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A praxis-oriented poststructural exploration of the ways in which grounded and a priori psychosocial theories can be used to inform each other. (Volumes I and II)

Snyder, Cynthia Susan, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1990
A Praxis-Oriented Poststructural Exploration
of the Ways in Which
Grounded and A Priori Psychosocial Theories
Can be Used to
Inform Each Other
Volume I

DISSEbATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Cindy S. Snyder, B.A., M.A.

***

The Ohio State University

1990

Dissertation Committee:
Robert Bargar, Ph.D.
Robert Donmoyer, Ph.D.
Patti Lather, Ph.D.

Approved by

Robert Bargar, Ph.D.
Adviser
College of Education
DEDICATION

To my husband, best friend, and confidante, Frank Snyder who has been a constant source of inspiration and renewal during this project

and

Bob Bargar who helped me develop an intuitive understanding of the concept of praxis throughout the course of our adviser/advisee relationship
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my committee members, Patti Lather, Bob Donmoyer, and Bob Bargar for their support, encouragement and guidance during all phases of the dissertation process. I also wish to express my profound gratitude to Lily and Elizabeth for sharing their life stories with me and participating in the analysis of their data.
VITA

July 30, 1953 ............................................ Born - Newark, Ohio

1977 .................................................. B.A., Denison University, Granville, Ohio

1972-1980 .......................................... Riding Instructor/Equestrian Trainer, Grenoble Stables, Granville Ohio

1980-1982 .......................................... Admissions Assistant, The Ohio State University, Columbus Ohio

1982-1989 .......................................... Admissions Counselor/Staff Assistant, The Ohio State University, Columbus Ohio

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Education

Studies in

Human Development ....................... Dr. Bargar and Dr. Rodgers
Research .......................................... Dr. Lather and Dr. Donmoyer
Adult Education ................................ Dr. Boggs
Higher Education ............................. Dr. Silverman and Dr. Sagaria
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The past twenty years have witnessed tremendous growth in the enrollment of older adults in the higher education milieu—a phenomenon described as the "graying of the college campus" (Simpkins, 1982). Recent census figures indicate that women represent 65.5% of the 1.5 million adults enrolled in institutions of higher education who are age 35 and older (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1981). This phenomenon has generated a body of research which examines women who have enrolled in college during the second half of the life-span (Apt, 1978; Astin, 1976; Badenhoop et al, 1980; Berkove, 1979; Berquist, 1973; Brandenburg, 1974; Brooks, 1976; Erdwins, 1983; Erdwins et al, 1982; Galler, 1977; Glass et al., 1974; Hooper, 1979; Ladan et al., 1976; Letchworth, 1970; Lichtenstein et al, 1963; Mangano et al., 1979; Markus, 1973; Pitman, 1983; 1986; Roach, 1976; Sales et al., 1978; 1980; Scott, 1980; 1979; Van Meter, 1976; Zatlin, 1973).

Such studies have tended to focus upon isolated variables measured at a single point in the life cycle—such as motivation, special needs, or institutional barriers—and then consider how these variables interface with women's entrance into the higher education milieu. Hence, this body of research has yielded numerous isolated cross-sectional snapshots of women who are attending to diverse
collegiate concerns at a specific juncture in the adult life cycle. But it has typically failed to consider how these images have evolved over the course of time. This research also commonly lacks grounding in a life-span developmental theoretical framework. Such a developmental orientation would seem particularly warranted whenever the phenomena identified for study involved a change process that would be better understood if positioned in the context of chains and patterns of antecedent and subsequent events (Baltes, Reese & Lipsitt, 1980).

Statement of the Problem

It is problematic that there is a paucity of research which considers how the processes of female psychosocial development converge with a woman's entrance into the higher education milieu at midlife. One of the factors which has made such inquiry difficult is the lack of psychosocial theoretical frameworks which consider female adult development from a life-span perspective. Unfortunately, much of the thinking and research which has addressed adult life-span issues has tended to deal either implicitly or explicitly with men's lives— it has been posited that this inquiry is of questionable value in helping to understand women's lives (Bernard, 1980; Levinson, 1980; Gilligan 1985; Belenky et al. 1986). To date, the area of female psychosocial life cycle development is in the initial stages of theory building (Dimidjian, 1973, Neugarten, 1976; Stewart, 1977; Sales, 1978; Rubin, 1979; Barnett et al, 1978; Rossi, 1980; Reese, 1982; Reinke, 1982;

Psychosocial development refers to the nature of the issues and life events which occur throughout the life-span, and to an individual's pattern of resolving these issues and adapting to these events (Rodgers, 1984). The organismic psychosocial theorists interweave internal psychological meaning making with the biological aging process to fashion a nomothetic framework comprised of developmental stages, tasks, crises and coping skills—all of which emphasize shared developmental rhythms and patterns.

Organismic theorists describe developmental change taking place by way of internal forces (biological and psychological) colliding with external events in such a manner as to trigger a pre-programmed crisis in the life of an individual. The crisis heralds the onset of a new developmental stage with attendant developmental tasks which must be favorably resolved before the next stage commences. The organismic psychosocial developmental models featured in many of the studies of the past decade identify stages, phases, or seasons of life that are interrupted by crises or turning points leading to transitions which eventually stabilize into new stages (Starr, 1983). From this theoretical perspective, life is held to develop, have a course, or cycle in a nomothetic, goal directed fashion.
The behavioral psychosocial theorists (not to be confused with Skinnerian behaviorists) focus on individual developmental differences by explaining the relationship between specific life events (antecedents) and resultant idiographic responses of individuals as mediated by biological, psychological, and contextual factors (Rodgers, 1984). From a behaviorist's viewpoint, an age-graded stage framework is sometimes seen as a useful concept in the biologically formative preadult years, and perhaps in old age. But it is accorded little value when considering the adult years from 18-60 (Neugarten, 1968d; Clausen, 1972).

What is highlighted from a behavioristic orientation is the impact of critical life events which provoke idiosyncratic adaptive responses on the part of the individual experiencing them. An individual's attempts to cope with life events may precipitate highly divergent interindividual developmental outcomes. Neugarten (1979) describes this process as "individual fanning out", stipulating that, as individuals age and their successive choices and commitments accumulate, their lives grow increasingly different from one another.

Thus, within the psychosocial literature base, there is an opposition of views between organismic and psychosocial theorists relative to the issue of how individuals develop over the course of their life-spans. Because women have been excluded from many of the prominent studies which have fueled this opposition of viewpoints, it is problematic to try to ascertain how their patterns of life-span development are positioned within the context of this a
priori theoretical debate. Furthermore, because so little attention has been directed towards exploring women's patterns of psychosocial development, it even more problematic to attempt to consider how such patterns interface with their decision to enter graduate school at midlife.

Purpose of the Study

On the basis of the literature review, it was clear that the term "psychosocial development" had divergent meanings depending upon the theoretical schema which was selected to focus the human life enterprise. It was also evident that the prominent psychosocial theoretical frameworks had typically been constructed based on observations of men--with infrequent consideration being given to women.

My intent was to situate the study within the much debated psychosocial split which had arisen between behavioral and organismic theorists. Praxis-oriented poststructural methodology was then employed in such a manner that the informant's data could be utilized to generate particularized psychosocial theories that were grounded in their individual lives. Hence, one purpose of this project was to move the informants from telling their life stories to collaboratively analyzing and theorizing about them (Lather, 1986). It was my hope that we could utilize the research process as a forum which would support joint analytical collaboration in order to extend the range of interpretations of the
body of data. I was especially interested in keeping an eye to both the limits and possibilities of such collaboration.

I hoped that our collaboratively generated grounded theories could interrupt the predominating cycle by which: "theory is reinforced by experience conditioned by theory" (Lather, 1986). To this end, a second purpose of the study was to explore the ways in which the collaboratively generated grounded theories could be used to critique and inform a priori psychosocial theories as well as be illuminated by them. Given the purposes of the study, I selectively blended praxis-oriented and poststructural methodologies with a life history multiple case study design to explore the following research questions.

**Substantive Questions**

1. Could a priori and grounded psychosocial theories be used to inform each other?

2. Were there ways in which a priori psychosocial theories proved useful in illuminating the informant's particularized experiences? Were there ways in which a priori psychosocial theories distorted the informant's lives?

3. What were the key themes the two informants, Lily and Elizabeth, saw when they analyzed their respective life stories?

4. What were the key themes I saw when I analyzed the informants' life stories?

5. If we used these key themes to build grounded theories of the informants lives, what would the respective theories look like?
6. If I compared and contrasted the two theories, in what ways would they appear similar? In what ways would they appear different?

7. What were the informants' aspirations, expectations and concerns relative to graduate school at this point in their life cycle?

Methodological Questions

1. Could praxis-oriented poststructural research help overcome some of the structural inequalities that typically exist between the researcher and the researched (Lather, 1986; Patai, 1988a; 1988b)?

2. What type of reporting forms effectively support the expression of joint interpretive perspectives?

3. What limitations did my informants and I encounter as we attempted to use a praxis-oriented poststructural approach to collaboratively analyze the data and theorize about their lives? What possibilities did this approach open up?

Definition of Terms

Artistic Approach to Data Analysis: This approach to qualitative data analysis is usually a narrative account of what the researcher discovered in the case studied (Smith, 1987). The researcher attempts to represent the data in such a way that the reader can have a vicarious experience of the case (Ibid.). Systematic forms of data analysis or verification are not prominent; "What one seeks is not the creation of a code that abides to publicly
codified rules, but the creation of an evocative form whose meaning is embedded in the shape of what is expressed" (Eisner, 1981, p.6).

**Behavioral Psychosocial Theory:** A theoretical perspective characterized by an idiographic orientation which focuses on individual developmental differences by explaining the relationship between specific life events (antecedents) and resultant responses of individuals as mediated by biological, psychological and contextual factors (Rodgers, 1984).

**Category:** A heading under which the themes may be grouped along the dimension of a shared characteristic. Categories enable the analyst(s) to make distinctions and differentiations among the data.

**Core Category:** A category that is central because it relates easily to many of the other categories occurring in the data. As the details of the relationships between the core category and its subsidiary categories are explored and worked out, the articulation of a theory which describes and explains these relationships moves forward appreciably.

**Critical Ethnography:** Simon & Dippo (1986) purport that if ethnographic work is to warrant the label "critical" it requires that:
1) the study must employ an organizing problematic that defines one's data and analytical procedures in a way consistent with its project; 2) the study must address the limits of its own claims by a consideration of how, as a form of social practice, it too is constituted and regulated through historical relations of power and existing material conditions. They further observe that critical
theory is connected to our assessment of our society as "inequitably structured and dominated by a hegemonic culture that suppresses a consideration and understanding of why things are the way they are and what must be done for things to be otherwise" (Ibid., p. 196).

**Deductive Approach to Theory Formation:** A deductive approach can be described as a thinking process in which one proceeds from general to specific statements using prescribed rules of logic. It is a system for organizing data in order to reach a conclusion. Deductive reasoning enables the researcher to organize premises into patterns that provide conclusive evidence for the validity of a conclusion. In deductive reasoning, if the premises are true, the conclusion is necessarily true. This property is evidenced by the following syllogism: Every mammal has lungs. All rabbits are mammals. Therefore, every rabbit has lungs (Ary, 1985). Hence deduction involves the drawing of implications from hypotheses for the purposes of verification (Strauss, 1987).

**Empirical Research:** This refers to that form of research that attempts to address problems in the material universe by describing, interpreting, predicting or controlling qualities (Eisner, 1981).

**Epistemology:** Epistemology is the study and the theory of the grounds of knowledge especially with reference to its limits and validity.

**Ethnography:** Ethnography is a research method that includes both a set of techniques used to uncover the social meaning that a
setting has for the people participating in it and the written record
that is the product of using those techniques (Merriam & Simpson,
1984). Ethnographic work is primarily culturally descriptive. The
term "thick description" has been used to describe the central task
of ethnography (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982).

**Grounded Theory:** This refers to: the development of theories
grounded in empirical data of cultural description (Spradley, 1980);
text that follows from data rather than preceding them (Lincoln
& Guba, 1985); qualitative analysis that includes a number of
distinct characteristics such as making use of constant comparisons
and coding paradigms to seek conceptual development and density
(Strauss, 1987); theory derived from data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The manner in which I moved these ideas of building
grounded theory into practice within the context of this study was
by exploring the relationships between the core category and its
linkages with connecting categories and themes. My goal was to
build grounded theories which accounted for the informant's lived
experience in a way that "rung true" for the informant.

**Inductive Approach to Theory Formation:** An inductive
approach can be described as a thinking process in which one
proceeds from specific to general statements using prescribed rules
of logic. Observations are made on particular events in a class, and
then, on the basis of the observed events, inferences are made
about the whole class. This property is evidenced by the following
syllogism: Every rabbit that has ever been observed has lungs.
Therefore, every rabbit has lungs (Ary, 1985). Hence, induction
refers to the actions that lead to the discovery of an hypothesis. The hunch or idea is converted to a hypothesis and the hypothesis is assessed as to whether it might work, at least provisionally, as a condition for a type of event/relationship (Strauss, 1987).

**Life-Span Development**: A life-span developmental orientation emphasizes the interpersonal and intrapersonal orientations of the individual toward issues, tasks and events transpiring across the life cycle; this orientation is concerned with the description, explanation and optimization of developmental processes in the human life course from conception to death (Baltes & Reese, & Lipsitt, 1980).

**Method**: Methods are techniques for gathering, analyzing and reporting evidence (Harding, 1987).

**Methodology**: Methodology refers to a philosophy and theory of how research should proceed (Harding, 1987).

**Overlap Methods**: This refers to one kind of triangulation process, whereby different methods are used in tandem in an effort to overcome the inadequacies of individual methods. Two or more methods are teamed in such a way that the weakness of one is compensated by the strengths of another (Guba, 1981).

**Organismic Psychosocial Theory**: This is a nomothetic orientation which uses constructs such as developmental stages, tasks, and personality types in order to describe regularities between individual life-span developmental changes (Rodgers, 1984).
**Paradigm:** A paradigm has been defined as: a disciplinary matrix in which theorizing is conducted (Popp, 1975); as such it provides the researcher with a world view, a general perspective, a way of organizing complexity and a set of basic assumptions (Patton, 1980). Maguire (1987) suggests that paradigms develop in response to historical and cultural conditions. They represent constellations of theories, questions, methods, and commitments which share central values and themes that give direction to scientific work (Popkewitz, 1984).

**Positivism:** This refers to an approach to inquiry which seeks objectivity, uses hypothetical deductive theory, attempts to build law-like propositions which can be generalized to other contexts (Denzin, 1989). Positivistic inquiry assumes that a tangible reality exists that the researcher can tap; this tangible reality can be broken down into its component variables and these isolated parts can be studied independently and isolated from context; a linear relationship and temporal sequencing exists between causes and effects; methodology can guarantee objectivity and the implementation of inquiry which is uncontaminated by the researcher's values; and findings found to be true at one time and place may--under appropriate sampling circumstances--also be generalized to another time and place (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

**Postpositivism:** This represents an approach to inquiry that refutes positivism, promotes contextual, interactive research methods, and recognizes that all inquiry is both ideological and value based (Lather, 1986).
Poststructuralism: This paradigmatic world view holds that reality is subjectively constructed rather than objectively found. Poststructuralists are particularly interested in the ways in which our theories shape our cultural meaning making practices (Lather, 1988). Poststructuralism encourages self-reflexivity, particularly as it relates to our interpretive frameworks. Lather (Ibid.) notes that poststructural approaches to inquiry advocate the use of methods which will support a dialogic, multi-voiced discourse.

Praxis-Oriented Research: Praxis oriented research is committed to understanding and foregrounding the ways in which research methodologies, methods and epistemology perpetuate the maldistribution of power. It is similarly committed to changing that maldistribution of power by creating a more equal forum for the collaborative exploration of research issues (Lather, 1986). Praxis is frequently characterized by by interaction, joint participation, negotiation, and reciprocity.

Propositional Knowledge: This denotes knowledge that can be cast into language form (Guba, 1981).

Psychosocial Development: This is a term which refers to the nature of the developmental issues and life events which occur throughout the life-span, and to a person's pattern of resolving these issues and adapting to these events (Rodgers, 1984).

Reflexivity: This is the practice by which the researcher intentionally reveals to her audience the underlying epistemological assumptions which cause her to formulate a set of questions and present her findings in a particular way (Ruby, 1980).
**Tacit Knowledge**: This refers to knowledge such as intuitions, apprehensions, or feelings that can't be stated in a propositional language form but are somehow "known" (Guba, 1981).

**Theoretical Memos**: This refers to a method of keeping track of themes, core categories and the articulation of a grounded theory by way of recording the emergence of theoretical questions, hypotheses, and summations of ideas (Strauss, 1987).

**Theme**: A relevant unit of information occurring in the data

**Thick description**: Thick description attempts to reconstruct the meanings, actions and feelings that are present in an interactive experience (Denzin, 1989) in a low inference manner (Donmoyer, 1988).

**Significance of the Study**

Many institutions of higher education have experienced tremendous growth in the enrollment of mature women—age thirty-five and older; yet the higher education milieu has continued to direct most of its attention toward focusing upon the educational and psychosocial needs of college age youth. In this context, continued research efforts aimed at expanding the knowledge base concerning female psychosocial development during the middle years becomes increasingly important for higher educational program planning purposes. Havighurst (1981) has observed that the challenges precipitated by different stages of the life cycle create recurrent needs for lifelong learning. He contends that there are researchable dynamics behind the swelling ranks of older
students who are choosing to invest their time, money, and energy in higher educational pursuits.

From a methodological perspective, this study was significant in that it utilized the research process as a forum which would support joint analytical collaboration in order to extend the range of interpretations of the body of data. To this end, I blended praxis-oriented and poststructural paradigmatic inquiry approaches in order to foster the mutual negotiation of meaning between the informants and myself. I extended this philosophy a step further by also inviting the reader (or research consumer) into the study as an analytical partner.

My intention in this regard drew upon the work of Polkinghorne (1988) who noted that the researcher should recognize the legitimacy of alternative interpretations of the data. The flushing out of such alternative interpretations requires that enough of the transcribed material be made available to the research consumers so that they can follow the analysts' movement from data to interpretation. As consumers follow this movement, it may well be that they come up with interpretations that are quite different from either the informants or the researcher. By intentionally supporting an analytic partnership between the research producers and consumers, a feedback loop can be created. The research consumer may detect important themes and categories which were overlooked by the producers and such insights can be shared. The producers can then become the consumers of novel
insights which will enrich and extend their analysis—keeping it indeterminate and forever unfinished.

To summarize, this study sought to afford informants and research consumers the dignity of contributing to the theorizing of their worlds through sharing meaning production (Kushner & Norris study cited in Lather, 1986). To this end, I attempted to use the research process as a forum of potential exchange by which the diverse subjectivities of researcher, researched, and research consumer could intersect, inform, and balance each other (Patai, 1988).

Overview of Chapters

Chapter One was designed to orient the reader to the study's situated context. I articulated the purpose that the study served and also addressed the significance of this purpose. I delineated the substantive and methodological questions which focused the study. Finally, I defined key terms and concepts which shaped the study.

Chapter Two provides a review of the literature in which the study is positioned. The reader is acquainted with the prominent psychosocial theories which espouse opposing viewpoints on the topic of human life-span development. The reader is also presented with lesser renowned theories which focus exclusively on women's patterns of psychosocial development.

Chapter Three explains the methodology which directed the conceptualization and implementation of the study. I also discuss the methods which were utilized to gather, analyze and report the
data. I specifically address the methods I utilized to maximize the likelihood that the study would be judged trustworthy.

Chapter Four presents the first person narrative account of Elizabeth's life story. Elizabeth's story is chronicled using the artistic approach of a play which attempts to interweave our joint analytical perspectives.

Chapter Five acquaints the reader with Lily's life story. We utilize a split-page reporting format to do this. On the left side of the page Lily recounts her life history. On the right side of the page we annotate this narration with themes and analytical ideas which emerged during our joint analysis of her story.

Chapter Six presents the grounded theories the informant's and I collaboratively generated relative to their respective life stories. I then give consideration to the ways in which the grounded theories can be used to inform a priori theories as well as be illuminated by them. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the methodological framework undergirding the study. The methodological questions put forward in Chapter One provide the framework for organizing this discussion.
CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

A Review of Psychosocial Literature

The structure of the following literature review is based upon the work of Robert Rodgers (1984) who discussed a framework for positioning the continuum of views represented by psychosocial theorists subscribing to an organismic or a behavioral orientation. Psychosocial development refers to the nature of the developmental issues and life events which occur throughout the life-span, and to an individual's pattern of resolving these issues and adapting to these events (Ibid.). The phenomena this family of thought seeks to investigate is the content of "what" individuals think about during the course of their lives (Rodgers, 1980). Some psychosocial theorists emphasize external life event influences on adult development, and their work tends to reflect a behavioral orientation (Rodgers, 1984). Other psychosocial theorists emphasize internal psychological and biological influences on adult development and are more organismic in their orientation (Ibid.). The following literature review focuses upon psychosocial theories of adult development using the opposing behavioral and organismic continuum of viewpoints as its situated framework.
Organismic psychosocial theorists "use constructs such as developmental stages, tasks, and personality types in order to describe regularities in within- and between-individual behavior changes" (Ibid., p. 507). To this end, these theorists focus upon describing the internal psychological and biological dimensions of human development across the life-span; social learning dimensions are also included but they are accorded peripheral status. From this theoretical perspective, life is held to develop according to an inherent ground plan. Human development is believed to be goal directed toward the actualization of this ground plan, and determining its principles of organization becomes the fundamental basis of inquiry (Hultsch & Plemons, 1979).

The behavioral psychosocial theorists focus "on individual differences by explaining the relationship between specific life events (antecedents) and resultant responses of individuals as mediated by biological, psychological, and contextual factors" (Rodgers, 1984, p. 507). The behaviorists see developmental change taking place through an individual's confrontation with and adaptation to these critical life events--as mediated by biological, psychological and contextual factors. From this perspective, adult development is explained by focusing upon person/environment interactions. The behaviorist's explanatory task is to isolate critical life events which interact with mediating variables to precipitate developmental change (Hultsch & Plemons, 1979). Rather than emphasizing age-graded normative stages during which developmental tasks must be resolved, what is highlighted is the
impact of critical life events which may precipitate highly idiosyncratic adaptive responses on the part of the individual who is attempting to adapt to them.

Theorists subscribing to opposing psychosocial perspectives are depicted in the table below.

Table 1
An Opposition of Psychosocial Views

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life Events/Behavioral</th>
<th>Age-Graded/Organismic</th>
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<tr>
<td>Baltes, Reese, &amp; Lipsitt</td>
<td>Erikson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baruch, Barnett &amp; Rivers</td>
<td>Farrell &amp; Rosenberg</td>
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<td>Farrell &amp; Rosenberg</td>
<td>Gould</td>
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<td>Neugarten</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Neugarten</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vaillant</td>
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It has been noted that these opposing world views appear to be influencing emerging theories of adult life-span development (Baltes, Reese, and Nesselroade, 1977; Levinson, 1980; Troll, 1981; Rodgers, 1984). Troll observes that a review of adult development research can be marshalled to support either an organismic or behavioral viewpoint. Levinson contends that few studies give equal weight to both perspectives and few theories have equal room for both. Four of the above-mentioned theorists have managed to achieve some integration and synthesis of both
perspectives; they include Jung (1971b), Farrell & Rosenberg (1981), and Neugarten (1976).

Psychosocial Age-Graded Organismic Theories

The purview of this section of the literature review will be restricted to focusing upon organismic theories of adult development. Some key concepts which need to be addressed in considering this theoretical orientation are: developmental stage, crisis, developmental task and developmental coping skills (Rodgers, 1980).

A developmental stage is conceptualized as a temporal period during which new developmental tasks arise in the individual's life. A stage is announced when an internal change--biological and/or psychological--collides with external pressures in the environmental press to create a developmental crisis for the individual (Rodgers, 1980, 1982). A developmental crisis is defined as the disruption of an individual's sense of equilibrium during time which old behavioral patterns are perceived as being inadequate for addressing the new developmental tasks (Hill; 1949; Moos & Tsu, 1976).

Each new stage poses unique questions and concerns--the resolution of which demands the mastery of a different set of developmental tasks. Developmental tasks are the critical, problematic issues which must be resolved either satisfactorily or unsatisfactorily before the next stage commences. Inadequate resolutions of developmental tasks may lead to stress, anxiety,
maladaptive behavior, and a decrease in the probability of adequately negotiating future stages; conversely, adequate resolution assists the individual in coping with forthcoming developmental stages (Rodgers, 1980).

The term coping is typically used in reference to an individual's response to developmental crisis points and refers to "problem-solving efforts made by an individual when the demands he/she faces are highly relevant to his/her welfare...and when these demands tax his/her adaptive resources" (Lazarus, 1974, pg. 250). The positive or negative resolution of developmental tasks is thought to be influenced by the individual's coping skills (Rodgers, 1980). The extent to which the individual has successfully coped with previous stages will influence the adequate resolution of subsequent stages.

Several ideas need to be discussed in reviewing general organismic conceptualizations of how developmental change takes place. According to Erikson's epigenetic principle, developmental stages are triggered by a combination of pre-programmed internal biological/psychological forces which interact with external environmental events. Erikson (1950) mentions that the environment will have a press to match the individual's developmental drive (Rodgers, 1982).

Stages arise automatically during their time of preordained ascendancy irregardless of whether or not an individual is ready to cope with them. In childhood, adolescence and old age, stages of development tend to be triggered by biological forces; in early and
middle adulthood, psychological pressures are more likely to determine the onset of a new stage. A newly emergent stage is evidenced by dissonant signs of upset, expressions of discomfort or temporary crisis. The individual is thrown into a state of unbalance upon discovering that the old stage coping responses can no longer adequately resolve newly ascendant tasks. Such an individual is said to be in a state of stage transition.

Some organismic theorists believe development can be facilitated through optimal levels of environmental challenge/support ratios (Chickering, 1981; Sanford, 1962, 1966, 1967). An optimal level of challenge involves just enough dissonance to stimulate stage transition. If there is too little dissonance, the individual is likely to readily assimilate it, feel complacent, and experience a lack of stimulation to develop. If there is too much dissonance, then the individual is likely to "ignore, not understand, polarize and harden, or escape the situation" (Rodgers, 1980, pg. 18). A proper balance between challenge and support must be struck if development is to be fostered. The amount of challenge which can be sustained by an individual is proportional to how much support is available to get through the rough times a developmental transition heralds. If there is too much support, once again, the individual is unlikely to be motivated to develop; if there is not enough support, the individual is likely to try to escape the dissonance (Rodgers, Ibid.; Sanford 1962, 1966; 1967).
Carl Jung

The theorist who can most appropriately be regarded as the founding father of the study of adult psychosocial development is Carl G. Jung (Levinson, 1980). Jung believed that development was continuous throughout the life-span, and several critical transitions took place which announced new, distinct stages with attendant developmental tasks. (Hall & Nordby, 1973). Conceptually, the writings of Jung fall under the purview of both behavioristic and organismic frameworks. This is because Jung (1971b) believed human development proceeded along a predominantly epigenetic and chronologically age referenced sequence of stages during the first portion of the life-span but showed greater individual variability during the second half. Indeed, Jung (Ibid.) underscored the difficulties of the life-span developmental processes occurring during the second portion of the life-span. He (Ibid.) observed that the timing of the individual's resolution of later year individuation issues was largely an idiosyncratic matter, and that the great majority of people became developmentally arrested in the first stages of the process. Jung's framework is depicted below.
**Table 2**

*Jung's Stages of the Life Cycle*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life-Span Period</th>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Developmental Task</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infancy &amp; Childhood</td>
<td>0-10</td>
<td>The child represents completely undifferentiated potentiality at the moment of birth. As the infant begins to spend some waking time in play and exploration, the ego begins to emerge from the unconscious through contact with the environment. From the age of 2 on, the child develops increasing awareness of the persona and ego. Wickes (1966) surmises that by the time the child begins school she/he has developed a dominant function. Jung stipulates that the attitude preference develops much earlier—possibly at birth (Fordham, 1970; DeVore, 1979; Wickes, 1966.; Jung 1933).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adolescence/Early Adult</td>
<td>11-40</td>
<td>Internal developmental tasks have to do with: further consolidation of the ego, differentiation of the dominant function, second auxiliary function and main attitude, development of an appropriate persona and the transference of anima/animus projections from family members to a significant other. External development tasks involve: coming to terms with one's sexual identity, separating from the family of origin, establishing one's own marriage, family and career. A marked degree of one-sidedness in typology orientation is evidenced during this stage (Jacobi, 1973; Jung, 1933; DeVore, 1979).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 2 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adulthood</td>
<td>41-65</td>
<td>The transition into this state is often heralded by a psychological crisis which is evidenced by the individual's need to question the value and worth of what has previously been done in life. The developmental tasks of this stage involve a so-called initiation into the inner reality, a deeper self-knowledge of humanity, a desire to develop the traits of one's nature that have been neglected. During this stage, libido is reversing its direction, withdrawing projections from the outer world and activating previously unconscious psychic contents. (Austin, 1979; DeVore, 1979; Jacobi, 1973; Jung, 1933; Mattoon, 1981; Thompson, 1984).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Adulthood</td>
<td>66+</td>
<td>The transition into this stage is marked by the preparation for and acceptance of death. The developmental tasks of old age involve the continued reflective search for meaning and the movement toward illumination of the self (DeVore, 1979; Jung, 1933; Jung, 1959a).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Jung's (1933) delineation of life-span stages can be conceptualized as a framework for considering his theory of individuation as well as the components of the psyche.

Jung (1971b) used the term "psyche" to refer to the personality as a whole. He conceptualized the psyche as consisting of two complementary but antithetical spheres: consciousness and unconsciousness. He (Ibid.) described the psyche as a kind of non-physical space within the personality in which energy was mobilized. Jung (Ibid.) referred to the energy operating in this space as psychic energy or libido; his analysis of this energy, in terms of movement, led to his concept of the "principle of opposites" (Progooff, 1953). Jung surmised that all forms of life may be viewed as a struggle of contending forces and a moving, dynamic tension. He viewed development and the transformation of psychic energy as being the result of interaction between numerous polarities within the psyche such as male/female, individual/collective, etc. He believed that dialectical conflicts within the psyche could be transcended when both sides of the polarity were owned and acknowledged (Staude, 1981). The principle of opposites emphasizes that every one-sided psychic component, over the course of time, encounters its opposite by way of a self-directed process which attempts to restore a sense of balance within the psyche (Chennilath, 1982).

Jung (1971b) defined consciousness as the function or activity which maintained the relationship between psychic contents and the ego. The ego is the organizing nucleus of consciousness and
possesses a very high degree of continuity and identity (Mattoon, 1981). Generally speaking, consciousness is comprised of those psychic components with which the individual approaches the immediate external environment, and it represents those aspects of the psyche which are primarily oriented toward adaptation to outward reality (Jacobi, 1973).

Most of the mental contents forming the psyche are part of the unconscious. The term personal unconscious was used by Jung to denote the experiences, thoughts, and memories that escape consciousness and become unconscious. Thus, the personal unconscious contains some contents that have been forgotten or repressed but were at one time consciously focused by the ego (Mattoon, 1981). Jung (1971b) postulated an underlying component of the unconscious that was shared by all humans and, hence, collective. He purported that the collective unconscious contained the deposits of human experience back to the primordial beginnings of the species. Jung contended that everything that comprised the unconscious was projected—meaning that it appeared as a property of a person or object within the environment (Jacobi, 1973).

From Jung's (1971b) perspective, the conscious and unconscious psychic components were dynamic and it was through their goal-directed interaction that personality growth resulted. Ironically, in attempting to describe the components of the psyche it becomes necessary to discuss them as separate, static entities.

The ego represents only a small portion of the entire personality but it plays the vitally important function of serving as
a gatekeeper to consciousness. By the uniform selection and elimination of psychic data, the ego can impart a continuous quality of coherence to the individual's personality (Hall & Nordby, 1973). There is a tendency for the ego to develop what it feels to be the strong side of its personality and to integrate this into its dominant conscious attitudes and into its persona-mask (Progoff, 1953).

The development of the shadow parallels the development of the ego; it embodies qualities the ego has repressed and could be conceptualized as its mirror image (Mattoon, 1981). Much of the shadow resides in the personal unconscious and exemplifies awkward, undeveloped attributes of the ego which have the potential for being consciously recognized and assimilated. Because the shadow does not always yield to conscious suppression it can, thrust a person toward more fulfilling and creative activities. The shadow components of the psyche can be more easily assimilated into the conscious sphere after the individual reaches middle age.

The persona is composed primarily of consciously controlled behaviors designed to win social approval and conceal the negative qualities of the shadow. If a person becomes too involved and preoccupied with the role being portrayed, the ego begins to become overly identified with the persona, and the other aspects of the personality are neglected (Hall & Nordby, 1973). Jacobi (1976) notes that the characteristics of such an individual are superficiality, boringness, stiffness, and mediocrity. Relative to the persona Jung (1971b) observed:
Fundamentally, the persona is nothing real: it is a compromise between individual and society as to what a man should appear to be. He takes a name, earns a title, exercises a function, he is this or that. In a certain sense all this is real, yet in relation to the essential individuality of the person concerned it is only a secondary reality, a compromise formation. (p. 106)

Just as Jung designated the psyche possessed an "outward face" which took the form of a persona, he identified an inward face which assumed the form of the animus in women and the anima in men. He postulated that a woman had a primarily feminine consciousness and a primarily masculine unconscious while a man had a predominantly masculine unconscious and a predominantly feminine unconscious. Most individuals suffer from a deflated or underdeveloped anima/animus. Hall & Nordby (1973) note:

Western civilization seems to place a high value on conformity and to disparage femininity in men and masculinity in women. The disparagement begins in childhood when 'sissies' and 'tomboys' are ridiculed. Boys are expected to conform to a culturally specified masculine role and girls to a feminine role. Thus, the persona takes precedence over and stifles the anima or animus. (p. 48)

Jung (1971b) believed that if the personality was to be well differentiated, the feminine side of a man's personality and the masculine side of a woman's personality must be allowed to express themselves in conscious behavior. Moreover, he felt that the anima/animus were of particular importance because they served
as a bridge into a deeper realm of the unconscious. He called this deeper realm the self.

Jung described (1959a, 1971b) the self as the entity which united the unconscious and conscious aspects of the psyche giving it a sense of living relationship and integration. The self might be thought of as an inner guiding force that brings about a constant extension and maturing of the personality (von Franz, 1964). But this creatively active dimension of the self can only come into play to the extent, that during the second half of the life-span, "the ego gets rid of all purposive and wishful aims and tries to give itself, without any further design or purpose, to that inner urge toward growth" (von Franz, 1964, p. 164). The conscious realization of the self as a unified center of totality exists initially as an inborn possibility. How far it develops depends on the extent to which the ego is willing to defer to the messages emanating from the self. The ego's ultimate purpose is not to follow its own arbitrary impulses to an unlimited extent, but rather--to recognize the totality and unity of the whole psyche; "it is the ego that serves to light up the entire system, allowing to to become conscious and thus to be realized" (Ibid., p. 163).

Jung (1971a) identified several psychic aspects that combined in various ways to create what he called personality types. He stipulated that individuals had two distinct and sharply contrasting ways of judging the world around them. One mode of making judgments is through the thinking function which employs a logical process to organize impersonal findings. The other mode of
judgment is the feeling function which imbues objects of its attention with personal, subjective value (von Franz & Hillman, 1971). Jung (1971a) conceptualized the thinking and feeling functions as rival instruments of decision making. Both are reasonable and internally consistent, but each works by its own standards. Thinking evaluates from the viewpoint of "true--false" and feeling from the perspective of "agreeable--disagreeable" (Jacobi, 1973).

In addition to judging, Jung (1971a) delineated two distinct and sharply contrasting ways individuals preferred to perceive the world around them. One mode of perception is through the sensing function which enables the person to become aware of events directly through the five senses. The other means of perception is through the intuition function which asserts itself indirectly by way of the unconscious.

Besides developing a predilection for a judging and perceiving function, Jung (Ibid.) indicated that the individual developed an attitude preference for introversion or extraversion. Introversion is characterized by a preoccupation with the inner world of concepts and ideas, while extraversion is more involved with the outer world of people and things.

Jung (Ibid.) purported that individuals developed their most preferred sensing or judging function to the point where it dominated and unified their life; he named it the dominant function. He observed that persons also developed a second function to supplement the dominant process and supply an adequate balance
between introversion and extraversion; he called this function the second auxiliary. The remaining two less preferred perceiving and judging functions he termed the third auxiliary and inferior function. Together they represented a portion of the individual's shadow or least consciously integrated dimensions.

The components of the psyche play an integral role in Jung's theory of individuation. He (1964; 1953a) described individuation as the process of taking what has been collectively imprinted upon the psyche and learning to make it individual. He characterized individuation—during the first half of life—as being governed by the accommodation of the psyche to outer reality through the consolidation of a strong ego capable of gaining a conscious foothold and adapting to the external world. It was through the greatest possible differentiation of the constitutionally superior function/attitude and the formation of a suitable persona that the ego acquired the necessary tools to make this adaptation. The problems associated with this phase of the life cycle largely concerned making a place for oneself in the outside world by mastering developmental tasks relating to identity, career, and human relationships.

Despite the fact that the path was fraught with psychological peril, Jung (1964) believed that it was necessary for an individual to directly confront her/his unconscious psychic dimensions during the second half of the life-span. He felt that the aim of individuation during this season of the life cycle was to divest the self of the false wrappings of the persona on the one hand, and of
the suggestive power of primordial archetypal images on the other (Staude, 1981). Jung (1953a) believed that, as the persona began to be shed, the individual could embark upon an inner journey into the unconscious psychic dimensions and start to consciously integrate those archetypal aspects of the psyche which had been neglected during the first half of life.

Jung (1971a) purported that during the second half of life, the individual would feel driven to assimilate shadow qualities, and develop the inferior functions/attitude as well as the contrasexual aspects of the personality. The ego could become fully differentiated from its contrasexual psychic components only to the extent it intuited its relationship to the self which represented a superordinate psychic midpoint of centered totality. Hence the archetypal image which led to the union of the conscious and unconscious dimensions—through a midpoint common to both—was the self (Jacobi, 1973). This archetype was expressed as a transcendent symbol which signified that the archetypal psychic components had been consciously differentiated and made individual.

Jung (1953a) differentiated the collective unconscious from the personal unconscious by postulating that its existence was not dependent upon personal experience. He described the collective unconscious as a reservoir of latent images extending back to the primordial beginnings of the species. Jung (1964) maintained that these deposits represented a living system of instincts, reactions and aptitudes that guided the individual's life in invisible ways.
However unique each mind may seem to be, Jung believed that it had much that was indistinguishable from other minds because all minds had this common, collective substratum or foundation. This substratum was the inherited mode of psychic functioning which served as the foundation of the whole structure of personality.

The psychic contents comprising the collective unconscious are not depicted as being hereditary in the sense that a person consciously recalls images that are identical to those his ancestors experienced. Rather, they are predispositions or potentialities for experiencing and responding to the world in ways similar to those of his ancestors. The concept of a collective unconscious implies that "just as conscious contents can vanish into the unconscious, new contents, which have never yet been conscious can arise from it" (Ibid., p. 25).

The actual contents of the collective unconscious are comprised mostly of the archetypes. Archetypes exert a determining influence on psychic life as a whole; they have an extremely high energy charge (Jacobi, 1973, p. 39). An archetype is rooted in the universal history of mankind and is found recurring in mythological themes and symbols. Jung stipulated that, "There are as many archetypes as there are typical situations in life" (Jung, 1959b, 9i, p. 48). Archetypes are not to be regarded as fully developed pictures in the mind like memories of one's conscious past. Archetypes have an invariant nucleus of meaning in their primordial collective form, but never in regard to their actualized content manifestation (Jung, 1964). Jung (1959b) explained this
point "A primordial image is determined as to its content only when it becomes conscious and is therefore filled out with the material of conscious experience" (Ibid., p. 79, ).

From the standpoint of the individual, the archetypes exists a priori; they are inherent in the collective unconscious. Jung differentiated between the imperceptible archetype which is potentially present in the collective unconscious and the actualized archetype which has entered an individual's field of consciousness (Jacobi, 1973). Such actualized archetypes are referred to as archetypal images. Hence the archetype represents an eternal presence which is conceptualized as existing a priori; to become actualized as an image, it is only a question of whether it is perceived consciously by the individual. An actualized archetype can also be rooted in a process or mode of action; for instance, Jacobi observes that an archetype can manifest itself as the differentiation of a function or an attitude. Hence an actualized archetype appears as an image, representation or process that serves to modify the individual's conscious orientation; it possesses a numinous quality—that is, it appears as an experience of utmost importance.

