clear line of thought, but stated, "I think that my first impulse is to do the emotional thing, and then I rationalize and talk with people. I do a lot of talking to kind of figure things out in my own head just to anybody that will listen." Role playing then, is a verbal process even more than a mental one. She works out the roles in speaking with other people. In addition, she attempts to use their feedback to determine her own role at the point of choice.

The subject is uncomfortable with her decision process. She recognizes that she intuitively makes her decisions, and feels that this emotional component is important. She and her husband have a relationship of long standing, and his input is an assumed component. This is a mutual dependency rather than a symbiotic relationship. The unplanned pregnancy has put this subject off her career path. She believes herself to be too young to have a child. The subject questions whether she has entered a type of foreclosure in entering parenthood before she could establish herself as an adult.

The subject reports that she makes a lot of short term decisions in child rearing. These are made quickly, but she is disturbed by a sense that she should be dealing with a larger plan for her child. She feels that decisions should result in change, and that change is a desirable component of a choice. She is fearful of "getting into a rut". The changes in her life that she had taken for granted have seemed to cease with pregnancy. Up to that point, the subject was able to visualize herself in a role and take steps to assume that role. After her pregnancy, she was unable to visualize mixing her career path with parenthood.
The subject feels a stagnation which she believes is due in part from the lack of major decisions that she is required to make. She presently feels a bit out of control and wishes for more decisions to come under her control to make. The implication stands that these decisions would involve a return to her schooling and to her career path. She is not sure how to regain this control without victimizing her family.

The subject chose a professional woman who makes quick and aggressive decisions as her ideal decision maker. She felt the model's grip of the situation showed as an advantage to the subject's "meek little mouse".
Subject Five

Subject Five is a white female of thirty-one. She and her husband live in their own home which they built. They are both married for the first time and have one infant daughter. The subject has a degree in education and is preparing to return to work full time after six months at home. Her husband works as a professional in a technical field. The decisions she listed are to get married, to attend the university of her choice, to teach, to move geographically away from her parents, to go to Europe with her husband right after graduation, and to work after the birth of her daughter. During the interview, the subject added the decision to stress home life over work life.

The subject reported her decisions in an easy fashion. This is a subject which she had thought about recently in depth. The first decision which she listed was that she could marry someday. At the age of seventeen, she met her present husband at a mixer. She states that she had felt that she could never marry and remain her own person. She had had "no role models of men who would allow me to be me". Her father had been an alcoholic who had dominated her mother and herself. The subject stated that "being true to what I see myself as" had always been important for her. After meeting her future husband, a gentle and empathic man, she made the mental decision that if such men existed in the world, someday she could marry and still have a career. At this early age, the subject had developed a plan in her mind of what her life should be and at what ages she would accomplish her goals.
The subject then disobeyed her father for the first time and chose to attend a university near that of her boyfriend rather than the one chosen for her by her father. This rebellion "felt like the right thing to do". Subject Five, having made her decision, put her plan into action in an orderly fashion. This process is a pattern for her. She consults her feelings about herself, makes an "intuitive" choice, and rationally implements the decision she has made. In this case, she did not immediately realize the ramifications of her rebellion and took some time after her decision to realize she had "taken control of her life". This time was difficult for her, because in leaving the shelter of her father's authority, she also had to deal with the uncertainty of the world.

After her enrollment in school, this subject went into training to become a teacher in a field of her interest rather than as a professional practitioner. She believed the hours and the commitment of the professional path were incompatible with being married. Her father had wanted her to train for teaching, so this decision enabled her to see that she "had structured myself" enough to follow a path she believed to be correct even if it coincided with her father's demands.

Eventually, the subject followed her earlier intuition and married her boyfriend. She and her husband make decisions in a similar fashion, and the subject often works in intimacy with her husband to make a decision. They both try to act in concurrence with what they sense their feelings to be, then try to align the more practical aspects if possible. In this fashion, they decided to travel in Europe for eight months after graduation rather than start work immediately. They had also married before graduation rather than wait until
more money was available. These decisions were not practical, but they "felt right". The subject and her husband encountered considerable parental resistance, but they considered the elements of "being true to ourselves" to be more important than their parents' objections. They also planned ways to overcome the impractical aspects of their plan. Eventually, they moved to the Northeast to escape parental pressure.

Notably, this subject did not list her and her husband's decision to build their own home despite the fact that this project involved a great deal of work and inconvenience. Subject Five stated that "I always knew I would build my own home." She also did not list having a child as a decision. "-----was not a decision." The subject became pregnant and saw no options but to continue the pregnancy.

The subject notes a real break in decision style with her current complex of decisions. This is her most difficult decision and involves a turning point for her. Upon the birth of her child, she realized her career path was interrupted. She felt strongly about raising her child herself, and yet she had some conflicts about remaining home. She felt the loss of career, the loss of the company of colleagues, the loss of money, and the loss of power she felt in her relationship with her husband. For the first time, neither option "felt right.....No decision came." She could envision no successful blend of motherhood and career.

After a six month leave, including summer break, the subject decided to work for one last year to bankroll money for a re-education when the children reached school age, and the subject would wish to train for full-time work. During her last year of working, she had made an additional decision. She found
her perfectionistic work habits were no longer consistent with her self view. Her family came first, and she was able to balance this conflict before the birth of her daughter. Now she is engaging in a great deal of role playing in an attempt to create an ideal for a person working at home. In this last six months of leave from work, she has been unable to evolve a role for herself mentally that is consistent with her view of herself. She hopes in following through with her practical plan, to bring a role of full time mother in line with her self view. This subject was able to adjust her actual career path to the change in her life, but her mental adjustment has been difficult. However, she has not abandoned her ideal of a life plan. She has taken the line of finding a role that fits her view of herself rather than change herself to fit the situation.

Subject Five still regards herself as a good decider. She tries to consider who she is and act on that impression. Even in her last decision, her compromise was made to maximize a continued preservation of her view of herself. She has always had an internal time line which she followed up to the conflict of career and child. At this point, she is attempting to re-establish a new time line. In preserving her view of herself, she employs role playing to be sure that she can fit herself in to her expected decision.

The subject chose an ideal decision maker who is level-headed. The person she chose made "adult decisions in a poor situation". The subject perceives herself as able to make the same type of decisions. She also volunteered an example of a poor decision maker who seemed to always question her own identity.
Subject Six

Subject Six is a white female in her late twenties. She lives with her husband and their two children in their own home. Her husband works in a local industry in a skilled position. She has a B.S. in teaching and is currently remaining at home with her two children. She lists her decisions as attending college, teaching abroad, getting married, choosing a job, and buying a house.

College was the easiest decision to make because it fit into a long standing view of herself. While the actual time of decision came at college boards, she had "always thought I would go to college". This was an assumption her parents shared.

Her most difficult decision was to go abroad to teach. She would be leaving her family and a boyfriend to go to a foreign country to live. Her parents supported her in her decision. This was such a large step she stated, "I don't know how I ever did that." The subject was presented with the opportunity to apply for the foreign program and, she applied to teach in Europe. She received a position in Brazil. She thought about it "for a while and went". This was to be the only time that she lived alone. She had lived with and had cooperated with her parents to that point, and she did the same with her husband upon her return.

Her decision to get married at twenty-four was not in fact supported by her parents. She described the decision as one that was "coming" as a result of their relationship. On returning from Brazil, her boyfriend was "set" on their marriage, and she "fell into it" despite her own plan not to marry until the age
of twenty-seven.

In her next decision, to buy a house, the subject also went along with her husband. She stated that she did not understand the terms of the mortgage and was afraid of losing everything if anything went wrong. "I relied on everything he (husband) said". The investment turned out to be a sound one.

When the subject attempted to find a job in this area, there were no teaching jobs available. She decided to take a job in a computer based company because of the high salary. This was to be a job she "loved", but the issue of her enjoyment had not played a part in the original decision.

In summary, the subject was "always just easy going about it and things happened when they did. I don't know why". She had a general view of herself going to college, working for a time, and marrying at twenty-seven. "I don't know why I formulated that in my mind, I just did." She was not distressed to change the plan with her earlier marriage, and she made no new long distance goals for herself. This subject feels that decisions are presented to her, and she goes along. She depended first on her parents, and then on her husband to guide her choices for her. She believed her decision making remained fairly easy going. If anything, it is even quicker. The day to day decisions of raising two children present so many decisions, she makes her decisions with no long range goals in mind. This process distresses her somewhat, but she does not know how to change it. She only hopes that she is moving in the direction of childrearing that will turn out well. Although her life has been greatly influenced, she did not list her decisions to continue her unplanned pregnancies and to remain at home with her two children, who are ten months apart. She simply assumed she would have
the children and would remain at home to raise them. Characteristically, she could offer no process of thought behind these actions.

This subject expects to change as a result of her decisions, but does not attempt to control the direction of that change. She does not role play or imagine the outcome of her decisions ahead of the fact. This subject implied that she relies on other people to do this directing if necessary. She took the view that most things will take care of themselves. Therefore, in her home role with two very young children, she felt somewhat out of control of her day to day life, but she expected that with time, this would change in itself.

The subject did not choose an ideal decision maker, and she presented no reason for not considering any one person to be a good decision maker.
Subject Seven is a white female of twenty-seven. She and her husband and their infant son live in an apartment. Her husband works at an entry level job in the computer industry. She is an R.N. who has recently returned to work outside the home part-time. She lists her decisions as going to nursing school from a post-high school job, getting married and moving South, returning to school for a B.S., moving back to this area, and continuing an unplanned pregnancy.

This person found her easiest decision to be her entrance to nursing school. This decision was made in her preferred style. "To me a person is ultimately responsible for their own life and responsible for the choices they make." The subject had worked as a telephone operator for a year out of high school to please her father. In choosing her career, she felt she had taken on her own destiny of which she could be proud. This decision was made by the careful weighing of alternatives and bolstered by her mental picture of herself as the perfect student.

This method was used again when the subject decided to move to the big city. "I sort of realized that if I was going to wait for other people to make decisions and wait for them, I was going to wait for a long time." After graduating, she did a year's semi-required community work, then moved to Boston. This move was emotionally based. But the subject employed her rational weighing of alternatives and waited until the time was right. Her boyfriend moved to a different state. She felt free and confident.
More painful, and differing from her pattern was her decision to marry. She believed it to be a solitary decision of her own. She could not envision an acceptable role for herself as wife. The subject was a perfectionist, and was concerned with controlling every aspect of her life that was possible. Role playing ideal parts was an important part of her decision process. All her role playing of marriage portrayed a submissive loss of identity. In addition, the marriage would necessitate a change of location. She felt the emotional urge of love, and for the first time, she allowed some control to leave her hands, "It grew on me, that it was the right time. It just seemed to work out."

After her marriage, an understanding husband did not attempt to interfere with the subject's control of her life. He did not question her decisions. When she returned to school, she did so in her preferred style of weighing of alternatives and of role playing. She wanted to return to school, but she needed to methodically insure that she could be the ideal nurse which she envisioned.

With an unplanned pregnancy, she encountered a turning point. This decision "involved another life, it wasn't just mine anymore". She considered the choice painful, because in a pregnancy, "not making a decision is making a decision". This subject wished to make an active decision in something so important. She had wanted to plan this child at her chosen time. She tried to present the problem "in its simplest way", and then considered the result of each alternative. She was unable to do the concrete role playing which she habitually utilized. She could not visualize herself in her perfect pregnancy because circumstances were stressful and insecure. The subject consulted with an advisor and with her husband. This decision could not be resolved in a way of
which she could be sure. "I didn't know what the future held for me." She will never be sure that she has made the correct decision. Had she aborted, could she have provided another child with a better home? At that time, with no job or money, she and her husband decided to keep the child and to move back to this area. They could not visualize raising their child in the alien culture of the South. This was a stressful time of decisions, but one which did resolve itself successfully. The subject states that she still uses her preferred decision style when possible, but she has learned that fate controls some variables in her life. She has come to accept that she cannot be perfect in all things, and she is coming to terms with those aspects of her life over which she has no control. She still feels responsible for her decisions, but she allows for the "wild card". Her return to work part time enabled her to continue her career and to still raise her valued son in her own fashion.

In summary, this subject views decisions as philosophically important. She weighs alternatives carefully and attempts a detailed mental picture of her choices. She believes this process to be a control of her destiny, and a responsibility. She prefers a clear-cut path with all options thought out. Currently, however, she is recognizing the role of "fate" in her life and has come to accept that she cannot control for all variables. Subject Seven has felt quite a pressure of time. She had a child earlier than she had planned. She has not achieved her career goals and has some difficulty dealing with this shortfall. The birth of her child has served as a turning point in which she has given up her "grand life plan" in favor of "taking things more as they come". She does not make this choice entirely without regret, but she feels she is more realistic and
more adult in accepting some of the uncontrollable aspects of her life. She sees decisions as "staying basically the same person but bringing a change into your life that is going to make you grow". Roles are a major part of her decision process. She has, when she is able, attempted to envision a perfect role for the outcome of her decision. The subject described to the interviewer a new role of allowing fate to play its part in her decisions.

For her ideal decision maker from the group, the subject chose a woman who is forced to make all of her own decisions due to the absence of her husband. This woman is required to move often with her husband's job and has come to accept this uncertainty in her life. The subject viewed herself and this woman to be similar in decision style.
Subject Eight

Subject Eight is a white female of thirty. She lives with her husband and their infant daughter in their own home. She has a college degree and presently remains at home with their daughter. Her husband works in a family business. The subject lists her decisions as taking care of her brother, attending college, getting married, and having a child.

After her mother died, the seventeen year old subject decided to take care of her younger brother. She had never really liked him, but decided when their mother died that she would provide him with an example of responsibility. "It just happened." The subject could report no emotional or cognitive process. She felt no alternative was possible. Although she did not really see herself as an adult, this was a decision of adult responsibility for her. This subject could not report concrete action taken as a result of this decision, and stated that she only remained at home another year in this role.

Attending college was accomplished in a series of decisions over three years. The subject set off for college because "all my friends were going". She then realized she was unhappy, and she was not accomplishing anything. She quit so she could, "find out what I wanted to do when I grew up". The subject reported that the actual quitting was done on an impulse with no goal in mind. A year later she faced her most painful decision, to return to school to train for a career. The decision was painful in that she was responding to pressure from other people. The subject had no internal desire for any career outside of marriage. Finding herself at loose ends, she did return to the same school with
her friends in the home economics department. The subject stated that in retrospect she would probably have found value in transferring to another school for a textile major. However, at that time, the subject regarded this idea as a passing fantasy.

After graduation, the subject married, because "it was a neat thing to do". Her boyfriend had asked her to marry him and she had agreed. He fit her criteria. He was wealthy enough that she knew he could remain home with a child when she so desired. However, this fact was not admitted at the time; it was pointed out to her by a friend after the marriage. The only line of thought reported by the subject was, "Why not?" Also, once again, she could escape the unpleasant situation of returning home. And once again, she followed the lead of friends who were marrying.

Her easiest decision was to have a child. She was "tired of having fun at work". The subject could then justify staying at home. She is content, because in staying home, she does not need to make major decisions on her own. She reports that she was glad to relinquish control of the outside world.

Upon questioning, the subject added an additional decision which she viewed as a turning point. Before her daughter was born, the subject worked as a teacher. She hated the job. One day she decided to quit. Realizing she didn't have to have a career to be worthwhile person, she took a job as a file clerk. Subject Eight felt she could act as she saw fit and not be embarrassed. The was the only decision that the subject could report as an intuitive reaction to a feeling which she could identify.
The subject states, "I don't make decisions consciously, I fall into them. I wonder what to do." When the time comes, this subject makes an impulsive decision. Some of the reported decisions, such as quitting college or taking care of her brother, appear to the researcher to have an intuitive component of the subject's reacting to her own need. However, the subject reports a conscious tapping of this resource only in her last decision not to have a career and not to please other people. Even this "turning point" did not appear to hold in her mind in that she states that she had a baby to escape work and to justify remaining at home.

Subject Eight reports being unhappy in the pressure of an oncoming decision. She consciously attempts not to think about a decision before it is absolutely necessary. Along this line, the subject states that she is not a role player, and tries to avoid imagining roles. One force toward a decision is the apprehension of an unpleasant result of her present course. "Oh God, what would I do if that happened?" The subject reports that she does not embark on a course of resolution. She forces the negative thoughts from her mind and seizes the first solution offered to her. Along the same line, the subject feels no pressure from time and had planned no career path.