It is difficult to define a concept such as an archetype through a conscious tool of abstraction—such as language; the dilemma presented in discussing the archetypes is: "whatever we say about them, they remain visualizations or concretizations which pertain to the field of consciousness" (Jung, 1960, vol. 8, p. 214). Jung was greatly concerned by the fact that many people chose to discuss archetypes as if they were part of a mechanical system that could
be given universal interpretation. He observed: "They are pieces of life itself--images that are integrally connected to the living individual by the bridge of the emotions" (Jung, 1964, p. 87). It is somewhat easier to talk about how archetypes appear in practical experience. Jung (Ibid.) stipulated that archetypes were experienced as the simultaneous apperception of both an image and an emotion. When there is only an image, what is intuited is merely a picture abstracted from context which amounts to little of consequence. "But by being charged with emotion, the image gains numinosity (or psychic energy); it becomes dynamic, and consequences of some kind must flow from it" (Ibid., p. 87).

In the symbolic language of the unconscious, the archetypes are frequently manifested in an emotionally charged symbolic manner (Jacobi, 1973). Yet, once again, such symbols can never be fully conveyed in rational terms, and an authentic archetypal symbol can never be completely explained objectively. Jacobi emphasizes that an archetypal symbol is neither a sign nor an allegory, but a content image that implies something vague, unknown or hidden. Jung noted: "As the mind explores the symbol, it is led to ideas that lie beyond the grasp of reason" (Jung, 1964, p. 4). Archetypes can spawn religions, and philosophies that influence and characterize whole epochs of history (Ibid.). Yet archetypal symbols can lose their numinosity when the meaning obscured within them is "fully revealed, when it loses its richness of implication because its whole content has been made accessible to reason" (Jacobi, 1973, pg. 97).
Jung (1964) contended that the history of human beings had been guided by a search for archetypal symbols. In some historical epochs, such as the period which spawned Greek mythology, many symbols were generated which provided a rich, living relationship between human conscious and unconscious dimensions. In other periods, such as modern industrialized times, symbolism was stripped of its collective numinosity and became sterile. Jung (Ibid.) feared that modern human cultures were losing their capacity to generate new archetypal symbols which would provide them with a living connection between their conscious and unconscious psychic dimensions.

One of Jung's major contributions to adult developmental psychology was to present the broad outlines of a life-span developmental perspective at a time when most theories of human development still assumed adolescence to be the last developmental transition (Staude, 1981). Jung was the first psychologist to propose that developmental changes in the personality were predictable as they were initiated through an internal dynamic in the psyche (Ibid.).

It should be noted that Jung's interpretation of development in the second half of life was rather sketchy. Staude suggests that this stage of the life-span needs to be filled in with a lot more detail regarding the ascension and resolution of specific developmental tasks. He notes that Jung's principal writings about adult development were composed during the period of his middle adulthood so it is understandable that his essays on development
emphasize the importance of mid-life. Jung's (1963) reflections about late adulthood, old age and death, appear primarily in his memoirs--*Memories, Dreams and Reflections*. Yet he made no attempt to expand his writings on the stages of the life cycle to include a systematic analysis of late adulthood.

Staude (1981) believes that this phenomena can be attributed to the fact that, as Jung aged, he became less interested in the image of life-span development or in correlating personality changes with stages of life. Instead, Jung (1953b) adopted the alchemical imagery of human development being the transformation of energy, a change that can take place at any point in the life cycle, and a process that continues throughout life. Furthermore Staude speculates that Jung came to see that all stages such as childhood, youth, maturity, and old age, exist simultaneously as archetypal structures in the psyche. Staude postulates that Jung came to feel the stage referenced developmental model he had conceived earlier in life was more a reflection of the manifestation of his ego than his self.

Jung's vision of individuation starts with an assumption of an ego that believes itself to be "master in its house." Wehr (1987) claims that Jung's understanding of ego is more appropriately applied to men than to women, many of whom do not have equal societal opportunities to develop a strong sense of ego mastery. During individuation, the ego comes to realize that its feeling of supremacy is false, and its centrality is replaced by an increasing awareness of the superordinate presence of the self. This discovery
process requires the transcendence of the limits of the personal ego, and in this respect, it resembles a religious experience. Wher contends that it is important to remember that Jung's theory originates from a masculine perspective, and his recommendations of ego-transcendence may reflect a fitting task for males. Wehr questions the imposition of this vision of self-development on women who tend to grow up in patriarchal societies where they have not had adequate opportunities to develop strong, well validated egos in the first place.

Jung felt that religion and mythology contained deep psychological truths not embodied in modern scientific psychology; and he sought to reunite his patients with religious traditions (Staude, 1981). Jung (1964) believed that the imagery of Christianity failed many people by not providing them with a living mythology to live by which would permit the reconciliation of the good and evil aspects of the human psyche. Hence, through his theory of individuation, he sought to re-mythologize psychology by building a living bridge into the unconscious dimensions; in so doing, some contend that Jung created his own religion (Staude, 1981; Wehr, 1987; Masson, 1988). And it is the religious aspect of individuation which has caused Jung the most criticism.

Staude believes that Jung's theory of the individuation process in the second half of life was highly reflective of his own unique experience and—perhaps—his personality type. He stipulates that Jung clearly set out to deliberately confront his own unconscious dimensions. Jung then went beyond this immediate aim by raising
his own method of self-realization--individuation--to the religious status of a universal goal of healing, salvation and development (Staude, 1981). Similarly, Masson (1988) contends that Jung's individuation framework became a powerful a priori schemata which distorted his view of his patients and their problems. In a frequently quoted passage, Jung (1933) claimed that all of his patients over age thirty-five were struggling with religious concerns:

Among all my patients in the second half of life—that is to say, over thirty-five—there has not been one whose problem in the last resort was not that of finding a religious outlook on life. It is safe to say that every one of them fell ill because he had lost that which the living religions of every age have given their followers, and none of them has been really healed who did not regain his religious outlook. (pg. 229).

Masson notes that this passage indicates that if any patient came to Jung complaining of the senselessness and emptiness of his or her life, Jung would immediately interpret this to mean a religious crisis, and would prescribe an a priori solution.

**Erik Erikson**

Erikson (1950, 1959, 1968) charted the sequences of human development by utilizing a life-span framework that suggested an interaction between the individual's epigenetically wired internal psyche and the external environment. He (1950) noted that:

The underlying assumptions for such charting are (1) that the human personality in
principle develops according to steps predetermined in the growing person's readiness to be driven toward, to be aware of, and to interact with, a widening social radius; and (2) that society, in principle, tends to be so constituted as to meet and invite this succession of potentialities for interaction and attempts to safeguard and to encourage the proper rate and the proper sequence of their unfolding. (p. 270)

Thus, while Erikson's developmental framework emphasizes biological and psychological factors relating to his epigenetic principle, he did not completely overlook the environmental press in which people's lives develop (Rodgers, 1984).

Erikson's theory proposes that there are eight stages in human development, each of which is characterized in terms of polarities of ego qualities. Change takes place in the development of these ego qualities as a result of the interaction between the epigenetically wired potentialities of the individual and sanctions of the social environment. During each stage, a particular crisis ascends in the individual's life which leads to the emergence of a developmental task which must be resolved. Each stage is characterized in terms of polarized extremes of successful and unsuccessful task resolutions, although in reality the outcome is a balance between these extremes (Rodgers, 1984).

The resolution of each crisis leaves the individual with a residual attitude or orientation toward self and the world which will either help or hinder his/her relative success in resolving tasks in later developmental stages (Constantinople, 1969). The
developmental tasks of a particular stage exist throughout life. Each stage represents no more than the age-graded period of time when a particular developmental struggle is dominant (Kotre, 1984). Erikson’s theoretical framework is summarized in the table below.
Table 3

**Erikson's (1950 Developmental Stages**
(as summarized by Sales, 1978; and Whitbourne et al., 1979)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outcome of Stage</th>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Developmental Task</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic Trust vs. Mistrust</td>
<td>Birth-1</td>
<td>During infancy children gain security and a trustful attitude by being nurtured,</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>protected and reassured. Without such early security a baby emerges from infancy</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>with a basic mistrust of the social environment.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Autonomy vs. Shame</td>
<td>1-6</td>
<td>After the first year of life, the baby may be encouraged to take control of his/her</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>anal functions or toilet training can occur in a coercive atmosphere that</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>encourages shame and doubt of his/her own capacities. In the former instance, the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>seeds of autonomy are sown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiative vs. Guilt</td>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>The oedipal period (around age 3-5) becomes the background for the development of</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>independent actions and initiative as the child seeks to establish gender</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>identification. The child's parental feelings at this age can be accepted or the</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>parents may reject these expressions and make the child feel guilty for having</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage</td>
<td>Age Range</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry vs. Inferiority</td>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>The child can invest much energy in learning, if the social environment supports her or his efforts toward achieving competence. However, a child in an overly critical environment will emerge with feelings of personal inferiority and inadequacy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity vs. Role Confusion</td>
<td>14-20</td>
<td>During adolescence, the child grapples with the establishment of an identity independent of parents. If such efforts are thwarted by the parents, the child emerges into adulthood without having clarified personal values or goals for the future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intimacy vs. Isolation</td>
<td>20-40</td>
<td>Establishing a close, personally satisfying relationship with another individual becomes a central concern. Erikson epitomized the resolution of this stage as the union of two identities with each person allowing the other the freedom to remain an individual. Isolation is the inability or failure to achieve mutuality, with the persons' self-defenses remaining too rigid to permit union with another individual.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Table 3 (continued)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Generativity vs. Stagnation</strong></td>
<td><strong>40-65</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guidance of the next generation through direct or indirect parenting is necessary for adjustment during this central adult period. Stagnation occurs when the individual turns the energy inward that would otherwise be directed toward the young. It is characterized by a lack of interest or actual rejection of the younger generation along with a perceived lack of productivity or pride in past or present accomplishments.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ego Integrity vs. Despair</strong></td>
<td><strong>65+</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ego integrity results when the person is able to look back and accept his/her life as having been worthwhile and accept self as a totality. This means being aware of both the positive and negative aspects of identity, but remaining unthreatened by this knowledge. Despair intrudes when the threat of death causes the individual to comprehend that there is little time left to correct past mistakes or present faults. It is manifest as a discontent with both life and self.</td>
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Gilligan (1982) contends that Erikson's framework is male biased and does not accurately depict female childhood and adolescent development. Erikson's (1950) first four stages encompass childhood years and adolescence is charted as the fifth stage. Gilligan (Ibid.) observes:

Next comes adolescence, the celebration of the autonomous, initiating, industrious self through the forging of an identity based on an ideology that can support and justify adult commitments. But about whom is Erikson talking? Once again it turns out to be the male child. (pg. 13)

Gilligan surmises that in terms of male development, identity does appear to precede intimacy and generativity in Erikson's optimal cycle of human separation and attachment, but for women, these tasks are fused—intimacy is intertwined with identity, as the woman's identity is frequently defined in a context of relationship and judged by a standard of responsibility and care. Gilligan contends that, even though Erikson acknowledges these gender differences, his theory identifies development with separation and women's penchant for attachment appears to be a developmental liability.

Gilligan (1977, 1980a, 1980b, 1982) concludes that men and women experience attachment and separation in different ways and that each sex perceives embedded in these issues a danger that the other does not see—men in connection and women in separation. Gilligan (1982) believes these disparate fears--of being stranded
and being caught—may give rise to different patterns of identity formation, and have the potential to lead theorists to the construction of different models of adult development. She (Ibid.) proposes that the male models of adult development will tend to emphasize a masculine preoccupation with identity issues involving separation, autonomy, individuation and natural rights. According to these models, women's failure to accomplish such tasks during an appropriate chronological period becomes, by definition, a failure to develop.

Kotre (1984) used a life history case study approach to explore Erikson's seventh stage—generativity. One of Kotre's main criticisms of Erikson's theory is that it suffers from connotations of fixedness. Kotre observes that regarding the concept of generativity, Erikson fails to sort out different types, so his schedule for its age-graded ascendency in the life-span is misleading. Kotre provides the example of biological generativity—conceiving, rearing and passing values onto children—which has a earlier onset and conclusion in the lives of women than cultural generativity. Cultural generativity is more broadly defined as investing one's efforts in social achievements which will outlive the self by serving to pass on the values of that self to new generations.

George Vaillant

In 1938 William T. Grant initiated a study designed to explore the relationship between physical and mental health and how human beings adapt to life. He initiated a thirty-five year
longitudinal study which utilized male informants who were chosen from the classes of men attending a prestigious, anonymous northern university (later reported to be Harvard) during the years spanning 1939-1944. In all, 268 men were selected based on the criteria of physical and mental health as well as a recommendation from the dean of their college indicating they were both independent and intellectually capable. Socio-economically, the Grant Study men tended to come from the types of privileged backgrounds which favored entree into their culture's power elite. Half of the group had received a private secondary education. Eighty percent of the subjects were Protestants, ten percent Catholics, and ten percent Jewish; no Blacks or women were included.

Participation in the Grant Study took up at least twenty hours of each man's time during their college years. Each informant had numerous interviews with a psychiatrist, social investigator and the health director and took numerous standardized tests to measure their level of psychological adjustment. Subsequent to graduation, the informants were interviewed at ages 30 and 47; additionally they were regularly contacted to complete a questionnaire throughout the duration of the study. This questionnaire covered all aspects of their lives with both forced choice and open-ended essay questions.

Thirty years after the Grant Study had begun, Vaillant--who had become its Director--selected and interviewed a subsample of 94 of the original 268 Grant Study participants during their twenty-
fifth college reunion. The subsample was randomly drawn from those men who graduated from the last three classes studied (1942-1944). Vaillant's intent was to study his informant's life-span adaptation patterns. Before interviewing the men, Vaillant reviewed their records which consisted of several hundred pages of questionnaires, research protocols, tests and correspondence. On the basis of these observations and interviews, Vaillant (1977a) concludes: "The evidence of the Grant Study confirms the adult life patterns outlined by Erikson in Childhood and Society" (p. 201). However, Vaillant did incorporate two additional stages into Erikson's framework.

The period spanning the years from age 25 to 35 encompassed the initial portion of the stage Vaillant conceptualized as Career Consolidation vs. Self Absorption. Men who entered this stage included those who, in addition to having established intimacy with another individual, had made a clear, career commitment (Vaillant, 1980). Such a consolidated career commitment was frequently accompanied by the forging of mentor relationships. During this period, the men tended to spend little time engaged in self reflection as they were wholly enmeshed in career advancement. They heeded the established corporate rules, were anxious to earn promotions and willingly complied with all aspects of the work-related system. Vaillant (1977b) observes:

The excitement and potential excellence of the college sample became lost in conformity. Men who at 19 had radiated charm now
seemed colorless, hard-working, bland young men in gray flannel suits. (pg. 38)

Many of Vaillant's subjects experienced major life transitions between the ages of 35 and 45—or the first decade following the Career Consolidation period. At age forty, men became less compulsive about their careers and more reflective as they actively explored the world within (Vaillant, 1977a). They also tended to terminate their mentor relationships. Many of the men became disillusioned with the narrowness of the career commitments forged earlier and became increasingly influenced by altruistic needs—such as serving society. An unspecified number of men in the Grant Study never outgrew the Career Consolidation stage. Vaillant (Ibid.) observes:

Such men often served as guardians of the establishment and made large incomes; but still striving for the top, they never reached the point where they 'worried less about myself and more about the children.' (p. 228)

For those men who did succeed in outgrowing the confines of the Career Consolidation stage, issues of generativity—or guidance of the next generation—dominated their lives from age 40-55.

Vaillant (Ibid.) speculated about the next stage of the life cycle toward which the Grant Study men were heading at the conclusion of the study: he named this stage Keeping the Meaning vs. Rigidity. Since their fifties did not represent a time when the men could easily change their career direction, they became increasingly preoccupied with concern about the state of human relations and society. They were anxious to preserve culture by
passing on the torch of their learnings to the next generation so that the legacy of those meanings might be kept alive.

The Grant Study data largely supported Erikson's framework relative to how developmental change takes place--through normative, age-graded, organismic stages. Vaillant (1977a, 1977b) depicted adult development as a definite series of discernible stages during which qualitatively different tasks gained ascendency. Like Erikson, Vaillant (Ibid.) described adult development as a function of a dialectical process between the person and the environment, and he stipulated that the outcomes of earlier stages had direct bearing on the resolution of tasks in later stages.

However, Vaillant (1977a; 1977b) did make some modifications. He posited that there was a large time gap in Erikson's framework between Intimacy (during the twenties) and Generativity (the fifties). He therefore introjected the interim stage of Career Consolidation vs. Self-Absorption into Erikson's (1950) framework, a time when the individual concentrated upon making it in the world of work and, then, ultimately placed that world in its proper perspective. Vaillant's second additional stage--Keeping the Meaning vs. Rigidity came between Erikson's Generativity and final Ego Integrity stage. Successful resolution of this stage implies passing meaning on to the next generation rather than becoming the rigid guardian of one's own highly personalized meanings. Vaillant's additions to Erikson's model are provided below.
Table 4

**Vaillant's (1977a) Additional Developmental Stages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life-Span Period</th>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Developmental Task</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consolidation vs. Absorption</td>
<td>27-35</td>
<td>Once human relationships had been established outside the family of origin, the Grant men tended to work hard to consolidate their careers. Adolescent idealism was sacrificed to &quot;making the grade.&quot; Poor at self reflection, they were careful to follow the rules, anxious for promotion, and willing to accept all aspects of the system. Self deception about the adequacy of marriage and career choice was common. However, around age 40, many of the men managed to outgrow the narrowness and self-absorption of their consolidated career commitments to enter Erikson's stage of Generativity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keep Meaning vs. Rigidity</td>
<td>50 +</td>
<td>After age fifty, the best adapted Grant study men prepared themselves to see that the old culture would be carried on rather than replaced. Since their fifties were not a time of life in which the men could easily change careers, teaching what they had already learned appeared to be their primary concern.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It has been observed that the findings Vaillant (1977a, 1977b) reported may have been confounded by historical events as these men were children of the Great Depression and came of age during World War II (Rodgers, 1984). Vaillant stipulated that his findings should be generalized cautiously due to the sociocultural narrowness of the men who participated in the Grant Study.

Daniel Levinson

Levinson (1978) began his inquiry into patterns of male life cycle development by selecting a sample of forty American men who were between the ages of 35 and 45. The men had been born during the years spanning 1923-1934; they came from diverse racial-ethnic origins and varied social class, educational backgrounds. All of the men had been married a least once and were employed as academic biologists, novelists, hourly workers, or executives. Each informant was interviewed by a single project worker between five and ten times for approximately fifteen hours during a three month time span. The interviews were biographical in nature and covered the entire life-span from childhood to present. Levinson sought to assemble a description of how the various component's of the men's lives were interrelated. Additionally, each man was administered the Thematic Apperception Test as a strategy to yield additional life history information during the interviews.

From these biographies, Levinson identified four seasons in a man's life which he named eras:
Levinson believed that these eras formed the skeletal structure of the life cycle and were intoned with biological, psychological and social dimensions of human functioning. During the Pre-adulthood Era, the child is widening his social world from the nuclear family to encompass a broader sphere comprised of school, extended peer groups and community. Puberty propels the child into adolescence wherein sexual maturity is reached marking the culmination of this era.

The Early Adult Transition generally spans the ages from 17-22; it provides a bridge into the next Era of Early Adulthood. During this crucial transition, the young male is terminating his pre-adult identity and making his first choices--relative to discovering a mentor, occupational niche, marriage partner, and Dream. It is through the adequate resolution of these developmental tasks that he claims a provisional membership in the adult world (Levinson, 1978). During the course of the Early Adulthood Era, a man begins as a novice adult and then gradually establishes himself in a more senior position within the context of his work place and community.

At around age 40, the mid-life transition commences which lasts until about age 45; this transition is frequently experienced as a culmination, crisis or turning point. And while a culminating event frequently plays an important part in instigating the Mid-life
Transition, Levinson stipulates that a man in this transition period is not simply reacting to an external situation. He is reappraising his whole life. Most especially, he is considering in what ways his Dream—or vision of self in the world—has been actualized or unrealized. The main developmental tasks he faces as he enters the Middle Adulthood Era are to make critical life choices, imbue them with commitment and meaning, and build a new life structure around them. Levinson contends that during this transition period, men are suffering some loss of their youthful vitality as well as some measure of their narcissistic pride. This is a time during which new qualities can ascend such as generativity, wisdom and magnanimity which allow the man to integrate unresolved inner polarities. Around age 45, the man can no longer devote a large amount of energy to reappraising the past.

Late Adulthood requires that the man make some appraisal of his life and gain a sense of personal integrity. To the extent he succeeds in feeling his life has had meaning, he can face this era of physical decline without bitterness and despair. To summarize, transitional periods between eras serve as the means for terminating the existing life period and creating the potentiality for a new one. Hence they serve as a bridge between two states of greater equilibrium.

Within the broad vista of the eras, Levinson discovered that more specific processes unfolded which he designated as developmental periods. The developmental periods provide the means by which the developmental work of an era is carried out.
The specific ambience of a period is characterized by the nature of its developmental tasks. Levinson found that the periods unfolded in a sequential, relatively uniform age-graded order. He also discovered that there was no skipping over a period if a man was to continue developing; however developmental defeats in a particular period could prevent a man from beginning the next period and working on its tasks. Additionally, the unfolding periods were not hierarchical in the sense of being better than others; rather each period was qualitatively different than the others and played its own uniquely critical role in shaping life-span development. These periods and their attendant developmental tasks are depicted in the chart below. It should be noted that Levinson's sample was comprised of men between the ages of 35-45; thus eras, periods and developmental tasks extending beyond age 45 are purely speculative.
Table 5

**Levinson's Developmental Periods**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life-Span Period</th>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Developmental Task</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early Adult Transition</td>
<td>17-22</td>
<td>Terminate the adolescent life structure and leave the pre-adult world. Modify existing relationships with important persons and institutions, and modify the self that formed in pre-adulthood. Take preliminary steps in the adult world, test its possibilities, imagine oneself as a participant in it, consolidate an initial adult identity, make and test some tentative choices before fully entering it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entering the Adult World</td>
<td>22-28</td>
<td>Create a first adult life structure by exploring alternatives, making and testing provisional choices, increasing one's commitments and constructing a more integrated life structure. Specific tasks involve: choosing &amp; following an occupational direction, establishing an intimate relationship, finding a mentor, forging a Dream—or vision of self in the world. The conflicting, co-existing tasks are: to explore, expand horizons, and put off making firmer commitments until the options are clearer; and to have roots, stability, and continuity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5 (continued)

| Age Thirty Transition | 28-33 | Re-evaluate the life structure built during the 20's, move toward major new commitments or modifications that address the flaws of the first life structure or rededicate oneself to past choices. |
| Settling Down | 33-40 | Establish a secure, valued niche in society and advance up a ladder of achievement which culminates in becoming one's own man --this involves assuming a place of seniority and authority within the work place and community. Mentor relationships are frequently terminated during this period. |
| Mid-Life Transition | 40-45 | A primary task is to modify the life structure of the thirties and to create the basis for a new structure appropriate to mid-life. This is a time of moderate or severe crisis when the established life structure is reviewed, revised or dramatically changed. It is also a time when the task is to integrate polarized aspects of the self which have not yet been given expression. Four polarities which must be integrated include: young/old; destruction/creation; masculine/feminine; and attachment/separateness. |
Levinson observes that a developmental period is frequently punctuated by critical life events such as an illness or the unanticipated death of a loved one—he designates such happenings as marker events. Levinson notes that marker events often require that the individual cope or adapt to a new life situation; but in and of themselves, they do not initiate the start or end a period. Levinson cautions that the developmental periods and their attendant tasks exemplify phases in the evolution of the life course; he emphasizes that they are not analogous to Erikson's (1950) or Vaillant's (1977a) stages of ego development or development in any single aspect of living. He states:

I am talking about periods in the evolution of the individual life structure. The periods,
and the eras of which they are a part, constitute a basic source of order in the life cycle. The order exists at an underlying level. At the more day-to-day level of concrete action, events, and experience, our lives are often rapidly changing and fragmented. (1978, pg. 41)

Hence, Levinson underscores that the foundation of his theory of developmental periods is the concept of the individual life structure. Levinson defines a life structure as the underlying pattern or design of a person's life at a given time especially as it relates to a man's roles in various social contexts. The life structure offers a means for analyzing what Levinson terms the "fabric of life" by way of considering the choices a man makes and how he deals with their consequences. Developmental change takes place because no matter how satisfactory a life structure is, in time its utility wanes and its shortcomings generate a desire on the part of the individual to modify it.

Thus, from Levinson's perspective, the life structure evolves through a sequence of alternating periods; a relatively stable structure-building period is followed by a transitional, structure-changing period. The primary developmental tasks of the structure-building period are to make crucial choices, to create a structure around them and pursue one's goals within that structure. These periods typically last six to eight years. In a transitional period, the major tasks are to reappraise the existing structure, explore new possibilities and formulate choices that provide a
foundation for a new structure. Such transitional periods typically last four to five years.

Levinson frequently alludes to the fact that he was not deliberately looking for an orderly sequence of eras and an underlying structure of periods when he began his study.

When we began this work, nothing in the literature of psychology and social science suggested that we would find a sequence of eras and periods unfolding in orderly progression. That idea was not the starting point for our research. Quite the contrary. It was only after we had traced in detail the intricate design and course of many individual lives, each one unique in its patterning, that we could begin to grasp the underlying order. (Levinson, 1978, pg. 318)

Yet on other occasions he mentions that he was looking precisely for such order, and the reader can only intuit Levinson's need to conceptually organize and categorize the reams of data which forty in-depth life history interviews had generated. This conflict of intentions is well illustrated in his following quotes:

As immediately observed and experienced, every life is idiosyncratic, disorderly and variegated. The differences are far more marked than the similarities. Yet the basic thesis of this book is that even the most disparate lives are governed by the same underlying order--a sequence of eras and developmental periods. This order is often not immediately evident. (1978, pg. 64)

And also:
I wanted to create an overarching conception of development that could encompass the diverse biological, psychological and social changes occurring in adult life. I made the risky bet that development in this sense does occur, and that the mid-life decade was a good place to look for it. (Ibid., pg. 8)

Hence, a reader of Levinson might well wish to consider the extent to which his theory is partially an artifact of his choice to de-emphasize the idiosyncrasies and dissimilarities he found within the lives he studied in favor of accentuating general themes and patterns that could be interwoven into the overarching theoretical framework he was seeking to build.

Levinson holds a unique position among other psychosocial theorists in that he has hypothesized that the developmental stages he observed within his sample were universal. He conjectures that "this sequence of eras and periods exists in all societies, throughout the human species, at the present stage in human evolution" (pg. 322). He also speculates that he has found parallel lines of development between his informants and individuals who lived 2500 years ago. Levinson's sample was small which may impact on the study's external generalizability (in terms of how that concept is traditionally defined) relative to formulating a general theory of American male development. Trying to generalize the findings to encompass a universal theory is even more problematic.

Because Levinson utilized a longitudinal design, there is a potential for confounding history-graded influences. The biographical interviews were conducted in the late sixties; Rodgers
(1984) has observed that this portion of history represented a period of extreme social upheaval. Hence it is possible that the structure building/dismantling periods Levinson chronicled were highly reflective of the turbulent collective norms of the sixties decade, during which some of his informants had encountered their Age Thirty Transition. Indeed, there is a glaring discrepancy between how Levinson and Vaillant describe men at the age of thirty which may further substantiate the presence of history graded influences interacting upon this type of research design.

Roger Gould

Early in his professional career, Gould (1972; 1975) began to see evidence of a relationship between behavior patterns/cognitive preoccupations and chronological age within the adult psychiatric residents he supervised. This led to his subsequent involvement in a university research project wherein he attended group therapy sessions in a psychiatric outpatient unit with several other co-therapist colleagues. The outpatient groups contained both male and female patients who were stratified by age. The therapists participated in observing each group and then compared the developmental concerns of the group members. They found that there were fundamental differences between groups--but consensus within groups--relative to developmental issues the participants were confronting. Hence, it was concluded that there was a correlation between adult developmental issues and an individual's age. Gould (1978) believed that he had found:
a rough catalog of the march of concerns and the changing patterns of self-awareness that occur in men and women between the ages of 16 and 50. (pg. 14)

Gould (1978; 1980) later organized this "rough catalog" into a theory of adult development. His theory proposes that adults are continually confronted by two realities: current, adult reality and demonic reality—comprised of painful, childhood states which intrude into adult reality. Gould (1978) comments:

Adult consciousness progresses between ages 16 and 50 by our mastering childhood fear, by learning to leash and modulate the childhood anger released by change. As we strive to live up to our full potential, we confront layer after layer of buried childhood pain. Adult consciousness, then evolves through a series of confrontations with our own primitive past. Finally, as adults we can begin to master demonic reality and rework the irrationalities of childhood. (pg. 25)

Gould (Ibid.) stipulates that demonic childhood reality can be mastered by dismantling a series of untested false assumptions depicted in the chart below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life-Span Period</th>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Major/Component Assumptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leaving our parents world</td>
<td>16-22</td>
<td><em>I will always belong to my parents and believe in their world.</em> If I get any more independent, it will be a disaster. I can see the world only through my parent's assumptions. Only my parents can guarantee my safety. My parents must be my only family. I don't own my own body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm nobody's baby now</td>
<td>22-28</td>
<td><em>Doing things my parents' way, with will power and perseverance, will bring results.</em> Rewards will come automatically if I do what I'm supposed to do. There is only one right way to do things. My loved ones can do for me what I haven't been able to do for myself. Rationality, commitment and effort will always prevail over all other forces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening up to what's inside</td>
<td>28-34</td>
<td><em>Life is simple and controllable.</em> There are no significant coexisting contradictory forces within me. What I know intellectually, I know emotionally. I am not like my parents in ways I don't want to be. I can see the reality of those close to me quite clearly. Threats to my security aren't real.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6 (continued)

| Mid-life decade | 35-45 | There is no evil or death in the world. The sinister has been destroyed. The illusion of safety can last forever. Death can't happen to me or my loved ones. It is impossible to live without a protector (women). There is no life beyond this family. I am an innocent. |

Gould (1978) believes that, as adults, we are continually confronted with two co-existing realities:

- Current reality—the reality of adult consciousness, the way we actually experience events and each other now; and
- Demonic reality—the childhood consciousness reality, the intrusion into adult life of painful childhood states. (pg. 24)

Growth and change in adulthood is evidenced by the individual taking steps away from childhood consciousness through dismantling the major false assumptions of childhood and their components. Gould contends that each time an individual masters dangerous, childhood states of consciousness, he/she discards unnecessary protective devices and strengthens adult consciousness. Gould has developed a seven step strategy to master demonic childhood reality when it intrudes on adult life:

1. Recognize our tension and confusion.
2. Understand that we respond to two contradictory realities.
3. Give full intensity to the childhood reality; that is, let it be real.
4. Realize that both contradictory realities still exist. We're not sure which one is real.
5. Test reality. Take a risk that discriminates one view from another.
6. Fight off the strong urge to retreat just on the edge of discovery.
7. Reach an integrated, trustworthy view of a section of reality unencumbered by the demonic past. (Ibid., pg. 34).

Gould (1972, 1978, 1980) made a unique contribution to the organismic psychosocial literature base because he included women within the purview of his developmental framework. Gould (1978) suggests that men and women's lines of development, relative to the shedding of false assumptions across the life-span, is neatly synchronized in terms of chronological age (with the exception of women feeling they need a protector until age 35-45). This finding—that women and men confront similar developmental issues and tasks more or less in tandem—has not been evidenced in other psychosocial studies (Jung, 1933; Neugarten, 1968a; Sheehy, 1974; Baruch, Barnett and Rivers, 1985).

A major limitation of Gould's framework is that he does not describe the population from which his theory was constructed nor does he detail his methodological procedures (Rodgers, 1984). Because his early research was grounded in his therapeutic practice (1972), it is possible to speculate that his theory of adult development as presented in Transformations (1978) was also drawn from clinical observations. Rodgers (1984) observes that, if this is the case, it may be risky may not inform the lives of non-therapeutic populations.
Gail Sheehy

Sheehy (1974) conducted a study which served as the basis for her construction of a normative age referenced theory of life-span development. Within the broad context of this framework she also attempted to compare female/male developmental rhythms and examine predictable crises for couples. Her data was gathered from biographical interviews with 115 middle class informants, between the ages of 18-55, many of whom were couples.

Sheehy's central premise is that an individual's life incorporates both an internal and external dimension. The external component is comprised of cultural memberships such as social class, ethnicity, religious affiliation etc. The internal aspect operates more subtly; it ascribes meaning to the external world by assessing the extent to which our values and goals are rejuvenated or violated by external commitments. Like Erikson (1950), Sheehy indicates that developmental change takes place through a dialectical interaction transpiring between the individual and the environmental press.

Sheehy observes that it is the internal realm where crucial shifts begin to throw individuals off balance indicating the necessity of changing external commitments which will facilitate the process of moving on to the next developmental period. These crucial shifts in balancing internal/external orientations Sheehy designates as "passages". Sheehy stipulates that during each of these passages an individual will undergo a shift in different types of perception: 1) an interior sense of self in relation to others; 2) a sense of danger or
safeness in life; 3) the perception of time; 4) a sense of aliveness or stagnation; 5) a desire to merge sense of self with others through allowing temporary fusions with others, or an urge to individuate by separating self from others, exercising independence and exploring mastery pursuits.

In addition to adapting to shifts in perception, Sheehy observes that individuals must also attempt to break away from a force which attempts to limit their pattern of adult developmental growth—she calls this force the inner custodian. She stipulates that the inner custodian has two dimensions; it functions as a benevolent parent concerned with the individual's safety and also as a dictator parent who gives orders regarding the "should" and "should not" parameters of life. Each time the individual masters a developmental task that replaces a parental view of the world with an individualized, evolving perspective, that person claims some territory from the inner custodian and takes another step away from childhood and progresses further toward adulthood. Sheehy's life-span developmental framework is depicted below.
# Table 7

**Sheehy's Passages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life-Span Period</th>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Developmental Task</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pulling up Roots</td>
<td>18-22</td>
<td>To begin separation the process from the family of origin and locate self in a peer group, sex role, anticipated occupation, and ideology or world view.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Trying Twenties</td>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>To shape a Dream—that vision of self which will generate energy, aliveness and hope. To prepare for a lifework. To find a mentor. To form the capacity for intimacy, without losing in the process whatever consistency of self that has been achieved. The first provisional life structure must be erected around the life we wish to test. Individuals tend to concentrate on mastery tasks they think they should be pursuing. First marriages often end or are seriously reviewed at the close of this period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catch-30</td>
<td>28-32</td>
<td>To reexamine and revise the provisional life structure fashioned during the twenties. Important new choices must be made, and commitments altered or deepened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rooting &amp; Extending</td>
<td>31-35</td>
<td>To make the life structure less provisional, more rational and orderly. Individuals begin putting down roots in the sense of buying homes, climbing a career ladder, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 7 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table Title</th>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deadline Decade</td>
<td>35-45</td>
<td>To confront an authenticity crisis which may be heralded by events such as the loss of youth, a spiritual dilemma etc. This decade can provide the individual with the opportunity to reappraise and rework the narrow identity by which the self was previously defined.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renewal/Resignation</td>
<td>45-50</td>
<td>To regain equilibrium and a new sense of stability. If one has failed to reexamine the life structure during the Deadline Decade, the sense of staleness will calcify into resignation. One by one, the unexamined identity props will be withdrawn from the person who is standing still as children grow, parents die etc. Each of these events will be perceived as abandonment and another adulthood crisis will probably ensue around age 50. This crisis is likely to be more intense and strong enough provide the needed inducement for the resigned individual to seek revitalization.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sheehy contends that it is plausible that the mastery of one set of tasks fortifies the individual for successfully negotiating the next period and set of developmental tasks.

Sheehy posits that it is virtually impossible for couples to synchronize the timing of the ascendancy and resolution of their individual developmental tasks and thereby grow in tandem. The developmental tasks that will ascend in the lives of the individual are almost identical for both sexes, but men and women are rarely resolving those tasks in a similar manner at the same age. Therefore, Sheehy continually cautions that her age ranges, which are affixed to the resolution of developmental tasks, are only rough approximations. She observes:

During the twenties, when a man gains confidence by leaps and bounds, a married woman is usually losing the superior assurance she once had as an adolescent. When a man passes 30 and wants to settle down, a woman is often becoming restless. And just at the point around 40, when a man feels himself to be standing on a precipice, his strength, power, dreams, and illusions slipping away beneath him, his wife is likely to be brimming with ambition to climb her own mountain. (1974, pg. 22)

Sheehy developed a taxonomy of male/female styles utilized in adapting to a successive period and in resolving new developmental tasks. Five such patterns emerged among the women:
Caregiver: A woman who marries in her early twenties (or teens) and who—at that time—has no intention of going beyond the domestic role.

Either-Or: Women who feel required in their twenties to choose between love and children or work and accomplishments

Integrators: Women who try to combine it all in the twenties—to integrate marriage, career, and motherhood.

Never-Married Women: Including paranurturers and office wives.

Transients: Women who choose impermanence in their twenties and wander sexually, occupationally, geographically (Sheehy, 1974, 295-296).

Sheehy's (1974) work is noteworthy because it included women. It has also been observed that her typology of men and women's life patterns is particularly valuable because it provides a basis for classifying individuals pursuing different patterns as they address divergent periods mandating the resolution of developmental tasks (Rodgers, 1984). Sheehy's work could be criticized on methodological grounds. Her data was drawn from biographical interviews, but she did not share her interview protocols, complete demographic information concerning her sample, or her research methods. It appears that some of her data was collected utilizing a simple cross-sectional design which introduces the potential of limitations due to confounding history-graded influences with age graded development (Huitsch & Deutsch,
1981; Rodgers, 1984). In other instances, it appears that some of Sheehy's data was gathered utilizing longitudinal data, as some informant's underwent multiple interviews over the course of several years.

Sheehy synthesizes ideas from many other theorists including Erikson (1950), Neugarten (1979), Vaillant (1977a, 1977b), Levinson (1976, 1978) and Gould (1978, 1980). Her age-graded developmental stages closely parallel the work of Levinson (1978) and Gould (1978), but it has been noted that it is unclear whether her theoretical framework was based on her own study or whether she adopted the framework of others and attempted to test their validity with her own sample (Rodgers, 1984). Indeed, Sheehy notes that individuals develop using highly idiosyncratic "stepstyles" (p. 36). Thus, as with Levinson's (1978) work, the reader might want to contemplate the extent to which Sheehy's theoretical framework is an artifact her choice to test a priori theories at the expense of de-emphasizing the rich, highly variegated developmental idiosyncrasies she uncovered.

**Summary of Central Organismic Psychosocial Ideas**

The psychosocial organismic theorists critiqued in this paper converge with an uncanny degree of consistency around some basic themes relative to the: 1) age-graded points in the life cycle during which developmental crises are likely to erupt; 2) the types of developmental tasks which will accompany ascending stages of
development; and 3) the coping skills which are typically utilized to resolve developmental crises and tasks (Reinke, 1982).

The primary developmental task for the young adult during their late teens and early twenties is to separate from their families of origin and begin building an identity that is independent of parents (Erikson, 1950, 1974; Vaillant, 1977a; Sheehy, 1974; Gould, 1972, 1978; Levinson, 1978). During the twenties an individual ordinarily forms a provisional adult identity by clarifying commitments and making preliminary choices relative to marriage, occupation, and general lifestyle that define one's place in the world (Jung, 1933; Erikson, 1950; Sheehy, 1974; Vaillant, 1977a, 1977b; Gould, 1978; Levinson, 1978).

Around age thirty, a period of painful reappraisal occurs which provokes a reexamination of the commitments made earlier (Sheehy, 1974; Gould, 1978, 1974; Levinson, 1978). This period provides an opportunity to work on the flaws and limitations of one's provisional life choices and to create the basis for a more satisfactory adult life (Sheehy, 1974; Levinson, 1978; Gould, 1978). The early thirties may also be the time of renewing commitments through career consolidation and individual achievement possibly with aid from a mentor (Sheehy, 1974; Vaillant, 1977a; Levinson, 1978).

From the mid-thirties to the early forties, men strive to "become their own man" (Levinson, 1978). This involves working diligently towards career advancement, becoming a senior member in the work place, and being affirmed by society (Vaillant, 1977a;
Mentor relationships are frequently terminated during this period (Levinson, 1978, Vaillant, 1977a, 1977b).

The early forties are characterized as a period of disequilibrium, psychological crises, and life course re-evaluation (Jung, 1933; Sheehy, 1974; Gould, 1978; Vaillant, 1977a; Levinson, 1978). It has been suggested that this comes about as an awareness builds of the deficiencies and limitations of one's present life structure, of the neglected aspects of the self, and of the finiteness of time remaining to be lived (Jung, 1933; Levinson, 1978; Gould 1978). For the great majority of individuals, this is a period of internal struggle and self-reflection (Jung, 1933; Sheehy, 1974; Levinson, 1978; Gould, 1978); it is a period when men may attempt to outgrow the narrowness of career commitments forged earlier in life (Vaillant, 1977a, 1977b). The end result of the mid-life crisis is apt to reflect integration of formerly unexpressed, polarized aspects of the personality—including contrasexual attributes (Jung, 1933; Levinson et al., 1978), interest in serving others (Erikson, 1950; Vaillant, 1977a; Levinson, 1978) and a reorientation of one's life in more generative directions (Erikson, 1950; Vaillant, 1977a; Levinson, 1978). It is not a certainty that development will occur in middle adulthood. For some people, middle age signifies a process of gradual or rapid stagnation, of alienation from the self and the world (Jung, 1933; Erikson, 1950; Vaillant, 1977a, 1977b; Levinson, 1978). The ability to fight against stagnation is an inherent part of the struggle toward generativity in middle adulthood (Erikson, 1950; Vaillant, 1977a; Levinson, 1978).
The late forties and fifties appear to be a time when men find new ways of becoming paternal to younger adults (Erikson, 1950; Vaillant, 1977a, Levinson, 1978). A man must find new ways of combining authority and mutuality—accepting leadership and yet taking younger adults seriously, inviting their participation knowing that they will soon succeed him (Erikson, 1950; Levinson, 1978). This period of adulthood is often accompanied by an interest in preserving culture (Vaillant, 1977a) and ideally brings a sense of integrity and fulfillment to one's life (Erikson, 1950; Vaillant, 1977a; Levinson, 1978).

Organismic psychosocial theories also coalesce around some central themes relative to how developmental change takes place. Stages are conceptualized as periods of time during which a person is confronted by a developmental task which must be resolved—either adequately or inadequately. Organismic theorists agree upon the viewpoint that developmental stages are epigenetically triggered by a dialectical interaction between internal biological/psychological forces and external environmental events—yet internal forces are given prominence. There is also consensus among the organismic theorists critiqued in this review that stages arise in sequential order at a predetermined time of ascendancy irregardless of whether the individual feels prepared to cope with their attendant tasks. Additionally, there is a belief that stages are cumulative in the sense that how a stage is resolved impacts upon the individual's ability to adequately resolve future stages (Rodgers, 1980). Finally, there is convergence around the belief that stages of
development and their concomitant tasks are qualitatively different from each other.

Psychosocial points of divergence are far fewer than convergence, but they need to be mentioned. Levinson (1978) emphasizes that the developmental periods and their attendant tasks depict phases in the evolution of the life course; they are not analogous to Erikson's (1950, 1959, 1968) or Vaillant's (1977a, 1977b) stages of ego development. Levinson underscores that the foundation of his theory relative to how change takes place centers upon development of the life structure. Levinson intuits developmental change as being precipitated by the individual's attempts to continually reappraise and modify the life structure as its shortcomings become recognized over the course of the life-span. Levinson does not see developmental change as being initiated by the ego's attempts to favorably resolve developmental tasks along a polarized continuum. Additionally, Levinson chronicles an age thirty transition period during which a painful reappraisal occurs relative to commitments forged earlier. This stage is absent from Vaillant's (1977a; 1977b) framework who depicts his informants consolidating commitments at age thirty rather than examining them. Rodger's (1984) has observed that Gould (1978) presents a unique view relative to how change takes place by emphasizing the false assumptions which must be discarded rather than tasks which must be accomplished.
Behavioral Theorists

Opposing the organismic view that adult development is predominantly bound to age-graded stages and developmental tasks, is the work of behavioral psychosocial theorists. These theorists have found life-span developmental patterns to take many divergent forms in terms of degree of interindividual variability (Baltes, Reese, & Lipsitt, 1980; Farrell & Rosenberg, 1981; Neugarten, 1979; Baruch, Barnett & Rivers, 1985). From this perspective, critical life-event developmental variables play a pivotal role in human development because they have attributes which influence individual responses. This necessitates a concern for how individual variations in developmental outcomes are mediated by external forces (Rodgers 1984). Hence conceptualizations of how developmental change takes place center upon describing individual differences. They also attempt to explain the relationship between specific critical life events and resultant coping responses of individuals as influenced by biological, psychological, and--in particular--external critical life events (Ibid.). Rodgers observes:

Life events are seen as having attributes (such as their timing in the life-span, their duration, the degree to which they can be controlled and predicted, and the degree and type of changes they require) which relate to individual responses. Non-normative events, for example, cannot be anticipated and usually produce stress and disruptiveness; normative events, on the other hand are often less stressful and disruptive because
they can be anticipated and their negative effects mediated. (Ibid., pg. 507)

Hultsch & Plemons (1979) broadly define life events as "noteworthy occurrences." Attempts to define life events with greater specificity has resulted in categorizing them along the dimensions Rodgers mentions above. Generally speaking, life events are regarded as the stimuli influencing organismic responses, and from a behavioristic perspective, research often takes the form of explaining the role that life events play as antecedents to particular behavioral responses (Abeles et al. 1976; Baltes, 1979; Bourque et al 1977; Brim et al 1980a; Brim et al 1980b; Danish et al 1980a; Danish et al 1980b; Dohrenwend et al 1978; Hultsch & Plemons, 1979; Hultsch, 1981). The behaviorist's task is frequently defined as identifying "these cause-effect relations and the variables which mediate or interact with them (Hultsch & Plemons, 1979, p. 13)."

**Bernice Neugarten**

Bernice Neugarten exemplifies a theorist who has integrated organismic and behavioral perspectives. During the 1960's, she initiated several studies aimed at investigating human personality, adaptational patterns, career lines, age-norms, and attitudes across generational lines. These studies were carried out in conjunction with the Committee on Human Development at the University of Chicago. They were based on relatively large cross-sectional samples of non-volunteer informants who were living in Midwest
metropolitan communities. In one instance, a sample of 300 informants was followed longitudinally over a seven year period.

On the basis of these studies, Neugarten (1976) holds the view that several interwoven time perspectives need to be considered in tracing an individual's patterns of adaptation to life events: historical, social and biological (chronological) time. Neugarten contends that an event occurring at a particular time historically varies in personal significance according to the point in the life cycle during which it occurs. She notes that the effects of an economic depression will be perceived differently by a young person in college and a middle aged individual at the height of his/her professional career. Neugarten believes that such interactions between historical and biological time also interface with a third temporal dimension--social time. She observes that every society has age-grade norms which define a prescriptive time-table of expectations regarding age-appropriate behavior--such as when to marry, have children, and retire.

Further, Neugarten (1968b; 1976) posits that both men and women are well aware of the social clocks operating in their individual spheres and, also, of their own pace in adhering to or deviating from normative timetables. Such persons will describe themselves as early, late, or on-time with regard to social expectations of age appropriate behavior (Neugarten, 1968b). Neugarten (1976) posits that, from a historical perspective, social time is continually being reappraised which, in turn, leads to perpetual alterations in cultural expectations regarding age-
referenced norms. For example, in the course of the past decade it has become more socially acceptable for women to postpone bearing their first child until they have established a career outside of the home. Hence, Neugarten contends that adults internalize a set of expectations about the normal, expectable life cycle; they set goals and reassess themselves along a time table shaped by dynamically evolving social norms.

From this perspective, Neugarten (Ibid.) holds that normal, expected life events do not precipitate a crisis in the lives of most individuals. They may instigate changes in self-concept and identity and may serve to precipitate new adaptations. But they are not typically perceived as traumatic events which alter the continuity of one's identity. It is the unanticipated event or an event which transpires off-time that is likely to be experienced as traumatic--such as a sudden job loss or the death of a child. Hence, Neugarten concludes that, in this sense, a theory of the life cycle must, perforce, be concerned with a psychology of timing.

Neugarten (1978; 1976; 1968a) maintains that, while many changes and regularities in the life cycle can be attributed to an individual's attempt to adapt to external life events, there are other changes which appear to be intrapsychic in nature, stage-like, and normatively regulated by the individual's chronological age. Her research has revealed that, as individuals enter middle age, their preoccupation with inner life increases and there is a decreased involvement with people and objects in the outer world.
Another inner psychological regularity Neugarten (1976) observed was a personalization of time-perspective; as individuals reached middle adulthood, there was a developing awareness that time was finite. Time became more personally restructured into a highly internalized framework of "time left to live." Conversely, there was a movement away from an externalized orientation of "time since birth." This was evidenced by the fact that adults sometimes displayed difficulty in recalling their age in chronological terms.

A final intrapsychic regularity Neugarten noted was that, as people aged, they developed more elaborate "mental filing systems" by which they amassed more information and increasingly complicated "cross references" by which they interpreted their experiences across the life-span.

Neugarten (Ibid.) believes that increased interiority, personalization of time, and the development of increasingly complex mental filing systems is a function of age rather than adaptation. Hence, her conceptual framework differentiates developmental changes precipitated by adaptation to external critical life events from intrapsychic, chronologically age referenced personality changes. Neugarten summarizes her stage framework which portrays chronological periods during which the intrapsychic processes ascend:

In young adulthood, the thrust is toward the outer world, toward mastery of the environment. In middle age there comes a realignment and restructuring of ego
processes, and, to the extent that these processes become conscious, a re-examination of self. In old age, there is a turning inward a withdrawal of investment from the outer world, and a new preoccupation with the inner world. (Ibid., pg. 72-73)

Neugarten hypothesizes that changes occurring in intrapsychic processes as a result of biological aging are more stage-like, orderly, and consistent than those arising from social or cultural efforts aimed at adapting to life events.

In terms of the effects of human adaptive responses to life events, Neugarten (1979) continually emphasizes human variability or what she terms "individual fanning out." She observes that: "as lives grow longer, as the successive adaptive choices and commitments of individuals accumulate, lives grow increasingly different from each other" (Ibid., pg. 891). She also notes:

Because of longer life-histories, with their complicated patterns of personal and social commitments, adults are not only much more complex than children, but they are more different one from another, and increasingly different as they move from youth to extreme old age. (1969, pg. 123)

Hence, Neugarten surmises that adult's developmental patterns are not only much more complex than children, but they also become increasingly idiosyncratic as individuals age.

Neugarten (1965; 1966; 1968a; 1968c; 1976) observed numerous differences in the psychological issues confronting middle aged men and women. Women, unlike men, defined their age status in terms of the timing of events within the family life cycle. She
found that married women tended to define middle age as a time when children were sent out into the adult world. Men referenced the onset of middle age by cues surfacing outside the family context—by younger men either treating them more differentially or trying to upstage them in the work setting. For men, disparities between career aspirations and career achievements served as a catalyst to trigger a heightened awareness of middle age. Neugarten (1966) attributed this finding to the fact that men viewed significant career advancement as being feasible only until the middle years. Other cues announcing middle age for men were biologically centered; the body's decreased efficiency, and the death of peers were likely to prompt the aging man to be concerned with his health.

Middle aged women were unlikely to be very preoccupied with health issues and most of them attached only incidental importance to menopause. Most women looked forward to mid-life as a period of having increased freedom from child rearing responsibilities and the opportunity to develop latent talents. Neugarten discovered that many of these women mentioned that their new found feelings of liberation were surfacing at the same point their husbands were encountering increased job pressures or occupational boredom. A final important difference Neugarten noted between men and women as they approached middle age was that men became more affiliating and nurturing; women became more assertive and achievement oriented (Neugarten, 1968a).
Neugarten's scholarship appeared years ahead of its time; over the course of the last decade her theory has served as an inspiration for many other behaviorists. Her unique theoretical contribution was to introduce the notion that three interacting time perspectives impact upon human development over the course of the life-span. An implication of this finding is that if individuals are educated to become consciously aware of normative, on-time expected life events, they can anticipate and rehearse for them. Such anticipatory rehearsal for critical life events usually precludes them from assuming crisis proportions. Danish and D'Augelli (1980) have utilized this aspect of Neugarten's framework to devise a model which systematically teaches individuals anticipatory coping skills which can be applied to the successful resolution of on-time critical life events. Similarly, Schlossberg (1981) has drawn upon Neugarten's notion of "individual fanning out" to try to create a framework which discerns commonalties within individual adaptation patterns to non-normative life events.

Baltes, Reese, & Lipsitt

Baltes (1980) et al. define life-span development psychology as a concern for the description, explanation and optimization of developmental processes in the human life course from conception to death. They note that this orientation does not have a finite set of developmental assumptions, but a few have received particular notice. These assumptions stipulate that: 1) development can occur at any point in the life cycle; 2) it is necessary to view development
within a framework which includes historical, biological and socialization influences; 3) to classify developmental change by monolithic standards—such as universality and sequential ordering—often proves both inappropriate and restrictive.

Baltes et al note that in a number of research studies, life-span developmental changes have been found to take many forms in terms of time extension, directionality, and degree of interindividual variability (Baltes & Willis, 1979; Brim & Kagan, 1980; Labouvie-Vief & Chandler, 1978; Lerner & Ryff, 1978; Neugarten, 1969; Siegler, 1979; Thomae, 1976). Hence they encourage researchers interested in development to entertain pluralistic conceptions of how change takes place which can support multicausal, interactive sets of influences. To this end, Baltes, et al have conceptualized a life-span developmental model which attempts to describe human development along three sets of interactive influences: age-graded biological influences, historical and social events impacting upon particular birth cohorts, and idiosyncratic critical life events.

*Normative age-graded influences* are biological and environmental determinants that are significantly correlated with age. Examples are chronological age and age-graded socialization events—such as puberty, menopause and retirement (Baltes et al. 1980). Baltes et al. speculate that normative influences peak in childhood and become salient, once again, in late adulthood.

*Normative history-graded influences* are defined as biological and environmental determinants associated with historical time
(Neugarten & Datan, 1973) and historical contexts related to birth cohort (Baltes et al, 1980). They are normative if they occur to most members of a given cohort in similar ways. Examples of normative history-graded influences are economic depressions, wars, major epidemics, natural disasters, political and social movements etc. Baltes et al. hypothesize that the role of these influences is particularly influential during adolescence and young adulthood.

Non-normative life events refer to biological and environmental determinants that do not occur in any normative age or history graded manner for most individuals. Examples are automobile accidents, unanticipated unemployment, and sudden illness. The attribute of being non-normative refers to the lack of interindividual homogeneity in occurrence and patterning (Baltes et al. 1980). Baltes et al. conjecture that--as individuals age--these events "take on a more and more important role in determining the course of human development" (Ibid., 1980, pg. 78).

With regard to their model, Baltes et al. surmise:

The joint impact of influences of the three types, mediated through the developing individual, accounts for the nature of life-span development, for its regularity, and also for its differential properties in terms of interindividual differences, multidirectionality, and multidimensionality. The multicausal model outlined can also be used, in a heuristic manner, as a scheme for integrating existing data and for generating new questions about the causes of life-span development. (Ibid. pg. 76)
Baltes' et al. model is an important contribution because it reminds researchers that historical contexts change with remarkable alacrity and individuals encounter an inexhaustible supply of non-normative life events as they age.

Baltes et al concur with the viewpoint espoused by Neugarten (1969) that non-normative life events become more salient contributors to human development as individual's age. They note that development in adulthood appears to be more multidirectional and to exhibit larger intra- and interindividual variability than in childhood. Baltes et al attribute this phenomenon to the fact that evolutionary-based genetic influences appear to decline with age, thereby permitting individual, idiosyncratic life experiences to become more prominent. They observe that many adult development researchers have not found chronological age to be a powerful organizer and search variable. Hence, within the context of their own inquiry, they have looked to alternative kinds of influences, particularly non-normative life events.

Baltes et al. posit that life-span developmental psychology is not a theory but an orientation. Because a life-span orientation is pre-eminently concerned with the explanation and description of developmental change processes, Baltes et al. contend that such changes are best understood if placed in the temporal context of chains and patterns of antecedent and subsequent events. Against the backdrop of this orientation they have developed a model for explaining and describing causal relationships that address the complexity of life-span development. But because of the model's
emphasis upon multicausal interactions transpiring over time, grounding research methods within this framework appears to be extraordinarily difficult.

A major difficulty with the model that Baltes et al. have put forth is that its intended application is to discover (multi) causal relationships. Experimental and quasi-experimental methods alone can determine causality and they function to isolate variables from the personal and social contexts in which they operate. Experimental research designs are equipped to investigate limited numbers of variables and usually in temporal and contextual isolation—properties inherently at odds with Baltes' et al. model. Mishler (1979) has observed that experimental research methods are directed toward the stripping away of contexts so that variables may be examined in isolation. Clearly if the life-span orientation Baltes et al. advance is to be seriously entertained, researchers must contemplate the problems associated with fitting findings uncovered in experimental isolation back into the dynamically interactive context of the subject's life.

**Baruch, Barnett, & Rivers**

Baruch, Barnett & Rivers (1985) conducted a prominent study which attempted to discover the factors contributing to a woman's sense of well being. Well being encompassed: 1) feeling that she was a valued member of society; and 2) believing she was in control of her life. Such a state of well being was operationally defined as including two dimensions: 1) Mastery--feeling important,
instrumental and worthwhile (self-esteem, sense of control, low levels of depression and anxiety); and 2) Pleasure—finding life enjoyable and being affectively and intimately connected with others (satisfaction, happiness, optimism).

Three hundred Caucasian women were included in the study. The mean age was 43.6 years; the average educational level was fourteen years; the total family income ranged from $4,500-50,000 per annum with the mean being $21,600. The women represented a randomly drawn sample of individuals living in a large community adjacent to Boston. The frame from which the sample was drawn was comprised of 6000 registered voters who were between the ages of 35-55. The women who were randomly selected from this frame had to fit one of the six categories to be included in the study: 1) never-married/employed; 2) married/without children/employed; 3) married/with children/employed; 4) married/with children/at home; 5) married/without children/at home; 6) divorced/with children/employed. Once participants who fit these categories were identified, an interviewer met with each woman to conduct a lengthy survey. Responses were recorded verbatim and questions were routinely asked to clear up ambiguities.

A central finding emerging from this study is that women need to develop both aspects of their well being—Mastery and Pleasure—if they are to feel well adjusted. This team of researchers found that the variables in life which provide a sense of Mastery in women’s lives centered around a paid occupation. A sense of
Pleasure was typically derived from intimate relationships and a sense of connection with others. Baruch et al. contend that women frequently sabotage their own sense of well being because they often misunderstand its source. Too often, relationships assume exaggerated importance for women. When they feel unhappy, they automatically think of improving their relationships and fail to pay attention to the instrumental side of life. These theorists are echoed by Gilligan (1982) in maintaining that the nurturing imperative, when overdone by women, becomes self destructive. Too often women are subsumed in their "other orientation" and fail to include themselves in the list of people who are to be nurtured (Ibid.; Baruch, Barnett and Rivers, 1985).

An additional finding was that a woman's level of well being was not related to her age. Women in their fifties seemed as positive about their lives as those in their thirties. Additionally, Baruch et al. discovered that the women in their study did not conform to the findings from Levinson's (1978) research. For example, the women did not suffer from a mid-life crisis, they rarely referred to concern over time running out during the second portion of the life-span, and they were unlikely to fashion a Dream in early adulthood which served as a yardstick against which they later measured their achievement. Hence, these researchers have concluded that "age and stage theories" are not the answer to understanding the pattern of a woman's life.

The fact that age did not impact upon a woman's sense of well being seemed particularly noteworthy as studies conducted in the
1950's depicted women in their middle years as a particularly depressed group (Bird, 1979). Baruch et al. attribute the positive shift in women's sense of well being to a different social climate which presently provides women with more options and opportunity to enhance their sense of Mastery. They observe:

For most women, there is more freedom than at any time in the past to explore and develop the 'doing' side of their lives, their instrumental capabilities. (1985, pg.41)

Baruch et al. lament the fact that even those women who filled occupations only recently opened to women failed to make the connection between their sense of well being and the social change which had fostered it--most notably feminism and the women's movement.

Baruch et al. frequently emphasize the importance of work to a woman's sense of well being. They reported that women who were employed in prestigious jobs scored the highest in well being. They believe that since the challenge of a job is so closely tied to women's sense of well being--and the lack of challenge is so distressing--when considering a job, women should "look at the work itself, at the stimulation and variety it offers, and not just at the nice folks in the office" (Ibid., pg. 148). While chronological age did not seem to impact upon a woman's sense of well being, being in a good job was highly correlated to a woman's sense of Mastery. Additionally, these researchers found that neither matrimony nor motherhood contributed to feelings of Mastery per se; hence they
concluded that work is not peripheral to women's sense of Mastery, it is central.

When women were asked to identify major turning points in their lives, they did not describe those occurrences so often characterized in stage theories as being marker events—marriage, birth of a child, or menopause. What women did describe as turning points were unanticipated events which "came out of the blue"—automobile accidents or a sudden job transfer. Another class of turning points were classified as anticipated events which happened at the wrong time—the premature death of a child or spouse. Baruch et al. contend that events which are anticipated—such as menopause—are typically expected. Because a woman has prepared herself for them, it is less likely that they will be remembered as a critical turning point in the life cycle.

Baruch et al. discovered that the more active women are in choosing the roles that suit their individual needs, the greater will be their feelings of well being. Additionally, as women gain more control over their own destinies the less similar their lives are appearing to be. They contend:

The message of our subjects' lives is that no one pattern fits all women, no one life print guarantees well being, and no one path leads inevitably to misery. Each pattern has its own clusters of joys and problems. Being aware of the choices women have made—or failed to make—and some of the consequences, can, we hope, light up many corners of women's lives that have been invisible and guide women who are on the
brink of making those choices. In no way do we mean to suggest that the shape of one's life is always a matter of choice. But we do believe that there are more choices now than before—and that women have more choices than many have realized. (Ibid., pg. .xi)

Baruch et al. continually assert that different life prints are not inherently "good" or "bad" in their own right—they are simply qualitatively different. They surmise that there are advantages and drawbacks to every lifeprint. Hence it is essential that women attempt to fully understand these costs and benefits so that they can become increasingly empowered to select the one most likely to contribute to their unique sense of well being. Yet, while Baruch et al. espouse a central premise that no one lifeprint can accommodate the needs of all women, a major emphasis of their book is on the benefits accruing to a lifeprint that includes work—particularly in a prestigious occupation.

Today's young women may feel plagued by the choices that face them in their twenties, but as we've seen, if they make challenging work a priority, they are likely to be able to attain well being with or without motherhood. (Ibid., pg. 304)

Baruch et al. noted that when the women were questioned about major regrets in their lives, they most frequently mentioned not pursuing educational goals or making an early career commitment. Very few women specified marriage or children as aspects they would change if they could live their life over again.

Baruch et al. implemented their study using a simple cross sectional design; the informants' ages differed by a range of twenty
years. Hence the study's findings are limited by the potential of confounding history graded influences with age-graded development. Rodgers (1984) has observed that if cross-sectional groups are not stratified by age, and differences are found between informants, these dissimilarities may be related to the informants' age or the particular era of historical time in which they lived. Indeed, Baruch et al. never disclose frequency distributions on the variable age relative to the six groups of women they studied; they only reveal that the total sample ranged in age from 35-55. It could be speculated, for instance, that there were more never married women in the sample who were in their thirties as opposed to their fifties; hence patterns found within this group could be influenced by the social norms under which a younger cohort of the sample had been socialized.

**Farrell and Rosenberg**

Farrell and Rosenberg (1981) focused their attention upon studying one particular period of male development—the transition from young adulthood into early middle age; this is a period which has been characterized by many theorists as a time of turmoil or crisis. The study's design was cross-sectional and utilized a stratified random sample technique for locating a group of 300 older men between the ages of 38 and 48. Farrell and Rosenberg contended that this sample was representative of the U.S. population as a whole in terms of age, household composition, income, education and occupational distribution.
The sampling technique involved identifying neighborhoods that were fairly homogeneous with regard to social class. Within each socio-economic neighborhood, blocks were sampled at random. Trained interviewers approached families within these blocks in order to locate a male who met the age criteria and was willing to be interviewed. The interviewer spent approximately two hours with each man; part of the time was spent interviewing him and, during the remainder of the time, he filled out a questionnaire as well as several behavioral/personality measurement scales. Twenty men and their families were selected from the total sample of 300 in order to conduct in-depth follow-up interviews. A structured interview was scheduled in the researchers' office—first with the whole family present—then the individual family members were interviewed separately. The interviewers also went to the family's home for dinner on one occasion.

Farrell and Rosenberg, sought to analyze their data in such a manner that they could build a tentative model which depicted the life changes experienced by middle aged men in American society. They asserted that this model must both recognize the divergent findings arising from the data, and also provide some order which could guide future research. The model focused upon several internal and external critical life events which appeared to be affecting the men relative to their work, home life and physical condition.

The men were likely to be engaged in the process of measuring their youthful dreams against the reality of what they
had actually become and taking stock of the reduced possibilities which appeared to lie before them. During this process, they assessed which life goals they would attempt to pursue within the limited time still available. Their wives were typically emerging from the constraints of child care and developing a new identity quite unlike the former wife/mother role. Adolescent children were in the process of individuating and were often exhibiting values and behavior antithetical to the father's. Additionally, the man tended to find his own parents becoming increasingly dependent upon him and less of a source of emotional support. These phenomena all clustered around a time when the man was experiencing physical changes or problems that undermined his youthful image of himself.

After analyzing their data, Farrell and Rosenberg identified a typology of response patterns the men adopted in attempting to cope with the above-mentioned internal and external factors impinging upon them at midlife. Thirty-two percent of the men fit a Transcendent Generative Typology. At midlife they were finding adequate solutions to their major problems. Work, marriage, parenthood, family relationships and friendships were regarded as satisfactory, worthwhile experiences. These men tended to come from affluent families.

Twenty-six percent of the men were of a Pseudo-Developed Typology. While attempting to cope by adopting the persona of successful, middle aged men, they were actually suffering from feelings of desperation, loss and confusion. Such men tended to
actively deny the internal and external demands impinging upon them by pretending they had everything under control.

Twelve percent of the men were having a midlife crisis. They reported feeling both overwhelmed and alienated as they exhibited many signs of mental and physical disintegration.

The remaining 30% of the men fit the Punitive Disenchanted Typology. Rather than being in a state of discrete crisis, these individuals had been in a relatively constant state of chronic discontent, upheaval, and unhappiness most of their lives.

Farrell & Ronsenberg's data suggest aspects of both uniformity and uniqueness in the manner their male informants were handling the midlife transition. They observe:

The commonalities in experience reflect, we would argue, the pervasive effects of cultural expectations in shaping men's lives and their self-perceptions. That is, most men strive to conform to a limited range of cultural stereotypes of masculinity. The attempt to shape their lives in accordance with such images tends to become increasingly burdensome, particularly in relationship to work and family....Intertwined with, and often disguised by, this conforming aspect of aging in our culture is the expression of the individual self. The men studied were dealing with their own personal projects, desires, conflicts, and dreams, although they were often able to only partially articulate them. While the content of these individual processes shows much variation, their intrusion into consciousness at midlife was common. (1985, pgs. 205-6)
To summarize, Farrell and Rosenberg's model of male development synthesizes both an organismic and behaviorist psychosocial perspective. Their findings suggested that both a common and idiosyncratic set of issues tended to confront each man at midlife—the order and rate of which varied (Rodgers, 1984). Some of these issues seemed to be biologically determined, while others appeared to have psychological or social origins. By midlife, only a small proportion of men confronted and seemed to resolve these issues while most denied or avoided them.

**Summary of Central Behavioral Psychosocial Ideas**

A key concept shared by many behaviorist theorists is the idea that the timing of life events is a critical factor in shaping patterns of adult development (Neugarten, 1968a; Baltes et al. 1980; Farrell & Rosenberg, 1981; Baruch et al. 1985). Baltes et al. define normative age-graded influences as those variables affecting development that have a fairly strong relationship with chronological age. Neugarten (1976) perceives these events as transpiring along a dimension she names biological time. According to this line of thinking, age norms specify appropriate times for certain life events such as child bearing and retirement. As individuals move through the life cycle, they clock themselves against these age-graded norms and assess whether they are early, on-time or late.

Baltes et al. call unanticipated life events non-normative since they do not occur in any particular chronological, historical, or social
time for most people. Neugarten (Ibid.) has also observed a somewhat similar class of events which she designates as occurring off-time in that they occur at the wrong time or are completely unanticipated. Because normative on-time life events are anticipated, they rarely precipitate a crisis. Rather, it is the non-normative or off-time/unanticipated events for which the individual is wholly unprepared which are the most likely to generate a crisis (Neugarten, 1968a; Baltes et al. 1980; Baruch et al. 1985).

Behavioral theorists believe that life event variables play a critical role in shaping human development because they have their own attributes (such as timing) which combine with mediating factors (such as sex role orientation) that influence individual responses. Behaviorists believe that it is the behavioral change—resulting from adaptation to these life events, as mediated by biological, psychological and contextual factors—which accounts for life-span development (Neugarten, 1968b; Baltes et al. 1980; Farrell & Rosenberg, 1981).

Some behaviorists are concerned with the optimization of developmental processes in the human life course and from this perspective life events become targets for enhancement efforts aimed at helping individuals increase their coping abilities (Baltes et al., 1980; Baruch et al. 1985, Danish, 1981). The idea here is that individual's can be educated about the nature of on-time critical life events in such a manner that they can not only anticipate them, but intentionally cope with them at the point they occur. For the most
part, behaviorists believe that, as an individual gains success in coping with critical life events, his/her competency improves. This develops the individual's capacity to anticipate and successfully cope with a wider range of environmental demands.

Many of the behaviorists have noted that men and women often confront different life events (or the same events but during different points in the life cycle) and utilize different coping patterns to resolve them (Neugarten, 1968b; Farrell & Rosenberg, 1981; Baruch et al. 1985). Neugarten (1976) observes that men and women experience a different emphasis in the context of the critical life events they encounter—men in relation to their careers and women in relation to the family. Neugarten (Ibid.) and Baruch et al. concur that women approaching mid-life are rarely concerned about their health to the extent that men are. Baruch et al observe that, unlike men, middle aged women are not preoccupied with a concern that time is running out.

Behaviorists emphasize the point that developmental change in individuals must be considered within the context of the prevailing social norms of the day as well as the historical time in which one lives. Along these lines Baruch et al. note the importance of the women's movement in today's woman gaining augmented levels of freedom to explore the Mastery side of life. Hence the behaviorists are preoccupied with cultural context as it impacts upon determining the social learnings of a particular birth cohort. Rodgers (1984) has observed that, while organismic stage theorists
also incorporate social learnings in their theories, they are accorded secondary status.

Psychosocial behaviorists support multicausal conceptions of development and describe life-span changes as taking many divergent forms in terms time extension, directionality, and interindividual variability (Neugarten, 1968d; Baltes et al. 1980; Farrell and Rosenberg, 1981; Baruch et al. 1985). Baltes et al. have formulated a multicausal and interactive model to depict this aspect of human life-span development. Neugarten (1976) emphasizes the fact that multicausal interactive time perspectives must be considered in tracing patterns of human adaptation and developmental change. Baruch et al. observe a multicausal patterning of lifeprints among women resulting from diversified lifestyle choices. Farrell & Rosenberg's research led them to propose several styles of male response to the stresses of middle age. Rather than finding a single universal developmental course, they identified four paths.

By way of summarizing, there are a few key issues around which the organismic and behavioristic theorists disagree. The organismic theorists interweave internal psychological meaning making with the biological aging process (giving external life events--such as social learning or historical contexts--only minor emphasis) to fashion a nomothetic framework comprised of developmental stages, tasks, crises and coping skills--all of which emphasize shared developmental rhythms and patterns.
The behavioral theorists depict an idiographic framework which accentuates the role of critical life events in shaping highly variable patterns of human development. Critical life events are typically external in nature and interact with may other internal and external influences. The behaviorists believe that non-normative life events cause adult development to proceed along highly idiosyncratic—rather than similar—lines. Neugarten (1979) describes this process as individual fanning out. From an organismic perspective, external critical life events may be important, but it is believed that their examination will not explain development; one must focus on the underlying organizing structure of an epigenetic stage framework to which life events contribute (Hultsch & Plemons, 1979).

Organismic theorists describe developmental change taking place by way of internal forces (biological and psychological) colliding with external events in such a manner as to trigger a pre-programmed crisis in the life of an individual. The crisis heralds the onset of a new developmental stage with attendant developmental tasks which must be favorably resolved before the next stage commences. The behaviorists see development change taking place through an individual's confrontation with and adaptation to an array of critical life events which are primarily external in origin; these events are mediated by biological, psychological and contextual factors. An individual's attempts to cope with life events may precipitate highly divergent
interindividual developmental outcomes--particularly if they are non-normative.

Summary of Theories Exploring Women's Patterns of Psychosocial Development

Studies which have addressed women's patterns of psychosocial development are usually treated as interesting curiosities or anecdotes to the major life-span theories which have already been presented. Hence, within the temporal ordering of this literature review, the lesser renowned studies which spotlight women's patterns of psychosocial development are situated where they are usually found--at the end of the major lines of theoretical discourse.

Rubin (1979) conducted life history interviews with 160 middle aged women aged 35 to 54. The women who participated in her study were from various socioeconomic strata and had divergent educational backgrounds. What they shared in common was they had all given up jobs or careers they had developed in their young adult years to devote themselves to full time mothering and housewifery tasks for at least a decade. Rubin's analysis focused on the experiences these women shared--women who had made marriage and motherhood their primary life occupation.

The "empty nest" syndrome and the despondency it engenders for middle aged women has been widely discussed in the literature (Campbel et al., 1976; Lowenthal, 1975; Radloff, 1975). However, the majority of Rubin's informant's greeted the departure of their children from the home with a sense of relief rather than
regret. Many of them did feel some guilt over not experiencing the culturally prescribed depression which is supposed to accompany finding the nest empty. One of Rubin's informants confided:

I felt terrible when I didn't feel bad enough when the last of my children left. I'd walk around wondering, 'What kind of a mother are you?' (1979, pg. 25)

Rubin posits that this finding suggests an enormous complexity in the interaction between cultural expectations, their internalization, and personal experience.

Rubin suggests that it is not the departure of the children that makes middle age a stressful time for women. Rather, it is coming to terms with the existential question of who they are apart from their role as mother and considering what they will do to meaningfully engage their remaining years. Rubin found that, for the majority of the women who returned to school or the work force at midlife, the experience of being employed outside the home heralded a profoundly different sense of self. These women reported differences such as an unaccustomed sense of freedom, independence, competence, and the heightened sense of their own value. For those who chose to remain a homemaker, many found it a painful struggle to keep busy through a seemingly endless series of days. Rubin concluded that being employed—even in even a routine job—had numerous advantages over remaining in the home once the woman's children had departed.

Stewart (1977) closely adapted Levinson's (1978) work in her dissertation which explored the psychosocial development of eleven
women in their mid-thirties (Stewart was Levinson's student at the time). Stewart utilized a case study approach. The effects of the Dream, a Significant Man, and a Mentor—key concepts in Levinson's theory—were specific targets of her investigation. Women who married and established families in their early twenties did not tend to have mentors. Furthermore, rather than forging their own dream, they assisted their marriage partner in actualizing his dream. The less traditionally oriented informants who had forged a serious career commitment in their early twenties followed a developmental path similar to the men in Levinson's study. They were pursing a Dream that they were struggling to actualize and they sought older, more experienced mentors.

She stipulated that in general her findings supported Levinson's general premise:

for women as well as men, the formation of the early adult life structure evolves through four age-related, adult developmental periods beginning at approximately age 18 and continuing through the mid-thirties. (1977, p. 132)

However, Stewart did qualify this finding by noting that the life directions of the women she studied were a good deal less linear than the life directions of the men in Levinson's study. Her informants displayed greater variability in the order in which they resolved specific developmental tasks. Stewart speculated that this variability was linked to the women's role choice as it pertained to marriage, bearing children, pursing a career, or remaining single.
Furthermore, the results of her study indicate that the formation of a satisfactory, early adult life structure is a more complex and difficult task for women than men. She attributed this finding to the fact that:

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traditionally female goals are devalued in the culture, while at the same time, women are severely sanctioned for not succeeding at them (Ibid., p. 135).
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These qualifications suggest the need for elaboration and modification of certain aspects of Levinson's (1978) theory if it is to be used to address women's patterns of life-span development.

Sales (1978) also explored the stages of women's life cycle through Levinson's (1978) framework. Against the backdrop of his framework, she attempted to speculate about issues which were either unique or central to women.

During the stage she named "Young Adulthood" which spanned the years 18 to 21, Sales notes that most women maintain a tentativeness in their quest for personal identity. Their socialization has emphasized marriage as their central adult role with other activities subordinate to, and contingent on, their future family obligations. Sales contends that a woman's sense of identity—in terms of forging early career commitments—is less clearly defined than a man's. She attributes this to a woman's tendency to wait for marriage to provide the defining context of her life. She notes that women who deviate from this pattern by aggressively pursuing work rather than relational goals risk social criticism for the inappropriateness of their sex-role behavior.
Sale's next stage, "Choosing Life Roles", spans the ages of 22 to 24. This stage is characterized by the woman's initial engagement in adult roles. In traditional marriages, the husband enmeshes himself in outside work while the woman channels her energy into the home. Sales notes that, when the married woman chooses to work outside the home she must juggle the role demands of her career along with domestic responsibilities.

Sales observes that Levinson collapses the years spanning 22 to 29 into a single stage which is characterized by forging provisional commitments. She notes that many women are fully immersed in their maternal roles during this period. Sales names this stage "Role Completion" noting that the birth of a child not only plunges a woman into a pivotal new role; it also restructures her entire role constellation. Sales provides numerous examples of such role changes. New mothers frequently report experiencing a sense of exhaustion as they care for their small children. Additionally, the energy they have to share with their spouses diminishes. Likewise, they often find they have less time for friends and leisure activities.

Sales stipulates that the late twenties will likely find childless women still intensely involved with their mates. Yet, women who are childless by choice may encounter considerable pressure on the part of family and friends to end their deviant status. While women who are successful in their professional careers may be somewhat insulated from these pressures, they are often anxious that their years of potential childbearing are diminishing.
Sales notes that the excitement of achieving adult status and participating in work, marriage, and family roles subsides by the end of a woman's twenties. She enters a new stage of development sales names "Readjustment" which lasts until the mid-thirties. Sales contends that this constitutes a transition period which may assume crisis proportions. As children grow, women often confront the fact that their early socialization for the role of mother had not prepared them for its short-term centrality. Furthermore, women who attempt to reestablish careers terminated when they began to bear children frequently experience difficulties. Outdated skills may restrict their opportunities to find rewarding work.

Yet, despite such difficulties, many women manage to extricate themselves from family-centered role definitions of themselves. Sales purports that for many women, growth during this stage of the life cycle means shifting numerous polarities: dependence to independence, passivity to activity, and compliance to assertion. A woman's bid for autonomy usually draws her away from the home which may create resentment on the part of her spouse and children. To further complicate her efforts at establishing an identity outside of the home, the woman often feels guilty that she is neglecting her family.

Sales calls the stage which begins its ascent in the mid-thirties "Becoming One's Own Person." This is a stage during which women reach a clarity about their future life direction. Commitments deepen and lose their provisional character, the woman constructs a
stable life-style which reflects established priorities, and goals established for the future are pursued with zest.

The next stage ascends as a crisis in the woman's life and spans the years 44 to 47; Sales names this stage "Mid-Life Crisis." The crisis is fueled by the feeling that time is running out and it evokes a sense of pressure to make the most of her remaining years. As women examine how their lives have evolved so far, they may rethink priorities and past role involvements. Stagnant marriages and unrewarding work may be discarded if more attractive options become available.

Sales observes that the loss of childbearing capacity often occurs close to the point at which child-rearing functions also cease. If the woman has internalized a belief that reproduction and motherhood constitute her only meaningful contributions to the world, the loss of these roles may erode her sense of self-esteem. But Sales notes that, rather than mourning her empty nest, many women have already expanded into new roles by this time and eagerly use their new freedom from maternal roles to develop their own interests.