This subject sees herself then, as an impulsive decision maker who makes choices poorly. She is comfortable with the overall result of her decisions, "because things worked out OK". She does report a lack of control, but she dislikes exercising the options of control. She states that she definitely tries to change as a result of a decision, because when she makes a decision, "I hate myself." She wishes to escape that self-hate.
The ideal decision maker she chose was a person who she considers to calculate all the sides of a choice. She admires this ability. The subject believes she is unwilling and incapable of making that type of decision.
Subject Nine

Subject Nine is a thirty year old white female. She lives with her husband and their infant son in an apartment. She has a bachelor of arts degree and presently remains at home. Her husband is a skilled laborer. The subject lists her decisions as attending college, returning home after graduation, travelling across country, entering an ad agency and leaving it, taking a job as a camp counselor, travelling with her boyfriend, marrying, and having a child.

The subject entered college in a move taken for granted by herself and by her family. She majored in English as her father had, so that she could enter his field of advertising. She simply went along with her family. Their view of her was her own view of herself. In a similar fashion, after she graduated, she returned home to be with her father when her mother became critically ill. She took over her mother’s job after her mother had died, and continued to stay at home with her father. This subject made these moves without thinking, although she did feel an emotional component that what she was doing was "right for me to do". Although she had made major commitments, she stated during the interview that now she would not consider these moves to be adult decisions.

After the situation at home stabilized, she made what she now considers to have been her first true decision. Subject Nine travelled across country with a girlfriend. She was offered a chance to go, and went on a whim. However, she added that she had sensed that she had slipped into her mother’s life and knew that she had to remedy the situation. This trip was taken for the opportunity it afforded to enable her to "think about what was right for me".
While away, she thought of advertising. She decided that this was the career that she had always wanted and that she would try to pursue it. She found that her only way of entering the field was as a secretary. To her father's delight, she took a job in a large agency in Boston. The subject found that she hated the city, the other people at work, and the superficiality of her job. The one colleague that she did respect was fired. In January of that year, she saw a friend who owned a camp, and she was offered a job. In May, as her ad job became intolerable to her, she quit and went back to work at the camp. This was a difficult decision in that she rejected her original career plan and disappointed her father. This decision was made in an impulsive manner, but in response to a conscious decision that her present situation did not fit her view of herself. This choice set her on a new path.

The subject followed a man, whom she had met at the camp, to a rural campus where she worked as a secretary. She had not made any new plans for the future, but followed the path of her boyfriend. When her boyfriend asked her to join him on a year's trip across the country, the subject realized that she would be taking a step away from her father's values. In addition, the relationship with her boyfriend would be deepened. She thought extensively about this decision, however she designated this decision as the easiest choice for her to make. She was acting in accordance with her feelings. "It seemed natural and right."

The subject then followed her husband to where he was to work. They had married during their travels as a natural extension of their original decision to move away together. As the subject came close to thirty, her doctor suggested
that the economic time she was awaiting would never occur. The subject had always wanted children and was comfortable in her new position as a married woman. They decided to have a child.

This subject has followed a consistent pattern of influence from other people. Even her most difficult decision was influenced, although negatively, by her father. She reports a sense of conflict in a decision which she resolves quickly by intuitively attempting to restore a sense of harmony within herself. For example, the decision to leave the ad agency resolved itself as a result of a growing sense that the situation was "not right for me". The subject does use role playing and is accused of being too imaginative. She uses this tool to fantasize new situations when she sees a choice coming into crisis. She states that she does not consider a formal view of herself, but she does act in accordance with her sense of herself in order to preserve her self view. She does change as a result of choice, but attempts not to do so and sees change of her self as a negative aspect of decision making. Subject Nine considers herself a poor decision maker in day to day life. She had been used to the strong lead her father had assumed, and partly wishes her husband would assume that lead. She is, however, content with the large decisions she has come to make and believes her basic intuitive style is good for her. She wishes only for more ease and speed in the process.

Subject Nine did not choose any person from the group as an ideal decision maker.
Subject Ten

Subject Ten is a white female of twenty-seven. She lives with her husband and infant son in a condominium. The subject has a Bachelor of Science degree in physical education and a brief background as a business secretary. Her husband works as a salesman, and she remains at home with their son. For her decisions, she listed going to college, getting married and moving, choosing a job, having a baby, and returning to work.

Subject Ten had known her boyfriend for five years. They had attended the same college. They had spoken of college for several years. After being separated for two years, her boyfriend was hired into a good job in this state. At that point, "He wanted me to move and I made up my mind." After years of the relationship, she decided on the actual marriage very quickly.

This subject's other decisions were made using the same general format. She made her decision quickly, then discussed it with other people and imagined herself on both sides of the decision. In the following job decision, she worried about its disparity from her view of herself. She would not have taken the job if she were unable to envision herself comfortably filling her role. The subject had, however, attended college with very little thought because, "I really couldn't see myself working right away."

Her most difficult decision was her choice of career after marriage. She states that she had never had a "real job". She had been working in a tennis pro shop. After a job interview, she was offered a job as a secretary in a company offering career possibilities. Originally, the subject stated that the difficulty
lay in the short amount of time in which she had to decide. Later in the
interview, the subject amended this statement. She stated this decision was
made quickly in a manner similar to her other decisions, but she was denied her
preferred lengthy process of validating the decision. In this case, she only had
twenty-four hours and thus did not have time to grow comfortable with her
decision. Even more difficult, she would be taking a job basically foreign to her
view of herself as an active, spontaneous person. For the first time, the
subject would be working nine to five in a structured work place. In the time
that she did have; she spoke with her husband, her temporary employer, and
other employees of the firm. This decision was unlike any other she had made to
date in that she acted counter to her view of herself. The job was successful in
that she was able to adapt herself to its demands and also adapt the job to her
view of herself

The easiest decision was to have a baby. She had planned to have a child
before the age of thirty. "It's never the right time, there's never enough money."
She discovered she was pregnant, and had no question of abortion. Her fear was
of becoming a housebound, stagnant woman; a fear she has been able to
overcome by taking her son with her on a new routine of exercise.

After the birth of her son, the subject did not return to work as she had
planned. Once she and her husband saw their baby, they no longer wished for her
to leave him with a sitter despite financial hardship. She could see both sides of
the issue, but believed the long term perspective to be on the side of remaining
home. She and her husband talked about it, "not a big deal, we just say what we
think". They decided relatively quickly. Both of their emotional considerations
were on the side of remaining home. This pattern of joint decisions had become a characteristic one for minor decisions also.

Subject Ten sees herself as a young, active, carefree person. The subject keeps this image as a primary consideration in making her choices. Twice, she has changed a plan of career, but adapted a new set of goals for herself which remained in accordance with her self view. In both her decision to take her job and her decision to remain at home with her child, she was able to retain her "self" as a spontaneous and light-handed person. This person uses role playing to imagine herself in both sides of a decision. Then she pictures herself maintaining herself as "an active, young person" in her chosen course. Although she says "nothing is permanent" and the world will change around her, she tries to retain herself and her view of herself in her decisions. She is comfortable with her choices, "So far all my decisions have been for the better." Subject Ten sees her decisions as small in the large order of the world, although they are big for her. So she tries "not to make a big deal of it". She has had an internal sense of when things should occur. This timeline has essentially held firm, but her career path has been completely unlike the one in sports she had planned for herself. She has reacted to this disparity by adapting the values she found in sports to the careers she in fact has followed.

For an ideal decision maker, this subject chose a woman from the group who "takes things calmly and doesn't get worked up. Who is like I am."
Subject Eleven

The subject is a white female of twenty-nine who lives with her husband and their infant in their own home. She has a degree in nursing. The subject has worked for several years supporting herself and her husband while he started a business. Her husband currently runs the business, and she remains at home with their son. Three decisions were listed: to get married, to support her husband's starting his own business, and to have a baby.

The subject reports making her first adult decision at eighteen. She decided to marry. She had gone with her boyfriend all through school and had married him during their first year of college. They made this decision in the pattern that they follow to date. The subject and her husband make their decisions together, evolving choices from slow, long discussions. They consider their options methodically. In the case of marriage, they felt a clear commitment to each other. The rational issue to resolve was one of finances. They made plans for her to work summers to help with expenses, and her parents agreed to pay the first year's tuition.

The most difficult decision was for her husband to start his own business. He had been laid off his job in the Midwest, and they had moved to this area for him to work in his father's job shop. Her husband's twin brother also anticipated a lay off at his firm. After many months of the two couples discussing the issue, the brothers decided to go into business. The wives were working, expenses were low, and they were both young enough to start over should the venture fail. The bank required both couples to put all of their assets into the venture before any
money would be lent. The subject was plagued with doubts, most seriously that the brothers would fight and ruin their relationship. The business was a success. The subject stated that she now feels confident of their ability to take a risk and face the future. She finds herself unafraid of little decisions that had bothered her before. In this sense, she views the decision as a turning point for her.

The business had begun to be a success when the subject and her husband began a six month dialogue on the timing of having a child. They were most concerned with the health risk of the subject's exposure to radiation as part of her job. They could not quite afford for her to stop work. During the discussion, she became pregnant by accident, and the office where she worked made provision for her not to administer x-rays.

To date, the subject has made all her adult decisions in the same format with the help of her husband. She is a methodical person who likes to be convinced of things. She and her husband reason most issues together rationally. She views the start of her husband's business to be a type of turning point in that their method of decision was tested and found to be a good one. She feels no special pressure of time or of propriety. She has no overall career plan. Presently, she enjoys staying at home with her son and playing golf or tennis at her leisure. The subject does not use role playing, although she does consider the possibilities of each choice when making a decision. Her thinking in this context is verbal rather than visual. She does have a view of herself and states that in a decision, "I work on changing myself."
The person she chose as a good decision maker is a person sure about herself and her decisions. In choices, she is similar to the view the person has of herself.
Subject Twelve

The subject is a white female of twenty-seven. She lives with her husband and her son in their own home. Her husband is a building contractor. She has an associate degree as a secretary. Currently, she remains at home with their son. The subject listed as her decisions attending college, getting married, choosing whether to have children or a career, becoming committed to Jesus, and becoming pregnant.

In her first decision, the subject decided to attend a two year college. She was discouraged from pursuing a more challenging career by her teachers. Marriage was an assumption. She only wanted the ability to support herself if she so needed. Although she did consider the information available to her, she felt that she had made a mistake. The subject believed the type of career she might have chosen out of college to be more enriching.

Eventually, she did marry. She married in part, because she felt she should marry. She stated, "It was always in the back of my mind that when the opportunity came up, that I would be married." She was afraid she would not be asked again. This was not a well considered decision. The subject gave the impression of a hasty, desperate choice. She stated that at first she thought the marriage was a mistake, but came to accept her choice.

Subject Twelve had a turning point in her decision to "accept God and to live my life in God". It was a decision of the heart and of the mind. This was the first decision she had made entirely on her own. She consulted her feelings, but she also embarked on a year of study and of consideration of the subject at
hand. She was "born again" only after prayer and long consideration. She stated that she was sorry only that the decision came so late for her. She also expressed distress over the commercialization of what was for her a difficult and meaningful choice. She now uses prayer to help her to resolve a problem. She discusses with God in an orderly fashion the different components of her choices. Now she has a new faith in herself and her decisions. This turning point was most difficult, because it was a spiritual one. "We are usually prepared to only make physical ones. I wasn't sure I was making the right decision, yet it was a total commitment."

At this time, she made a mental decision to have children instead of a career. She did not believe she could do justice to both choices. She decided to have children and to do all she could do for them. She postponed her actual pregnancy until she resolved her conflicts with her husband. She felt her husband had had trouble adjusting to her ways. She believed he didn't want her except as a mother for his children. Until she felt secure in their relationship, she would not have a child. She felt that her new dignity from her conversion helped to make her husband respect her. She had made a rational decision, through prayer, to stand firm and work through her marital status. She was able to do so. At that point she became pregnant. After the birth of her son, "the world lost its charm for me." She was not enticed to leave her son for a career. Her most important task was raising him. She felt that having the infant brought her and her husband closer together, because she had waited until their most serious difficulties had been resolved. Thus, again, she found reinforcement for her rational decision. She gained more self confidence.
In summary, this subject stopped taking decisions from other people with her dedication to her religion. She stood firm in her resolution to act in a Christian way. She then continued to stand for and act on her own decisions. She tried, in this process, to consider her options carefully, and to make her best decision with the help of prayer. "Who I am influences the decisions I make." For example, she does not believe that she is competitive so she is comfortable to give up a career. However, in making a decision she states that she also tries to change that perceived self image. She believes that decision is a vehicle for changing faults she may possess. This subject utilizes role playing in picturing a situation so that she may envision how she might act after a choice. She hopes is this way to act in a situation rather than react to a change. Subject Twelve had employed a time line before her conversion to Christ, especially in her decision to marry before she become a spinster. "That time line is nice in a way. You just do what everyone else is doing." Now she attempts to judge her actions by their own merit.

For a good decision maker, the subject chose two people who seem to be happy and to have "good sense". She does not believe she has "good sense" in that good decisions do not seem obvious to her on a day to day basis. She also, however, admires a person who has overcome adversity in the same way she perceives herself to have acted.
Subject Thirteen

Subject Thirteen is a white female of thirty. She and her husband live in their own home. He works in a local computer firm. She courses toward a graduate degree in chemistry. She presently works two days a week as a laboratory technician. The decisions she listed are taking a major in chemistry, getting married, moving, having children, and returning to work.

The subject had decided to make a career of medicine, devoting her major efforts to that direction and remaining single. The first adult decision she reported was to enter a graduate program in chemistry upon her rejection from medical school. Then she lost her graduate fellowship, left her academic program, moved, and took a new job. She cannot report a line of thought at that time. "I didn't make decisions. Things just happened."

The subject recalled that her moves must have been sound for her, because she established a way of life and became comfortable with her new career. The subject did not report the events leading to her next decision, but the point came when it was necessary for her to decide to marry or not. "I had a lot of freedom to give up." At the age of twenty-seven, she regarded this action as a turning point, and she attempted to make the decision in a conscious way. In the end, she did "what felt right...It felt natural". She had considered the ramifications of the situation and her upcoming adjustment, but she now took the new course which she considered to be correct. At this point she began to formulate a new course of action for her life, becoming married and working in a line of work outside of medicine.
Shortly, both she and her husband became unhappy with their new jobs. Her husband is a rational decision maker, so they discussed their quandary and "beat the idea to death". In the end, they decided to both apply to new positions, and the first acceptance would determine their move. In this way, their change of location would be have the security of at least one salary. Her husband got the first offer. The subject reported feeling relieved. Despite their rational agreement, she intuitively believed that her husband could not have coped with the reverse situation.

The easiest decision to make was to have a child. Upon marriage, the subject had evolved a new life plan, and the question of a child was "of when and not if". She and her husband used their usual discussion technique. It was a good time to conceive a child, because the subject was "underutilized" at work. More important was her desire that they have something "to share between us". She states that they did not adequately consider the financial components. However, they did plan the pregnancy and were pleased with their decision.

After the birth of their daughter, they had a more extended discussion concerning the subject's returning to work. She had planned to return to work, feeling that she needed more stimulation than full time motherhood could provide. Her husband wished her to remain at home. She found a part time job and reported satisfaction with the arrangement. She feels that in the future, she will need to make a more permanent career commitment. Possibly she will try to enter medical school. But she feels that this decision remains in the future, when her daughter is older.
With marriage, this subject reached a turning point in which she changed her life. She began to consciously utilize her own intuitive decisions along with the rational input of her husband. She came to consider the whole picture when making a decision. This subject reports using role playing in an imaginative manner. She asks herself, "Do I have that in me?" However, she feels her rehearsals may be too fanciful. Although time has not been a determiner of her actions, she has always had a line of goals in mind. When her first goals were disturbed, she began to establish new ones. In general, she would like her decisions to allow her to remain essentially the same, changing only some parts of herself. The ideal would be to be true to her concept of her self. She is generally content with her decisions and her method of resolution although she had not often thought of them and had some trouble retrieving the information for the interview.

The subject would not choose a good decision maker from the class since she did not know the group at all well. She would have chosen someone who could size up a situation quickly, unlike herself.
Subject Fourteen

Subject Fourteen is a white female of twenty-seven. She lives with her husband and their infant son in a duplex. She has a Bachelor of Science in psychology and two years of experience in her own business. He presently works as a skilled mechanic, and she remains at home with their child. She lists her decisions as attending college, moving to a large city with her boyfriend, finishing college, starting a business, moving to this state, and continuing her pregnancy.

The subject described her decision to enter college as a response to pressure from her father. She felt no great resistance to this idea and had attended college to please him. She dropped out of school, moved to the city, and moved in with her boyfriend in a complex of decisions that were rebellious in nature. She was influenced in turn by her boyfriend. Although the subject felt her decisions were acceptable, she can report little about the process behind these decisions other than circumstances came together, and "I did it." She reports that she felt good about these decisions, "They feel right."