Sales stipulates that the successful resolution of the midlife crisis creates a stable structure for the stage that follows which encompasses the years 48 to 60. She calls it "Mellowing". Having fulfilled society's expectations for child-rearing, women now are free to develop a more self-directed role. Couples at this point may become more extensively reinvested in each other as the child rearing responsibilities subside. During this stage, women typically
assume a more dominant role in marital decision making. They also frequently experience a decreased sense of dependency on their husbands and tend to develop an augmented sense of self-direction.

In their critique of contemporary research and theory of women's development, Barnett et al. (1978) and Scarf (1983) were less willing than Stewart and Sales to consider the appropriateness of Levinson's age-graded stage theory as a possible model for reflecting upon women's lives. Baruch et al. note:

problems of fit occur with respect to Levinson's theory...He views one's twenties as a time for entering marriage and the world of work; and one's thirties as a time for establishing oneself in these arenas. Toward 40 there is reconsideration of one's commitments and often attempts to free oneself from a previously central mentor, the famous BOOM phenomenon--becoming one's own man.

It is hard to know how to think of women within this theory--a woman may not enter the world of work until her late thirties, she seldom had had a mentor, and even women with life-long career commitments rarely are in a position to reassess their commitment pattern by age 40. (1978, p. 189)

Barnett & Baruch argue that Levinson's model, which conceptualizes adult development as proceeding linearly through a series of stages, is more reflective of the male experience.

They contend that if theorists began with a data base that included the variations of women's lives, it is unlikely that chronological age would surface as the central, organizing variable.
They believe that chronologically aged referenced theories, such as Levinson's, fail to depict the varying role patterns a woman may occupy which result from her choices about career, marriage and child-bearing. They posit that the timing of a woman's commitment to a particular role pattern has far-reaching ramifications for affecting the configuration of her later life experiences. They note that, independent of role pattern, the stage of a woman's family life cycle—whether she has young children, grown children or no children—will likewise have a powerful impact upon her pattern of life-span development.

Using a life history case study approach, Scarf (1983) conducted a study which explored the kinds of psychosocial issues, concerns and difficulties which preoccupy women over their life-span. She found that women seemed to share certain developmental patterns during childhood and adolescence, but showed much greater variability when they reached adulthood. Scarf posits that, during childhood, there is a sense that the road leading into adulthood is full of limitless possibility. Fantasies abound about the potential futures which lie ahead when one becomes "a big person." Adolescence is a time of mourning and fear. The mourning is for the loss of childhood and the fear is about about one's ability to separate from parents and survive in the outside world. She surmises that this mourning serves as a intrapsychic wound-healing process. She further elaborates:

true mourning ends with what is called internalization, a 'taking in' of the person who
has been lost to us...If all has gone well, or reasonably well, we aren't empty inside; we are filled with those parental presences. Just as their voices once came from outside, directing us and telling us what to do...we now experience them from inside. This is what makes it possible for us to leave, to make our own way in the world. For should an unknown set of circumstances arise there will be an authority-within to refer to (Ibid., p. 32)

Scarf posits that, during the teenage years, the adolescent is beginning the process of detaching from first love-bonds and seeking other replacement relationships.

The twenties are a time of making first choices and solidifying commitments which give shape to the congealing form of adulthood. As this shape solidifies, the omnipotent dreams of childhood shrink to their actualized size. Lost too, is the sense that time is endlessly abundant. There is a pressure to get on with life choices and prove oneself in the adult arena. The commitments one makes begin to feel increasingly serious. While there is a pressure to forge the commitments which will shape adult life, there is also a dawning awareness that the wrong choices carry consequences.

Scarf stipulates that if you look at women's lives as they progress through adulthood, they rarely unfold in a predictable, nomothetic fashion. She observes:

On the contrary, their unfolding selfhood seems to occur in cycles, or phases, rather than in a movement forward, or in a single direction. If you look at where a woman has been, and what her major goals have been in different ten-year segments of her life, you'll
often find sudden discontinuities, surprises—and frequently astonishing ingenuity and invention! There's far more shifting of direction, of moving off in a new way to make up for time lost, and of returning, later in life, to goals and preoccupations that have been abandoned earlier (Ibid., p. 248)

Scarf concludes that when you look at women's patterns of adult development, there is little evidence that they progress through an orderly age-graded series of epigenetically wired stages and tasks.

Drawing upon her clinical practice, Leonard (1983) has developed a Jungian based theory of women's psychosocial development. She proposes that women's psychosocial functioning is frequently impaired. Leonard has traced the root of the injury to a damaged relationship with the father. She observes: "They may have been wounded by a bad relation to their personal father, or wounded by the patriarchal society which itself functions like a poor father, culturally devaluing the worth of women" (Ibid., p. 3). Leonard contends that whether the father/daughter wound occurs on the personal or cultural level, it is a pivotal issue confronting most women today. She surmises,

We bear the influences of our parents, but we are not fated to remain merely products of our parents. There is in the psyche, according to Jung, a natural healing process which moves toward balance and wholeness. In the psyche also are natural patterns of behavior which he called archetypes which are available to serve as inner models, even when outer models are absent or unsatisfactory (Ibid., p. 22).
Leonard concludes that in order to recover from the wounds sustained by being enmeshed in patriarchal systems, it is necessary for women to actively seek to explore "the developmental influences that have affected them personally, culturally, and spiritually" (Ibid., p. 11).

**Theorizing About Women's Lives**

Tetreault (1985) has developed a model which identifies phases of conceptualization common in formulating theories about women's lives. The first phase, male scholarship, excludes women at the data collection and/or theory building level. The work of Valiant (1977), Levinson (1978), and Farrell & Rosenberg (1981) falls into this tradition of scholarship.

Phase two represents the level of compensatory scholarship wherein there is a recognition that women's voices are missing from the texts produced by male scholarship. This awareness initiates a search to see if women's experiences can be accurately framed by the theories which have emerged from masculine forms of scholarship. Gilligan (1982) observes that, because masculine scholarship has been generated on the basis of men's studies of each other, women frequently reveal themselves to be different when their lives are focused through these schemata. When women present different descriptions and explanations of their world, it is sometimes seen not as a problem of theory, but as a problem of women's developmental inferiority. Stewart (1977) and Sales (1978) studies exemplify compensatory styles of scholarship.
Phase three thinking about women is described as bifocal scholarship wherein women and men are each dichotomized by gender. Gender is believed to inscribe individuals with different values and imaginings of the human condition and different patterns of life-span development. Within the context of this mode of scholarship, an emphasis is placed on exploring male/female differences. Although it lies outside the domain of psychosocial theory, Gilligan's (1977; 1980a; 1980b; 1982) inquiry into women's patterns of cognitive development is a good example of bifocal inquiry. Baruch, Barnett and River's (1985) work and Neugarten's (1976) inquiry are other examples of phase three scholarship occurring within the psychosocial literature base.

Some scholars have posited that generalizing about a group as vast and diverse as women have led to inaccuracies as research findings invariably uncover groups of women who do not fit the gender norms (Barnett & Baruch, 1978; Baruch, Barnett & Rivers, 1985). This has precipitated the emergence of a phase four, or feminist, level of scholarship focusing upon the particulars of women's everyday lives. This more idiographic orientation accentuates both the contextual and the personal. Tetreault notes, "What was formerly devalued, the content of women's everyday lives, assumes new value as scholars investigate female rituals, housework, childbearing, child-rearing, female sexuality, female friendship, and studies of the life cycle" (1985, p. 374). A marked difference in this type of inquiry is that it fosters a pluralistic rather than a monolithic conceptualization of women. Phase four
inquiry is frequently implemented in order to "shed light upon societies' perceptions of women and women's perceptions of themselves" (Ibid., p. 375). While lying outside the psychosocial literature base, the work of Patai (1988a; 1988b) and Blenke et al. (1986) provide examples of phase four scholarship. The research of Leonard (1983), Scarf (1983), and Kotre (1984) are examples of phase four scholarship within the psychosocial literature base.

Tetreault delineates a final phase five--or multifocal level of scholarship--which focuses upon the nodal points where men and women's experiences intersect. She notes, "This new relationship leads to a recentering of knowledge in the disciplines, a shift from a male-centered perspective to one placing women at the center of their own knowledge" (1985, p. 376).

The following study is situated in all of the first four phases of scholarship delineated by Tetreault. It attempts to explore how these diverse ways of theorizing about women's lives can be used to provide a multiplicity of perspectives which inform and balance each other.
CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

Focus of the Inquiry

The study attempted to provide a rich, comprehensive description of the life histories of two women. Praxis-oriented poststructural methodology was then employed in such a manner that the women's lives and voices could be used to generate grounded psychosocial theories. Consideration was then given to the ways in which the grounded and a priori psychosocial theories could be used to inform each other.

Research Methods

Life-span development researchers are limited by the lack of a wide array of research designs which are capable of preserving the context of the phenomena under investigation over an extended period of time. The method I utilized for data collection was the ethnographic life history interview which was directed toward reconstructing the informants' rendering of their whole lives from earliest memories to present.

Merriam & Simpson (1984) note that the process of conducting a multiple case study consists of several steps, the first of which is
the selection of the "cases" to be analyzed. The selection is done purposefully, not randomly; that is particular people are selected because they possess qualities and exhibit characteristics of interest to the researcher.

The next step is to collect the data. In addition to life history interviews, a wide range of data-collection techniques can be used by the case study researcher: grounded surveys, interviews, observations and document analysis are the most common. As information from these sources is being collected, the researcher begins organizing, and classifying the data into manageable units. The data organization procedure is typically inductive and results in the continuous uncovering and aggregation of new categories and concepts. Merriam & Simpson (Ibid.) observe that these aggregated observations can also be ordered deductively by using pre-existing theoretical concepts as organizers.

Donmoyer (1987) has suggested that, while it is not appropriate to use case studies to illustrate a theory, it is legitimate to utilize them as a means to supplement theory-driven inquiry. Donmoyer (Ibid.) notes that all theory, by definition, is general and abstract, and case studies can serve to add depth and dimension to theoretical ideas. He concurs with Merriam & Simpson (1984) that theoretical constructs can be used as tools to structure the organization of the inquiry but cautions that the case study method should not use theory to abstract and simplify observations. Rather, case studies should serve to provide the thick detail which reinstates a degree of complexity to the over-simplifications
theories inevitably create. Hence a priori theory may become a means for initially framing and organizing the case studies but it is not meant to be the end into which the details must finally fit (Lather, 1986; Donmoyer, 1987, 1988).

I understood the importance of continually acknowledging and simultaneously questioning the opposing psychosocial viewpoints which were brought to bear on the study. Hence, I collected the data by conducting a series of unstructured interviews which were interspersed with structured interviews. The raw data emerging from the unstructured interviews then underwent inductive analysis. That is, the raw data provided refined, more finely tuned organizers from which theory at the idiosyncratic (micro) level emerged and was grounded (Lather, 1986). The structured interview questions were grounded in prominent a priori psychosocial theoretical frameworks. These questions helped me to deductively explore the ways in which a priori theory served to illuminate or distort particular lives.

Writing the case study narrative constituted the last step in the process. The narrative's aim was to produce a highly readable description, which was designed to "take the reader into the case situation, a person's life" (Patton, 1975, p. 314). Spradley (1979) contends that describing cultural history is the pivotal task of ethnographic case studies, and it is represents a first step taken toward understanding the human species. Each culture provides people with a way of seeing the world; anthropologists refer to this as being "culture bound." Ethnography often seeks to document the
existence of alternative realities and to describe these realities in
the informant's own terms. Spradley (Ibid.) contends that, to this
end, ethnography:

provides descriptions that explore the range
of explanatory models constructed by human
beings. It can serve as a beacon that shows
the culture-bound nature of social science
theories. It says to all investigators of
human behavior, 'Before you impose your
theories on the people you study, find out
how those people define their world.' ...And
as we come to understand personality,
society, individuals, and environments from
the perspective of other than the
professional scientific cultures, it will lead to
a sense of epistemological humility; we
become aware of the tentative nature of our
theories and this enables us to revise them
and be less ethnocentric. (Ibid., pg. 11)

The strengths of the ethnographic life history case study
approach are that it offers large amounts of rich, detailed
information about a unity or phenomenon and it often reveals
important variables or hypotheses that help structure further
research (Merriam & Simpson, 1984). It also adds depth and
dimension to the abstractions that theory driven inquiry invariably
inspires (Donmoyer, 1987).

Donmoyer (1988) observes that richly written case studies
possess several unique attributes: 1) they take readers to places
(such as exotic cultures) and individuals (who can serve as models)
which a reader could not normally access; 2) they provide the
reader with the opportunity to expand his/her abstract
understanding of an ideal or theoretical type of phenomena by encountering the novelty, complexity and depth of a particular case; and 3) they allow readers to look at the world through the researcher's eyes (and particular theoretical framework) and are thereby provided an opportunity to make novel cognitive accommodations from a basis of enriched theoretical understanding.

Armstrong (1984) acknowledges that life history case studies serve additional purposes: 1) they may help balance the researcher's etic structured "outsider's" view with an emic oriented "insider's" view; and 2) they help to deal with the fact that while the knowledge about how to behave as a member of a particular culture is shared, and must be if orderly social life is to be maintained, it is shared only to a degree. Finally, positivistic research designs are directed toward the stripping away of contexts, as variables are isolated from their natural settings and then observed under controlled conditions (Mishler, 1979). Conversely, life history case studies are equipped to reconstruct the context of the events they seek to explore.

Patai (1988a; 1988b) has critiqued the ethnographic life history case study approach along the dimension of ethical problems accruing to the structural inequalities typically existing between the researcher and the researched. The researcher/researched asymmetry is clearly marked by the different level of self-disclosure that the researcher typically expects to elicit in the informant and the level of self-disclosure they themselves are willing to make. Patai (1988a) notes that the
researcher expects to extract revelations from their informants which usually only occur in situations of great intimacy and within the private realm. The interviewee often leaves the interview situation having revealed much about herself, but having learned little about the researcher.

Patai (Ibid.) observes that even though informants agree to participate in case studies and often appear to derive satisfaction from the experience, the fact remains that it is the researcher who is using the informant for their project. These projects frequently have professional and publishing goals in mind which makes them an economic matter. And it is the researcher who usually has access to the publishing keys and authoritative voice which will transform the spoken word into a marketable commodity. Richardson (1988) similarly notes that, because of this differential access to publishing keys and authoritative voice, the researcher is in a prime position to colonize, overgeneralize and distort the informant's life story.

Fit of Paradigm to Focus

A paradigm has been defined as: a disciplinary matrix in which theorizing is conducted (Popp, 1975); as such it provides the researcher with a world view, a general perspective, a way of organizing complexity and a set of basic assumptions (Patton, 1975; 1980). The concept of a paradigm directs attention to the fact that scientists have constellations of commitments, questions, and procedures that undergird and give direction to their work
Paradigms serve to influence what researchers see as well as what they do not see (Donmoyer, 1988). Maguire (1987) suggests that the power of a paradigm is that it shapes, in nearly unconscious and thus unquestioned ways, perceptions and practices within entire disciplines. It has been observed that, in American research circles, scientists are routinely socialized into the acceptance of a positivistic paradigm which structures their research perspective relative to what is considered important, legitimate, and reasonable.

I was of the opinion that my paradigmatic choice must ultimately rest on the justification that it represented the most adequate alternative for framing the particular purposes of the inquiry. For this reason, I selectively blended aspects of praxis-oriented emancipatory and poststructural deconstructive inquiry approaches to produce a hybrid paradigm of my own which guided the direction of this study. The praxis component of this paradigm served as an interruptive strategy of displacement in order to multiply the sites from which resistance to relations of dominance could take hold (Lather, 1989). The poststructural aspect encouraged me to develop a measure of self-reflexivity that would underscore the ways in which I perpetuate conditions of dominance despite my praxis-oriented, emancipatory intentions (Lather 1986; 1989).

Praxis-oriented inquiry is committed to understanding and foregrounding the ways in which paradigms, epistemologies, methodologies, and methods perpetuate the unequal distribution of
power between the researcher and the researched (Lather, 1986). It is committed to finding ways to dislodge and shift this disparate allocation of power in order to create a more democratic forum for the collaborative exploration of research issues (Ibid.).

The central purpose of praxis-oriented emancipatory research is to empower the oppressed to come to understand, and thereby change, their own oppressive realities (Ibid.). Praxis-oriented empirical projects are frequently situated in contexts where the researcher has identified informants who can be operationally defined, a priori, as being disadvantaged in some particular way. Such disadvantaged informants are often represented as the carriers of false consciousness—commonsensical ways of looking at the world that perpetuate and sustain their lack of power within the dominant culture (Ibid.). The researcher's role is to find ways to expose this false consciousness so the dispossessed research participants can become empowered to change their situation.

A poststructural world view proposes that reality is subjectively constructed rather than objectively found. As such, reality can assume an infinite number of constructions. Hence poststructuralists hold the position that there can be no final knowledge (Lather, 1988). They are particularly interested in deconstructing the ways in which "our theories and practices of meaning making shape cultural life" (Ibid., p. 11). Poststructuralism encourages self-reflexivity, particularly as it relates to contemplating our theoretical stances and interpretive frameworks. Poststructural approaches to inquiry also advocate the use of
methods which will support a dialogic, multi-voiced discourse that will provide a range of interpretations and a multiplicity of perspectives from which to view our constructed realities (Ibid.).

The emancipatory purpose undergirding praxis research can be critiqued from a poststructuralist framework. Such a poststructural critique quickly punctuates the impositional, top-down nature of all emancipatory research projects aimed at liberating others (Lather, 1989). While not eliminating this criticism, I have narrowed its scope by choosing to restrict my praxis-focus to the research situation itself. This is to say, I did not purposely seek out informants I defined as disadvantaged or disenfranchised in some intrinsic way. Rather, I saw both my informants and myself as disadvantaged by the circumstance that the dominant research paradigm of positivistic inquiry appeared to be maladapted for serving the purposes of this project. This is because positivism is undergirded by epistemological commitments which produce and sustain structural inequalities between the researcher and researched. One example is the positivistic tradition of hierarchically structuring the relationship between the researcher and researched in such a way that the inquirer maintains control of the project.

I used praxis as a methodological tool for becoming sensitized to the ways in which positivistic methods and methodologies perpetuate structural inequalities which sustain power imbalances within the research context. I recognized that I was the agenda setter in using the methodology for this purpose. While recognizing
that the study was driven by my own purposes, I was simultaneously attempting to open up possibilities for collaboration.

To the extent I managed to raise some of the structural inequalities which sustain power imbalances within the research context to the level of consciousness, I tried to interrupt and displace them with antithetical methods and oppositional methodologies. For example, I sought to conduct the interviews in a dialogic manner which would support reciprocal self-disclosures and meaning making efforts (Lather, 1986). I tried to negotiate meaning by collaboratively building empirically grounded theory (Ibid.). I attempted to use the research process as a "forum in which to test the usefulness, the resonance of conceptual and theoretical formulations" (Ibid., p. 266) with the lived experience. I engaged in these types of activities in an attempt to create an alternative space from which to situate the project which would be better equipped to resist relations of structural dominance.

As this project unfolded, I continually adopted an open-ended poststructuralist "wait and see attitude" as to what outcomes our efforts would yield. I hoped one result would be that our approach would prove emancipatory—in the sense of freeing the informants and myself from traditional research roles and thereby creating an alternative space which would support new ways of understanding. But I was not so naive as to believe that our methods would guarantee this end result.

Hence, this praxis-oriented poststructuralist paradigmatic approach served an overlapping function whereby different
Methodologies were used in tandem in an effort to create an overarching framework capable of addressing some of the limitations of the individual methodologies (Guba, 1981). This is to say that praxis and poststructural methodologies were teamed in such a way that the weakness of one could be compensated to some extent by the strengths of the other.

Poststructuralism underscored the necessity for self-reflexivity which would foreground the ways in which I contributed to perpetuating conditions of dominance despite my liberating, praxis-oriented intentions. This emphasis on the need for self-reflection helped me confront the limits of my own emancipatory claims (Simon & Dippo, 1986). Poststructuralism also problematized the praxis-oriented notion of exposing false consciousness, "for such a concept assumes a true consciousness accessible via 'correct' theory and practice" (Hall's study cited in Lather, 1988, p. 12).

Lather (1989) notes that poststructuralism has been criticized along the lines that it fosters a sense of nihilism, relativism, political irresponsibility and that it is especially dangerous for those who are marginalized. Praxis is openly ideological, highly value based and politically driven. It seeks to provide the marginalized with a means to understand the ways in which dominant forms of discourse perpetuate their condition of marginality. Hence, praxis helped me vivify and make commitments within the context of a highly relativistic poststructural philosophy. Praxis also became a cogent interrupting strategy within a poststructuralist framework that encouraged the use of displacement tactics which attempted:
to intervene in ongoing movements, to keep things in process, to disrupt, to keep the system in play, to set up procedures to continuously demystify the realities we create, to fight the tendency for our categories to congeal. (Ibid., p. 3)

Poststructuralism became a potent tool serving to critique the interjecting voice of praxis thereby interrupting both "dominant and alternative academic discourses that serve...classist power relations" (Ellsworth cited in Lather, 1988, p. 13). Hence a poststructuralist philosophy helped me remain uncongealed and reflective about what it meant to do empirical research that was undergirded by praxis-oriented philosophical commitments.

Paradigms and Purpose

Many meanings have been attached to the term positivism (Phillips, 1983; Eisner 1983; Smith, 1983; Donmoyer, 1985; Lincoln & Guba, 1985), yet one basic assumption tends to pervade these meanings: the social and natural sciences are believed to have similar purposes, namely, the discovery of lawful cause and effect regularities that are generalizable across contexts which will serve as the basis for prediction. To this end, large samples are sought in an effort to subsume idiosyncrasies and reveal generalizable laws.

Science is believed to be a linguistic system in which true propositions are in one-to-one correspondence with facts anchored in a single, tangible reality which exists independent of the scientist's knowledge of it. The scientist, as both observer and language-user, can capture the external facts of this reality in propositions that are true if they correspond to the facts and false if
they do not. This process of conducting scientific inquiry is a value neutral activity. Such value free inquiry is guaranteed by the objectivity of the researcher's methods. The researcher is regarded as standing apart from the object under investigation and possessing the ability to use scientific methods to experiment and theorize about that phenomena objectively and dispassionately. The tangible object being investigated can be fragmented into discrete variables which represent separable parts of an interacting system, any of which can be studied independently of the others (Popkewitz, 1984; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). It is believed that scientists working independently of each other should be able to observe a given phenomenon and see the same thing. The observer and the object of investigation constitute a discrete dualism and the ways in which the two interact and influence each other can be controlled through the researcher's methods.

Such viewpoints have had a long history of critics. Although these critics have used many different labels for describing their alternative paradigms, I will use the term "post-positivism" to refer to those alternative approaches to inquiry which challenge positivistic traditions. Post-positivistic researchers suggest that the historical and social contexts in which human beings function change continuously and are overwhelmingly complex. Such inquirers have posited that a science of human behavior is unattainable if it is based on the search for predictive, generalized laws which govern context dependent, multiple constructed realities (Cronbach, 1975; Louch, 1969; Winch, 1958; Gergen, 1973; Mishler
Reality is considered to be a product of the human mind; as such it can assume an infinite number of constructions, and no amount of inquiry can produce convergence upon one singularly true construction (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Maguire, 1987). Hence it is conjectured that the social sciences must be descriptive or explanatory as opposed to predictive and must concentrate on interpretive understanding (Smith, 1983).

Interactions continually transpire between investigator and the object of study; thus observation not only disturbs and shapes but is shaped by what is observed (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). It has been argued that positivism can only be conceptually applied to situations in which the researcher can control confounding variables (Eisner, 1983). This becomes an impossible mission for the social scientist due to the circumstance that social phenomena are in a continual state of mutual, simultaneous shaping which makes it difficult to distinguish causes from effects—or between independent and dependent variables (Mishler, 1979; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Finally, inquiry is believed to be value bound in numerous ways: by the observer's values as expressed in the choice of a problem; by the choice of paradigm used to frame, bound, and focus that problem; by the choice of the substantive theory utilized to guide the collection and analysis of data; and by the interpretation of findings (Lather, 1983, 1986; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Sentiments of this nature have precipitated the proliferation of post-positivist
paradigms which are based upon alternative epistemological commitments (Lather, 1986).

The provocative lines of post-positivist thought have unsettled many social science positivists who have encountered disappointing and conflicting results in their empirically based efforts to tease law-like predictive generalizations out of their data. Some positivists find they can no longer hail the experimental design as "the only available route to cumulative progress", the "basic language of proof," and the "only decision court for disagreement between rival theories" (Campbell & Stanley, 1963, pg. 3). Yet such dispirited positivists may well pose the question: as alternative post-positivist research paradigms proliferate, what criteria will the researcher use to select from the possible alternatives (Donmoyer, 1985)?

Donmoyer (Ibid.) proposes that the reason most paradigmatic disputes in the social sciences can not be resolved by experimental "decision courts" is that they involve questions of the meaning of phenomena rather than truth. Donmoyer offers the following illustration:

Few people would disagree with the proposition that schools should promote learning, but the term learning will mean different things to a kindergarten teacher influenced by Piaget, a process-product researcher, an art teacher who wants to promote productive idiosyncrasy, and a parent who wants the schools to go back to basics. Each of these meanings reflects a different conception of what learning is and
what teaching ought to be. Each can be said to reflect a different paradigm of reality. (Ibid. pg. 6)

According to the positivists, questions of truth are questions of correspondence; what is true corresponds to reality, and truth is based on the idea that reality exists independent of the researcher.

From a post-positivist perspective, the observer's point of view is intertwined with the object of investigation which possesses multiple realities (rather than a singular reality) each of which may be revealed by a shift in paradigm, purpose or meaning (Mishler, 1979). Pap (1963) and Donmoyer (1985) contend that questions of meaning precede questions of truth as they involve queries about what paradigmatic language should be used to frame propositions about the world. Donmoyer (Ibid.) surmises that it is only after questions of meaning have been settled that the "truth" or "falsity" of the propositions they frame can be empirically assessed. Even so, the empirical assessment of settled meanings is unlikely to permanently resolve paradigmatic disputes for, as Eisner (1983) has observed, "the history of science is riddled with settled disputes that become unsettled" (Ibid., pg 23).

Donmoyer (1985) stipulates that questions of meaning connect the researcher to the researched through paradigmatic languages or interpretative frameworks which are neither empirically true or false--they are merely more or less adequate to deal with particular purposes they serve. Thus, questions of meaning are ultimately questions about purposeful paradigmatic language selection (Ibid.). The researcher who is employing a particular paradigmatic and
methodological framework is reminded that "the meaning selected will influence the researcher's findings at least as much as the empirical reality being described or the sophistication of the research procedures employed" (Donmoyer, 1988, pg. 7).

Drawing upon the work of Toulmin (1961; 1972; 1983), Donmoyer (1985) suggests that a "decision court" of purpose can provide criteria for assessing the relative adequacy of contradictory conceptual frameworks, languages, or paradigms. Donmoyer (Ibid.) emphasizes that, while it seems unlikely that researchers can ever verify one paradigmatic language to be truer than another, they can certainly assess whether one paradigm is better than another in certain contexts and for particular purposes. By accentuating the role of purpose, Donmoyer (1985, 1988) has challenged the tenet that all scientific activity can be characterized by the unitary purpose of prediction. By emphasizing that the adequacy of scientific paradigms must be judged in terms of the particular purposes they serve, researchers are afforded a justifiable argument which will enable them to escape the quandary of being socially pressured to apply methods and methodologies which are maladapted for framing the questions posed. Yet such freedom is not bestowed without responsibility. Donmoyer (1985) notes:

To put the matter another way, researchers must no longer engage in the impossible task of determining the truth or falsity of a language, but instead, must consider the adequacy of the theoretical language they employ and the desirability of the purposes their research serves. (pg. 19)
Eisner (1983) mentions that researchers have passed through a historical era during which Campbell & Stanley's (1963) paradigmatic designs described the only acceptable way of conducting educational research. He observes that one of the most promising developments in the field of education in the past twenty years has been the widening acceptance of divergent methods and methodologies. Similarly, Lather (1986) stipulates that the present turmoil in the social sciences frees us to construct new designs based on alternative epistemological commitments. Yet, as paradigmatic choices proliferate, increased responsibility is placed upon the researcher to become a more purposeful and reflective inquirer.

To summarize, from the literature review it was clear that the term "psychosocial development" had multiple meanings depending upon the theoretical schema which was selected to focus the human life enterprise. The intent of the following study was to collaboratively view this issue with my informants from a multiplicity of perspectives so that their lives could be used not only to generate grounded theories, but to critique and inform a priori theory. I was particularly interested in exploring the ways in which a priori theory illuminated or distorted the particularized experience. Hence, I deemed a praxis-oriented poststructural methodology to be the paradigm of choice for serving the purpose and intentions of the study.
Fit of the Inquiry Paradigm to the Substantive Theory Selected to Guide the Inquiry

Organismic and behaviorist psychosocial life-span development theory provided the substantive framework undergirding the conceptualization of this study. The study employed qualitative research methods which enabled me to collect rich, in-depth contextualized data concerning my two informants' life-span developmental patterns. The informants and I then engaged in a praxis-oriented collaborative analysis of the data specifically for the purpose of relating theoretical abstractions to the details and idiosyncrasies of real lives.

Informant Selection

The informants consisted of Elizabeth and Lily, two articulate graduate students at The Ohio State University (OSU). They were very close in age; Lily was forty-six and Elizabeth was forty-seven. A main consideration in selecting these informants was that they both had sufficient time to devote to the many hours of interviewing and collaborative data analysis the study required. Additionally, both informants had at least two close friends or relatives who were willing and available to serve as secondary informants so that the life history data could be effectively triangulated.

I selected OSU students because I was familiar with the OSU community; I felt that this commonality would establish an initial building block of rapport. Further, informants were sought with
whom I was confident—on an intuitive, tacit level—that a bond of trust could be established. In life history interviews, the subject matter is personal and the relationship between the informant and researcher is never simple (Crane & Angrosino, 1984). Langness (1965) advises that the process of reconstructing a life history involves a degree of intimacy with the informant and a knowledge of the informant's community can help establish a bond of commonalty from which intimate rapport can develop.

**Successive Phases of the Inquiry**

Lincoln & Guba (1985) note that naturalistic inquiry procedures go through several stages in order to: 1) determine what is salient; 2) to further explore what is deemed salient; and 3) to check the findings in accordance with trustworthiness procedures and gaining closure.

Phase 1 of this study was the "orientation and overview phase" (Ibid.). I oriented the informants to the life history interview process by way of providing them with some basic explanations. Spradley (1979) delineates several types of explanations which I utilized in this phase of the study: 1) project explanations included general statements about what the project was all about; 2) recording explanations included all statements about writing things down and reasons for tape recording the interviews—during this phase the informants were shown how to operate the tape recorder which was placed within easy reach so they could turn it off in order to say things off the record; 3) native language explanations
were used to encourage the informants to speak in the same way they would talk to others in their cultural milieu(s); 4) research norm explanations encouraged the informants to ask me anything about my own life which they might be curious about throughout the duration of the project.

After providing these guidelines, I entered Phase 2 of the interview series using an unstructured interview format. I asked the informants, "If we were to begin the process of tentatively organizing your complete life history into chapters within a book, what would they be (Kotre, 1984)? How would you title these chapters and what age range would you affix to them?" After the informant had completed this task, I would ask her to talk about what events stood out for her in each chapter. During this phase of the interview, I tried to minimize disrupting the informant's unstructured narration of her life story by asking questions.

Phase 3 marked the more focused phase of the study. I built a structured interview protocol using questions derived from prominent behaviorist and organismic psychosocial theoretical frameworks. This interview protocol was used to help obtain in-depth, focused information which would allow me to explore the ways in which a priori theory might inform or distort the particularized experience. This process was facilitated by looking at and discussing photographs which spanned the chapters of the informant's life.

During this phase, four types of questions discussed by Guba and Lincoln (1981) were frequently utilized. These included:
hypothesical or "what if" questions, interpretive questions whereby I suggested possible interpretations of the data and posed them to the informants to get their feedback, source questions--for triangulation purposes--which attempted to uncover additional sources of information, and clarification questions which were posed in order to gather more information concerning a previous statement.

Phase 4 afforded the informants and me the opportunity to collaboratively identify themes and categories within their respective life stories (See Appendices G, H, V, & W). Lily identified themes and categories by making notes in the margins of the raw data. Elizabeth identified her themes and categories by discussing them on audiotape. I identified themes by carefully reading the data, drawing upon the informant’s analysis of their own data, and drawing upon a priori psychosocial theory.

During phase 5, I utilized the data collected during phases 2, 3, and 4 to draft a life story document which presented the informants' life histories using their own first person narrative voices. It was my hope that a first person reporting format would create less distance between the informant and the reader than if I objectified their voices by transforming them into the third person. To this end, I was attempting to provide the reader with an enhanced opportunity to be drawn into the vicarious experience of the informants' life. I was also trying to give the reader access to the data which had spawned the generation of the themes and
categories the informants and I had identified as we collaboratively analyzed their life stories.

I assumed responsibility for drafting the initial life history document. I based my selection of raw data on two criteria:

a) data which supported the story line dimension of the informant's life history (See Appendix I);

b) data which illustrated the key themes and categories the informants and I collaboratively generated as we analyzed their life stories (See Appendix I).

During Phase 6, I submitted the life history document I had drafted to each informant and asked for her revisions. I provided the both informants with some suggestions which I hoped would assist them in reaching closure on this task (See Appendix J). After the informants revised their life story document, they each devised and signed a release instrument (See Appendix K & L). This was a gesture aimed at formalizing an acknowledgement that we had reached closure on the life story document and would not reopen it to further revision. The importance of coming to closure relative to the actual content of a case study is underscored by Lincoln & Guba:

The writer should have a firm termination date in mind for the case. This is not the date by which the case report will have been completed, but the date beyond which events reported and interpreted in the case study will no longer be changed...Efforts to up-date the report continuously soon result in an infinite regress. The writer is advised to decide early what the 'official' termination date will be...(1985; p. 366)
I then entered phase 7 whereby I searched through the themes the informants and I had collaboratively generated and attempted to discern the core theme for each of their respective stories. I defined the core category as being the one which seemed most central because it was linked to many of the other categories. I submitted the core category I had identified to each informant for a member check. I asked them to consider whether they wished to amend or extend it in any way (See Appendix Z).

During phase 8, I used the core category(s) we had collaboratively generated to build a grounded theory of each informant's pattern of life-span development. This theory was generated by exploring the connections between the core category and its subsidiary categories. Once again, I submitted this theory to the informants for a member check by asking them to amend or extend the grounded theory I had constructed.

Phase 9 offered me an opportunity to utilize the grounded theories I generated in order to explore the ways in which they might both inform and be informed by a priori theory. As a part of this phase of analysis, I compared the two grounded theories I had collaboratively built with Lily and Elizabeth. I then addressed the ways in which this comparison of the informants' lives could inform the a priori psychosocial debate over whether their patterns of lifespan development appeared highly uniform or idiosyncratic in nature.

These successive phases of data analysis provided a means for viewing the informants' life-span development patterns from a
multiplicity of perspectives. Member checks were continuously conducted throughout all phases of the study. A collaborative data analysis design strategy was built in to phases 4, 5, and 6 of the study. Additionally, a collaborative theory generating design strategy was utilized in phases 7 and 8. My goal throughout the project was to give the informants many opportunities to collaborate as we jointly reconstructed, analyzed and theorized about their life stories (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

**Instrumentation**

The human being served as the instrument of choice in this study. Guba (1981) notes that positivist inquirers typically interpolate a layer of instrumentation between themselves and the phenomena to be studied, partly because it is believed that by thus removing themselves from direct contact they will improve the reliability and objectivity of the study, and partly because it is felt that such objective instruments can be sharpened and refined to a greater level of sensitivity than the individual. Post-positivist inquirers are more inclined to use themselves as the instruments, willingly exchanging some objectivity and reliability in order to gain greater flexibility and the opportunity to build on tacit knowledge (Ibid.).

Guba & Lincoln (1981) enumerate several characteristics the naturalistic researcher possesses that are not to be found among other instruments--such as paper and pencil tests. The naturalistic inquirer does not try to adopt a neutral posture but rather strives
to assume a bearing that can foster profound responsiveness and interaction. I attempted to create an atmosphere in which informants did not:

adopt the constructs of the inquirer but rather relate their histories, anecdotes, experiences, perspectives, retrospectives, introspections, hopes, fears, dreams, and beliefs in their own natural language, based on their own personal and cultural understandings. (Ibid., p. 130-1)

Additionally, the human interviewer can make an immediate decision as to whether an informant's statement is unclear or whether it needs further amplification. Guba and Lincoln (Ibid.) note that even open-ended questionnaires leave little room for clarification once they have been completed unless there is on-going contact with the respondent.

Another quality of the human instrument is what Guba and Lincoln (Ibid.) have named processual immediacy. This term connotes the human ability to process newly acquired data quickly, to allow it to change the direction of the inquiry, and to utilize it in the continuous generation of new interpretations and hypotheses which can be checked with the respondent. Finally, the human instrument is in a position to explore responses with informants who have special expertise or an idiosyncratic perspective. Guba and Lincoln (Ibid.) indicate that the atypical or idiosyncratic response has little value in positivistic inquiry where the aberrant response would be subsumed into a normal distribution or treated as a statistical deviation. Within the context of this study, I was not
only interested in atypical responses, I encouraged and sought them.

Both informants had self-reported scores from the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator test (See Appendix X). Lily had been administered this test when she participated in another dissertation. Elizabeth had taken this test when while enrolled in a course at Ohio State University. The informants' self-disclosed scores were utilized in the data analysis sections of Chapter Six.

Data Collection and Recording Modes

I audiotaped all interviews. This freed me to keep my fieldnotes concentrated on supplementing the tapes with data concerning what was said or seen and summarizing the key points which were raised during the interview. I also utilized the field notes as a means to keep track of the development of the study, to visualize how the research plan had been affected by the data collected, and to remain self-reflective of how I was influenced by the data (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982).

The first page of each set of field notes contained a heading which provided the date the observation was completed (Ibid.). These field notes contained 1) subjective self-reflections which gave emphasis to my frame of mind, aired ruminations of emergent themes and patterns, considered methodological procedures utilized in the study, pondered over ethical dilemmas as they surfaced, and provided points of clarification (Ibid.); 2) supplementary notes which summarized the key points, issues and themes raised in each
interview; and 3) theoretical memos which kept track of the data analysis procedures (Strauss, 1987).

Planning Data Analysis Procedures

Collaborative data analysis represented the process by which the informants and I analyzed and organized the units of data accumulated during the study in order to systematically and convincingly present what we had learned to others (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). The final analytical task awaiting me was to build a grounded theory of each informant's pattern of life-span development, which integrated the themes and categories we had collaboratively generated from the data. Strauss (1987) notes that the goal of grounded theory is to generate a theory that accounts for a pattern of behavior. It was my hope that this theory would at least partially reflect the complexity of the data.

I presented Lily with a notebook which contained her interview transcripts. These transcripts were double spaced and had three and one half inch right hand margins. As she read through this notebook, she identified themes—the significant units of information within the data—that seemed important because they stood out in some particular way. I requested that she make notes relative to any key thoughts, ideas or observations which came to mind as she completed her analysis by recording them in the wide margins of the transcribed pages of data. She struck out any information she did not wish to be included in the study. I later photocopied these notebooks so that I could refer to them as I engaged in my own process of analyzing the data.
Elizabeth was presented with a similarly formatted notebook containing her own life history data. However, her preference was not to mark up her notebook, but rather, to read through it and identify significant units of information by audiotaping them. Elizabeth had her attorney review a chapter in her notebook which dealt with a law suit in which she had been named as a defendant in order to ascertain what material should be deleted. She did not exclude any other material from the study.

My analysis began by carefully reviewing the interview transcripts, my field notes, and the significant units of information the informants had generated. As I read through this data, I identified themes on a tacit-level "looks right" or "feels right" basis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). These themes represented my own initial attempt to identify significant units of information. The themes eventually provided a delineated body of data which would be sorted into analytical categories. Lincoln and Guba note that a thematic unit of information should have two characteristics:

First, it should be heuristic, that is, aimed at some understanding or some action that the inquirer needs to have or to take...Second, it must be the smallest piece of information about something that can stand by itself, that is, it must be interpretable in the absence of any additional information other than a broad understanding of the context in which the inquiry is carried out (Ibid., p. 345)

Having identified a theme, I recorded it in the wide, right hand margin of my own copy of the transcribed raw data text. My aim throughout this preliminary process of generating themes was to
open up the inquiry process. A priori theory spawned some of the themes; other themes emerged from my informant's analysis of the data; still others arose from my own reading of the data.