At her boyfriend's insistence, she finished her degree in psychology. She had begun to more consciously consider her options. She saw little point in continuing her degree in psychology other than it had been nearly completed. Her boyfriend insisted she finish her degree so that he would not be blamed for her failure to do so. Although pressure had played a part in most of her decisions to this point, she had also "felt good" about these decisions herself. In this case, she not only held an emotional bias against this move, she was also beginning to
recognize her own sense of intuition and regretted not utilizing it. She had developed an interest in nutrition and wished to pursue that subject despite the many extra courses it would have required. In her original statement, this decision was designated as most difficult.

In response to the question of the easiest decision to make, she stated that all of her decisions were easy, because she allowed them to evolve in her mind. As the interview progressed, she reported that this "evolving" process became more active and conscious with time. The easiest decision proved to be for her and her friend to start their own bakery. Her actions at that point were more "self-started". She had been working at a food co-op. Noting the absence of a supply of "natural bread", she and a friend began to bake bread. They saw the opportunity to start a business. She pulled together the required components to start a small bakery and began work. She made this decision with the encouragement of her friends, but this was an independent decision. In fact, she overcame her boyfriend's resistance on the economic difficulty of the timing for him. "I'm a very firm believer if you want something badly enough, it's going to happen. Once I've decided I want something to happen, I strive for that goal. But to me it doesn't always seem I'm working." This was a new pattern of thought for her which had evolved over time. This subject did not present any one turning point in her decision style, but reported a succession of decisions in which she gained more and more confidence in the strength and the accuracy of her own feelings. The bakery was a success.

Two years later, she made the decision that her boyfriend take a job in this state. They both left businesses of their own, married, and moved to this state.
Upon questioning, she originally stated that she did not know why she had chosen this course. She felt she was "burnt out" from the excessive work of starting the bakery. The subject then stated that she had had an abortion six months before the move. The pregnancy had been fairly advanced. Her boyfriend had insisted upon the abortion with reasons she found to be rationally persuasive, however, the subject found herself emotionally upset by the decision. The subject regretted the abortion bitterly. One base for the decision was the chemical plant near to their home which had been the subject of investigations concerning abnormal pregnancies in the area. When the job offer in this state was offered, she insisted they escape the city and its memories. The first year of her husband's job was difficult, and he blamed her for their move. "I've often thought about that decision."

Soon after their move and their marriage, she became pregnant again. This time, she stood firm against her husband's comments that she was ruining him and his life by her refusal to abort this pregnancy also. She was so happy to be pregnant, and she wanted this child so much, that she allowed nothing to stop her. When pressed by her husband, she had said she would leave if could not cope. He insisted that she stay, so she was convinced the doubts would "all work out". The baby was born, and the husband did indeed care for the child. The subject plans to return to work in the field of nutrition some time in the future.

In summary, the subject recognized her own pattern of decision making very gradually. She began to listen to her feelings in the decision to return to college, although she did not follow her first choice of action. In her business experience, she found that she could translate feelings into rational and
workable reality. Subject Fourteen made a decision which she regretted in her abortion, and this strengthened her determination to listen to her own feelings. She made a purely impulsive decision to "run and hide", but she was able to translate that move into a new plan for her life. She now knows that she must do "what feels right" and take care of rational considerations as an adjunct to this primary decision. When forced to act "rationally", she is uncomfortable if her emotional component is not present. She does not plan her future in accordance to an internal time line, but she does hold an internal plan for her life. This plan had been changed at the point of their move to this region. The subject tries to anticipate her emotional reaction to the alternatives in a choice rather than play the actual roles mentally.

The subject states, "I do have an impression of myself that I've begun to accept and even to enjoy. I've begun work on myself, but I know I must remain true to myself." The subject may change as a result of a decision, but this would be a negative aspect of a choice. The basis of her best decisions is to be true to her developing sense of herself.

The subject chose for ideal decision makers, two women who had given her strong and immediate advice on child rearing. She felt they were able to decide minor issues much more effectively than she would.
Subject Fifteen

Subject Fifteen is a white female of twenty-five. She is married and has one infant. At present, her husband is working at a technical job, and she is remaining at home with their child. She holds an associate degree with a prestigious secretarial college. She and her husband own their own home. She lists her decisions as her choice of education, her choice of career, her decision to move, and current decision whether to return to work outside the home.

She lists her most difficult decision as her first adult choice: what type of secondary education to acquire. She decided very specifically on a two year secretarial college in a major city. She had taken her time on the decision and had listed her options carefully on paper. She had methodically investigated each option. Even at the age of eighteen, she remembered perceiving this decision as the gateway between adolescence and adulthood. She stated that she could remember a line of thought which she manipulated so that the impact on her life would be a positive one.

Subject Fifteen used the method of listing her options and considering each one with her other decisions also. During her schooling, she found it necessary to choose between "glamour" jobs and an area of secretarial work which paid better. She decided a job was basically a vehicle for earning money and decided on the field with better pay.

The decision to move to another city was regarded as a turning point. This decision implicitly presented a decision to become more involved with the man she has since married. The move also defined a marketplace of jobs which she
would encounter. She took a full year to make this decision. She specified that she wanted to make this decision completely on her own. There were to be no guarantees and she wished to make a calculated choice. She attempted to account for all variables, but she knew that some factors were outside her control. Her usual methodical consideration was employed. The lack of certainty in this decision distressed the subject at that time. She states that that mode of uncertainty became more common and more acceptable in her life after that point. After this point, "changing for the situation" became acceptable to her. She had faith in her own decisions.

Subject Fifteen lists her easiest decision as the one to have her child. She had become pregnant without planning to have a child at that time. The subject could see only the options of bearing the child or of having an abortion. She and her husband discussed the feasibility of the decision to continue the pregnancy. She did state that this decision was easier, because she felt she shared the responsibility with her husband. Her husband was described as more "rational" in decision making. "I think he makes a quick decision more often." The couple decided to continue the pregnancy despite their inability to predict their ability to cope with the implications of the decision.

Presently, she is weighing her options for returning to work. She is making a thorough mental check in preparation of an anticipated demand to make an overnight decision on a job offer. During the interview, she did in fact receive an unsolicited phone call offering her a job. She wrote a list of alternatives based on responses to her questions which she had obviously considered ahead of time.
In summary, this subject can recall and report a very clear cut pattern of decision making. She believes her process to be excessively long, and she believes she "obsesses" too much in the process. On the hand, she wants these major choices to be decided correctly and finds it important to be careful with her choices. Role playing is definitely employed. She speaks of a "black-white decision with all the betweens". She tries to imagine the type of person she would be, how her family would be different, and how she would act. She is content with her choices and only wishes she could decide more quickly and more easily.

Subject Fifteen saw her decisions as changing her. However, she did not find change to be an important, or a necessarily desirable component of decisions. She would like to see herself growing, but not for the sake of being different. Her decisions in the past have changed her and in the direction she wished to move. At present, however, one reason for not returning to work is the change in herself which she might encounter. She is presently content with the way she views herself. This security is counterbalanced by the desire to regain the power she possessed as a working woman. However, she knows she will never have the certainty in her life which she had before her child was born and before she was married.

This subject did feel the pressure of an internal time line. She believed herself to be ahead of her proper timing in her original move to another city and in her pregnancy. In her career decision, however, she felt she had achieved the proper timing. She believes time to be a factor in the obtaining of her goals, but she feels she has lost some control of this factor with the birth of her child.
The subject was reluctant to choose one person as making good decisions, because she didn't know "the process behind the decision". She did choose one woman who seemed to "have her act together". This woman was viewed as similar to the subject herself.
Subject Sixteen is a white female of thirty-five. She lives with her husband and their infant daughter in their own home. The subject has a degree in nursing, and she presently remains at home with their daughter. Her husband works as an engineer. She listed three major decisions: to stay married, to enter nursing, and to have a baby.

Her first adult decision was to stay married. This was also her most difficult and her most emotionally charged decision. At the age of twenty-five, after being married three years, she came to a crisis in her marriage which the subject chose not to specify. She analyzed her short term reaction, which was to leave the marriage against long term considerations to stay. It took her three months to reach the decision, then a year to implement the restrengthening of bonds and of emotional ties. Also the subject went through the process of weighing her emotional instinct to dissolve the marriage against her rational thought that she had a relationship worth salvaging. She felt pressure both ways. The subject believed the introspection and soul searching this decision required changed her style of decision making and pushed her into adulthood. In addition, she came to realize that no guarantees would exist for her in either side of this decision, and she learned to live with uncertainty and a less than perfect solution.

The subject's next decision was the easiest for her to make. She decided to enter nursing. The subject left her job in social work and entered nursing school. The two careers were not radically different, and the subject did not
feel an emotional component in this choice. However, she used the same decision process that she had used in her marriage decision. She evaluated the long term gains of career change versus the short term losses of financial liability. She and her husband discussed her options and decided for her to return to school.