After I had completed the process of identifying the themes, I used a word processor to type them up in the format of a long list. I then began asking myself a barrage of questions about what inter-relationships, linkages, and shared commonalities I saw among the themes as I scanned the list. I wrote myself numerous analytical memos in my attempt to arrive at a provisional, intuitive understanding of these inter-relationships. I then used the word processor to cut the themes out of the list I had generated so that I could sort them into provisional, open categories where they became grouped together on the basis of some shared commonality I intuited. This preliminary sorting of themes into categories proceeded quite rapidly and was completed on a tacit-level "looks right" or "feels right" basis (Ibid.). Only a few themes did not appear to fit into any category. I left them on the original list of themes I had generated and titled it "miscellaneous" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

As I deliberated whether a particular theme should be included in a particular category, I constantly compared it to other incidents in the same category.

This constant comparison of the incidents very soon starts to generate theoretical properties of the category. The analyst starts thinking in terms of the full range of types or continua of the category, its dimensions, the conditions under which it is pronounced or
minimized, its major consequences, its relation to other categories, and its other properties. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 106)

Glaser and Strauss contend that this constant comparison of incidents begins to generate a more formal understanding of the theoretical properties of the category. As these theoretical properties emerged, the category gradually became more clearly delimited and it began to shed its former, provisional character.

The next stage of my analysis began with a shift from comparing incidents in the category to clearly understanding and articulating the properties of the category itself. Lincoln & Guba (1985) note that this stage of analysis makes it possible to "replace tacit judgments of 'look-alikeness' or 'feel-alikeness' with propositional rule-guided judgments" (Ibid., p. 342). Once most of the units of data had been categorized, I began to sort through each category to thoroughly familiarize myself with a sense of its character. As I engaged in this process, I once again kept track of my ideas by writing analytical memos. I eventually articulated a "covering rule" for each category. Simply put, this was a propositional statement which attempted to characterize the units of data and justify their inclusion within a particular category.

This process of clarifying the properties of categories facilitated the task of better integrating and eventually naming each category.

Relationships become more evident and the category set becomes more coherent—more than a mere taxonomy within which to classify data. It begins to take on the
attributes of an explanatory theory, or at least (and more to the point for the naturalist) a particular construction of the situation at hand. (Ibid., p. 343)

Bogdan & Biklen (1982) note that this stage of data analysis marks a point of data reduction and the decision to limit the number of code categories is imperative. Many times code categories overlap considerably and can be consolidated through the articulation of overarching categories. Lincoln and Guba observe:

...as delimiting occurs the original list of categories will be reducible in size because of improved articulation and integration; options need no longer be held open. At the same time the categories become saturated, that is so well defined that there is no point in adding further exemplars to them. (Ibid., p. 343-4)

As the properties of the categories became increasingly clarified and integrated, I discovered that all of the "miscellaneous" themes I had previously set aside as being non-assignable did actually fit into a category.

All of this analysis and coding activity occurred before I attempted to begin the process of building the grounded theory by discerning a core category. A core category has the ability to create a large number of linkages with many of the other categories. Erickson (1986) discusses this concept of a core category in metaphorical terms:

An appropriate metaphor for this kind of pattern discovery and testing is to think of the entire data set (fieldnotes, interviews, site documents, videotapes) as a large cardboard
box, filled with pieces of paper on which appear items of data. The key linkage is an analytic construct that ties strings to these various items of data. Up and down a hierarchy of general and subsidiary linkages, some of the strings attach to other strings. The task of pattern analysis is to discover and test those linkages that make the largest possible number of connections to items of data in the corpus. When one pulls on the top string, one wants as many subsidiary strings as possible to be attached to data. The strongest assertions are those that have the most strings attached to them, across the widest possible range of sources and kinds of data. (p. 148)

Strauss (1987) mentions that the core category has a pivotal function: most of the other categories are related to it. Through its relationship to the other categories, the core theory serves the prime function of:

integrating the theory and rendering it dense and saturated as the relationships are discovered. These functions then lead to theoretical completeness—accounting for as much variation in a pattern of behavior with as few concepts as possible, thereby maximizing parsimony and scope" (p. 35).

In searching for the core theme, I continually asked myself the question, "What is the main story/category here?" Strauss enumerates several criteria to keep in mind while searching out the core category. It should: be central, appear frequently, relate easily to other categories, have clear implications for generating the grounded theory. When I had identified the core category, I
submitted it in written form to each of my informants and asked them:

1) Does this core category (a central concept which provides a lot of connections with the individual themes we identified) ring true for you?

2) Do you see any ways to amend or extend this core category so it might ring truer?

3) Do you see another core category in your life story that seems core, key, critical in the sense of being linked to a lot of the other themes?

Strauss (Ibid.) notes that the generation of grounded theory occurs around a core category. He mentions that, as the details of the core theory are worked out, the grounded theory moves forward and develops appreciably.

As I began to explore the linkages between the collaboratively generated core category(s) and the other categories to which it related, I gradually built a grounded theory which attempted to describe and explain these linkages. When the theories had been developed, I asked my informants to amend or extend them. I then compared and contrasted the two theories in order to analyze the extent to which they appeared to be very similar or different from one another. Finally I explored the ways in which the grounded theories and a priori theory could be used to inform each other.
Reporting the Analyzed Data

For the first informant, Elizabeth, the results of the collaboratively analyzed data were presented in Chapter Four as a co-authored play which depicted her complete life story. This play attempted to interweave our analytical perspectives. It was our aim to report the data in such a manner that the reader could be drawn into experiencing Elizabeth's life vicariously. We also wanted to afford the reader an opportunity to confront instances of key themes, interpretive perspectives, and analytic constructs uncovered during the cooperative analysis of the data (Erickson, 1986). It was further hoped that, by using a play as the forum for presenting the dearth of Elizabeth's analyzed data, she and I could foreground and problematize the notion that no matter how rigorously data is analyzed, what is finally reported is an imaginative reconstruction rather than truth which has been tapped and extracted from a singularly real world. This point is underscored by Erickson (Ibid.) who notes the research vignette is not an attempt to recreate reality—for this would be impossible. Mulkay (1985) further elaborates on this point:

It seems to me, however, that we never have access to that supposed reality. It is always mediated by some kind of symbolic representation. There's no way of separating reality from the symbolic realm of human discourse and no way in which reality as such can be used to check our factual claims. Thus, both facts and fictions are interpretative creations. The propositions of factual texts
are no more a direct representation of the real world than are the contents of fictional texts. Both kinds of texts are imaginative reconstructions of the world in so far as that world is mediated through our own and other's interpretive work. (p. 13).

In reporting Elizabeth's life history as a play, we relied on an artistic approach. Smith (1987) notes that artistic reports are typically narrative accounts which attempt to depict the qualities and meanings inherent in the observed setting. Elizabeth and I then attempted to represent these discoveries in such a way the reader could "have a vicarious experience of the case" (Ibid. p. 178). Eisner (1981) observes that standardization of form is considered to be counterproductive in reporting data from an artistic perspective. "What artistic approaches seek is to exploit the power of form to inform" (Ibid., p. 7). Eisner mentions that the opposite view is highlighted in positivistic work; standardization of form is sought so that it does not confound the content. The potential of such confounding is not viewed as a liability in artistic presentations of data. Rather, it is regarded as part of the power of what is expressed, and it bears significantly on the kinds of meanings the reader is likely to secure from the work (Ibid.).

Eisner notes that artistically oriented research projects are afforded greater liberties in reporting portrayal than are positivistic studies. Instead of presenting a facade of objectivity, artistically oriented research "exploits the potential of selectivity and emphasis to say what needs saying as the investigator sees it" (Ibid., p. 8). A final, noteworthy point Eisner mentions is that artistic approaches
to research are less concerned with the discovery of truth rather than the creation of meaning. He notes:

What art seeks is not the discovery of the laws of nature about which true statements or explanations can be given, but rather the creation of images that people will find meaningful and from which their fallible and tentative views of the world can be altered, rejected, or made more secure. Truth implies singularity and monopoly. Meaning implies relativism and diversity. (Ibid., p. 9)

Eisner suggests that both scientific and artistic approaches to educational research serve divergent purposes and will provide a different type of perspective on the phenomena studied. What he deems important is the avoidance of a methodological monism which restricts the gamut of our potential perspectives on phenomena within the field.

Using a co-authored play as the forum for presenting our findings served several functions. It represented a medium in which Elizabeth found a high level of investment, because it was her intent to use her raw data in a course she planned to take which dealt with writing screenplays. I was interested in using the play format because it seemed a promising way to interrupt the manner in which ethnographic case studies are usually reported. Van Maanen (1988) has named this typical approach "realist tales." He notes that their most striking trait is the almost complete absence of the author from most segments of the finished text. Richardson (1988) suggests that when there is no apparent narrator, an illusion of objectivity is created. What is at the root of this illusion is the
assumption that whatever the fieldworker saw and heard during a stay in the studied culture is more or less what any similarly well-trained participant observer would see and hear (Van Maanen, 1988). Rather than separating my account from the informant's story, I was interested in experimenting with a reporting form that could intertwine the two perspectives, and a play seemed a promising medium for supporting this goal.

It was also my belief that a play would provide a good forum for providing a text in which the reader could easily locate me and thereby develop a sense of the subjectivity I brought to bear on the study. I felt that by portraying myself as an actor in a play, I could claim my first person voice and thereby decenter myself from the authoritative position of the all-knowing researcher who was required to stand outside the text in order to report in a disembodied, passively objective voice. By decentering myself in this way, I hoped to interrupt the overemphasis on monologic processes whereby my account as researcher would be elevated above the participant's account so that a "real world" could be systematically presented to the reader (Richardson, 1988).

Finally, I side epistemologically with those who have recently advocated for an expansion in the acceptable range of formats for reporting empirical findings (Eisner, 1981; Mulkay, 1985; Lewis and Simon; 1986; Richardson 1988; VanMaanen, 1988; Patai, 1988). Mulkay (Ibid.) suggests:

The discourse of much sociological research, it seems to me, is founded on a nineteenth-
The use of a fictional form of discourse—i.e. a play—was a flagrant deviation from the format in which research findings are normally reported. This reporting form gave me the opportunity to foreground my belief in the necessity of finding ways to expand the acceptable boundaries around traditional forms of factual, scientific discourse.

We utilized a split-page reporting format to report Lily's life story. On one side of the page Lily recounted her life history. On the other side of the page we annotated this narration with examples of themes, categories, and theoretical memos which emerged in our joint analysis of her story. My intention in using this reporting format drew upon the work of Polkinghorne (1988) who noted that the researcher should recognize the legitimacy of alternative interpretations of the data. The flushing out of such alternative interpretations requires that enough of the transcribed material be made available to the research consumers so that they can follow the analysts' movement from data to interpretation. As consumers follow this movement, it may well be that they come up with interpretations that are quite different from either the informants or the researcher. It was my hope that by intentionally
supporting an analytic partnership between the research producers and consumers, a feedback loop could be created. I believed that the research consumer might detect important themes and categories which were overlooked by the producers and such insights could be shared. The producers could then become the consumers of novel insights which would enrich and extend their analysis—keeping it indeterminate and forever unfinished.

To summarize, the divergent reporting formats used to report Elizabeth's and Lily's data sought to afford informants and research consumers the dignity of contributing to the theorizing of their worlds through sharing meaning production (Kushner & Norris study cited in Lather, 1986). To this end, I attempted to use the research process as a forum of potential exchange by which the diverse subjectivities of researcher, researched, and research consumer could intersect, inform, and balance each other (Patai, 1988a).

Observing Ethical Principals

I made a concerted effort to communicate the aims and purposes of the investigation to the informants as they evolved throughout the course of the study. Additionally, every attempt was made to protect the informants' anonymity. Relative to the preservation of informant anonymity, Spradley (1980) notes:

These strictures apply to the collection of data by means of cameras, tape recorders, and other data-gathering devices, as well as to data collected in face-to-face interviews or in participant observation. Those being studied
should understand the capacities of such devices; they should be free to reject them if they wish; and, if they accept them, the results obtained should be consonant with the informant's right to welfare, dignity and privacy. Despite every effort being made to preserve anonymity it should be made clear to informants that such anonymity may be compromised unintentionally. (p. 23)

I made an earnest attempt to safeguard the informants' rights, interests, and sensitivities. Spradley (1979) notes that no matter how unobtrusive the methods, they have the end effect of prying into and invading the informant's lives. Relative to informants, Spradley (Ibid.) observes that the ethnographic interview:

\[ \text{can be used to affirm their rights, interests, and sensitivities or to violate them. All informants must have the protection of saying things 'off the record' which never find their way into the ethnographer's field notes. (Ibid. pg. 36)} \]

Whenever we had a choice between using or not using material that was considered valuable to the study, but might render the informant vulnerable, the interest of the informant was given priority over that of the investigation (Locke, et al., 1987).

**Establishing Trustworthiness**

Much as the conventional investigator must attend to the question of internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity, so too must the naturalistic researcher arrange for credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).
Credibility (Internal Validity)

Five techniques suggested by Lincoln & Guba (Ibid.) were utilized in this study to increase the likelihood that credible findings and interpretations would be forthcoming.

Prolonged engagement was considered necessary to afford me the opportunity to build a foundation of trust with the informants. Also, spending an extended period of time with the informants allowed me the opportunity to continually check my developing perceptions by keeping a journal which encouraged self-reflexivity.

Persistent observation served the function of enabling me to identify those elements in the situation that seemed the most salient to the informants' lives and focusing upon them in detail (Guba, 1981). Through this process I was afforded the opportunity to sort out irrelevancies. Lincoln and Guba (1985) have noted:

These goals require that the naturalist continuously engage in tentative labeling of what are taken as salient factors and then exploring them in detail, to the point where either the initial assessment is seen to be erroneous, or the factors are understood in a nonsuperficial way. (pg 304).

The raw data underwent both inductive and deductive analysis: 1) they were grounded in a theory which emerged from the unstructured interviews using a synthesis of the methodology outlined by Lincoln & Guba (Ibid.) and Strauss (1987); and 2) they were grounded by a priori psychosocial theoretical frameworks by means of structured interviews. To facilitate this type of multifaceted data analysis, prolonged interaction with the informant was
deemed necessary in order to identify pervasive themes as well as to sort out irrelevancies.

Triangulation of data sources was utilized as a technique for improving the likelihood that the findings and interpretations of this study would be found credible. Triangulation is the process by which a variety of data sources, theoretical perspectives, methods and methodologies are pitted against each other in order to cross-check data and interpretations (Guba, 1981). The researcher interviewed two of the informants' friends or relatives in order to explore whether the informants' reconstruction of their realities was shared by others with whom they had a close relationship. The process of triangulating data was further facilitated by looking at and discussing photographs which spanned the various chapters of the informants' lives. Opposing psychosocial theories were brought to bear on the data in order to provide a range of theoretical interpretations and a multiplicity of a priori perspectives (Ibid.). Inductive and deductive data analytic procedures were utilized to overlap and thereby cross check each other. Finally, the study attempted to team antithetical praxis/poststructural methodologies in such a way that they could compensate for each others' weaknesses and build upon each others' strengths.

Peer debriefing was utilized as a technique for providing an external check on the inquiry process. This technique offered me the opportunity to expose myself to probing questions (Ibid.). I was cognizant of the importance of regularly detaching myself from my informants; peer briefing functioned as a mechanism to keep me
self-reflective through exposure to searching questions by a protagonist who was capable of playing the role of "devils advocate" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The debriefer should be neither junior—lest his or her inputs are disregarded—nor senior—lest his or her inputs be considered as mandates, or lest the inquirer "hold back" for fear of being judged incompetent. The debriefer should not be someone in an authority relationship to the inquirer (a matter of particular note in the case of a doctoral study, which should avoid using members of the research committee as debriefers). The debriefer should be someone prepared to take the role seriously, playing the devil's advocate even when it becomes apparent that to do so produces pain for the inquirer. (pg. 309)

I utilized my spouse for peer debriefing purposes. This was because he: 1) satisfied all of the requirements enumerated above; 2) was familiar with qualitative methodology; 3) was knowledgeable about psychosocial theory; 4) was readily accessible during all phases of the study; 5) had a proven capability of providing me with an opportunity for clearing my mind of emotions that may have been obstructing the emergence of sensible next steps in the inquiry process (Ibid.).

Member checks refer to the process by which data and the researcher's interpretations were continuously tested as they were derived from conversations and interviews with the informants (Guba, 1981). During this process, the raw data, analytic categories, core category(s), grounded theories, and analytical conclusions were
tested by being continuously presented to the informants for an accuracy check. It was the researcher's intent that the informants' reconstructed life histories be recognizable to them as an adequate representation of their own (and multiple) realities (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Guba (1981) stipulates that the process of member checks is the single most important action inquirers can take, for it goes to the heart of the credibility criterion.

**Transferability (External Validity or Generalizability)**

In collecting my informant's life histories, I was attempting to enrich interpretative understanding about the emic meaning that they gave to their own situations. It was my belief that such understanding could not be pursued in the absence of context. Frequently, the naturalist attempts to translate findings from case studies into interpretive frameworks which are grounded in the time and context in which they were found to occur. On the other hand, the purposes of experimental studies are to determine causality, uncover facts under conditions of isolation, and ground them in generalized propositional laws which will serve as the basis for making predictions. The essential feature of such laws is that they be free of the specific constraints of any particular context and therefore applicable to all (Mishler, 1979).

It is readily apparent that these two methods employ languages of fundamentally divergent purposes. Indeed, the term "generalizability"—in its traditional statistical and sampling sense—is an artifact of the experimental method and is not a concept which can be applied to case study methods; hence the caveat "the trouble
with generalizations is they don’t apply to particulars" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pg 110). Donmoyer (1985) has observed that it is not at all uncommon for disputes to arise between rival methods employing terminology which can’t be shared. This could explain why case studies have continued to inspire criticism on the part of experimental researchers who note their methodological vocabulary lacks a critical concept—generalizability.

Stake (1978) explains the basis of this criticism by noting that, from a positivistic perspective, a "case" is typically thought of as a constituent component of a larger target population. Since single members poorly represent whole populations, the case study is seen to be a weak basis for generalization. He further specifies that the more episodic, subjective procedures, common to the case study, have been considered less rigorous than experimental methods for explaining phenomenon. Similarly, Donmoyer (1988) has noticed that while there is general agreement that social phenomena are too complex and context laden for social science to amass empirical generalizations, many researchers continue to make the distinction between verification and hypothesis generating research. Case studies are regarded as belonging to the latter, less prestigious category (Ibid.).

Generalizability refers to the representativeness of research findings (Ary, 1985). A working definition of generalizability is "the approximate validity with which we infer that the presumed causal relationship can be generalized to and across alternate measures of the cause and effect and across different types of
persons, settings, and times" (Cook and Campbell, 1979, p. 37). This definition is used interchangeably with external validity. The aim of the scientific method as utilized in experimental research is prediction and control. Lincoln and Guba (1985) observe that prediction and control cannot occur without a foundation upon which to base predictions or formulate controlling actions. Generalizations provide this foundation.

One of the defining characteristics of a generalization is that it rests on the basic assumption of the temporal and contextual independence of observations, so that what is true at one time and place may, under appropriate circumstances, also be true at another time and place. Kaplan (1964) stipulates:

...the generalization must be truly universal, unrestricted as to time and space. It must formulate what is always and everywhere the case, provided only that the appropriate conditions are satisfied (p. 91)

Yet it has been observed that when adequate consideration is given to factors that are unique to a particular locale or series of events (rather than similar), it becomes useless to try to generalize to another context (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Cronbach, 1975). Hence Cronbach surmises: "When we give proper weight to local conditions, any generalization is a working hypothesis, not a conclusion" (Cronbach, 1975, pg. 124-125).

In discussing generalization, Ary et al. (1985) distinguish between the experimentally accessible population and the target population. The former refers to the population of subjects that is
available to the researcher for the study; the later is the total group of subjects to whom the researcher wants to apply the conclusions drawn from the findings. The researcher's generalizations would occur in two stages: 1) from the sample to the experimentally accessible population, 2) and from the accessible population to the target population. If the researcher has randomly drawn the sample from the experimentally accessible population then the findings are typically generalized to the larger group—usually without reservation. Generalizing beyond the accessible population to some larger target population gets increasingly risky. Nevertheless it is commonly done on the basis of demonstrated similarities between the accessible and target populations (Miller, 1986). Yet, Campbell and Stanley (1963) introduce an interesting caveat relative to such practices:

Whereas the problems of internal validity are solvable within the limits of the logic of probability statistics, the problems of external validity are not logically solvable in any neat, conclusive way. Generalization always turns out to involve extrapolation into a realm not represented in one's sample. Such extrapolation is made by assuming one knows the relevant laws. ...Logically...we can not generalize at all. But we do attempt generalization by guessing at laws and checking out some of these generalizations in other equally specific but different conditions. In the course of the history of a science we learn about the 'justification' of generalizing by the cumulation of our experience in generalizing, but this is not a logical
generalization deducible from the details of the original experiment. (pg. 17)

The painful problem of induction to which Campbell and Stanley allude arises from the fact that generalizations rest upon the generalizer's experience with a limited number of particulars—not with each member of an accessible population (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). If a one-to-one relationship of correspondence existed between particulars and generalizations, then generalizations would not suffer from inductive loss in their formulation but could be counted on to be determinately and absolutely true (Ibid.). Unfortunately, generalizations can not and do not meet this stringent criteria; at best they are more akin to probable expressions (Ibid.) or working hypotheses (Cronbach, 1975) than absolute truths.

The generalizability problem becomes even more painful when one recognizes that it operates on assumptions of tacit (subjective) knowledge; scientists have learned to justify the concept of generalizability by their experience in working with it—yet it can not be justified using propositional (objective) language. While such apprehensions may appear discomforting from an experimental perspective, post-positivistic inquiry is increasingly recognized as a process wherein tacit and propositional knowledge is intertwined and mutually informing (Lather, 1986; Heron, 1981).

There is much discussed "catch-22" complicating the achievement of generalizable findings. Maximization of internal validity requires the exercise of very rigid control over subjects and conditions in the experimental setting. The more a situation is
controlled, however, the less realistic it becomes; this, in turn, renders the results less generalizable. Gay (1981) suggests, "If a choice is involved, the researcher should err on the side of too much control rather than too little. A study that is not internally valid is worthless" (Ibid., pg. 212). Yet if this advice is followed, it can be conjectured that the findings will be most generalizable to other laboratory settings.

Cronbach (1975) has stipulated that there is a need to ponder what it means to establish empirical generalizations in a world in which most effects are interactive. Unlike their counterparts in the physical sciences, social scientists don't enjoy the privilege of being able to study phenomena in isolation. There is increasing recognition that, in the case of complex social phenomena, numerous variables interact simultaneously (Ary, 1985). To attempt to restrict a study to one independent variable imposes an artificial simplicity on a complex situation; hence factorial experimental designs are frequently utilized by social scientists in order to observe the unique effect of several independent variables upon the dependent variable as well as the effects due to interaction among the independent variables themselves (Ibid.). Cronbach (1975) has observed that it takes a large amount of data to pin down interactive effects using factorial designs, and important interactions which do emerge are frequently dismissed as being statistically insignificant. Further, interactions will only be detected for those variables the experimenter allows to vary. Cronbach suggests:
Once we attend to interactions, we enter a hall of mirrors that extends to infinity. However far we carry our analysis--to third order or fifth order or another--untested interactions of a still higher order can be envisioned. (Ibid. p. 119)

Cronbach further notes that, because of the complexity of social phenomena, any generalizations which are made about them, will tend to be short lived. Because of the degree of openness of social systems, they are highly changeable. From Cronbach's perspective, it becomes impossible to preserve a sufficient amount of generalizations which can be assembled into a fixed social science reality. He observes: "Generalizations decay. At one time a conclusion describes the existing situation well, at a later time it accounts for rather little variance, and ultimately it is valid only as history" (Ibid., p. 123).

While generalizability in its traditional sense is not the aim of case studies, one might well contemplate--what could be the goal of inquiry if not the discovery of truths which can be generalized to other contexts, times and places? Indeed, it has been observed that many scientists are so convinced that "generalizations are the be-all and end-all of inquiry that they seriously question whether scientific activity aimed at something other than the establishment of generalizations is worth the effort" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pg. 110). Lather (1986) indicates the goal of inquiry to be the attainment of credible findings produced within a conscious context of theory building effort which is grounded in a body of empirical work that is relentlessly confronted by people in their ordinary
lives. She stipulates that, "paradigmatic uncertainty in the human
sciences is leading to the reconceptualization of validity" (Ibid., pg.
270).

From a similar perspective, Cronbach (1975) mentions that,
given the difficulties interactions create for the social sciences, a
better research strategy involves breaking away from the
preoccupation with fixed-condition experiments that seek
generalizations. Noting that social scientists are not likely to cease
experimental inquiry in the near future, Cronbach observes:

Instead of making generalization the ruling
consideration of our research, I suggest that
we reverse our priorities. An observer
collecting data in one particular situation is in
a position to appraise a practice or proposition
in that setting, observing effects in context.
In trying to describe and account for what
happened, he will give attention to whatever
variables were controlled, but he will give
equally careful attention to uncontrolled
conditions, to personal characteristics, and to
events that occur during treatment and
measurement. As he goes from situation to
situation, his first task is to describe and
interpret the effect anew in each locale,
perhaps taking into account factors unique to
that locale of series of events (cf. Geertz,
1973, chap. 1, on "thick description"). (Ibid.,
p. 125-6)

Concurring with Cronbach's viewpoint that research findings will
always be no more than working hypotheses, Lincoln & Guba (1985)
have observed that generalizability—in its conventional statistical
sense—is impossible to achieve using case study methodology. They note:

For while statements about external validity (expressed for example, in the form of statistical confidence limits), the naturalist can only set out working hypotheses together with a description of the time and context in which they were found to hold. Whether they hold in some other context, or even in the same context at some other time, is an empirical issue, the resolution of which depends upon the degree of similarity between sending and receiving (or earlier and later) contexts. (Ibid., p. 316)

It appears that Lincoln & Guba are arguing for a definition of generalizability which is analogous to an experimental conceptualization (Lather, 1986; Donmoyer, 1988). That is, they posit that findings from case studies can only be generalized to settings that are very similar.

Donmoyer (Ibid.) has stipulated that his intuition suggests this is not accurate and observes that, "the absence of an alternative language has certainly inhibited our rethinking the notion of generalizability and, consequently, our valuing of single case studies" (Ibid., 1988, pg 11). He has suggested that Piagetian schema theory—with its emphasis on concepts such as assimilation, accommodation, integration differentiation, equilibrium and disequilibrium—can provide an alternative, metaphorical language for talking about generalizing from case studies. The concept of a schema (or schemata) is basic to Piagetian cognitive developmental theory. It refers to the basic mental structures into which objects,
events, people and the relationships among them are organized (Whitbourne & Weinstock, 1979). Schemata serve as a set of lenses which focus how an individual will tend to perceive, organize and evaluate experiences and events (Rodgers, 1980). Cognitive schemata are defined as developing from being capable of making simple distinctions to drawing increasingly complex relationships. For instance, an artist may have developed many schemata over time for differentiating among colors. A person is adapted to the environment when schemata can be used to help organize experiences and at the same time be refined to allow for making more complex distinctions (Whitbourne & Weinstock, 1979).

When an individual encounters novelty s/he will attempt to cope with it by making a cognitive accommodation or assimilation. Assimilation occurs when schemata are imposed on experience—it involves translating a new experience (magenta) into familiar terms (pink) that have been used to organize similar experiences in the past (Ibid., 1979). To the extent that an a priori schemata is inappropriately applied to a new experience, a distorted view of reality results. If the individual becomes aware of the distortion, s/he will be thrown into a state of psychic disequilibrium; this is because the person has become aware of the limitations of his/her structural modes of making meaning in relation to the novel phenomena.

Cognitive equilibrium can be restored through the process of accommodation. Accommodation involves creating a new schemata which is capable of more accurately focusing the new experience.
Cognitive development, through the process of accommodation, is basically the amplification of two processes: differentiation and integration. Differentiation is the process by which a global or unified entity is refined, clarified, or broken down into smaller and more specific subunits; integration is the organizing, synthesizing and unifying of differentiated cognitive schematas so that more integrated, complex wholes result (Whitbourne & Weinstock, 1979).

Donmoyer (1988) notes that when the generalizability of case studies is viewed from the perspective of schema theory, the role of research is not to find the true interpretation, but rather "to expand the range of interpretations available to the research consumer" (Ibid., pg. 26). By vicariously encountering a rich repertoire of unique situations through case studies (Stake, 1978), it is possible that the research consumer's world view will be sufficiently challenged to provoke a cognitive accommodation to increasingly complex structural modes of meaning making (Donmoyer, 1988). These cognitive accommodations may ultimately serve as the inspiration which generates novel lines of inquiry--inquiry that does not simply reaffirm old "ways of seeing" (Simon & Dippo, 1986). Donmoyer (1988) observes that the bottom line for assessing the quality of a case study--along the lines of schema generalizability--is the richness of the data presented. He notes:

To be sure, given what has been said in this paper, we can no longer talk of raw data if, by that term, we mean data uncontaminated by the language and the anticipatory schemata of the researcher. We can, however, talk of data
that are medium-rare, e.g. low inference descriptions of behavior and excerpts from transcripted interviews. There should be sufficient medium-rare data so that the reader does not simply assimilate the case being described into a theoretical ideal type; rather the reader should have an opportunity to enrich his/her understanding of an ideal type by accommodating the novelty of the particular case. (Ibid., pg. 29)

Similarly, proceeding from a different conceptualization of case study generalizability, Lincoln & Guba (1985) concur with importance of rich description by noting that the naturalistic researcher can not specify the external validity of the inquiry; "he or she can provide only the thick description necessary to enable someone interested in making a transfer to reach a conclusion about whether transfer can be contemplated as a possibility" (Ibid., pg. 316). Lincoln & Guba conclude that, unfortunately, what constitutes thick description is not yet resolved in naturalistic inquiry's present stage of development. Donmoyer's (1988) conceptualization of medium rare data is certainly a major contribution to the unresolved descriptive dilemma to which Lincoln & Guba allude.

Utilizing Donmoyer's (Ibid.) conceptualization of generalizability, I sought to undertake my inquiry in a spirit which attempted to provide the reader with an expanded range of interpretations for viewing the informants' lives. This was done in order to increase the likelihood that novelty would be encountered in sufficient measure to provoke the reader to think more complexly about the informants, and not unreflectively assimilate them into an a priori schemata. To this end, I brought multiple,
opposing theoretical perspectives to bear on the informants' life histories, analyzed the data from a multiplicity of perspectives, and used divergent reporting formats to present the data.

Confirmability (Objectivity)

Three techniques suggested by Guba (1981) were employed by this study in order to establish its product confirmability. First, data were triangulated by collecting it from multiple sources, framing it through overlapping methodologies, analyzing it using a variety of overlapping methods and viewing it against opposing a priori theoretical perspectives. Secondly, an audit trail was created to further enhance the study's product confirmability. This audit trail was comprised of a careful compilation of the following records:

(1) raw data, including the transcripts of electronically recorded materials; written field notes
(2) data reduction and analysis products, including theoretical notes; working hypotheses, concepts and hunches
(3) data reconstruction and synthesis products, including structure of categories (themes, definitions, and relationships); findings and conclusions (interpretations and inferences); and a final report, with connections to the existing literature and an integration of concepts, relationships and interpretations
(4) process notes, including methodological notes (procedures, designs, strategies, rationale); trustworthiness notes (relating to credibility, dependability, and confirmability) and audit trail notes. (paraphrased from Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pg. 319-320)
Finally, I made an honest effort throughout the proposal to practice reflexivity by intentionally revealing the paradigmatic assumptions and epistemological commitments undergirding the study to the reader as well as to myself. Through my field journal, I attempted to continually address the study's own situated character. This means that I tried to remain aware of the fact that as a knowledge producer I was both influenced and limited by my own personal history and the social systems which I worked within (Simon & Dippo, 1986). The difficulties of such a task are multitudinous and Simon & Dippo summarize a few reflexive considerations:

1. We must come to grips with the recognition that most ethnographic data is 'produced' and not 'found.' In our research work we engage in considerable social interaction with those whom our data reference. We need to recognize our own implication in the production of data and thus must begin to include ourselves (our own practices and their social and historical basis) in our analyses of the situations we study.

2. We need to redefine empathy to include the recognition of what historical and structural differences limit one's understanding of others. Every particular study needs to be located at its vantage point; a point defined by the resources...for interpretive work that specific researchers bring to their hermeneutic efforts.

3. We should turn to a consideration of how the discourse we use to talk with others and
through which we write and think, silences as well as articulates. (Ibid., p. 200-1)

**Dependability (Reliability)**

The techniques defined as "inquiry audit" and overlap methods were utilized to attest to the study's process dependability (Guba, 1981). The dissertation committee members provided the body which examined the dependability of the process by which the study was implemented. I provided them with an audit trail which would make it possible to examine the processes whereby data were collected and analyzed, and interpretations were made. Additionally, overlap methods were utilized to enhance the study's dependability. Overlapping methodological frameworks were applied in order to give direction to the study, overlapping methods were utilized in data collection and analysis procedures, and overlapping theoretical perspectives were brought to bear on the study.

**Limitations of the Study**

There are several limitations inherent in this study. They are summarized as follows:

1. An informant may intentionally fabricate or misrepresent life history data. For instance, an informant may purposefully distort information in response to a "need to tell stories that are designed to present the self in socially valued images" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 164).

2. This study employed the naturalistic concept of an emergent design which introjected a multitude of problems to my
relationship with the dissertation committee members and informants to whom I was accountable. Many of the methodological procedures could not be specified in advance but were left to emerge as the study progressed. When working within an emergent design framework, there were many disparities between what I was able to specify a priori and the elements that are commonly thought to be essential to a "good" research proposal (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

3. Even though an attempt was continually made to use the raw data gleaned from unstructured interviews to critically assess the adequacy of a priori psychosocial theories in addressing the women's particular life-span developmental themes, there was an inherent danger that these theories did simplify my observations.

4. It was impossible to eliminate the routing of data through my perceptual processes; all that could be done was to attempt to understand enough about the nature of those processes so as to try to become conscious and self-reflective of the most serious threats to reconstructing the informant's reality (Locke et al., 1987).

5. I completed an extensive review of the psychosocial literature base prior to writing the proposal or implementing the study. This strategy could be criticized on the grounds that I am the primary instrument on which qualitative data collection depends. Therefore, it can be argued that the researcher as instrument should be fully receptive to the informant's point of view unconstrained by a priori theoretical preconceptions; for this reason, it is frequently conjectured that there are advantages to
beginning a study without knowledge of the conclusions drawn by other theorists working in the same field (Ibid.).

6. In designing this study, I utilized both an inductive and deductive approach in the analysis of the data. Hence, I circumvented strict allegiance to either of these polarized camps while incurring the risk of methodological limitations arising from arguments launched at either end of this competing continuum. This approach could be criticized on the following grounds: a) It is argued that qualitative data should only be analyzed inductively from the many disparate pieces of data that are collected and then grounded by the researcher in a theory which emerges out of the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and; b) it is argued that inductive theory is impossible to devise, because the raw data are themselves only "facts" anchored within the framework of some (perhaps implicit) theory; hence the argument is mounted that there cannot be separate "observational" and "theoretical" languages (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

I agreed that a complete separation of theoretical and observational languages was impossible and used this as an argument to justify blending the virtues of inductive and deductive analytical approaches. Hence, an extensive literature review was proffered in an attempt to acquaint the reader with a historical overview of psychosocial theory as well as the conceptual split which had arisen between the behaviorist and organismic perspectives. Psychosocial theories were utilized deductively to provide a background for the study, to generate research questions,
to develop a structured interview protocol, and—when collaboratively deemed appropriate by the informants and myself—to provide organizers for categorizing the raw data emerging from the unstructured life history interviews.

The unstructured interviews were primarily utilized to ground theory inductively in the data emerging from the informants' life histories. The goal of grounding theory in this manner was to move the informant's from articulating what they knew, to collaboratively theorizing about what they knew (Lather, 1986, p. 264). Such collaborative theorizing offered me an opportunity to later examine the degree of fittingness of a priori psychosocial paradigms to the informants own lives after they had theorized about their own worlds (Kushner & Norris study cited in Lather, 1986).

**Summary**

This chapter has served as the forum in which I explained the methodology which directed the conceptualization and implementation of the study. I also discussed the methods which were utilized to gather, analyze and report the data. I specifically highlighted the methods I utilized to maximize the likelihood that the study would be judged trustworthy.
CHAPTER IV
ELIZABETH'S STORY

Introduction

The following play is an attempt to interweave researcher/informant joint analytical perspectives. It was our aim to report the data in such a manner that the reader could be drawn into experiencing Elizabeth's life vicariously. We also wanted to afford the reader an opportunity to confront instances of key themes, interpretive perspectives, and analytical constructs uncovered during the cooperative analysis of the data.

Scene One

The Meadows of My Childhood: Birth-18

It is a shimmering summer day and the sunlight dapples Cindy as she sits on a park bench in the semi-shade contemplating the cliff overhangs and dramatic rock formations surrounding her. Cindy is a 36 year old graduate student at Ohio State University. She is waiting to meet Elizabeth who is serving as an informant in her dissertation. Her study focuses on the life stories of two women who are enrolled in graduate school at midlife. She has found her way to this remote state park by frequently consulting a map Elizabeth mailed to her earlier that week. She looks at her watch and realizes she is twenty minutes early. Cindy, slightly overweight, is wearing sweats and running shoes. Her blonde hair
is pulled back in a ponytail and she wears no make-up. She is nearsighted and wears glasses that have a tendency to slip down the narrow bridge of her nose. Cindy's careless attention to her personal appearance is a source of aggravation to Elizabeth who feels she is not capitalizing on her true potential in the realm of attractiveness.

Enter Elizabeth from left of stage.

Elizabeth, too, is somewhat overweight but strikingly beautiful. Her dark brown hair is carefully styled. Her most striking features are her high, finely chiseled cheekbones and luminous violet eyes. She is wearing an elegant summer dress with a contrasting silk scarf that drapes about her neck and color coordinates with her shoes. Elizabeth walks up to the park overlook and joins Cindy. She is thinking about how much she wants to tell her life story to someone, but at the same time she is dreading that the process will be very painful. They smile at each other and exchange hellos. Cutting through the initial chit chat, Elizabeth quickly gets to the point of why they are there, and what her needs are in terms of being involved in the study.

E: What I hope to get out of participating in this study is the opportunity to look at my life from the perspective of: "These are my strengths, these are areas of weakness--these are repeating patterns where I make the same mistakes over and over." For instance, on my way here this morning, I found myself reflecting over the fact that, whenever things get bad, I go back to school. It's a repeating pattern, I "hide out" in school when things in my life
aren't going well. After the death of my second husband, I came back to higher education and enrolled in graduate course work. I've been enrolled in course work on and off the five years ever since.

A lot of tragedies happened last year. I don't want to dwell on the tragedies because they've made me who I am. I've grown through the pain. But, this is my philosophy, I want to be able to look at a tragedy and say, "All right, this happened, I can't do anything about it now, because I can't go back and change the past. But what can I learn from it?" I think this philosophy will help me eventually put a sense of perspective on the past, let it go, and then go on with my life being a little wiser.

Silence.

That's why when you talked about needing someone for your study, I thought, "This will be so good for me. I also know it will be hard." It will be painful. But it will be so good for me to be able to say, "All right. This is where I've come from, this is where I'm going to go. This is what I hope to accomplish. This is what I know I will accomplish." I think I'm a pretty good judge of character, and I felt an instant rapport with you. Had I not felt that, I probably wouldn't be here. I think even two months ago, I wouldn't have matured enough in the sense of getting through my own process enough to have participated in this project.

C: Well, you know, I feel that rapport too. Part of how I designed this study in the beginning was to have a series of unstructured interviews, first, to develop rapport. It seems that we already have that rapport, so I don't feel we have to be stuck with
the old format. You've already thought about the chapters of your life and come up with them. So I think that's the place for us to start--and at least see how it works.

E: Looking back at my life chronologically, as if it were comprised of chapters in a book, the first chapter would span the years from my birth to age eighteen. One of my most important early relationships was with my grandfather. He was the most powerful person in the family--in my opinion. He had lots and lots of grandsons, but there were no other girls in the family. There is usually only one daughter born in a McGuire family; that's just a piece of our heritage.

I wanted my grandfather's attention. The one thing that my grandfather admired above anything else was courage. The fall before my third birthday, I climbed up in the box stall and let the Percheron stud out and held him. The stud's head was taller than I was. That date I know because people have told me when I did it. After that, my grandfather was mine.

Of all the males, he was probably my biggest cheerer-oner. I would have done anything to have made him proud of me. I would take any jump, I would ride any horse, I would do anything. Because heart and courage were such important qualities to him. He was very disheartened that his sons and his grandsons were not interested in horses, they were afraid of horses. He raised and trained draft horses. He also trained show horses. Grandfather started raising them in the 1920's, and while he made his money raising registered Holstein cattle, his love was the horses.
My grandfather controlled the country voting area. For the most part, I would say he was as law abiding, as straight and as tough as a person could be. During the depression, he worked heavily in politics to make sure people had work. I can remember riding around with him before elections in an old pickup truck. We would go to the different farmers and they would talk about who they were going to vote for. It was a very patriarchal society, and he was a kind of political boss. On Sunday afternoon, we would sit on the porch and people would stop by to talk with him. Within the county, grandfather was the political kingpin. His interest was politics. He was not the crime kingpin. Whoever controlled the liquor in the county was the crime kingpin. My grandfather didn't. He found jobs for people. So people would trade political favors with him.

When I was about three or four years old, I remember my grandmother beginning to teach me the kinds of things she knew about the metaphysical realm. My grandmother was often asked to come and bless the fields, because people knew that things grew for her. She had special knowledge which she used to heal people; she was considered the local herbalist. My metaphysical training had a lot to do with developing a sense of attunement with nature. It was a concept of living, a family tradition handed down through the women. You might call it a tradition of women's mysteries. I can remember that we never cut a tree until we had released it. Even though we trapped and we hunted animals, there was a deep respect for life.
It was a kind of Celtic Irish tradition—I hate the word psychic—it doesn't express it. It wasn't occult and it didn't take the place of a deep sense of God. But it was a deep sense of the earth, a sense of inner knowledge. My grandfather used to tell me, "What your grandmother does is very important. I'm here to support her. But that can not run your life." It's a part of my life, it's a vital part of me. Later on you'll see where I gave it up and walked away from it.

C: What did your grandfather mean by you couldn't let it run your life?

E: I think people sometimes get so caught up with the metaphysical that they pretend to gain power, or pretend to be important, or it takes over their life. It has to do with thinking in patterns, I think it's more a training the mind. Then, if you have a natural bent, you grow up in it. From my father I did get a deep sense of beauty and appreciation of nature. But from my grandmother, I got a more formal training. That began somewhere between three and four.

Unfortunately my grandmother's brothers were all involved in the IRA—they were of Irish descent. They had this commitment which was basically smuggling guns and money to Ireland during the war. Most of them are dead, my father is the only one that is alive—that this would hurt. This is not going to touch him. I can talk about it now. Basically, sometimes IRA people would be at my grandfather's farm or at my father's. They would just be there. We
wouldn't talk about them. Sometimes in the top of the barn, there would be boxes that were just there--and then they weren't there.

I can remember sitting at the table time and time again. We were permitted to argue, we were permitted to debate--which was outside the community's standards for children. We were encouraged to hold our own debates. I could argue with my father or grandfather about anything. I was encouraged to be strong, to speak out, to be independent. But then my father would go around the table and say, "This is family business, do you understand that this does not go outside the family?" He'd go around the table and say, "Do you understand? Do you understand? Do you understand?" Because we were allowed to talk about anything within the family circle. But not if there were strangers present. A lot of the things that were going on in my family were very illegal. We were not a traditionally law abiding family, and yet, I grew up in a very very strict home. One did not steal, one's word was one's bond, it was very much that way.

Up until I was four, I think my parents got along very well. My mother accepted my father's definition of what a woman's lot should be. My father wanted a wife that did everything. To him, a wife was supposed to cook, sew, and make the bread. Financially, it didn't have to be that way. My mother had been very outgoing when she first met my father and she was well educated. She had gone to Bennington College. My grandmother had gone to the same college in 1902 as did my great grandmother and great, great
grandmother. That makes me a fifth generation educator although I rebelled against that idea for a long time.

Well something happened between my mother and father at about age four. Our family had been relatively stable up until that point. I have a feeling my mother was planning to leave my father. She never said this, and he would never say. But my brother and I have talked about it a lot because everything was happy and upbeat until I was about four.

I think there had been a man that had come back into her life and she had an opportunity to get reunited with him. I have a vague memory of what he looked like; I can remember being at the beach where I met him. I think that there was a deep resentment on my mother's part in staying with the family and not leaving. I saw him that one time, then I never saw him again. Then she was pregnant with Davey, and I have often wondered if he was my father's because he looks like absolutely none of us. He has none of our characteristics; I have wondered. My father would have been the kind of person who would have forgiven her and then made her pay for the rest of her life.

C: That is the event that precipitated this change in family life?

E: I'm sure. And yet, too, it may not be. That's an awful thing to say about my mother. But I have often wondered, because she loathed him. She loathed Davey. From the time he was born. She really did and it was very obvious. But she was also going through post partum depression baby blues. It's hard to sort out. Then with
Johnny—the youngest—who became my child—she was really bad. But there was not the loathing.

After the problems started between my parents, I wanted to disappear. I stayed out of mother's way. After I turned four, there was always someone in the house with her. Mother was never alone with my younger bothers when they were babies. I don't have any real thing I can tie it to, except for this:
E moves hair back and shows deep scar next to ear.

I have often wondered.

C: Have you always had that scar?

E: No, I got it somewhere in the interim. It was supposed to have been a scar from getting too much x-ray when I was a small child. I don't remember anything but going and getting prayed over and things like that which scared me. But I know mother had an enormous amount of guilt over it. I know my grandmother—after that time—made sure I was never alone with her. And the babies were never alone with her.

But the family pride kept them from getting her help; although at times I know she went to an exclusive rest home. Women often had nervous breakdowns in those times. I don't know really. I don't want to make accusations, yet, there's a mystery there and I don't have the words to explain it. I know my father would never admit to it no matter what it was—because she's dead now and he's made her into this angel.

The keeping of family secrets was really a psychological burden in many ways. Knowing that our IRA involvement was wrong and could not be spoken about—and then the knowing that there was definitely something wrong with my mother, yet no one would discuss it—these were psychologically bothersome events. It would have been so much better if the hidden agenda surrounding my mother was out in the open; but people didn't deal with mental problems—at that time—in an open way.
The next vivid memory is that I saw the first murder I have ever seen. This happened the summer before I started school. My older brother Channing and I had gone to my grandmother's house to look at some puppies. It was about a mile through the fields. We were not supposed to be there. My grandfather and my grandmother were not home at the time. We had gone up in the barn loft and we were playing around by looking down through the hay shoots--where they drop hay.

These men came into the barn, so we hid and watched them. They were dragging this guy--it turned out he had molested a child. They brought him in and almost beat him to death. Then they pulled him into the stud's loose box stall. They ran the stud over and over him. My brother and I looked down through the hay shoot and watched that happen. We went home, and we never talked to each other about it. We never told anyone, we never talked about it until just five years ago. We were sitting and discussing what a strange childhood we had--and we talked about that incident.

*Hushed Silence.*

We never, ever had talked about it before.

C: Did you hear them talking about the molestation?

E: No. I found out about that much later. But Prince, the stud, was so high strung. They ran him over and over this man but he wouldn't step on him. The loose stall was such a small space and he was a Percheron, probably weighing 2000 pounds. They finally maneuvered him so he did step on the guy.
C: Did you go down and look at the dead guy after they left?

E: No. We left. The men left and we left. We never talked about it. Ever. Until about five years ago.

I think probably in some ways the murder that we witnessed was a very influential event in terms of shaping my life. Because both my eldest brother and I have secret lives that we have always been very careful to protect. That may have been the beginning of starting to have secret lives. We never talked about that incident until we were in our forties. We grew up under this atmosphere that you didn't discuss things--and we weren't supposed to be there. It was such a horrible thing, and yet I don't have any horror when I think about it. Because it's almost like we looked down through the hay shoot and we watched a movie. But yet, I have a feeling that it also marked the beginning of my feeling, "I don't want to be here, I want to disappear."

I need to tell you a little about the area in which I grew up. Albion was a northwestern Pennsylvania town that was forty years behind the times. So I was really living in 1900, probably, when I grew up in the 1940's and 50's. It was very, very isolated and it still is. Albion had a population of about 200 people. There was one store and a feed mill; that was it. The next nearest village was five miles away. There was one constable for this entire county. There was very little breaking of any laws. These people had deep roots; they came from families that had lived there for one or two hundred years. There had been very little change in Albion over the years. We knew everybody. It was, at that time, a very
wealthy area. Pittsburgh had the steel mills. But all of the little foundries were located in these small towns.

Even though Albion was a very isolated community, it was an easy train ride to New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. We had very easy access to those cultural centers. We would buy a pass that would last the family a whole year, and we would get on a train and whip into New York in a day. We were surrounded by a whole lot of culture even though we lived in a remote, rural area.

I went to a two room school house that had eight grades. There were fifty kids in the first four grades, and then upstairs there was the second four grades. It was a fascinating thing because looking back now, I wouldn't have learned to read amid the tumult of my classmates. I already knew how to read when I started school because my older brother, Channing, had taught me. He just thought it was something I ought to be able to do. So I spent my time with Longfellow memorizing Hiawatha. I would get about six lines memorized--then I would go around and get an older student to tell me the words that I couldn't pronounce. Looking back now, I was many many pages into Hiawatha, but I didn't grasp much about mathematics.

Laughter.
Many children got a horrible education. Fortunately, the school burned down. We went to another school for three years until I was in sixth grade.

My brother Channing is two years older than me and he is a genius. He was always building bridges and dams in creeks and I
was always getting in trouble because I was helping him and getting all wet and dirty. Channing was a coward. He was an intellectual. He went off and he built real dams in his adult life by becoming an engineer, but he was a physical and a moral coward. I was never big enough to beat him up, but I could out-last him or out-frighten him. I was very spoiled.

I was about six when my middle brother Davey was born and I tried to give him away. I really believed the mailman was going to trade him for a calf. The mailman told me this, and I expected him to bring the calf every day. I wanted to give my brother away because I felt, after his birth, I had lost my status in the family. But looking at it now, the mailman must have had a wonderful time with this.

The high point of my childhood was when I was in fourth grade and I got a horse. My grandfather insisted that I have a horse and not a pony. I got the horse. For me, that was really all that I wanted. I never wanted anything from my parents after that. My horse gave me the freedom and mobility to disappear. As soon as I had the freedom of movement, I was out of the house and simply gone.

Up until the fourth grade there was only one other girl in my class; her name was Helene and she was mildly retarded. Helene was so dirty, and looking back now, I was very uncompassionate. I had to sit behind her. That was my punishment because I talked too much. Helene also had lice. Every night I would go home and complain about Helene at the dinner table. My father was starting a
business, and he also farmed. He wasn't around a whole lot. At our family dinner table, he rarely said anything. But on this particular evening he put his hand down and said, "I'm so tired of people that sit and complain. If you want Helene to change, help her. Don't come to the table again and complain about her."

I'm sitting there thinking, "Well I'll show you!" I talked all of my classmates into donating money. I got my cousin from Washington to send a dress that was too big for her. I can't remember what else I got; shoes, socks, everything. By then I had this side-kick, Sarah, who came to my school in the fourth grade; she let me lead but was a wonderful friend. This was a first grade through twelfth grade school. To let you know how many kids there were, Sarah and I disappeared lots of times for half a day and no one noticed.

We took Helene over to the high school showers. I took a can of kerosine along because I knew that was how you killed the lice on horses. I treated Helene's head. When I got to the showers, I realized her hair was awful, so I cut it. I kept cutting Helene's hair, but I couldn't get it even. I ended up cutting it quite short. She smelled like kerosine. We took her back to school and she was all cleaned up. The teacher never noticed the whole time. But all the kids knew. They got angry at me. This was my first real lesson in human nature. Because Helene now had better clothes than they did. My lesson was, when you're deep into charity work--whatever you change--you can't make it better off than the people who are
doing the giving. Because everyone in the class got angry with me. Poor Sarah got it too.

Helene's father would have shot me if I'd been a boy. Something really horrible would have happened. The school bus driver sort of saw me home that night. He was worried, and he talked to my father. See, people are very proud in Albion. Her father felt violated. His sentiment was, "How dare she do this to my daughter?" He belonged to this tribe that was over in the other end of the county and he came over with them and scared the superintendent. I can remember one of the board members coming to our house that night and talking to my father. I got kicked out of school for this, but I was back the next day. They had a special board meeting with my grandfather. The board members thought it was funny. I got teased about it for a long time.

C: What was the other lesson you learned from this incident--you said there were two.

E: The other lesson was that one really should ask before one acts. And get an O.K.

About this same time, at the age of eight, I began to lead a double life. Because that's when I first met Nick. I had just gotten my horse, and my family rode to Lake Tranquilly where we were going to spend the night. It wasn't like camping out because the camp had a cottage. This little boy appeared on the scene who was about ten years old. He was throwing stones around, and he threw one at my horse. I went after this boy on my horse. I really tried to run him down. This was one of the first times I really got in
serious trouble with my grandfather. Of course I was very angry with this boy. Later, he was attending the same school I went to after the little two room school burned down. I found out his name was Nick, and he was two years older than I was. It was always war between us at the playground; we really fought.

The next big confrontation that we had was in the summer, and I must have been nine. It happened at one of the Ladies Aide dinners. I was still burning with vengeance to get back from the year before when he had thrown stones at my horse. There was this outdoor toilet and I waited until he went in and I blocked the door after I had put a wasp's nest in on two sticks. It was an awful thing to do and my grandfather would not speak to me for almost two months. He said I had done something so wrong, he said, "I don't deal with trash." I was killed. Then I really hated this guy. It was on the playground later that this thing between us came to resolution.

But somewhere in there I realized Nick's family was not acceptable to mine. My parents were very open about everyone except Italians. There was a deep hatred of Italians. As far as my father was concerned, I could have married a murderer--I could have married anybody but an Italian. Somehow Nick's family fell in that same category even though they were Greek.

My father's hatred was so deep; it must be as bad as hatred of blacks in the south had been. Anyway, that is when I began to lead a double life. I could escape on the horse, and I met Nick. We developed a deep childhood friendship and I can remember we
promised to marry one another—we were really serious about it. But we fought all the time. All the time.

I couldn't let my family know about my friendship with Nick. From the time I was ten, when I went to bed, I was in it maybe fifteen minutes. We had a T.V. antenna up on this big pole outside my bedroom window. I was down the pole and gone. Many a night I slept in the barn, in a tree, I was gone. If I couldn't take my horse, if she was tired, I took one of the other ones. And I was gone. Either everyone knew and didn't care or I was never caught.

I know my brother Channing never told on me because he also was gone. He would come across into my bedroom and go down the pole too. We didn't want to go down the stairs because they squeaked. My father worked nights in his meat packing business and ran the farm during the day, so he wasn't around much. My mother was there or Esther Anne or somebody who was looking after us, but they were always asleep. Or we quiet enough they never found out. In any event, we we're gone and it was no problem. Probably at least three or four nights a week we were both gone. Even in the winter, we were out of the house, and it was very cold in that part of the country. That was my way of dealing with things; I was just not there.

I tried to change the name of the town we lived in once. It was when I was not too much older than the incident with Helene. That was my next big disaster. But anyway, there were no town signs. I talked to the Sunday school teacher about it, and she said, "Yes, we could get signs." I organized all of these neighborhood kids
and we went around the community and collected the money for the signs. My Sunday school teacher gave me the form to fill out to send away for them.

My grandmother was deeply involved in local history. Our family had roots in Albion which stretched back to the time Washington came to the valley during the French and Indian War. I learned the town had been called Eagle Valley at one time, and that was so much prettier than Albion. So yours truly decided that we would just change the name of the town. The signs came in, and my Sunday school teacher's husband got them because he was the one who was supposed to put them up. He went to my grandfather and said, "What is this?" Well everyone got all in an uproar over it. I'm the one who had caused it because I had filled out the form as Eagle Valley. The signs had to go back and be changed to Albion. I don't know who paid for that. When I go back, even now, I get teased about this.

I had a lot of freedom when I was growing up. I could ride a good 18 miles in any direction. This is a huge, remote area where the streams are stocked with trout, so you have trout fisherman in the spring, bass fisherman in the summer, enormous numbers of deer hunters in the fall and winter. It was not safe to leave the property. But the only rules were, I could not leave the yard without the dog, and I could not leave the property without a gun and the horse. This was for my own safety. Other than that, there were no rules.
I think if I had been told, you have to be home at four o'clock, I wouldn't have been home at four o'clock. If I was told, "You know what to do and what we expect you to do", I would be home at four o'clock. Fortunately I had parents that were smart enough to understand this. I made my own rules for living when I was about eight. Eight was a good year. My rules were: "Everybody gets three chances and that's it. Also, I will not hurt anyone else."

As a child, I competed with the boys. I had to compete. I competed with all of them. It was so important to me to be able to beat all of them. This was partly due to the fact that I was fortunate enough to have a lot of strong women role models as I was growing up. Prior to 1900, the local women of Albion took their egg money and put a woman I came to know as Dr. Springer through medical school. The agreement was, that she would come back once or twice a month to treat them. That's how I got my sex education, such as it was. I always wanted to write a book called the Ladies Aid because that was what these women of the community called themselves. They had their own aid rooms, that were not connected with the church. No men had any control over them. They pooled their money and invested it in different kinds of things. For farm women they were very progressive. Pennsylvania was very much like New England--at least that part of Pennsylvania.

These ladies supported lots of different women's things. The Ladies Aide from that particular county were very outspoken--they were very, very strong women. They were financially independent
from any church or any males. They held dinners twice a month to make money. That's how they collected--along with their own egg money--funds to send Dr. Springer to medical school. She came back to live permanently in Albion in the late 1950's. But all that time after she got out of medical school, she had lived in Rio Grande Ohio. She had her own car, and she would drive over to Albion. She delivered babies, she did things for women. She never married.

I can remember sitting in this parlor, I was probably ten years old, when my friend Sarah and I got our sex education. This is what a period is--the whole bit. Plus we got our initiation into birth control. It would have been difficult to get a man from that community to use any kind of prophylactic. Women who didn't want to carry their children to term could go to Dr. Springer for an abortion.

Esther Anne and Emily were my adopted grandmothers. Esther Anne made me the most beautiful clothes. She lived to be a hundred and three, and she died in a temper tantrum--throwing her shoe at the doctor because he had told her she could not wear high heels without a walker. I've got a lot of notes on her life. I must have known her when she was in her eighties. She was dynamic, she had her hair done every day, she went to the dressmaker and had her dresses made. She sat in straight chairs, and she was very outspoken. I would stand perfectly still for her while she did whatever she had to do to make my dresses because they were always gorgeous. But, she was always telling me, "Pretty
is as pretty does, that is unbecoming to a young lady." I must have heard those sayings a million times.

There was a perception too, by the women of the community that men were not supposed to be compassionate or caring. I think I came away with the idea that strength was the main quality to look for in a man.

C: Did Nick have compassion?

E: No. Nick had no tenderness and no gentleness. Even though we fought, he did not want to change me. He liked me as I was. But there was no compassion, no tenderness and no gentleness in Nick. We had passion. We fought or we had passion and that was about the limit of it. But that comes out in a later chapter; and looking now, I cheated myself out of a whole aspect of life by avoiding compassionate men. But the importance of compassion wasn't shown to me; I grew up in a New England atmosphere--you know--you don't show your emotions--you don't hug for example. I never, ever saw the touching, caring kinds of things modeled as a child. I saw giving, but even Esther Anne would have died if I had given her a hug. There was lots of caring and giving, but no demonstrative touching. Looking back now, I changed the way I raised my own children for which I'm very glad.

I had lots and lots of freedom growing up; I was encouraged to be outspoken and independent. Once I chased some people out of my grandfather's woods. Because they really had no business being in there. But it was like there was a reward for showing courage by standing up to them. The reward was acknowledgement if you
stood on your own two feet and handled problems yourself. You were not to go to others for help.

Sixth grade was a very bad year for me. If I became a good educator and a child advocate later in life, it was because the teacher that I had at that time was so mean. To be truthful, to this day, if he got in front of me and I was in a car, I would be tempted to run him down. He was so cruel. I think it was because I was defiant that he decided he was going to break me. He made my life miserable for a whole year. No one bailed me out. I'm glad they didn't but I didn't have many weapons with which to fight. The only weapons I had were I could hold my ground and I would not give in. That's all I could do.

His big thing was to humiliate me. My mother had cut my hair all off when I was eight and it looked horrible. I couldn't forgive her for ages. But by the time I was eleven, my hair was getting pretty. One time I brushed it. He saw this so he made me get up in front of the class and brush my hair for what seemed like an hour. He did these very humiliating types of things to me.

I wanted revenge. I wanted some way to get back. I felt, "How dare you do this to me?" Every day he had something special planned for me. I don't think my parents were aware of how bad it was, I know my grandfather wasn't. I would be in a spelling bee and we got suckers for every word we spelled right. Then if I missed a word, I had to give them all back. If anybody else missed one, they only had to give one back.
In seventh grade our township merged with another district and I went to Brownsville elementary. From seventh to twelfth I had a good educational experience. I never missed the honor role, and I was involved in everything possible. For one thing, it was on the other side of the county, and I was under my grandfather's rule again. My mother had taught in that school. I was safe.

From then up until I graduated from high school, I had a very good educational experience. I continued to ride, show and train horses. I got my first horse training job when I was in seventh grade. Later on, the guy who had given me that job, approached me and he said "You're Elizabeth McGuire aren't you?" I said, "Yes." And he said, "You know you trained a horse for me." He had paid me, but I never got any feedback as to how the horse had worked out for him. He said, "I've got six more. Do you want them for the summer?" From then on, I had plenty of horses to train.

Basically, if a role was made available, I took it. From seventh grade through twelfth I was cheerleader. I was in all of the plays. I was the beauty queen, you name it and I did it. I dated, had lots of friends, and it was a very happy time, a very safe time.

The family got out of their involvement with the IRA in 1952 when I was about ten years old. Up until that time, grandfather had allowed his property to be used for smuggling purposes, but my grandmother's brothers were the actual smugglers. They had smuggled liquor during prohibition, they smuggled guns and money all during the war, they were in and out of the country all of the time—back and forth to Ireland. We lived right near the lake which
separated the state from Canada. It was easier to get guns and funds out of Canada than it was out of the U.S. There were sometimes people staying at my grandmother's place as well as my father's place. There was a cabin in the woods--this was a place we were not allowed to go. The cabin is still there.

We had this beautiful pasture that had a large sandbank. I came upon a body there that something had dug out--probably a skunk or a possum. The person had been buried too close to the surface. In the sand, it was easy for a rodent to dig up the body. It was on Easter morning. I can not remember if I was nine or ten years old at the time. I can remember going to Charlie, who was the man who worked for my grandfather, and I was so angry. I said, "You're a Catholic and he didn't even get a priest's burial. The dead man was his friend. This incident is still hard for me to talk about because I am breaking barriers that are difficult. But I think that what they had done, they had gotten into some kind of running battle with something that was going on over on the Canadian side.

It was on Easter Sunday morning. I can remember throwing a temper tantrum at the table and telling my grandfather that he was the head of the family and he shouldn't allow this to be going on. The dead man had been an IRA person, and I think he had just been temporarily buried by the IRA on my grandfather's property, until they could move the body somewhere else. I knew who it was when I saw him. I can remember confronting my grandfather; I said: "How can you be a man, how can you be the head of our family and do this?" Then I yelled at Charlie because it was his friend who
was dead. And he had allowed him to be buried without a priest. It was just awful from my standpoint. This man had been a lovely human being. I think he had probably gotten wounded in some sort of skirmish and died. This was the event that precipitated the family ending its IRA activities.

_Silence._

Both my mother and grandfather were very progressive. It was important to both of them that I stand on my own two feet. If I wanted any family approval, I had to handle things myself. I had to take care of my own horse, I had to clean my own stalls, I had to ride that horse, if I fell off, I had to get back on--it didn't matter how badly I was hurt, I got back on. If I got into a fight at school, I handled it myself. That makes for both negative and positive agendas that come out later in my life. But it gave me a sense of self which I have never really surrendered no matter how bad things have gotten. Sometimes that's all I have, this sense of who and what I am.

When I was eleven, my youngest brother was born. He was sort of mine because mother had what I would call "after baby blues" when he was born. She had not decided to go back to work or school; so she had a lot of depression. I just adored him. We have a real close tie. When I think how I dragged him around on the back of my horse....he was only two years old.

C: He probably loved it.

E: Oh he did, but when I think of the danger....I was about twelve when he was born--it was on March 21st and I was in the
seventh grade. I was a cheerleader, and I had him on my hands for so much of the time, but it never slowed me down. It was so nice to have lived in that area because the teacher's never got upset; I think they all understood the family situation. We had folding chairs that were laid up alongside the bleachers, and we would make a play pen out of them, and I would go out and cheer and then come back and watch over him. If I went anywhere, he had to go with me.

C: Where was your mother during this time?

E: She was either in bed or she was away somewhere. She would go off to Arizona, Florida--lots of places. It took my mother about three years to work out her problems. About the time when it first started, my father wanted to give the baby to my grandmother and send my middle brother and me off to my grandfather McGuire in Florida. We all rebelled. It was the only time my oldest brother stood up to my father; we did not want the family broken up.

My father was starting a new business, and he suddenly found himself with a wife that was not able to deal with anything. Sending the kids away was his way of trying to cope with it. Finally, he agreed to hire a housekeeper who was supposed to help out, and she just didn't work out. We were horrible to her. So then we decided to run the place ourselves. My eldest brother ran the farm while I managed the house. I took care of the baby. I was a child taking care of children. My grandmother helped me plan meals, I really didn't have to do a lot of cooking. My main tasks
were keeping things running, keeping things neat, making sure my brothers did what they were supposed to do.

During this period, I also managed to have an active social life. I taught Sunday school when I was in seventh grade, I started subing in the elementary school when they didn't have subs--that was in the ninth grade. I never thought that I couldn't do it. It wasn't until I reached adulthood that I realized there are some things you just can't do.

I was glad to have my mother out of my life when I turned twelve, but three years later, she came back to the family. It was very obvious that she and I could not stay in the same house. My grandmother said, "You know, you have been running the house, and now your mother is back and she has to recover." I moved in with my grandparents until my grandmother died.

My parents wanted me to marry someone I did not want to marry. His name was Floyd and his father was very, very wealthy. Floyd had a Cadillac. I started to date him when I was fifteen and he was a year older than I was. He was a nice kid but he was not intelligent. If I had been coerced into marrying Floyd, I would have had to stay in Albion. I would have been under the family's control. I was the one that wasn't under control. All of my brothers were under control for quite a period of time. His father was a contractor. I think his father and my father would have merged businesses. My family thought that if I married Floyd I would have a good life, and that I would stay there. That was the last thing I
wanted; I wanted out of Albion. I would have done anything to get out. I was not going to marry him.

My goals for adulthood were, I wanted to train horses, I wanted to write books, and I wanted to have a home for delinquent boys. When I graduated from high school, I signed a horse training contract. Grandfather finally supported my decision. We talked about it. I can remember. He was down in bed for about two weeks. He had a bad fall from a tractor. It had gotten stuck, and it started to turn over and he managed to jump off, but he hit his head. After that there was a six week period when he was ill; and looking back now, I think he had a skull fracture. They had the doctor out, he would not go to the hospital, and no one of course would argue with him. I can remember sitting on his bed. He said, "Well, if you want to do this you can, but you won't be safe."

I took off to show Tennessee Walkers on the national circuit. I had a big truck, right behind the cab there was a little sleeping area. I had a horrible time backing the rig up. I had six horses, my gun, my dog and myself. The first night I spent locked in the van and there was this drunk on the outside wanting to get in. Thank God I had the dog. I called home about the third week I was on the road and Charlie answered the phone. I said, "I can't stand it any more!" He said he would come and he spent the rest of the time with me. As soon as my contract was up, I borrowed some money from my grandmother and went to business college. The main thing I discovered was that my grandfather was right, it wasn't a safe occupation for me.
That pretty much takes me to the end of this chapter. Grandfather died two weeks after I graduated from high school. Its kind of ironic that my grandfather's death in some ways probably freed me from having to live up to his expectations. It also allowed me to get out of the horse training business much quicker. He was dead when I called Charlie for help. I don't think I would have called for help had he been alive. The demarcation points which marked the end of this chapter were my grandfather's death and me taking off to test my own wings. I left this nice, safe sheltered environment, and I found out that it was not as safe out there in the bigger world.

At the end of this chapter, I knew my grandfather wished me well, but I also knew he didn't wish me well for the reasons I wanted him to wish me well. I wanted him to want me to develop positive qualities for my own sake. For instance, courage was an all important quality to him—tenderness and compassion were not. It's taken me a long time to be able to look at him as he really was, and not how I idolized him. He was strong, cold, and completely lacking in compassion. I would never have had his support had I not always been proving myself by displaying the qualities he thought were important—such as courage.

Silence.

I have to elaborate on something here. I was terrified to ride the horses I rode. I was thinking of this on my way up here today. I was absolutely terrified. But if I had shown fear, I would have lost him immediately. I had learned I could have one thing to be
afraid of, and I was afraid of spiders. I would save all my screams up for when I saw a spider. To this day, if I have a lot happening to me, and I will see a spider, I will let it all out. I learned that really early. Because had I shown fear, I would have lost my grandfather's support immediately. The animals I was riding were way beyond anything I could handle. The jumps I took--I would have taken any jump. Because that was what I really counted for. I was his grand-daughter; I was totally unafraid, I added to his prestige. It was a bunch of crap.

Looking back, I learned a lot from growing up in Albion. It was a wonderful place in many ways--it forced me to develop some solid survival skills. The people were the salt of the earth. But yet, they had this other, backward side. Albion was always forty years behind the times; and it still is. By the end this chapter, I was willing to do almost anything to get out of that community and away from the family's control.

I'd like to finish talking about this chapter by reading you a poem I wrote about the secret life I lived as a child. At first I was going to title it, "The Other Me." But, then, I decided to call it:
Meadows of My Childhood

Last night I walked,
    Among the mayflowers.
    And, laid my head,
        Upon the cool, cool moss.

And, once more roamed,
    The meadows of my childhood.
    Where dreams come true,
        And, castles fall without a loss.

I saw the yellow butterflies,
    On, winding dusty roads of home.
    And, rode my horse through,
        Fallow fields across the lake.

I listened to the echoes,
    Of, childhood's songs and laughter.
    And, felt the growth of Love,
        That time and distance cannot break.

And, there beneath,
    The shrouded beach tree.
    I let my secret,
        Side roam free.

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Curtain.
Scene Two
Forced Choices: 18-21

The blurred scene begins to refocus.

Elizabeth and Cindy are sitting under the covered bleachers of a deserted fairgrounds. The bleachers face a circular track. A profusion of daisies and chickory spread across the grass within the circumference of the track and a gentle rain is producing an eerie mist that hangs everywhere. The grounds are over a century old giving them a sense of antiquity and history. The surrounding steepled barns and buildings are well maintained and have been newly painted—white with red trim. The area is hilly with a sheer cliff on one side which rises several hundred feet into the air and is dotted with trees at the top. In the cool misting morning, Cindy sits listening to Elizabeth as she shares her life story.

E: My mother took over as the head of the family after grandfather died. She received a large inheritance from him--about one hundred thousand dollars, and at that time it was a lot of money. But, actually, her status within the family had begun to change even before that. She had already launched herself into a career by getting a job teaching high school the year before grandfather died.

I had fulfilled the terms of my horse training contract in December. After that, I decided to go to business college because my father's meat packing business was starting to get off the ground, and I felt I could run it better than he could. I suppose that sounds terribly self centered, but I do have an enormous ego. I
really would have enjoyed taking over my father's business and making it a success. I could have done so. Because he could have expanded his business into a three state area. He certainly had the recipes and the kinds of resources to make it work. He was breaking into the business at just about the same time as Bob Evans was starting out. He had a different line of meat, but it was very well accepted. He could have made it go if he hadn't been so disorganized.

C: This was a bit of breaking tradition by not pursuing a major in education?

E: Right. I borrowed money from my grandmother to go to a business college in Pittsburgh, and I enrolled from January through June. I spent the week in Pittsburgh attending college, and then I would come home to Albion on the weekends and stay with grandmother. It was about a forty mile commute. I made an enormous number of friends in Pittsburgh. It was far enough away that I was out from under the family's influence--nobody in Pittsburgh cared who I was. I had anonymity and I loved it. I got fabulous grades, I liked what I was doing. I could see all kinds of avenues opening up ahead of me.

Nick was attending a branch of the University of Pennsylvania during this period, so we spent a lot of time together. We could be out in the open about our relationship because I was boarding with this elderly lady who lived in a beautiful old house. I was free. There were no ties on me excepting that I did have to come home on the week-end. But during the week, my time was my own.
Nick and I had this big fight that spring; I was determined that I was going to be a virgin when I married, and I would not sleep with him. We didn't have sex, and that finished us. He went charging off, he had this Greek, male machismo thing. He wanted to get married then and there, and I didn't. At the time, I did not realize how deep a hole I was digging for myself. Not deepening my commitment with Nick was the biggest mistake I made during this chapter. He went back to the University of Pennsylvania, and I didn't see him again from age 18 until I was in my 30's. The whole time it was either passion or war with us. There was never much of anything in between. But the loss of Nick was a bigger loss than I thought at the time. He was a source of support, and it was coming from someone my own age.

That fall I got a job working as a teacher's aid in the school in Albion where my mother was working. I taught mentally retarded kids, and to my surprise, I really enjoyed it. I saw some things that, looking back now, have had a big impact on my belief in child advocacy as it pertains to how children should be educated. I saw children being neglected and not enabled in the sense of having their abilities developed. The curriculum was not designed to launch their abilities it was geared towards helping them slip along in society so they wouldn't be noticed too much.

My being hired for this teacher's aid position was contingent on switching over to an education major. I transferred to a small college near Albion and kept working toward my bachelor's degree part-time. I still lived with my grandmother and I rode back and
forth with mother to the school where we both taught. My grandmother just gradually gave up her will to live after grandfather died. She spent a lot of time in the metaphysical traditions, giving me more and more training. But she really just stepped aside and allowed my mother to take over as the head of the family.

During the spring of that year, my oldest brother Channing had put up this enormous amount of money for 10,000 acres of timberland that he was going to log—it was virgin timber. He had entered into a partnership with some other people—he was not even 21 then—and he had pledged a lot of money. He owed the bank thousands of dollars; he cashed some checks he shouldn't have cashed, and then took off and disappeared. No one knew where he was. He had a little baby and a wife at the time.

So my parents began to bail him out financially. In the process of rescuing Channing, mother lost her inheritance and my father lost his meat packing business. Almost every cent I earned was being used to help pay off this enormous debt. My grandmother's farm was rented out, and we all worked like dogs. My middle brother and I started running the family farm. My father just kind of threw up his hands and gave up. I can remember them talking about it later. At first mother was going to reject my brother and let him go to jail. My father said, "No, we have to take care of him."

My parents lost just about every cent they had, and it had taken my grandfather all of his life to build it up. My grandmother
didn't get involved in any of this. It all happened about a year and a half after my grandfather's death. He died in June, and she died almost two years later in April. I decided to bury all of the metaphysical aspects of my life when she died.

C: Why was that?

E: When my grandmother died, the whole community of Albion was in a process of change. It's prosperity was ending as business was pulling out; nothing was going positively there. Also, I had lost all of my support system. In addition to the loss of my grandparents and Nick, Sarah had moved away as had Charlie. When grandmother died, I felt that if I was going be able to survive, I had only one choice--to get away from Albion and leave the family burdens behind me. My metaphysical training just seemed like a piece of extra baggage I didn't want to have to carry away with me. But as it turned out, I never really gave it up, I just suppressed it.

Anyway, I worked like a dog as a teacher's aid and I was making very slow progress on my bachelor's degree as I was only enrolled in course work part-time. I can remember getting my summer's paycheck. I paid my tuition and bought myself five dresses. The rest of it went immediately to help pay the family debt. Every extra cent I earned went that way. The thing was, it didn't have to be that way--had mother used any common sense at all. I don't know where my father was at the time because mother was in control, total control over the family, and everybody was supposed to do precisely what she said. But, she didn't need to
throw the money away. The family was not legally committed to resolving Channing's debts.

Channing was gone for six weeks and he finally showed up at my aunt's; he'd been to California, Texas, Arizona, and Louisiana. He'd been jailed in Louisiana as an amnesia victim. He was wandering around and didn't remember anything. Mother went and got him but the family did not get him any type of mental help. He had a real horrible period of adjustment. Mother put his farm up for rent. He and his wife lived in this little trailer, and my mother gave them a monthly allowance, which put her in control of their life--she was in control of everybody's life. My father got him a job on the railroad. He later went on and got his engineering degree and put his life back together again.

I had to go back and live at home after grandmother died. My God, I would have done anything to get out of that house and my mother's control at that point. I would have done anything. It was a very threatening situation. I knew that in order to survive--and survival has always been very important to me--I was going have to get out. I also knew that I was not going to be permitted to leave any way other than marriage. That was the rule. That was my parents attitude and that was also the attitude of the community at that time. This was the end of the 1950's in a town that was already forty years behind the times. I saw marriage as my way out of the family.

Where women were in terms of social expectations of the time had a lot to do with my limited sense of options during this chapter.
In that community, young girls didn't have a lot of choices. Of the girls that graduated from high school, only a few went on to college. Professionally, there were very few choices open to girls. You could be a secretary, nurse or teacher. This was the end of the 1950's in a town that was already forty years behind the times. I can remember in school, on a career day, a state highway patrol man came to talk to our class. Of course he stressed that women could not be in the highway patrol. You were expected to get married and have children, but you were not expected to work. Even though my mother went back to work, that was outside the norm.

C: Could you elaborate a little more on why you felt remaining in Albion posed a threat to your survival?

E: The threat to my survival involved remaining in a community that was dying and had no future. I would have had to given up college eventually, because that was really being pressured. I could have been a teacher's aid for the rest of my life. Or, I could have marry Floyd and immediately gotten pregnant and had post partum depression and repeated my mother's whole pattern--I'm sure I would have. I loathed Floyd. I dated him in high school because I could control him. I was attractive, and I had to be careful who I dated because I knew I couldn't control everybody. So the threat involved being pressured into marrying Floyd so I would remain in Albion and be under the family's control, and more specifically, under mother's control.

While I was attending college, I got re-acquainted with Chet--he had been a friend of my older bother's and had grown up near
Albion. In college, he was president of his class and he had goals. I really thought that he was going somewhere. He wanted to be a senator. I had many connections in the county due to my grandfather's former position of political patriarch. Most importantly, Chet came from what I thought was a "normal family". The plan I had for myself was to get married and have this normal life with him. I have to say, I reeled him in like a fish. Kept the virginity, played the good little girl. In 1962, I married him—just before my twenty-first birthday. I decided to marry him, he really didn't have a choice in the matter. Everybody in the family would agree with me when I say I just reeled him in. Actually, Chet was the best marital choice that was available to me. Had there been any better, I would have chosen that. You have to remember that what I wanted was to be away from Albion and out of my mother's control. I would have done anything to have achieved this goal—as coldly and analytically as possible. That was the way it was.

I had been married only four months, and I knew this was the most disastrous mistake I had ever made in my whole life. In order to escape from Albion and my family, I had married a person who was very cold, extremely selfish, and I was feeling guilty for not being in love with him. Looking back now, all the signs were there. He made this big production about giving me a star sapphire wedding ring. It was fake. If I had had one grain of sense, I would have taken it and gotten it appraised. It was not until after my divorce that I found out it was fake.
To make matters even worse, I got pregnant only four months after my marriage. I really didn't plan on having any children of my own. I'd already helped raise my younger brothers, and after that, I decided I didn't want to have to be responsible for anymore kids. But here I was pregnant. I ended up having a terrible childbirth. It was just unbelievable. The hospital staff didn't think I was going to make it. And I had seen birth. It was worse than anything I had ever seen with an animal. Oh my God! It was awful, but I survived. So, I get this kid. The bonding process was instantaneous. It really was. And the protectiveness.

Now, I am in this marriage that I know intuitively is over. It never should have been. But I have this kid. I have no money. I would not go back home. I would rather have been dead than to have gone back to the family. I considered my choices. I can forgive myself now for staying in the marriage. I said to myself, "You are going to make a success out of this man. Whether he likes it or not, he is going to be a success." The baby was six weeks old, I went back to work and back to school. I decided I would give myself two years to complete my bachelor's degree after which my husband would go on for his master's degree and doctorate whether he liked it or not.