The subject's third decision was to have a baby. She stated, "With marriage, a couple automatically begins to decide to have children or not." She and her husband both decided not to have children right away. Over the ten years of marriage, they each evolved to the position of wanting a child. The subject reached this position first, and when her husband agreed, they had their child. The subject did utilize her system of long and short term benefits in making this decision, but it was a decision of timing and of some emotional impact.

This subject started her reported list of decisions at the turning point when she considered herself to be truly an adult. She did not consider a time line as an adult, but had been pressured by one prior to the decision she listed as a turning point. Before her decision to remain married, she had worried over the correct timing for life achievements. She had felt herself to be an adult when she married, but in retrospect believed this not to be the case. Subject Sixteen had considered her turning point in some depth, and was able to respond with ease within the context of this introspection. She reported that since her marriage decision, she considers only her own thinking and circumstances when making a choice. She knows the world to be too uncertain to create a new "life plan". Her new style of rational weighing of long and short term considerations, and of considering rational and emotional components, has remained a part of
her decision style. She takes her decisions very seriously. She involves her view of herself in her decisions. She has found that decisions play a role of change in her life. "All decisions are turning points of a sort." While she is comfortable with her major decisions, she is very critical of herself in her minor decisions. The subject evaluates decisions as she makes them, and she becomes angry with herself if she feels the decision was incorrect. She added on the side that she is uncomfortable making a choice of a meal in a restaurant, because there are too many choices to consider thoroughly. The subject states categorically that she uses no role playing.

The woman she chose as a good decision maker was one she knew had gone through a difficult decision process. She admired the woman's facing of her problem, and her working through of her options in a manner similar to the way the subject herself would have tackled the situation.
Subject Seventeen

Subject Seventeen is a white female of forty. She lives with her second husband, their adopted daughter, and their infant son in their own home. The subject has worked as a secretary and now remains at home with the children. She listed her decisions: to get married, to divorce her husband, to commit herself to Christianity, to marry a second time, to adopt their first child, to back her husband's retirement, to buy a house, to relocate, and to back her husband's third job change.

The subject reported that she had decided to marry at nineteen despite her parents' wishes. Although she now believes she was too young to marry and too young to make an adult choice, at the time she believed, "I was all grown up." This decision differed from later decisions; the strongest element was rebellion.

The decision to get a divorce was the most difficult choice this subject had to make. It was difficult for her to admit she had made a mistake, and that the act was her own responsibility to rectify. As a practising Catholic, she believed her marriage vows to be permanently binding. Because of her rebellion, she had foregone college or other advanced training. Therefore, she had no career to act as a support. Her husband left her after two years of marriage. Unable to support herself, the subject returned to her parents' home. Years slipped by, and she would not admit that the marriage was over. Her Bible study group finally began to bolster her in a realization that she could not save her marriage without her husband's cooperation. She also became closer to her brother, and she used him for a sounding board. In this process, the subject
came to realize that even her emotions toward her husband were dead, and she admitted that her marriage was over. Her priest supported her decision, but somehow this break with her faith also loosened her ties with the whole Church. This was the first part of her change of her view of herself. At twenty-six, she came to accept that the plans and decisions which she had made were wrong and had to be reversed.

When she met her second husband after her divorce, she had come to terms with her differences with the Church. But she was afraid to open herself to hurt in a relationship again. As she got to know this man, she realized that he was a different type of man than her first husband. When she decided to remarry, she accepted her new husband’s faith in which she became active. She sought counseling in making this decision, and used a slow process of consideration. She knew she had a decision to make, she considered the rational components, but she did not come to a full choice until an intuitive answer came to her. She states that she would come to a decision, "then I would know that I had known it all along". In this resolution of her crisis, she was able to accept that she had failed and go on to make a new plan with new commitments for the future.

In buying a house and in supporting her husband in his career moves, the subject followed a pattern. She would speak with her husband, and they would consider the rational components. But her final decision would be made by an intuitive choice which "would occur to me".

After three years, the subject found that she could not bear a child. She and her husband followed their usual procedure, but at this point, the subject had already decided in favor of adoption. She "knew" it was right. In addition,
however, she and her husband received extensive counseling regarding their decision from the adoption agency. She and her husband did in fact adopt an infant. Several years later, at the age of thirty-nine, she was surprised to find that she was pregnant. Notably, the subject did not regard the continuation of her pregnancy as a choice despite her age at conception. "I knew nothing would go wrong. This was a miracle."

This subject utilized a consistent decision style throughout the majority of her adult life. She would mull the decision over, and in time find that she had reached a decision intuitively. The subject reported that her first marriage had been "an immense education", and it had forced her to grow up when she finally accepted it had failed. However, because of that experience, when making a decision, she still questions her ability to make a choice. She wants her decisions to be the best that they can be, but her experience has not deepened her faith in herself. She regards her present marriage as permanent, and she attempts to follow a life plan of marriage and motherhood under God. Role playing is a tool she uses. Although she feels her rehearsals tend to be too idealized, they help her to make decisions. In making a decision, she tries to remain true to her sense of self, maintaining herself basically the way she perceives herself to be.

For an model decision maker from the class, she chose a girl who "had her act together". She did not comment on how this person might compare with herself.
Subject Eighteen

Subject Eighteen is a white female of thirty-two. She and her husband live in their own home with their infant daughter. She has an extensive business background. Presently, her husband works as a salesman while she remains at home with their daughter. The subject listed as her decisions: going to college, choosing a major, not remaining in school for graduate work, entering the job market, moving the family for her job, and changing jobs.

This subject indicated that her first adult decision was also her most difficult decision and a turning point in her life. She had planned to enter a convent upon graduation from high school, a decision heavily favored by her family. The convent which she chose gave her a battery of tests and determined that she did not have a vocation for becoming a nun. Her sponsor at the convent suggested that she enter college. The subject might reapply at the end of a year, if she still desired to do so. Two schools were induced by this sponsor to accept the subject during that summer. The subject chose a school some distance from her home. Although most elements of this choice were not under the subject’s control, she reported spending a great deal of time deciding what to do upon her rejection. The subject had the option of applying to an order of nuns with less rigorous screening procedures, she could enter one of the schools, or she could remain at home. This was a traumatic time of upheaval. She had formulated a life plan which had failed completely. Instead of a future planned by the leaders of a religious order, the subject faced a life for which she had no plans. Her family was stunned.
The subject chose to attend the college some distance from her home over
the protests of her parents. She did indeed choose not to reapply to the
convent, and came to question religion as well. This course of events began her
present view of the power of fate. She believes in a predestination. "One must
be open to whatever is coming at you." She would only plan her course as it
opened itself to her.

At school, Subject Eighteen decided to major in social work. She had ruled
out other fields for various reasons. Social work was a field she was familiar
with due to her mother's work as a foster parent. "I saw what they did wrong. I
would make a good social worker." Although the subject reported a line of
rational thought, she remembered these decisions as intuitive ones also. These
thoughts "appeared to me". She described an intuitive reaction to her cognitive
process. In a similar fashion, the subject decided not to remain in school for
graduate work despite the urgings of her advisors to do so. "It didn't feel right
to continue schooling with no work experience."

She entered the field of social work and returned home to live with her
parents in a series of moves which she had taken for granted. She had been
raised by a family that expected her to live at home unless she were in an
institution or if she were married. During her stay at home, she met the man she
would eventually marry. When he entered the military, the stress of her living at
home intensified. She began to be bothered by constant fights with her family.
She "knew" it was time to leave. The subject broke her tie with her parents and
left home.
The process of leaving home, although emotional at inception, was orderly. She sought employment in another field when she had established a new residence. At her interview, she told the interviewer that she was interested in a position of growth. She reported that as a result of this choice of goal, she was placed in "the right position for me. The environment was right." Although the subject planned to marry her boyfriend and have a family some day, she had abandoned the creation of a master life plan. She was open to whatever this job might hold for her. Her perfectionistic personality enabled her to master a series of jobs so that she moved rapidly up the corporate ladder. This was an example of fate for her. She had planned only to earn enough money to supplement a family income, and she was now in a successful position within her company. During this period, she married. This move was not listed as a decision, "because I took it so much for granted." She loved her boyfriend, so they married.