His scholastic area at that time was mathematics. He had talked about becoming a senator. But by then, I knew that that was just a bunch of garbage. He didn't have that kind of stuff in him. Nevertheless, he was very intelligent. I became superwoman. My house was absolutely spotless, I could cook very well, but I never
did learn how to sew or make bread. Chet once told me I would have been the perfect wife if I could sew and bake bread. I kept him so sexually happy that he never even knew that I couldn't stand him. I played this wonder-wife role. Partly it was pride, and also ego. I was not about to admit I had failed. I think I lost an enormous amount of self esteem during this chapter, because in order to get what I thought I wanted--a normal life away from my family and Albion--I gave up so much of my self. Most importantly, I surrendered my independence.

This is where this chapter ends--with the birth of my first child Eric. I've written a poem that really captures how I feel about this period of my life. It's called:
Forced Choices

Whenever someone says,
Meet my better-half.
I always have a wicked desire,
To turn-up-my-toes and laugh.
For there could never be,
Someone ELSE who was
  the better half of me.

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Curtain
Scene Three
Shades of Gray: 21-39

It is a sweltering Ohio mid-day. Cindy and Elizabeth are sitting in the shady recesses of a shelter house which is perched alongside that portion of the Olentangy River which snakes beside Ohio State University. The shelter house is a simple structure—a roof supported with beams, four open sides and a concrete floor. Elizabeth and Cindy and are seated at one of the picnic tables eating lunch amid the buzz of flies which have detected the presence of food. A covey of ducks stand a few feet away watching. Periodically, Elizabeth tosses them a bit of sandwich bread which is quickly devoured. In the distance, an OSU lawn mower motor hums. The lawn surrounding the shelter house has not yet been cut and it is full of dandelions and their bumble bee companions.

Elizabeth continues on with her life story.

E: After Eric was born, the marriage was really over. But it wasn't over. I knew that I was caught in the situation. At that time I didn't have the courage to get out—I felt that I couldn't have earned my own way; I would never have admitted to my family that I had gotten caught. Now, I could have gone back to my family. But pride would not have permitted it. I would never have given in and let them know they were right about Chet being an inappropriate marital choice. I wouldn't have stayed in Albion and allowed them to have control over my life. My choice was to stay in the marriage; in some ways it was the best thing for me, and in some ways it wasn't. Because if I'd gone back to Albion, I don't
think I would have gotten away again. Unless I had reconnected with Nick.

I went back to work as a substitute teacher when Eric was six weeks old. I also started going to college to complete my bachelor's degree; I had about two years left to finish. Chet began to teach mathematics. Unfortunately, he could never stand to work for a woman. His first job was working for a woman. He exhibited all kinds of the male chauvinistic complaints; this was a side I had not seen in him before. I finished my bachelor's degree and graduated in the summer of 1966. We had purchased a house which I completely redid. It was this little scrubby thing, but it had nice lines. In January, I took a job teaching second grade. From January until June, I just taught second grade.

That fall, Chet applied for scholarship money to pursue a master's degree in political science at Ohio University. At that time Pennsylvania had fallen into poverty and the War on Poverty was going on. This person from Ohio University had written a grant that would give a master's degree to thirty students from poverty states—or states with pockets of poverty. We were living in one of those poverty pockets.

So we moved to Laurelville Ohio and Chet began working on his master's degree in political science. Laurelville was about twelve miles from Athens. It only had 5000 people, but I'm so glad that we lived there. The people were the salt of the earth, even though they suffered so much pain and so much tragedy. I went in
there with the idea that I was going to have a crusade. And I did. I made some changes.

I taught sixth grade in Laurelville for two years. I really got to know everyone in the town. It was a cultural shock. I thought I had lived in a deprived area. I came to realize I knew nothing about poverty. I knew nothing about suffering, I knew nothing about women being so beaten down. I knew nothing about the cycle of deprivation that goes with moonshine.

Vietnam was beginning to erupt. Civil rights was beginning to erupt, the war on poverty was beginning to erupt. I began my second secret life. Chet had joined the Coast Guard Reserve before we left Pennsylvania. This meant that at least one week-end a month he was gone. There were lots of other week-ends that Chet would go off to a study group or whatever. Every week-end that Chet was gone, I was active in something. Eric was a baby, I took him with me. I can remember demonstrating on High Street in Columbus with a bunch of other activist ladies. We had our kids all lined up in their baby buggies.

Laughter.

I became an activist, but it had to be a secret activist. I was an activist against whatever was marching at the time.

C: Chet knew nothing about your secret life?

E: No. I was the perfect little wife at home. I kept Chet sexually satisfied, I kept an immaculate house, I kept everything organized, I typed all of his papers, I wrote most of his papers--I have a good background in political science now; I just don't have
the degree. My secret activist life was my escape from my marriage. I took Eric with me and off we went.

My mental protection has always been to have a secret life. It had to do with escaping from the real world, or the world I was living in at the time. My life was not happy trying to be the perfect wife. My secret life was an escape from that. The problem with my secret lives was that they became compartments I kept closely guarded. I was always afraid I would reveal too much, so I kept these secret doors locked, and I was not in the habit of deeply contemplating what lay behind them. I've found out that I have to be relaxed to open these locked doors in order to really look at what's inside them. Our talking together has played an important part in encouraging me to do this.

The chipping away of my own self-esteem took place throughout the marriage. Because for one thing, I felt guilty as hell for being married to this person who I didn't love. Also, I didn't want to face the fact that he truly didn't care about me. The guilt I felt in living a lie began to erode my own sense of self-confidence; that core sense of self. But, nevertheless, I promoted him. I put him first, or at least that's what he saw. He had the best clothes in the family--all of that kind of stuff. I was going to make something out of him, and a lot of this had to do with my refusal to face up to the fact that my marriage was mistake.

C: Well it sounds like he had become your project.

E: Throughout the majority of the marriage, all of my time and energy were poured into forcing him ahead. He would not have
completed his doctorate without me; I don't think he would have ever applied to his master's program without the kind of pushing that he got.

I would have liked to have gone on for my master's sooner than I did; and we could have afforded it. But, Chet was always of the opinion that we couldn't. So I kept teaching. We had constant war all through our marriage over finances. Chet would manage to make bills consume most of the money; he was an extremely cold controlling type of person. He never controlled me; but he never knew that until the end.

I taught all of the sixth graders in Laurelville and I taught only science and health. That's where I got into the hands-on sciences. Initially, I was hired to teach third grade. But I was placed in a sixth grade class the first day; and I had never taught sixth graders. I had kids that were seventeen and still in sixth grade--kids who could not read. And I had a science book they could not understand. So we collected leaves, we caught crayfish, we studied mealworms; hands-on teaching was just coming into vogue. We boiled down chickens, and we learned their bone structure, put them back together and finally ate the meat. We had a carnival, we boiled pumpkins and had a pumpkin pie throw. We planted trees with the boy scouts. They let me do just about anything. I had a marvelous two years.

We moved to Newark after Chet had finished his course work at Ohio University, and I taught one year of sixth grade there. Chet had not finished his dissertation. He had all of his course work
done, he was supposed to do his dissertation, and he kept screwing around and didn't work on it. This was his weapon I think. We moved to Newark, and he taught exactly one half of the year, and found he couldn't handle the high school. He got a job with the state department. He was back to working for a woman again and got into the same kinds of chauvinistic problems with her. He felt his life was terrible.

I found Newark to be an extremely unfriendly city. We were living on the wrong side of the town, I just felt completely locked out of the community there. Eric had a terrible time. He had been in kindergarten in Laurelville and did beautifully; his first year of school in Newark was terrible, but our first year was terrible. Then at the end of that year I was pregnant with my youngest son Mark; he's eight years younger than Eric. Both my kids were accidents on birth control.

In October, I was seven and a half months pregnant and I suddenly started hemorrhaging to the place where my shoes were filling up with blood. I called my doctor at the hospital and he said, "Get here as fast as you can." I was bleeding all over the floor leaving big bloody foot-tracks. I called the baby sitter, and Chet was saying, "Should I shave, or shouldn't I? Do I have time to shave?" I'm thinking, "I'm going to have to drive myself to the hospital, I'm going to bleed to death, I'm not going to get out of this." I went down and got in the car, I had to wait five minutes for Chet and I was still hemorrhaging everywhere.
When we finally got to the hospital, I wanted Chet to drive me up to the emergency door so I could be wheeled in a chair. He said, "Oh no. We have to walk." He refused to drive me up to the emergency door. I didn't even know how much blood I had lost by then. I had to get shock blocks, a blood transfusion—the whole thing. The kid survived and I survived. My labor only lasted twelve hours that time; it was a relatively easy delivery compared to the first one.

Mark was born with jaundice and he had an immature stomach. He had all kinds of medical problems. He was three years old before he slept through the first night. At first I thought he didn't have any hearing. He had to be fed every two hours, and he had projectile vomiting. Then he got everything imaginable. He developed this strange thing where he would get extremely high fevers. He was just the most unhappy baby going. But in a way it was my sanity. Because the worse he got, the stronger I got.

After Mark's birth, I had what was probably very similar to post partum baby blues. I think one of the factors that contributed to my mental deterioration at this point was not facing the truth that I had to get out of the marriage. Initially, I hadn't gotten out of the marriage primarily because I didn't think I could survive alone with Eric from a financial standpoint. But the longer I stayed in the marriage, the more it eroded my sense of self-esteem and self-confidence. So, therefore, I became trapped even longer. Then too, there had never been a divorce in my family until mine. Even my parents had managed to stay together. I was socialized to believe
that divorce was not an option; it was something that just wasn't done. I was also socialized to believe that, as a female, I wasn't terribly intelligent. It wasn't until many years into my marriage that I realized how intelligent I was. Having two brothers that are in the genius range probably contributed to this. Up until the point I really committed myself to my career, I had traded more on my looks. When I recognized my intelligence, I gradually shifted over and began to trade on my talents, skills, and abilities.

I got very little sleep with all of Mark's medical problems, and I was getting suicidal. I just walked out of the house one night and checked into a Ramada Inn. That was when I decided to get professional help. I called a psychiatrist out of the local yellow pages. That was a mistake. I went to him about six times. He wanted me to take all kinds of medication. After going to this psychiatrist for only a short while, I decided, "I'm going to be a zombie if I keep this up." I stopped seeing him and taking the medicine he was prescribing.

Chet went away for two weeks during this period. I absolutely begged him not to go. Because I was scared. I had all of these feelings of hatred toward the children. I just wanted to go to bed and not get up. I begged Chet not to leave me alone with the children. I was really scarred, and there was nobody to help me.

He did--he left. Another little closed door which I almost failed to mention. I strongly considered suicide at this point in my life. I wrote a note and got somebody to baby-sit the children. I had this place where I was going to go do it, but I hadn't really
made a commitment to do it. I went down to Cantwell Cliffs about nine o'clock at night. You know, I love that area--Cantwell Cliffs; it's so beautiful early in the morning. Anyway, I had been thinking, "I won't have courage to jump off the cliff, but I will run down the steps fast enough to lose my footing." It probably wouldn't have killed me. I probably would have ended up a big mess. But I was so afraid I might do something to the children. I was afraid because I had never felt those kind of emotions. My bonding was so close with the children I wanted to protect them from the anger I was feeling. Now I can understand it.

As I came running down the steps, there was a man sitting in this shelter at the bottom, and it was dark. I couldn't even tell you what this man looked like today. He must have been worried about me. We got into this kind of struggle at the bottom of the steps and he pulled me away from the cliff as I came running down the staircase--there is this long staircase there carved out of rock. It just kind of evolved from there. He had a camper parked up by the road. It was so dark, and I was sobbing all over him. Anyway, I really can't remember a whole lot about him except that he smelled like wet wool. This was the only time I was physically unfaithful to Chet. I was so emotionally distraught; I wouldn't guarantee what I remember about this event.

Silence.

I left early the next morning and decided I could go on with life. I didn't feel sorry about what I had done; and here I was the little standard-bearer who was being so physically faithful to her
husband. This is an example of another sub-compartment I've kept locked up.

So I went back to work. I found a wonderful baby sitter, I dearly love her and she's still a friend. I went back to work to escape and I slowly began to work on my Master's degree. Meanwhile, Chet still hadn't finished his Ph.D. He had ten years to complete it and it took him the whole time. I could see it coming, it was his way of getting back at me. He was not going to get it, because I wanted him to have it so much.

Looking back, I never gave myself or my own needs enough consideration. I never put myself first in any area. I simply assumed responsibility for other people. I never even considered the fact that Chet also should assume responsibility for the children. My tendency was to always give more than I got. I continually invested my time and energy in others, and I didn't take care of myself. I put myself last in the hierarchy of the family; I didn't consider my own needs. Even now, I'm finding it difficult to put myself first.

All this time I had been trying to promote Chet. Finally I said, "I'm going to get a graduate degree of my own, and I don't care if you finish or not." Then, he finished his dissertation right away. It was really astounding, I was amazed at how fast he could finish it when he wanted to. He got his Ph.D. while I was enrolled part-time in a Master's Program in Education at Ohio University.

C: You were concurrently commuting to Ohio University to take classes part-time, working full-time and raising two kids?
E: Yes.

Now, I walked into a classroom at Newark that had driven the previous teacher out. Looking back now, she had absolutely no help from the principal. When they hired me they told me the prior problems were due to the teacher's disorganization. So I walked in, and I had been in there for about fifteen minutes, and during that time I had confiscated all kinds of the kid's mischief-making paraphernalia.

Between January and June, I turned that class around to the point where they did this marvelous play, Charolette's Web as a pantomime. I introduced them to hands-on science. I became the marvel. I really came into my own, and I found out I worked best of all with bad kids. I love bad kids. You have to be intelligent to be really bad. Dumb kids would get caught. But to be really bad, you have got to have a "larceny of heart." I also had some very good kids, and great parents.

The next year I did an outdoor education thing which made my principal's building look great. I was doing parent workshops. I taught there a total of a year and a half. Then I was given a year's release time to develop an elementary science program. I had this reputation of being a phenomenal teacher who did all this innovative stuff with science.

I really didn't know where to begin in building this elementary science program. I went up to Cleveland State, and I talked to a Dr. Simon, who told me, "You can never get teacher's involved in this kind of thing." That's when I knew I could do it.
And I did. I began to just pour myself into work, and I kept hammering away at my master's degree. The school was suffering from budget cutbacks so I agreed, if they hired me a half time secretary, I would teach school during the day and run the science program too. So through working hard at my career, I got my feet back on the ground. Initially, I had put all of my energy into promoting Chet. But then, when I got my act together and started developing my own sense of self, then my goals changed, and I started promoting me. Chet was really jealous of that, because I was getting all of this positive feedback at work and in graduate school.

When I started to work on my master's degree, Chet would go downstairs where he had these tapes of Beethoven. If I was studying in the evening, he would play them so loud that the floor would shake. The fact that the children needed to sleep was irrelevant. He would do very little to help out around the house and he would not take care of the children. Whatever he could do to sabotage my study time he would do.

I got about three hours of sleep a night. I had the meals planned out in advance. I shopped every three weeks; it took eleven minutes to go through the grocery store. The kid's clothes were organized on a two week schedule in case I couldn't get all of the laundry done one week. Every night, throughout the month, there was something that had to be done. It was organized down to day one, month one--this is what you have to do. The kids each had their own list of jobs. They had an allowance which paid them to
get these things done. It was all this systemization that made it work. And it did work. The harder it got, then I just reorganized and made the system better. That's how I became a real genius at organization.

Plus, my job responsibilities at work were enormous. It was unbelievable; week-ends I might have workshops, and I would be working in the summer too. I had teams of people I worked with in the different curriculum areas. I had lots of work-related obligations to fulfill.

When Mark was a year old, the marriage really began to fall apart. It did not fall completely apart until Mark was about five years old when Chet's estranged boyfriend called me. I was at home working in this study pit where I had set up a project for my science center. I got this phone call. Chet was not at home, and this man proceeds to tell me things that only a doctor or somebody who had been intimate with Chet would know.

I laid the phone down, but later I did not even remember doing that. I have no memory until my car crashed into a picket fence. I don't have any memory. The next morning the phone was laying off the hook; but I couldn't remember even that. After I crashed the car I just sat there until a police officer arrived and helped me out. I saw that the whole front end of the car was crushed in, but it turned out I was able to drive it home.

Chet got home late that night, and I confronted him. The kids were both in bed. I was sitting on the end of the couch. He put his head down and he was crying and talking. He started confessing all
this stuff, but my hearing just went. I found out later it was a symptom of having a panic attack. I couldn't hear anything. I knew he was talking, I knew he was trying to tell me all of this stuff, and I didn't want to hear it. A voice inside said, "What about me? What about me?" For me, that was the beginning of the way out. I think I was already working my way out of the marriage; but having Chet's male lover call the house sped it up. It forced me to face the fact that the marriage was over. After that incident, there was no more sex, he slept in the basement. We never talked about it again after that night, but I took my own name back.

Now this happened in January—just before winter quarter at Ohio University started. I remember the date well because I went out and immediately registered for three classes. Here I was running a science center, teaching, and I registered for three graduate classes. I knew I had to hurry up and finish up my degree and get out of that marriage. But two weeks later, I found out I was pregnant. I thought, "No way!" I had an abortion. I didn't tell Chet about that for a long time.

But all of the criteria was there. All of the information concerning his bisexuality was there had I looked—little comments and innuendos. Everything was there. I was so innocent and dumb. I had been so sheltered and protected growing up. I had been brought up to look for my knight in shining armour and that kind of crap. But, looking back, all the information was there had I but the eyes to see it. Yet it was such a shock when the reality finally surfaced, and it took me a long time to get over it. It was such a
betrayal. I'd been betraying him with my mind, but he was betraying me with his body. You wouldn't think it would make such a difference but it did to me. Now I am beyond that pain. Working that sense of betrayal through was a very difficult process; that is why I wrote the poem Shades of Grey.

Then I had some really hard decisions to make after that. Do I betray Chet? Do I talk about his bisexuality with other people? Eventually I did, but for a long while I didn't. I never admitted Chet's sexual peculiarity to anybody until I finally got the courage to talk about it with my mother. By then our relationship was much better, but it never got totally close, because she never confided in me. She never dropped her guard.

About four years before I found out about Chet's bisexuality and infidelity, Nick came back into my life. I was out on one of my weekend escapes in Washington. By that time, my mother would take the kids in the summer for a month and free me. She knew all about my activist life marching in causes; and she covered for me. She was quite an activist too, very involved in women's rights—if there was a banner waving, she was marching under it. She was well on her way to completing her Ph.D. in education by then.

Anyway, I was in Washington, and I ran into Nick there. He had become an attorney and was working for Nader's Raiders. I was being detained by the police for questioning. I was never arrested, I don't have a record. But I sure was detained a number of times. And Nick rescued me. So during the summers Nick and I connected. Occasionally we would meet other times. I went off and
did my marching with him, we got heavily involved in environmentalist action.

But Chet's betrayal hadn't taken place yet. I was still in the frame of mind, "Oh, I want to spend time with Nick, I want to be with him, but I will not sleep with him." I didn't want to be an adulterer, so it was kind of awful. It was also stupid—clinging to such standards. Nick wanted me to get a divorce and marry him. When I told Nick I wouldn't do this, he decided to break off with me, and he went back to Greece. Up until that point, we had been seeing each other off and on for about three years. Nick went back to Greece about a year before I found out about Chet's infidelity. When Nick left, it was a very dark time for me.

_Silence._

You see, I still had these rather rigid parameters or standards which governed my life—such as being physically faithful even though I wasn't mentally faithful. When I married Chet, I had given my word that I would be faithful to him. It wasn't so much a promise to God as a promise that, "I will do this." I was raised to believe that my word was my bond.

A week before Christmas, in 1978, Chet moved out of the basement; he'd been sleeping down there for almost a year. But just before that, he drained every account, he took all of our cash. Every liquid thing that could be sold was sold. So much of our community property simply vanished. We fought for two and one half years over the remaining assets before the divorce was finalized. By then we had accumulated some rental property. We
had land in Pennsylvania, and we had the house in Newark which was a very nice house. We had a lot of common stock. We had lived very frugally and done all of this saving. He was going to give me the house to live in—not to own, just to live in—and $100 per month. The big deal to him was that I could live in the house rent free. This was all I was going to get. This is the settlement he offered me.

What I did, I threatened a church trial, and that finally brought him to his senses. His new girlfriend was the widow of a much loved Methodist minister and church deacon. My mother gave me the idea. She said, "You still have the right to a church trial by a minister who will interrogate these adulterers in church, in an open forum." If I'd forced a church trial, we would have had national press. I went to the elders of the Methodist church and said, "My husband has committed adultery. I need a church trial. I need to be vindicated as a woman."

_Laughter._

He settled immediately. He'd already disposed of many of our liquid assets, but he finished paying for my Master's degree, he paid child support, I got the house. Then the land that we owned in Pennsylvania was given in a trust to the boys and me. I couldn't get any of the cash or stocks—that was all gone. But still, I got a very good deal. Plus he has guilt which I continually beat him with; I'm going to have to give that up.

But without mother's insight, I wouldn't have ended up with very much; because my attorney wanted me to settle for a lot less,
which I'm glad I refused to do. My attorney kept telling me, after two years, Chet could force a settlement. But I went with the information mother gave me, and it was wonderful. Suddenly, the Church put all this pressure on Chet to settle the divorce. At that time, the Methodist Church was in the process of joining several other congregations as the United Methodist Church. They wanted to avoid this scandal at all costs.

I was drained by the two year fight. I was thirty seven years old when Chet walked out, so I was almost forty when we finally settled. It was about a two and a half year battle. I wore scars from that marriage that lasted long after its final dissolution. Scars that really were not resolved until now--until I took a hard look at them.

I'll tell you something. I learned something today. I was getting mentally prepared this morning in terms of thinking, "Now what should I touch on?" I was thinking that every woman is supposed to accuse her ex-husband of infidelity with a male; that's just classic. I thought, "But this is real. This had such an impact on my life. Do I not share that? I have to share that. It's a part of me."

Then I was trying to think, "What is the dragon that has always haunted me?" The dragon is the threat that I was insane--because of my mother. That is the dragon Chet used against me. There were times when my mother was not functioning well. That's what he used. The whole thing was, when I was angry at him he would say, "You're out of control; you're just like your mother. Your
going to end up in a mental hospital." That was my secret horror--that I was insane. That was the dragon that stayed in my closet. I dealt with it within the marriage to some extent, but I didn't deal with it in other arenas. You'll see. Once more, it came back to haunt me. That's another place where women need to be reassured; just because you feel strong emotions, it doesn't mean you're crazy. Because I knew something was wrong. I knew with such certainty, that when Chet went off, something was wrong. And that gut level feeling is often true. But instead of trusting that feeling, I feared that I really wasn't stable. That was my secret horror--that I was insane.

I've reached the end of this chapter and I want to read you a poem that I wrote about it in 1980. The poem is about being caught in a marriage I couldn't seem to get out of. It's called:
Shades of Gray

When I was young and innocent,
I believed that everything
Was black and white.
But I am older now.
And, I have learned,
So very, very well.

That life is neither, black nor white.
But, only shades of gray.

No knight upon a gleaming steed,
Came to rescue me.
His armor was all rusty now,
He could not set me free.
The dragons were all trivial,
And, like the clouds they float away.

For, life is neither black nor white.
But, only shades of gray.

No, passion spent,
To reach the heights.
No, poignant sorrow,
To touch the depths.
For, here stand I,
With no hope for tomorrow.
But, no regrets for yesterday.

For, life is neither black nor white, good or bad.
But, only shades of gray.

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Curtain
Elizabeth and Cindy are seated on a bench beneath a towering oak tree. Elizabeth continues with her story.

I think the event that launched this chapter was the finalization of the divorce proceedings; after the divorce, I was finally free. That freeing was what allowed me to really start the healing process and to deal with my feelings of bitterness and hurt. This was the period during which I began to rebuild my sense of self esteem.

I took stock of my life right after the divorce. I remember realizing the fact I didn't have much going on in my life that was positive. During my marriage, Chet never wanted to associate with anyone outside his work related arena. He did not want me to have friends outside work. I took stock of the fact I didn't have any friends I really liked, and I wasn't doing the kinds of activities I enjoyed. I like to go to art shows, the theater, to Pittsburgh to shop--those kinds of things. I began to get to know artists and make friends with people in the arts and do the things I enjoyed. I became much more outgoing. I started to date; I dated a dentist. But the stock-taking process took place right in the beginning when I realized I was living a life of shrunken possibilities. I knew I had to expand my horizons.

I made a lot of new friends--a broad category of friends that were outside the field of education. The other thing was, I made a conscious choice to try to only associate with positive people. These
relationships grew and they became a more positive foundation around which I rebuilt my sense of self esteem. I think developing new friendships and the freedom of not having to look after very young children anymore were the factors which contributed the most to my sense of well being.

My career also really began to take off during this chapter as well. Stewart was the principal when I was teaching during my first year and a half in the Newark school system. After that, he became the testing director. During my divorce, Stewart offered me the position of math supervisor. They had a partially developed math curriculum and it was my responsibility to finish it. I took over the math program and started doing the very same thing with it that I had done with science. It's funny to reflect back on because here I was math coordinator, and I had no math background; Stewart never checked into it.

When I first got offered the position I had my master's degree, and I thought, "Should I tell Stewart I don't have a math background?" I thought, "No, I don't have to know anything about math; I have to know how to find people who know about it." I was very honest with the people I hired to work with me on this project. I said, "You are the ones with the math skills who are going to develop it, then we are going to field test it, then we're going to evaluate it, then we're going to have another team cross-check it, and then we will share it with another school system. So we really developed a fabulous math program."
Math had formerly been Stewart's area. He started being very critical of the changes I was making. He was extremely critical; I was having to justify everything I did to him. He was not my boss, I reported to someone else. I was just mystified. I thought, 'Why are you giving me these problems?'

In the interim good old Stewart was promoted to curriculum director, and then I was working for him. He decided I would make a good principal. They had hired a principal at Riverview and she hadn't worked out. I took the position. I walked into this unruly school where everybody was fighting. Teachers had gone in and stolen each other's evaluations and torn them up; they would destroy each other's lesson plans. It was a total disaster. I made a lot of quick changes within the school to help turn it around and get it reorganized.

But all this time, Stewart still kept chipping away at me, and I could never figure out why. It reminded me very much of being married. Because my ex-husband would constantly criticize me in the same fashion. Stewart would hold whatever hoop it was I was to jump through higher and higher; and of course I always made it. Then he would just stand back and criticize my performance. I didn't know what was going on.

I let Mark go with his father during this chapter and my mother never quite forgave me for it, because she thought that it was so wrong. I had allowed Mark the freedom of making the choice about who he wanted to live with. This was the hardest thing I ever did; and it was also the most unselfish thing—to let him
go live with his father and release him without anger. But this decision built a wall, again, between my mother and I. This was exemplified by the fact that she changed her will and I got nothing when she died. It was like she wanted to let me know, from her grave, "I am disappointed and angry with you."

Silence.

The only separation anxiety that was extraordinarily difficult for me involved my eldest son Eric. In March of 1983, he finally took off and left home. It was not a positive leave taking because he was so angry with me—because I had forced the issue with him that he had to do something constructive with his life. During his last year of high school, Eric started experimenting with liquor and drugs—I don't think he tried any hard drugs—but he became this very different person. Finally, after he graduated I got so exasperated I gave Eric an ultimatum. I said, "You will either get a job, you will go to college, or you will join the military. But you are not laying around here being depressed, you are not going to drink and screw up your life." By December he was intolerable. Actually, he had enlisted in November, but they didn't take him until March. It was down to the point in March where I felt like, "I can not stand this child one more week." Luckily they took him a week early.

I had put on a lot of weight during my divorce. Then, just out of the blue one day, I got a telephone call from Nick. This would have been December of 1982. He said, "Starting with January, you have four months; and in May, we are going to be married. I don't know what your problem is; and I don't really care."
C: What was the problem he was alluding to?

E: My problem, when he called, was my weight. I didn't want him to see me like that. In four months I went from a size 18 to a size 6; I lost 65 pounds in four months. I started the diet in January of 1983. That was the one personal crisis I experienced--having to come to terms with the fact that if I was really going to lose the weight, I'd have to take immediate action. By the time Nick saw me in May, it was almost all off. We were married May 17th.

That first phone call from Nick had a big impact. I knew that I could not control Nick; I knew I could not stop him coming back into my life and I also knew that I did not want to stop him.

C: Did he ever talk about what precipitated him calling on that particular day?

E: I think he had just made up his mind and called. He had probably given himself some time to arrive at that decision. He was back in this country when he called. This was before Christmas. I think he planned on coming to see me then; but he got a very mixed message from me--"Yes, I glad to here from you, yes I still care for you, but no I don't want to see you."

C: Because of your weight?

E: Right.

I have to say, I was also afraid of Nick. Not so much afraid of him physically, that he would hurt me in any way--but afraid in the sense that he represented a force which I could not stop. He implied, "I am coming, we are going to be married, if you run, I will track you down." He had reached the limit of his endurance and he
let me know, "This is what we are going to do." I also knew that, while I wanted it, if I had not wanted it, I wouldn't have had the strength to resist. I wanted to be with him. But then there was the aspect of knowing I would be living with a tornado day after day—that's what his energy was like—and that knowledge was a little unnerving.

I knew that Nick would make every attempt to be faithful. Because that was something that was really important to me. I knew that he did care for me. But I also knew that if he were away for long, he would not be able to be faithful. That was just part of his personality. I also knew he would make every attempt to allow me as much freedom as possible, but he was extremely possessive. I think if I had received much attention from other males there would have been real problems. That kind of thing just made his hair stand up. Yet, it was very important to him that I look as attractive as I possibly could. So there was certainly a double message going on there.

C: We're your fears bourne out relative to the fidelity issue?
E: No. But he wasn't alive that long.

*Laughter.*

He would laugh at this with us.

What upset my sense of well being relative to Nick is the fact that I always feel enclosed when I'm in a relationship. I like to have lots of space around me, but I also like to know there is someone there I can fall back on. So the very thing that provides me with a sense of well being--having a committed relationship--
also gives me a sense of panic. There were so many factors in his personality that provoked mixed feelings in me. For example, just as I felt good about knowing I could ask for his help if I got in over my head, I felt panicky to know that he could always step in and eliminate my choice about a situation.

My decision to marry Nick was scary. Every week leading up to the marriage I would get a letter or a phone call--"You're at 23 days; you're at 15 days." The anticipation kept me very nervous. But at the same time, it was also funny. Because I knew this person. When it got down to about five days before the marriage, I got one of Nick's messages just about every day.

I think a part of who I am is a direct result of Nick's influence on me. It helped maintain me through the bad times afterwards. He was a very strong man in the areas he believed in. He went against everything that he believed in to marry me. Because I was not the type of woman he should have married--or even believed he should marry. But the attraction was there, and so he just threw lots of values aside to pursue it.

C: Such as?

E: Well things like, Greek men are supposed to be able to control their women. He made no attempt to control me in that way.

C: What was the special strength he gave you? You were just alluding to it.

E: He reinforced my belief in myself. He reinforced that inner belief that I was sane. He was a highly intuitive man even though
he proceeded from a factual basis. He believed in the kinds of things that I did—all of the activist things. He admired the fact that I didn't follow in the footsteps of others. To me, he represented someone outside the field of education that was strong and successful—dynamic. He reinforced my coming to terms with the fact that I didn't really want to be in education—at least serving in the same capacity as I had been. I had been operating in this little tiny, petty mud puddle.

That takes me up to the marriage which marks the end of this chapter and the beginning of the next one. It's interesting because in retrospect I can see that the foundation of my problems with the school system were laid in my professional successes during this chapter.

I want to read you the poem that I wrote about this chapter. It has to do with part of the recovery process I faced after my divorce. It's called:
Cruel Winds

Cruel Winds have shattered me.  
And, life is not all,  
I, thought it would be.  
But, I still stand: Alone

My roots are buried in the stone.  
My head is bowed against the sky.  
I shall not cease this struggle.  
I will not give in and die.

Cruel Winds have shattered me.  
And, life is not all,  
I, thought it would be.  
yet, still I stand: Alone

Somewhere deep within me lies,  
The strength on which to feed.  
From within comes the courage I need,  
To pursue the struggle to live.

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Curtain
Scene Five

Eye of the Storm :42

Elizabeth and Cindy are seated at a circular wooden table in Cindy's dining room. There is a stack of mail at one end of the table and an assortment of cheese, crackers and fruit at the other. Elizabeth continues on with her story.

Nick and I were married on May 17, 1983. I think Nick was a little concerned that I might back out or disappear on him. Because he had called and talked to my secretary while I was in a principal's meeting at the central office. I had planned on going back to the school and picking up my stuff and then going home and picking up some more stuff. I walked out of the principal's meeting, and there he stood waiting in the lobby. He had another man with him; and he said, "He'll drive your car home. Are you going to give me any trouble?" This was a threat. That was his way of also picking a fight with me, it was like he was saying, "Let's get this over with, let's put this war behind us."

Nick flew us to Maryland and we were married that night. He had his own plane and pilot's license at that time. That was part of his personna of being in charge. We didn't stay there long, because I had to be back to work in the morning. I was insistent that we not tell anyone about our marriage for a year. And so I began another secret life. This was definitely a secret life. It was one of the most enjoyable ones I ever led.

C: Why did you keep your marriage a secret?
E: Because for one, I didn't think it would last. As I said before, I believed that if Nick had an itch he would scratch it. I did not anticipate that he would be faithful. I knew he would try. I knew he cared about me. But I didn't think he was capable of being monogamous.

But my other reason for not telling anyone about the marriage was I did not want to have to go through a second divorce publicly. I figured that by the end of a year, if things hadn't worked out, we could just dissolve it in Maryland quietly, and no one ever needed to know. He also had not told his sons. They were living in Greece with his family. I had not told my sons. It was really a mutual decision on our part not to tell anyone. The only person who really knew was Nick's business partner and his attorney.

I don't feel like I was seeking protection by marrying Nick--because I didn't feel threatened then. I was happy. I was really scared about getting married. I feared things like the loss of independence. I was also scared of the unknown. But while I was anxious about getting married, I also was looking forward to it. After the marriage, I discovered that Nick's money--and the opportunities it afforded--contributed to my sense of security and well being. It looked like all kinds of doors were opening up. It seemed like there were options stretching out in all directions. But the most important aspect of my sense of well being was simply being married to Nick. It was something I had waited for for a long time and it was mine.
We had only been married about three days and I realized, "I don't really know this person." Yet, I felt very safe with Nick. I don't think I ever felt anxious or ill at ease. It really felt like the relationship was working; but then again, our time together was so short. We argued constantly. But our arguments were never the kind that tear you down. We didn't agree on anything. Our relationship was like a haven in a way. It was like the eye in the storm. That is the best analogy I can draw.

After our marriage, I came back and I went to work for a week. Then I had surgery, and I did not tell Nick about it. I found out in April of that year that I was having bladder problems. I thought that what I needed was a bladder lift, which is sometimes necessary after you've had children. Well it turned out to be something much more serious. I had a congenital kidney defect that I was totally unaware of that had never caused me problems before. But the accelerated weight loss triggered this problem; and it was probably also compounded by my age. I had corrective surgery at the Cleveland Clinic, and I was not going to tell anyone; I was going to drive myself there and check myself into the long-term parking garage. But I ended up telling my friend Mary, and she had a fit; she insisted on taking me to the Clinic.

Nick arrived at my house while I was in surgery. I had left him a note in case I didn't get back before he did; I told him where I was. He was not pleased to say the least. I think I really hurt him by not telling him about the surgery; and my decision had not been aimed at hurting him. For me, it is very, very difficult to share a
negative aspect of my life with anyone. I don't think I had ever asked anyone other than Charlie for help—that time I asked him to rescue me from the horse training business. Since asking for Charlie's help, I hadn't asked anybody for anything. Growing up, I had been raised to believe that I had to solve my own problems, that I couldn't ask for help. I don't think that, until I met Mary, I had the kind of friend I felt I could turn to in times of need. I don't think I ever had that degree of closeness with any other friend. I wouldn't have asked anyone else in my life at that point for help. But this incident cooled my relationship with Nick for awhile. Not the illness so much as the fact that I had not told him.

Shortly after the surgery, Mary's son, Steve, needed a place to live. Steve and I had already become friends, I'd helped him through a divorce the previous December. He wanted to spend the summer at my house and commute to Ohio State University—he was working on his law degree. Steve knew I was involved with Nick, but he didn't know I was married to him. Steve was staying in my basement, and we were two adults so it was no big thing. He wasn't there on the weekends—he was with his girlfriend. I saw Steve when he dropped in to get his clothes or whatever, but he was officially in my house that summer while he went to school. Steve is the person I've referred to as my adopted son. He is now a lawyer.

Nick's family had some kind of business in Chicago; so he made a lot of trips there. We probably didn't see each other anymore than three or four times a month. Sometimes I would fly
to Maryland; sometimes he would come to Ohio for two or three days—depending on what his schedule was like. I had a lovely summer. I had lost even more weight and really firmed up. I weighed about 110 pounds. My son Mark had moved back with his father, and Eric had gone into the military in March. I had the house to myself other than Steve who was there off and on through the summer.

I really didn't notice a change in how others perceived me until I went back to school that fall. Nick and I had decided that if the marriage was working for a year; I would quit my job and relocate to Maryland. I had a new hairdo and a totally new wardrobe. I love clothes; and I have good clothes-sense. I also didn't have any money worries. I had shopped in Pittsburgh, New York; and I look totally different--to the place where some people at work did not even recognize me. I didn't anticipate the kind of antagonism I would receive over my transformation. I was totally amazed at the adverse reaction I got from my colleagues, because I didn't ever perceive myself as fat. I didn't perceive myself as anything. I had shut down so much as a woman. Now here I was: I was in love, I was sexually active again, and I'm sure that showed. I had lost all of this weight. I looked great, and I felt wonderful. I had recovered from the surgery; and I didn't realize that it had probably been dragging me down a lot too.

But I did not anticipate the adverse reaction my colleagues would have to my changed appearance. I was at the second staff meeting of the school year, and another principal actually hit me. I
had on an expensive black and white checked linen suit, and this other principal walked in and sat down next to me. I could see that she was blazing with anger. She hit me so hard it bruised my arm. Then she said, "Where did you get that suit? How dare you wear that suit!" And there were other people around while this happened. I just ignored her remark. I looked at her and thought, "This really isn't happening to me." She was acting as if I had deliberately tried to offend her. But that is an example of the kind of reaction I got from my colleagues when I returned to school that fall.

You'll remember that the previous year, I walked into this school that Stewart had let go to pot. I found a lot of abuse on the part of teachers. I did a lot of in service training around this topic. The parents had been running the building. It was not run by teachers and principals. I started laying out a lot of new policies. They were basic kinds of changes that should have been made much earlier. This school was in such a mess.

During the school year which followed my marriage, I was also to develop health, K-12, and revise science 7-12. Those were two completely separate jobs. But, I did not argue, because I did not plan on staying more than one year. Dr. Crane was the superintendent of my building, and during this chapter, he began to change his behavior towards me. I liked him very much initially and respected him. He was a very good superintendent.

I had two bosses. I had Stewart who was director of curriculum, and Mr. Long who was director of instruction--he was
also over all the principals. I was getting some strange feedback from Stewart, he had been the principal of this school the previous year. He was constantly criticizing me and asking me to justify what I was doing. He couldn't see why I was doing this, he couldn't understand why I was doing that. Finally I told him, "Stewart, this is not your building anymore. This is my building. You have to let go."

The first conference day of the school year came along, and Dr. Crane arrived at my office unexpectedly. He was two hours early for our conference. He was just distraught. I closed the door, and I was feeling kind of afraid. I told the secretary, "Dr. Crane and I will be tied up for awhile."

He started to tell me something, and all of a sudden, I didn't want to hear it. I proceeded to have my first panic attack since Chet's confessional episode. Everything sort of went grey. I couldn't hear him. I got my clarity of vision back immediately, but I couldn't hear him. I knew intuitively he was telling me he was in some sort of trouble, and he wanted to put it all in my lap. He wanted something more--that was also coming across. But I was blocking that out; which was probably why I couldn't hear. Finally after about five minutes, my hearing came back, and he was still talking.

He told me his marriage had been falling apart for the last two years. It turned out that his wife had been having a long-term affair. This was the day he had moved out of the house, and his ego was terribly destroyed. I could empathize. Because I, too, had been
through an enormous betrayal. I knew that he was distraught. He wanted somebody to take him home and make love to him and comfort him—all those kinds of things. That's what he was indirectly asking for; but I couldn't do that. I was married. I was thinking, "I can not tell him I'm married." I sat on the other side of my desk and said all of these comforting things. He talked from 11:30 until 2:00. He finally collected himself, and I got him a Tab. He was calmed down by then, and he went off to his conference.