This chain of events led to her next major decision, a move to this area with her company. She and her husband relocated due to her job. This move broke with the tradition of the dominant male in both of their backgrounds. However, economically and emotionally, the subject felt that it was the right decision. After some discussion, her husband agreed, and they made the move. Still later, she left the company when it became part of a conglomerate. The headquarters moved yet again, and she was invited to move in upper management. This time, she sensed the new position would not tap her resources in so fluid a manner. Her husband had roots in this area. So she left her job to work with "an old boss" in setting up small businesses.
This subject did not originally list marriage and childbearing as decisions, because, "These are events." While she did not change her position on marriage during the interview, she did state that having children did evolve into a decision because of an infertility problem. She was forced to take more active measures to become pregnant. Therefore, she had to choose a time to begin medical intervention. She knew the time was right when she no longer felt the need to search for a reason, and she began to simply "want to be a mother".

The subject also added the decision to return to her religion. She had felt a lack in her life. Believing that a good speaker could be inspirational, she attended a church service. The priest seemed to fill her need, and she returned to church.

This subject easily reported her method of decision. She could clearly remember the practical components which she had considered at each point. However, the final decision depended on "an openness to the environment and a monitoring of my feelings". In this process, she utilizes role playing. She is happy with her system. "Everything came out OK. Why question it?" The subject believes in decisions leading to growth, but she does not believe in growth for its own sake. Neither does she believe in plotting a path and following it without question. This person had begun her adult life with the rigid life in a convent as her goal. The turning point which occurred with her failure to enter the convent allowed her to grasp opportunity.

This subject would not choose a person she considered to be most competent from the group. She believed the women were all good decision makers in their own way.
Subject Nineteen

Subject Nineteen is a white female of thirty-three. She lives with her husband and their two infant daughters in their own home. She has a graduate degree in nursing, and is presently working part-time. This subject lists decisions from several points in her life: to leave the town of her college, to return to graduate school, to make a career decision, to move in with her boyfriend and change cities, to marry and convert to Judaism, to buy a house, to have children, and to return to work part-time.

In a difficult decision, this subject decided to leave the town where she had attended college. In the back of her mind, she had considered for some time that she might need to make a decision to stay or to leave. Upon graduation, she had originally elected to stay in her college community because of work and because of a relationship. She found herself to be more and more unhappy. She began to consider the possibility to leave town. She recalled deciding one day in a particular month that she would move, but she cannot remember how or why that day was her choice point. The subject stated that possibly, she had been working through her choices in the back of her mind, and the solution to her problem presented itself.

The most difficult decision was to convert to Judaism. This decision meant leaving the religion of her family. Also, she would be changing her identity for the sake of her husband. She described her conversion as an alliance with her husband against the persecution of the Jews. His parents had survived concentration camps during World War II. She mulled over a possible decision in
the back of her mind while she date and lived with this man whom she knew would only marry a Jew. Yet, when the actual decision came, she decided quickly to convert to Judaism and to marry.

The decisions to return to graduate school, to move in with her boyfriend, to buy a house, and to have children were all made in the same fashion. She saw a decision approaching and thought about "what if this, what if that". When the decision appeared, she would make a fairly rapid decision with clear reasons for her choice, but with poor recall of the process. The subject did state however, that a clear emotional commitment to her choice was important to her feeling of ease in a decision.

The one exception to her pattern was a choice required by her job. She reported in great detail an extended, rational decision process used in appointing an assistant. This process was forced upon her by outside circumstances. She was distressed by this process. Despite the fact she regarded this decision as objectively minor, she remembered the decision as a major decision for her.

In summary, this subject reported a relatively late point of adulthood for herself. This decision marked the end of a life course which she had assumed she would follow. She adopted a course of intuitive decision style which she followed consistently. Her role playing is done in a half-conscious manner. She muses "what she would be like". She believes that she is too early in initiating thought about an anticipated decision, but she makes a decision quickly when the time comes. Then she is happy with her decisions. "A load is off my shoulders. I never look back. I assume it is for the best." She believes some
change accompanies a decision, but attempts to remain true to herself in making decisions.

Subject Nineteen chose another level-headed nurse as a good decision maker. This person was perceived by the subject as like herself.
Subject Twenty

Subject Twenty is white female of thirty. She lives with her husband and their infant daughter. Her husband works at a local high technology firm in middle management. The subject has worked in business and now remains at home. She lists: to get married, to be her own person, and to have a baby.

Her first decision was to marry and was made when she was twenty. She had recently decided in principle not to marry for a while. The subject stated that she was "a little bit of a kid and wanted to play the field". Then she met her husband and "fell in love". She "followed her heart instead of her head". She stated that had she been older, she might have considered longer. "But then, I don't know if you ever do grow up." She also stated that in a different moral climate she might have moved in with the man. However poor she considered her process to have been, she reported satisfaction with her marriage.

The decision to become her own person was her most difficult decision. She made it in response to a condition in which she became afraid to leave her house, unwilling to go to parties, and unhappy about speaking with new people. She had come from a large family. As a middle child, she was "lost in the shuffle". Overwhelmed by her family, she had "never considered my own identity". Shortly after their marriage, she became more and more dependent upon her husband. She worked at her familiar job, but couldn't leave the house for anything else. She hated herself despite the futile efforts of her husband to support her. In a decision not listed, she and her husband decided to relocate for his job. The subject was forced to start a household for herself. This launched her decision
that her family came first with her, and no one else's decision would impact on her. This was an evolutionary decision. She was forced to make a solution to her problem by her new isolation in a strange town. She was forced to take a step by step approach to her problem and cognitively recognize a solution for herself. She reported deciding each day to decide to accomplish a slightly more difficult task. In this turning point, she reversed her usual process and allowed her rational side to lead her emotions. She then gained confidence in her ability to make decisions.

She and her husband decided that they were ready to have a baby. Although this was an emotional decision, they rationally discussed their situation, and her new ability to take on this responsibility. The desire to have a child was heightened by her initial inability to get pregnant. She fantasized about the children she would adopt. The subject stated that one reason for wanting a child was to have someone that would need her totally. She recognized this as an outgrowth of her childhood. In this recognition, she decided to strengthen her child's sense of self so that it might never experience her panic.

In summary, this subject does decide intuitively, but has evolved a rational style to her choices which she finds to be important to her. She does not act from impulse, but from a careful consideration of her emotions and of practical components. She has more faith in these decisions since she decided to depend upon herself. By that same decision, she takes life events in their own time. The only pressure she reported from time was the biological stress of childbearing. She has no career path, which she would like to follow. Rather, she reported her pleasure in being able to designate each day what she chose to accomplish that
day. She does utilize role playing in the choices she does need to make. This person also sees change as a desirable element of change. "I feel different year by year. Things important to me one year, aren't so important the next."

The subject had no opinion on other decision makers in the class. She tries not to judge other people just as she does not wish to be judged.
Subject Twenty-One

The subject is white female of thirty. She lives with her husband and their two children in their own home. She has two years of college education. He is an engineer in the service. The decisions she listed were to get married, to have children and to stay at home, and to have a career in the future.

The subject had difficulty responding to the examiner's questions. She stated originally that she had never made any major decisions. She gave the above list only after the examiner stated that decisions need not be important to anyone but her. The first decision listed was to marry at the age of twenty. She was engaged for a year. When asked about the decision process, she was unable to report any except for the fact that she and her husband had decided not to marry before they could afford for her to quit work. They did not follow through with this stipulation however. She supported her husband through her senior year of college and then through his graduate school. When asked about the process behind this decision, the subject responded, "I must have thought, I always think." She added that her husband makes the decisions, and she follows his lead. This subject did not appear to care about the issue of her choices. She was willing to cooperate in the study, but found the topic unimportant to her.

When her husband completed graduate school, they sat down to discuss children. Her husband spoke of his distress with their friends' children in day care. Neither thought that day care was appropriate for young children. They decided that she would have a child and remain at home with it. She had a son, but started back to school when he was three. She quit when she unexpectedly
became pregnant. She had started the schooling out of fear that she could not support her family if her husband should die, although she could not explain the timing of her actions.

The subject now has two young children and is again afraid of her inability to support her family. The subject has no plans for a future career, although she wishes she had some ideas for herself. "I always planned to have a husband and children by the age of thirty. Now I am thirty. I suppose I should be making new plans."

When asked which decision was most difficult, she responded that all her decisions were easy for her to make. The subject does not role play, daydream, or rehearse the outcome of her choices. She is presently motivated by a vague sense of dread in her future. She must evolve new goals for herself somehow. She does not know how. The subject believes that she must now change somehow, however she feels that her past decisions did not change her. The examiner felt the potential for distress in the situation for the subject, but the subject referred to the change as something to deal with sometime in the future. She had had a type of turning point in deciding to return to school, but she allowed the issue to slip away during her second pregnancy.

The subject had no opinion about a good decision maker.
Subject Twenty-Two

Subject Twenty-Two is a white female of twenty-seven who lives with her husband and their infant daughter in a rented house. She has a degree in speech and has worked in that field. Presently, she remains at home with her daughter. Her husband works in lower management in a large local company. The subject had some trouble designating her major decisions until she stated, "I guess it really is a question of what makes you happy." She listed choosing a husband, choosing a career, and choosing where she would live.

The most difficult decision was marriage. "Whether or not I wanted to be married." This was a decision on the state of marriage versus that of non-marriage. The subject had had the same boyfriend for six years. She knew she would marry that man, if she married at all. At the time, the subject was working on a job which was meaningful to her, while her boyfriend was only "marking time" on his job. She believed that should she marry, she would have to allow his career to take ascendancy while she put a full effort into the marriage. She decided emotionally to marry, then she decided rationally as well.

In a similar way, she decided they would move for her husband's job. She had continued her job for only one year after marriage, but she had expected to lose this career in her commitment to her husband. He wanted his "turn in the light." Although she worked briefly after the move, she quit during her pregnancy.

The subject had chosen the career of having a child and a husband. She believed that in having a child, she would become important again. She stated
that earlier decision to become a speech teacher had been made before she had considered the issue as an adult. Although she had enjoyed her work as a teacher, she reported her real career began with marriage and motherhood.

This subject stated, "I decide first with my heart, then with my mind." She follows the lead of her husband, not in a dependency but in a yielding to his wishes. She is a sensitive person and is concerned with the relationship of others to her decisions. In her role playing, she may take the parts of other people affected by her decisions as well as her own roles. She feels the pressure of time, especially in having another child, but she tries to ignore this pressure. This subject believes that change is an important result of a decision. Although she has yielded to her husband in her major adult choices, she has yielded of her own volition. She has believed that his need is greater than her need, and that her proper career was to remain at home with the children. However, at this point, she reports feeling confused. "I don't know who I am any more. What kind of person am I?" She can only understand the impact of a decision after she has experienced it. She feels that her life is out of control. She had made competent decisions in the past, but she feels that now she is unable to judge the future. The subject feels that she will need to resolve this issue in the future, but she is pressed by the day to day decisions of raising her child.

For an ideal decision maker, the subject chose a person who does not let things get in her way. This person is unlike the subject who may feel mired by little events of the day.
Subject Twenty-Three

The subject is a white female of twenty-eight. She lives with her husband and their infant daughter in an apartment. Her husband is a skilled mechanic. The subject has held a series of jobs and is currently working as a bank teller. She lists her decisions as leaving home in a series of moves, getting married, remaining pregnant, and achieving her present goals.

Right after high school, the subject left her parents' house to live with a man ten years her senior. She made the move impulsively. "All my decisions are like that. I just think of something, and I do it. Things I want to do, I just do. It's not the way I'd like to have them (events). It's just the way they went."

In this impulsive manner, the subject embarked on a series of moves. After a year of feeling like a housekeeper, "One day I left." She moved in with her parents, continuing her job in electronic assembly. Soon, she decided she was stagnant in her assembly job, and moved South to stay with her grandmother. "I got to know my grandmother while I investigated schools." This exploration ended in a dead end, so she returned to this state to work in a photograph studio. Impulsively again, the subject joined a friend on an organic farm in a rural area. After tiring of the primitive conditions, she returned to this area and her present job at the bank.

Shortly after she began work at the bank, the subject went on a blind date. This was a man she came to care for only gradually. This time, the subject took her time to make a decision. Whether to marry this man was the most difficult decision for her to make. She knew she had to decide. "I couldn't slide by." This
woman believed that marriage was to be for the rest of her life. For the first time, she weighed her options and considered her true feelings. After a year, she decided to marry her present husband.

Shortly thereafter, the subject became pregnant. The decision to continue the pregnancy was added during the interview. Once again, the subject considered her options. She sought counsel of friends. In the end, she decided emotionally that she felt she must continue the pregnancy despite financial considerations.

Now the subject is striving to put into effect the goals she has come to have for herself. She would like to return to school to study medical research. Over the years, she has come to believe that this is a career that she would like to pursue. She had some experience with "folk medicine" on the organic farm. This career would "make me feel I have done something worthwhile". However, she is having trouble putting her dreams into action. "I seem unable to keep my goals." She feels bogged down by the daily considerations of childrearing and of working. She cannot seem to stand back and make her choice.

The subject now feels the pressure of time to complete her new goals. She believes that most people her age have completed school and are working in their fields. Somehow, this makes her feel that she is not quite adult. The subject has experienced a turning point however. In her decision to marry, she evolved a more responsible form of making her decisions which she has maintained. The subject does use role playing, and had used it even in her impulsive actions. In making these decisions, she would like to change so that she can approach her ideal sense of self. She feels that she must change in
order to be true to her feelings and goals, but she is not sure how.

The decision maker this subject held as competent was one who "has real
direction". This is a quality the subject misses in herself.
Subject Twenty-Four

This subject is a white female of twenty-nine. She and her husband live with their two young children in their own home. She has a degree in special education and has worked briefly in her field. Her husband is a professional man, and she works in his office. The decisions she listed are attending school, marrying, entering a career, starting a family, returning to work part-time, and returning to school in the future.

The subject's first decision was a "real big turning point" for her. All her friends went off to college. The subject felt that her priorities were money and independenced. She went to work at the phone company. After a year of work, she realized that she wished to escape the fate of her career colleagues. She needed to train for a career. "I enrolled in college when I felt it was right for me." However, she was not sure of her career path, so she chose two years of general studies.

At this point, she had met her future husband. She stated that she and her husband married in a "cavalier" fashion. The decision process was brief and uninformed, but the subject was able to report a line of thought which she and her husband had pursued. They had considered waiting for a more secure time financially. She considered a myriad of unknowns and was frightened. However, she chose she chose to go with "the less responsible choice. I chose the immediate gratification. I followed my feelings of being in love and going off together." In marrying, the subject changed location. She enrolled in a new college and began a major in education.
After school, she became a special education teacher, working to put her husband through law school. "I lucked into this field, and I loved it. I was very gung-ho." Upon questioning, the subject reported that her college had required a series of practicums, and she had chosen this field of education from a feeling that it was "right for me".

Her easiest decision was to have a family. They had been married six years and decided, "now or never". However, she states she could clearly envision motherhood and wished to have this role. This was an intuitive decision.

The subject had intended to return to work. First she had needed to take an unplanned leave due to complications of her pregnancy. She was ill after the delivery. As she recovered, she found she could not give her whole attention to her job, and she resigned. "I felt good writing that letter, because I understood my reasons and could write them down. I felt what I was doing was right." At this time, she and her husband relocated to this area for his work. Another child was born, and the subject began to feel that time was passing her by while she remained at home with the children. Finally, she returned to work part-time in her husband's office. This series of decisions was considered both rationally and emotionally. Her decision to work only part-time was made in strict rationality. Emotionally, she now feels a lack of control and a discontent.

During the interview, she discussed her half-formed decision to return to school. Rationally, she could see that her return to school might take away from her husband and her children. She feels the squeeze of time. She would be taking money away from the budget. She cannot envision an acceptable solution for her problem despite her feeling that she needs to return to her career. "I try to
incorporate everyone's needs. I'm twenty-nine. I'm supposed to be an adult raising my kids." She believes she can only put her own career on hold. She believes she will in fact be an adult when she can take the career step of returning to school. However, her day to day life discourages her from making long term decisions. She cites the example that she makes small incidental decisions in raising her children, rather than establish a larger plan of discipline.

In summary, this subject has ambivalence concerning her decisions. She is content with her intuitive decisions, although she denigrates herself for not being more rational. Recently, she has established her life along strictly rational lines and has found herself feeling out of control. Large decisions seem to be slipping by in daily life. The subject states, "Sometimes I am frightened of how I would be like. I may not be true to myself, because I am afraid." She had used role playing to anticipate the outcome of her decisions and to control her anxieties. Now she finds herself unable to envision an acceptable role for herself which incorporates both her career and her family. This person believes that decisions must bring change, and she believes that she must change. She is frightened by her tendency to stay the same in her present situation. "Time is passing me by. I need to grow up."

In choosing an ideal decision maker, the subject could not name anyone from the group. Her ideal person would be someone who is control, unlike her view of herself and unlike her view of the group.
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