The next PTO meeting came around, and he asked me out. I backed out as gracefully as I could. Had I not been married, I would have been very interested. I'm not denying that in any way. There was always a sexual attraction between us. He had that kind of magnetic personality. I genuinely liked him; there were parts of him that really reminded me of Nick.

Nick and I had a wonderful Christmas. We went to Yorktown. He was living outside Washington—in Maryland. But he had family in Yorktown. The first time I ever saw this man ill at ease, was when we were going to go to a family wedding. This was between Christmas and New Years Eve. He started pacing around. We were in a motel getting ready, and I had never seen him so ill at ease. Finally he said, "I have to talk about something with you." By then I was getting nervous because he was so nervous. Everything had always been right flat out on the table between us—his anxiety was just mystifying me. He said, "I want you to know that I like you for who you are, and I don't want you to change, but I am going to ask you to change just for today." He paced back and forth and I didn't
understand the point he was trying to make at all. Finally he said, "When we go to be with my family today, I would like you not to treat me the way you normally do."

Then he explained that our relationship was outside the way most Greek women treated their husbands; and while he didn't expect me to be subservient, he would prefer it if I didn't tell him to go shove it. This was a side of him that I had never seen. It was a whole different person. This person who was so nervous was very unfamiliar to me; and it was the only time he ever exhibited any sign of insecurity; any sense of not being entirely in charge of himself. Well we went to the family gathering and I played the mousey girlfriend; we had a great time.

I think Nick knew his end was near. We both knew it. Yes, we both felt that the time was short. If I was ever aware of time, it would have been during this chapter. It felt like our relationship was really time-limited. What time we had together, we guarded; we never shared it with anybody else. When he would come to Ohio or I would fly to wherever he happened to be, it was like, "This is our block of time together." Time was running out--we both had a sense of that. We seemed so different when we were together--we lived more intensely. It seemed we packed everything in, every minute we were together.

After Christmas Nick was supposed to come to Ohio about the 12th of January; I know I've blocked a lot of these memories out. We talked the night of January 9th. He had called me, he was heading back from a town in Maryland into the Washington D.C.
area. And he was dead tired. He had been on the road from Denver to Chicago to New York--negotiating this big deal. He was exhausted. I really tried to talk him out of it. I kept saying, "You can fall asleep at the wheel, stay the night and drive to Washington in the morning. You could get up at four in the morning and get into the office just as quick." Looking back on it now, I think both of us knew that we did not have a lot of time left. There are so many things that point that out now--his urgency to get married, to put the past behind us. He had told me right at the beginning of our marriage how he wanted his funeral service to be handled.

When the phone rang in the morning, I knew he was dead. I'm sure he fell asleep at the wheel; there was no liquor in his blood. There was no other reason to explain it. He had driven over this big embankment; he didn't have his seat belt on; but that was not his style. He was thrown out of the car, and his death was instantaneous from everything they could tell. His death was quick. That was another thing, he had told me he wanted his death to be quick and clean. Someone saw the car; there was somebody there immediately. He was never alone.

It's hard to describe what it was like for me after Nick died. It was like I walked behind a glass door and then I just I stayed there. I didn't cry, I didn't grieve, it was like I was just caught--frozen is more like it. He died Thursday, and I got the call Friday before I left for school. I went to the office and I got everything taken care of before I went to the funeral.

C: His parents knew about your marriage at this point?
E: No, no they did not. I did not go as his wife. I went as the woman he was with. No one knew except his partner and attorney. No one knew. I went as a person he had been dating--seriously dating. His sons were there, but I did not exhibit myself as the wife.

I really dreaded going to that funeral. It was one of the hardest things I have ever done; but I had to go. I could not believe he was really dead until I saw him. That's an awful thing to say, but I had some kind of fantasy or dream going on--I knew he was dead, but I was somehow refusing to believe it. The fantasy was the part of me that insisted, "This really isn't true. This really can't be happening." I told myself, "If I go, I'll know he's dead. If I don't go, I'll have to live with the dream." I can remember the plane ride all the way there, but I can't remember the plane ride back at all. I don't know how I got back. But it was like all the way there I was thinking, "This isn't true; this isn't true. I'm going to wake up soon." Nick's ashes were scattered over the Aegean ocean. That was the way he wanted it.

Silence.

It was the most shattering thing to be living and, yet, not feel alive. I can't really explain what it was like. I had this sense of being cold all the time. I was hurting, and yet, I really didn't feel it. I was grieving inside, but I could not show it. I was trying to think on the way up here today, "When did I stop crying?" I stopped crying somewhere early in my first marriage."
While the pain of that is now gone, for the next three or four years it seemed like I looked at the world through a one inch barrier of glass. I know that I withdrew; I know that people saw a definite change in me. Nick's death shattered my dreams. Because during our eight months of marriage, I had come to believe that I was living the very best life there could ever be for me.

About a week after the funeral, I got a call from his attorney and I found out that Nick had included me in his will; the attorney indicated that he had left me a lot of money that was invested with the family in Greece. Nick had wanted to make sure I was well taken care of. This caught me completely off-guard, because I thought we had decided that we were just going to continue on the way we were going, and then at the end of the year we would be publicly married. When his will was opened, his sons were aware Nick and I had been married for almost a year.

I went home after the funeral and I went back to work almost immediately. I knew that Nick had left me plenty of funds. At the time I couldn't think about it. The way I was thinking was, "I don't need the money." I poured myself into work. A week later a very well known and loved library media specialist who had been in the school system for many years--one of those real special people--had died. The whole school system was grieving. He was the type of person everyone knew, and loved. This was one week after Nick's funeral.

About four or five days after his funeral, everyone around the school was helping to pick up different aspects of his job. I had met
with Stewart to see what aspects I would take over. Stewart was saying how terrible it was, how tragic it was. I said, "Well I lost someone a week ago that was nearer to me than life. I can sympathize with his wife." Stewart looked at me and he laughed. The way he laughed made me shudder. But then, Stewart had been acting very strangely towards me for several years. I remember thinking, "I'm not telling anyone about Nick's death." This was the closest I had come to telling someone. I remember quite clearly thinking, "I'm not telling anybody else. I'm not sharing this with anybody."

It got a little sticky sometimes keeping Nick's death a secret. But basically, after he died, I just sort of walked behind a glass wall. I became more quiet. I hurt terribly inside, but I couldn't get it out; I couldn't express it. That's where I stayed for several years. Nick's death was the catalyst of my deterioration--or flight. Flight is a form of deterioration. I was just numb at the end of the chapter. Cold. There was nothing I particularly looked forward to.

I've reached the end of this chapter. I'm ready to read you the poem I wrote about it. It's called:
Eye of the Storm

NICK

Beloved
You were the "Eye of the Storm",
The safe "haven" of my life.
You, were the fire and passion,
And, I was the flame and ice.

Beloved
You knew me and loved me,
I knew you not, and loved you.
You were the Summer of my life,
And, I was warmed by the Sun.

Beloved
You taught me the Lust of life,
I shared the Beauty of life with you.
You, knew the dark corners of my soul,
And, I chose never to know your secrets.

Beloved
You gave me strength in the Storms of Life.
I held you always precious to my heart.
You taught me of war, lust, fire and passion.
And, I gave you joy, desire, revenge and love.

Beloved
Your love was like a cool, cool drink of water,
To which I returned again and again and again.
I was like the moon on a dark, dark night,
Always there giving love, shedding light.
Beloved
    A portion of you will always be with me.
    And, a part of me lies with your ashes,
    Beneath the Sea

War and Passion, Passion and War.
For one brief shattering moment of time
    We had it all.

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Curtain
Elizabeth and Cindy have moved out onto the patio at Cindy's house. They are sitting beneath the shade of an apple tree. It is an unusually breezy day and pungent smells from the herb garden waft all around them. Elizabeth continues on with her story.

E: Right after Nick died, I started taking business classes at Ohio University. See, the pattern is, once things get bad in my life, I go back to school. About two weeks later, it was the last week in January, and I had my performance evaluation at Riverview. It was mostly positive; they noted that I had done this, this and this. But I had some critical feedback on how I dressed; there was a real concern about my wearing black. And I'm asking myself, "Why?"

About four years prior to that, I had developed a dye allergy. I am allergic to certain kinds of dye, one of which is in panty hose; I can not wear the ones with red/brown dye. I can wear, blacks, purples, and navys. But the panty hose with red/brown dye make me miserable. For a long time I thought I was having scabies or some parasite I picked up from the children. I would break out, and finally I found out what it was. So, I wore gray or pale black hose and tried to color coordinate my wardrobe around them.

That year, I began to hear a strange rumor about me. There was a rumor going around that I was a witch. I didn't know where it was coming from. And it hurt. As it later evolved, the rumor was started by a teacher on my staff who had become a very close friend of Chet's. She was saying that I was a witch--that I practiced
witchcraft in a special place—all this ridiculous stuff. Evidently Chet had told her about my early metaphysical training and she somehow equated it with witchcraft. She said things to my colleagues like, "If you notice, she always wears black." I did have one black cape. But I also had a red one, a navy blue one and a grey one. Dr. Crane had that person moved out of my building. I had confronted him about it. I said, "I'd like to sue her." And he said, "Oh, no, no, no." I said, "I'd like to reprimand her then; I'd like to make this public." He said, "Oh no, we can't do that."

That year, I buried myself in my work. The kids were my inspiration. But, at the end of the year, I decided not to work over the summer. This was the first summer I hadn't worked for free. Up until that time, every year, I worked for free. I got so much satisfaction from work—I loved it. But there was no way I could work that summer. I only worked two weeks into the summer; I got the curriculum all set up for the next year. When I told Stewart I wouldn't be working the rest of the summer, you wouldn't believe the anger it unleashed.

That summer I think I just cut myself off and tried to survive. I don't know where I was looking back on it. I didn't grieve, I didn't cry, I didn't do any traveling. I just stayed home and read and was probably depressed. But at least I survived.

In retrospect, I think I managed to do very well over the course of the next school year. I suddenly began to have a lot more influence with parents. I gained clout with staff; I wouldn't say
everybody loved me. But all the little rumors were still going around. That I was a witch.

The school did a team evaluation of my performance that January. The team was comprised of other principals and administrators. They gave me a very good evaluation. My records were in order, my student achievement levels were up, the building was organized. They could not find anything wrong except the one thing resurfaced again about the way I dressed. I kept asking, "Well what is it about the way I dress that you don't like?" They would say things like, "It's not the quality of your dress, it's the color." It finally surfaced that it really was the cape that bothered them--the black cape, and the fact that I wore dark hose. I told them, at that point, about my dye allergy. They just couldn't believe it. They kept connecting the fact that I wore dark colors with the allegation that I was a witch.

_Hushed Silence._

What really began to antagonize the system was the fact that I began to challenge the people who were making these accusations. In my rebuttal, I wrote something like, "It is with great sadness that I view this item on my evaluation. I wonder if I had been a man wearing a black suit, if that would have been an excessive amount of black. Or if I had been a black person if that would have been too much black."

I didn't see the handwriting on the wall; dumb me. I got a two year contract instead of a three year contract. I should have known. This was the person who had always gotten outstanding
evaluations; this was the person who had never had anything but success on the job.

I needed nine hours to keep my principal's certificate current. Dr. Crane was teaching a class at the University of Cincinnati as an adjunct professor. The class was on the topic of the role of the superintendent. I enrolled in this course and he had us doing a role play one evening. I thought, "Maybe this would be a good opportunity to show him how ridiculous all this is about the black stuff." I had tried unsuccessfully to talk about it with him several times before. So we were doing role play; I was playing the role of a board member. I was in a classroom of strangers. I thought, "Nobody else knows me, I'll make this a joke." I said, "But I want black chairs. Black chairs are my favorite and I have to have them." That's all I did. That's how board members act—they want what they want when they want it. I made it real light, and then just let it go. I had never taken any kind of a public stand on this issue within Riverview. Well, I cut my throat as far as Dr. Crane was concerned. I had not realized, at the time, how angry he was about this whole topic. And I lost his support.

His anger was vented the next January when I came in for my evaluation—this was the first year of my two year contract. I got locked in a conference room with these male administrators and I got all of this critical feedback. I had never had anything but 4's on my evaluations before, except they gave me a 3 on dress—because of the fact I wore too much black. On this evaluation, suddenly it was 1's and 2's. I was told that people thought I was weird—this
was on the written part of the evaluation. I did not appear to communicate effectively. There were all these really negative statements. It was presented as a personal attack. "Your so strange, you don't communicate." But they never looked at my positive accomplishments; the improved record keeping, the better school organization, teacher growth, student growth, parent involvement—things like that. The only factual information they offered was that I had not filed an evaluation schedule that year. There was one other extraordinarily silly factual thing mentioned—that in a school newsletter, I had misused a verb tense.

I just sat there. Now your talking about a person who can not cry or show any emotion. I started yawning. I know it was an emotional reaction of sorts, but also, I was very tired. Finally I said, "I can't keep sitting here and listening to this. If I've done something wrong, I'll correct it. Don't you think that this is enough? We've covered the same ground four or five times." I had come into the meeting at 3:30 and it was still going on at 7:00. Finally, I said "I have to leave now."

I went home and I started to cry. I cried for the first time in a long time; I couldn't stop crying. I called my friend Mary and I said, "I'm coming apart." But I was crying for everything. As it turned out, afterwards, I found out that I couldn't eat or sleep. See, work had been my mainstay. It was all I had left. This was what had kept me sane. I felt like the meaning of my life was evaporating before my eyes.
What could I have done? I could have told them, "Yes I acted a little differently this year, maybe you are seeing a change in personality--I just recently lost the man I loved." There were lots of things I could have done all the way along. I didn't change my dress. And I did not challenge it publicly. I think they thought that I would take legal action after they raised this issue a second time--about the color of my clothing. Had I done so, I think I would have been all right. Had I told them about Nick's death I would have been all right. But I didn't do that. I chose to withdraw, which was a big mistake.

During my evaluation I was told, "Someone is going to come and tell you something we're concerned about. It's something we can't discuss with you right now. We want it to be told to you confidentially." Well, nobody ever came to do that. But that was enough to get me in touch with my secret dragon. The dragon was, "You are insane." In retrospect, if they had really thought I was crazy, they would have gotten me out immediately. But see, this was the intimidation force they were using. That's an example of how acts of intimidation got me hooked into my secret fear--that I was insane.

The parting blow was they told me that they would reevaluate me in a month. I had that amount of time to change my behavior. They couldn't fire a principal right away unless the problem was extreme--like if I really had been crazy. So they reevaluated me a month later, and they said, "Your dress is much better, (even though I hadn't changed a thing), but the old
destructive habits are still going on." They put me on probation. Some people knew and some didn't. My building was a little shakey. But as far as parents and kids were concerned, things were going great. In some respects, I had done very well that year.

They had postponed this horrible evaluation until I could complete a grant I was writing for the school system to be able to get an artist in residence for a whole year. I had written several other grants where I had gotten an artist for shorter periods of time--two weeks, or four months.

Two weeks after my evaluation, I found out that I was in big trouble physically. I went to my doctor, and he said, "You're kidneys are in bad shape--you are in the beginning stages of kidney failure. You have only have a few choices and they're not good at all. We have the possibility of dialysis or the possibility of a kidney transplant. But you're not a good candidate for a transplant; I don't think you'd ever get a kidney because of the internal deformities you have; it probably just wouldn't function. And dialysis has all kinds of unpleasant side effects." So what he was giving me, in essence, was a death sentence. I asked, "Do I have any other options?"

He told me about some experimental surgery that was available in Canada. I wasn't adverse to the idea of going to another country for surgery. My doctor told me that he would check it out and see if they would accept me as a test patient. In the past, they had only accepted patients in the most advanced stages of kidney
failure, because the surgery was irreversible, and if it failed, the patient usually died.

I steadily got worse physically. My doctor had located a hospital in Quebec, and I was of one of five patients accepted, to receive this particular surgery. I found out my insurance would not cover all aspects of the surgery. At the same time, I had these terrible bunions on my feet; they were just killing me. I was in so much physical and emotional pain at that point of my life.

I decided that I was going to go through with the experimental kidney surgery as well as the foot surgery. At the end of April, Dr. Crane was admitted to the hospital with Hodgkin's disease. He was dead by the end of June. I attended his funeral in casts in between foot surgery and kidney surgery. I decided not to tell anybody I was going to have the kidney surgery. I went and had the foot surgery first—and I told everyone about that. Ten days later, I flew to Quebec and had three days of tests which were followed by the surgery. It cost $14,000. That used up most of my spare cash.

All this time I had never gone back for any of the money Nick had left me. I never answered the attorney or returned his calls. It was like a closed chapter of my life as far as I was concerned. In April, my first grandchild was born. He was premature, but he ended up doing just fine. And I had the kidney surgery in June, 1986. My surgery was successful.

That summer a resident artist was interviewed and hired as a result of the grant I had written the previous winter—this is where
the trial comes from. I wouldn't have hired him, but I wasn't given that choice. My choice in this whole incident was only in terms of writing the grant that eventually brought him into the school system. Well, he lasted about seven days and the school released him. He subsequently sued both the school system and me. The first suit was for mental harm; and it went on for about six other suits— one of which was slander. Most of these suits were thrown out of court.
C: What was the resident artist's basic complaint?
E: That he hadn't been given a fair chance.

I came back to school that fall. I was feeling all bubbling inside because I had my health back. I started thinking that this was going to be a great year. I had talked to Dr. Crane the previous spring, and I let him know I might be quitting soon to go somewhere else. But by the time school started that autumn, I had decided, "No, I'm not going to leave. I'm on probation, I'm going to stay and work it out."

But when I came back that fall, who was in power? Stewart. He had jumped over the other contesters for Dr. Crane's job and was in the position of acting superintendent. It looked very much like he was going to get the job after a formal job search was conducted. I was one of two principals that Dr. Crane had put on probation the previous year. I thought about my future at Riverview and it didn't seem very hopeful.

So they had a new acting superintendent, Stewart, and a new director of business, and a new director of curriculum, and a new director of instruction. There had been a lot of turn over that year. Sandra who had been hired as the new director of curriculum came over to meet with me and hear me set my goals for the upcoming year. I was in conference and not to be interrupted.

The previous year I had gotten a traffic light put in because we had one dangerous crosswalk. My door swung open while I was in conference, and Stewart was standing there. He said, "How dare you get a traffic light without informing me!" As he said this, he
brought his fist down on my desk. This is another example of intimidation. I said, "Dr. Crane approved it. He was fully aware of it." I was very calm because I just didn't care anymore. I did not care.

I went home that night and I thought about it. I thought, "I'm not going to go through another evaluation like I had last year. I'm going to resign." I turned in my resignation, to be effective at the end of the year. That pulled the rug out from under their feet. But it didn't help me a whole lot. I really didn't know what I was going to do, and I didn't care. One important thing, the kidney surgery had been successful. I felt I had that working in my favor.

Then in November, Nick's sons called and invited me to come to New York to meet them—at their expense. They wanted to get to know me. So I went and met them. In January I thought, "I have this inheritance coming to me." I'd been getting letters from the attorney that there were papers that needed to be signed. I decided to sign them and was told my portion of the probate settlement would be given to me in June.

I had a fabulous last year at school. All the parents were wonderful, all the teachers were wonderful. My last year there was probably the best year I'd had as principal, but then it should have been. All of the ground work was laid for it to be good. I had this marvelous twenty-fifth anniversary for Riverview School; we even made the word "Riverview 25" on the hillside. A plane flew over and took our picture; we sang the school song; released balloons in the school's colors; we had a nineteen foot long cake that the
mother's baked that said "Riverview." We had this whole big day of celebration.

That Christmas we did Christmas at Williamsburg; the parents had recreated the Williamsburg Governor's Palace—it was the most beautiful thing. We had very artistic parents. We took kids to Carnegie museum in buses that year. Those were normal things that went on in my building. It was, without a doubt, my best year.

It was so important to me to leave that building in perfect order. But the resident artist who had been released the previous summer had filed a law suit against the school and me. Stewart just kept pretending it would go away. Here it was June 1987 and I was getting ready to resign. Finally, just before I left, Stewart called me into his office. He acted like he never had any information about this lawsuit—no one had told him anything about hiring a resident artist. I gave him copies of everything, and he had been given all this information previously by the director of curriculum. I had worked for this school system for many years. But there was never any acknowledgement, there was no severance pay; usually there is a big party—there was nothing.

Just before I left Riverview, the attorney called me and said, "Your inheritance money is in New York, you will have it in two weeks. It has been released from the Greek government. Please sign these papers." Everything looked fine. The attorney called ten days later and said, "The Greek government has put a freeze on your money." And I couldn't get it. It turned out that a part of Nick's family was trying to stop me from getting my inheritance—
which is understandable. It was about a million and a half dollars. They were also trying to take the business away from Nick's sons. Here I was. I had no money other than three or four thousand dollars of savings. The year before, I had had my surgery. I was broke. I decided to sell my house that summer. I really gambled. It cost me $1500 to get my house put in order, I wanted it to be perfect. I sold it and made about $50,000.

After I left Riverview, I thought to myself, "I need a rest. I'm coming apart. What can I do? I could go back to school." My certificate was getting close to renewal. I thought, "I'll renew my principal's certificate. I'll have to take nine hours to do that. While I'm taking this course work, I'll also look into Ph.D. programs, because I'm not ready to start a business--I just don't have the money." I started looking for an apartment and finally found a nice townhouse.

I moved to a quiet neighborhood, and nobody knew where I had gone except for Mary and Mark. I hadn't kept in contact with anyone. I had been unpacking boxes all day and I was exhausted. Somebody was knocking at the door. I looked out the window and there was my son on the step. It was pouring down rain. I went downstairs and he was all bloody and wet. He said, "I had a terrible fight with dad, and I have left." I put Mark in the car and took him to the hospital. He didn't have any broken bones, but he had ridden for thirty miles on his bike in the rain before he crashed it.

That spring, I enrolled for nine hours of graduate course work in business at Ohio University. I was seriously thinking about a
MBA/Ph.D. program. But all my plans were kind of tentative and up in the air. I was thinking that, as soon as my inheritance came through, I could firm them up. About this same point in time my eldest son called me and told me his wife, Sheila, had moved into her boyfriend's house with both kids. Sheila had one child from a previous marriage and one with Eric. He was just distraught. Probably once or twice a week he called me.

Later that fall, I got a call from my brother; my parents had started out on a vacation and were in a very serious automobile accident. They didn't think dad would live. Mother had not been hurt as badly. The accident happened in New York. So I left Mark at home and went to the hospital to see my parents. Eventually they got well enough to go back to Pennsylvania. My father made a really good recovery, even thought they didn't expect him to live.

Chet decided not to pay child support, and he would not let Mark back in the house to get his things. He was just being a complete jerk. I found out that he had been drinking and beating up on Mark. Mark had left for a good reason. He was growing up, Chet was finding out he couldn't control him, and that instigated all kinds of fights. In December, I took Mark to my attorney and all of his custody rights were explained. We went to court, and all I was asking for was $300 per month. It was a drawn out process, but finally we got the money.

I had made a commitment to graduate study when I realized Mark was going to be living with me for two years. Here I had quit my job, and this kid comes back to live with me that I'm not
supposed to have. So I was stuck in Newark and my thought was, I had to do something constructive with my life. And that's when I made a commitment to enroll in a doctorate program.

Winter quarter 1987 I had started the application process to the MBA/Ph.D program at Ohio University and I had to submit Graduate Record Examination scores. I was scheduled to take the GRE on December 12th. I went to Pittsburgh shopping the day before the test. I was walking up the stairs in a parking garage and this guy grabbed me from behind. I didn't even feel his presence, I didn't see him. I think I was just becoming aware of him, because I partially turned around, I ended up turning my face into his shoulder. All of a sudden these two great big arms were around me. I couldn't get away. It was a horrible feeling.

It was anger that saved me. I felt like the top of my head flew right off. I had an adrenaline rush, and I remember thinking, "I am going to kill this guy." I have blanked out on exactly what I did, my next recollection was a feeling of frustration because I had him down on the ground and I was trying to beat his head against the stairs. I was on the top landing of these stairs and I was beating his head against them so I could kill him. I was screaming this horrible blood curdling scream--at the top of my lungs. Two people came over to see what was going on, and pretty soon a cop showed up. No one tried to stop me until the policeman arrived; I think I could have killed him. I was escorted to the hospital, but I wasn't hurt--just a little scraped and bruised. I pressed charges and left the city. I got home at two in the morning and I was
supposed to take the test the next morning, and I couldn't get out of bed. It had finally hit me what had happened the day before. So I didn't take it.

About two days later, Eric called me and told me his wife had brought both of the kids over for to him to take care of while she left town for a few days. He was still in the military at the time. A few days later, he took the baby to the baby sitter and the baby died. It was Infant Death Syndrome. His sergeant called me from the hospital to tell me the bad news. Fortunately the baby sitter was not guilty of any wrong doing; so some of the guilt was relieved. Nonetheless, Eric's wife started accusing him of negligence; she and her boyfriend showed up at the hospital and she made a big scene. Eric was just coming apart. I was on the phone with him a lot that day.

I took care of all the funeral arrangements. Eric had told me he wanted the baby to be buried in Pennsylvania. He also wanted some of the baby's toys put in the casket--so many little special things become important at a time like that. The funeral was really beautiful. I think it gave Eric an inward sense of comfort. Afterwards, Eric decided he would like to stay with my parents for a short while. They were pretty well recovered by that time. I went home, because I had to register for classes.

I had only been home for a few days when I got a call that mother was very ill. I drove back, and when I arrived, the ambulance had just been called to come pick her up. She told me she had a bad case of the flu. When she was admitted to the
hospital, they suspected she was having heart problems and started monitoring her. But they didn't find any serious problems right away and they said her prognosis was quite good.

I told her good-bye, and drove home with Eric. Eric only had about eleven days of release time from the army, and I hadn't spent any time with him. We drove home and spent two and a half days together. On Saturday, my brother called me to say that mother had had a heart attack and was not doing well. She died Sunday morning. I went back to Pennsylvania for her funeral, but I left Eric behind in Ohio; he'd already been through enough. She died less than two weeks after the baby's funeral.

After mother's death, my youngest brother and I were sitting and talking--trying to figure out what we could do with dad because he was in such bad emotional shape. I told him about Nick. That was the first person I had ever told. Then from the period of January until May of 1988, I told my sons. I had started talking about it, and I had cried about it. I had begun to deal with that part of the grieving process.

I didn't really face Nick's death and go through the grieving process until my mother and grandson's deaths impacted. After that, it was like I just couldn't hold the grief back anymore. Even so, it felt like my grief dealt with me instead of me dealing with it. After Nick died, I remember thinking, "I'm dealing with this so well. I didn't think I could do this." And I wasn't dealing with it at all. I was in full flight. To begin the process of freeing myself from the grief involved actually verbalizing that I had been married to Nick
and he was dead. See, never having told anyone I had gotten married, I felt I couldn't tell people that I had lost my husband. I never felt I could tell anybody about what happened. My grief just kept building inside. I got very withdrawn, and I think that's one of the things that got my colleagues at Riverview concerned about me.

By February, I was ready to take the GRE. It was pouring down rain. Mark and I were driving through Athens and this drunk came out of a Holiday Inn driveway and plowed right into the side of my car. This wasn't the kind of thing I needed to have happen in my life right then, but I was bound and determined to not miss sitting for the GRE a second time. I went in to take the test and I lost my vision. I thought I was having another panic attack. My vision was fading in and out. I kept telling myself it was the tension. My scores were not terribly high.

It was about the middle of March. I was beginning to realize that I didn't want to be going to school at Ohio University. I absolutely hated it. Plus, Chet was giving me all sorts of trouble—that's where he teaches and he has a lot of influence. So I got oriented towards Ohio State University. I found out they would accept all of my transfer credits.

Meanwhile, Mark told me that he was worried about this lump that had formed on his chest. I was afraid it was cancer as soon as I saw it. Mark told me he had had it for two years. I got him to the doctor and it ended up that he had to be admitted to the hospital for surgery. Spring break was about seven days away, so
the surgery was scheduled then. The doctor reassured me that he thought the lump was benign. The surgery was done on an outpatient basis and it went fine.

I never thought 1988 would be over. Three weeks after his surgery, Mark developed another lump slightly to the side of the one they had just removed. We went back to the doctor, and I could tell he was very worried. He told me that he was particularly concerned because it was a different type of lump. Mark was rehospitalized, and the second time it was not on an outpatient basis. They told me that they really didn't know what the final results would be, they had to run a lot of tests and wouldn't have the final report for a week. I was forewarned that I would have to make all kinds of decisions relative to the type of therapy Mark would get once the results were back. I remember thinking, "Please God, just let me get through this." I was still going to school at Ohio University while this was going on. School is what preserved my sanity.

Then the lawsuit resurfaced. But I had so many other things going on in my life my attitude at that point my attitude was, "Who cares?" Mark had been admitted to the hospital to undergo his second surgery. Meanwhile I was subpoenaed to take a deposition the same day I was supposed to get the the results of Mark's surgery. I went through one of the most difficult days I have ever gone through; I sat through seven hours of deposition. I swear to God, you don't ever want to go through a deposition--especially if you are the defendant. The attorneys thoroughly interrogated me.
I was covered by school insurance which provided me with an attorney of my own. Her name was Andrea and she sat with me the whole time the deposition was being taken. So the school attorney was my attorney. To my way of thinking this was not appropriate because there were two different agendas and interests she had to represent simultaneously; mine and the school's. The whole time, my mind was on Mark.

I am a documenter. I had copies of the original grant; copies of previous grants; I had kept everything. I was only missing one thing—the date of the resident artist's original interview. It ended up that I had a lot more information than they had—I shared this information with them only when they asked me a question which required it.

I went through the deposition process, and then I got the good news from the hospital that Mark's second lump was benign. Things really seemed to be looking up. I had a pretty good quarter that year, considering everything that had happened. But I began to feel very strange when I was taking my finals. My vision was fading in and out. I went to the doctor and he put me in the hospital. As it turned out, when I was in the car accident or when the guy grabbed me, I had had developed an abscess behind my eye. The doctor told me that it was possible that I might lose my eye sight. They had to drain the abscess.

C: Was it both eyes or just one?

E: What had happened was it started glaucoma in the second eye; so I was in trouble with both eyes. I thought, "Who am I going
to tell?" I decided not to tell anybody. School was out, and I sent Mark to his grandfather's. The doctor told me that I was the biggest healer in the recovery process—I needed to rest and avoid as much stress as possible. He said, "There isn't a whole lot more we can do for this and the abscess can return. You have got to rest and let it heal." The big thing was, I had to keep the strain away from my eyes by keeping as relaxed as possible.

I didn't dare use my eyes. I had never lived this way before; I'm a person who usually reads three books a week. I could not read or watch television. But I had the opportunity to examine my life during this period. It was one of the most painful times I have ever had. Because I retrospectively scrutinized all of the mistakes I had ever made throughout my life. I was looking at my life in terms of all the things I had done wrong. It was a very dark time—pun intended. That's really a punishing kind of mentality. Accepting more blame than I needed to. It was dumb, but that's what I was doing.

The abscess condition kept fluctuating through the summer. Finally I had to give in and just put myself on hold and allow myself the time to heal. But initially, it kept getting worse. The medication, no matter how strong they made it, was not taking care of the problem. I decided, "All right, if I have to live this way, I'm not going to live. I have a choice. And my choice is, I'm not living this way." That was the beginning of my starting to think this way. I decided, "If I don't get out of this, if I am still ill by a year from this August, I am not going to continue to live. I am not. I am using
the shot gun. I am not going on with this life. I am not going to allow myself to be degraded by life. I will have life on my terms or I will not have life."

_Silence._

As it turned out, my eye condition kept getting better and better. I had the time between and June and January before I knew that it was completely healed and everything was fine. The condition should never return unless I would have a similar type of injury. Every day between those months my physical condition improved.

But all of these traumas had kept adding up. Everything kept building up inside me; and I kept it inside—I really didn't talk about it much—I just tried to hang in there. I remember telling myself on many occasions, "You just have to hang in there one more day." Enrolling in graduate course work at Ohio State that winter is what saved me. I said to myself, "I need some place to hide out." And I really did. School helped me to get through the bad times. It preserved my sanity. I enrolled in nine hours of course work.

The College of Business accepted me as a special student Winter Quarter 1989, and I was supposed to be admitted as a regular student once I had completed the application process which mandated an acceptable GRE score. And at that time, I didn't intend to live. So I didn't feel there was any need to submit all the necessary application materials, because I wasn't going to be around. Why would I follow through with these materials when I wasn't planning on living?
It was serious—down to the point that I only had two things left to plan; and that was, "How many pillows do I put under my head to prevent blowing a hole in the tarpaulin underneath me?" And "What is the time line on mailing my letters so I won't be spoiled and stinking before they find me?" It was not a question of, "I might do this." It was, "I will do this on this day because my son will be out of the state and gone for a month in August." So that was what I planned for myself if I didn't get a resolution. I had it all planned out.

C: A resolution with the Riverview school system?

E: No. It was a resolution of everything. I wanted to get some answers. I remember thinking, "I either get this resolved, I get an alteration in my perspective that is significant enough to change my life, or I'm not staying in it anymore." That was an ultimatum. The resolution I needed came internally in this process I've gone through in the last six weeks of telling you my life story—fighting my way through the past—and making the decision, "All right. I will live. I will stay in this world. I will have life on my terms."

C: Well, I think you'd made this decision before I met you.

E: Oh yes. But I didn't have the answers I have now. But I had made the decision to live, yes. I made that after the trial.

C: Well let's explore whether school has factored into all this in any way.

E: School has been a sanity saving device.
C: So school was kind of a place to hide out until you could get resolution for the problems going on in your life?

E: Right.

C: Are there any specific school related experiences you would like to elaborate upon? Particularly in light of this life threatening situation you were in?

E: Well, I never discussed that situation here at school at all. And I kept school separate from friendships.

C: So school didn't have any impact in your decision to live?

E: No, it was just a place to hide out.

C: Until other things got resolved?

E: Right.

C: Which was probably a positive role.

E: Oh yes! And it has been a growing experience as far as intellectual development. But as far as giving me a wonderful sense of self worth—nothing like that happened. And it never has. School has been a place I go back to when things are bad. I wasn't looking for social life or new friendships. I was looking for a place to hide out and renew. I think the key theme is, I always go back to school when I need a break in life, when I need a place to hide out, a place for renewal, a time to rethink. Education has always been a sanctuary for me and it always will be. And had I not had that sanctuary, I don't think I would have made it through last year.

The trial began January of this year. The lawsuit was filed naming the school and me as defendants. It should have named my boss who was in charge of the resident artist program. As far as the
school system was concerned I was the scapegoat, their attitude was, "Elizabeth did everything, we never knew anything about it." The slander suit was thrown out which was wonderful. Three million dollars worth of lawsuit just disappeared. It could never be filed again. The other law suit was a contract suit; it was delayed until May.

When it was time to register for spring quarter, I was in the frame of mind that I wanted to sign up for as many credits as I could handle—which ended up being twenty hours. I still hadn't been admitted to the the business college's graduate program as a regular student because I had never finished the application process. I was still in the midst of the trial.

I had not heard from Andrea since my deposition was taken; she was the school-appointed attorney who was supposed to represent me. It turned out that Andrea had a scheduling conflict and wasn't going to be able to handle my case. A man named Brown had been appointed as my attorney instead. I had met him during the deposition proceedings and I took an instant dislike to him. I begin to think, "Maybe I should hire my own attorney." I looked into what it would cost and found out it would be about twenty thousand dollars.

After surviving the ordeal over my eyesight, one would have thought my morale would have immediately improved. But things did not change for me right away. Things did not get that much better. I figured the attorney that had been appointed to me by the school system was going to sell me down the river. So I found
myself reflecting about how Mark was seventeen years old and almost ready to go off to college. And Eric was pretty much standing on his own two feet again. He was making a satisfactory adjustment. He was getting stronger and better all the time. I had come to the frame of mind, "If I don't want to stay in this world, I won't stay in this world." I gave myself the escape of suicide.

I have never used my metaphysical training for myself except on two occasions. The first time was when I wanted a horse, and that was before I was seven. The second time was during the trial when I asked for protection. I could not deal with whatever was bothering me. Not just the lawsuit, but the whole impact of what was happening to me as a person. I was still behind my glass wall. I was not relating. I was probably looking at the world as being more negative than it actually was. The lawsuit had been hanging over my head for a long time and it was still not resolved. I am the type of person who has to have closure in my life. I had allowed the lawsuit to hold me back from applying for a new job, my money was running out, and the thing with Nick's inheritance seemed like it could drag out indefinitely. Nothing was getting resolved. I thought, "I can't take another cycle of something horrible happening every three weeks. If things aren't better by the first of August, I'm going to kill myself."

I had it all worked out. I had two things left to do. I had to take care of my will and I had to plan the final details of my suicide. I didn't want to do it in the apartment because I knew no one would ever want to rent it again; and I just loved my land lady.
So I planned where I was going to go. I love the hills in Hocking County. I was going to go there and use the shot gun. I had two things I had to work out. One, it was going to be in the summer time, and I didn't want to spoil. I had to leave a way for the sheriff to find me before I rotted, and somebody located me by odor. The other thing, I had to figure out was how many pillows I was going to lay behind my head. Because I was going to lay on a tarpaulin with pillows. That way I wouldn't leave such a mess behind for somebody to clean up afterwards. Here's the theme of the neat person again. I wanted to get it all organized.

I had a friend--actually more than one that knew what I was planning to do. But it was my choice. It wasn't a painful decision. The way I was feeling was, "I don't want to live this kind of life." It wasn't a sad thing; and I didn't think of it as a sad thing. I thought of it as freedom. See, I had gotten to the point in life where I couldn't get myself back up. I had never been in a situation where I couldn't get myself back up before. I couldn't even flee anymore. I felt like the person who lingers on with cancer when the joy of life is gone--I couldn't linger on that way--I preferred to take my life into my own hands and end it on my own terms.

Silence.

This was a period of one trauma followed by another. I felt like life was impacting on me and I was not in charge of myself. Throughout this chapter, I was in my running mode. To be really honest, I think I was in full flight at times. Either running away from something or running to keep up with whatever was
happening next, but never being in charge. It was a very frightening time in my life, because I am a person who likes to be in control of myself. As it evolved, I came to believe that my death was the only thing I could be fully in charge of.

But as a last ditch effort to save my life, I used my metaphysical training to ask for protection. I asked for somebody who could look at me as I really was—at the person I was, and I asked for somebody who would successfully fight my legal battle for me. What I was saying to myself was, "I need a warrior. Somebody with a sword and a shield. I can not fight this legal battle on my own, and I can not afford to hire my own attorney. I need the best." That was what I asked for, and I asked for it on that level.

Brown had asked me for a list of witnesses which I delivered to him. During our conversation he suddenly asked, "Don't I know you from somewhere?" I said, "I met you last January when my deposition was taken." He said, "No, don't I know you from somewhere else?" I said, "I don't think so." He said, "I do think I know you from somewhere." I could feel myself just blowing up inside. I thought, "God damn it!" He had indicated earlier that he had a lot of connections in Licking county. I was thinking, "Here we go again, I'm a witch, let's play this little game, what am I supposed to say?"

It didn't take Brown long to realize, "I'm dealing with somebody who doesn't trust me at all. And someone who doesn't like me." Because I was getting angrier and angrier. He was saying
things like, "Well you'll be so safe. You'll sit right here in the courtroom (indicates place next to him). Right here." He was saying all of the wrong things. I just kept getting angrier.

He told me that the lawsuit had been reduced to a very small amount of money, and it might be settled out of court. I said, "I want this case to go to court." For one thing, it seemed like the lawsuits had a possibility of multiplying if we didn't fight it; and for another thing, I needed closure. I needed a final resolution to this thing. Well, of course, I really didn't have the power to demand that it be settled in court. He turned to me and said, "I guess we're going to have to have try case. Because otherwise you might not be here. You might be dead." I'm thinking, "How did you know?"

C: About your suicide pact with yourself? Is that what he was referring to?

E: I'm sure it was. I was with him for an hour and a half and then I had to leave to go meet with my advisor to get registered for summer quarter. I almost ran out the door. I felt like I couldn't get out of there fast enough. As it turned out, I had to meet with him early the following morning.

The next morning it was a total battle of wills. It had still not sunk in with me that, "This man is on my side." It never did sink in even during the whole trial that Brown was the warrior I had asked for. I had gotten precisely what I had asked for. For some reason, I just wasn't smart enough to realize that. Once again, the information was all there, and I chose not to look at it.
I was still angry. Yet I wanted to win the case. I realized, "I have to work with this man. Not only do I have to work with him, but he really is on my side." By this time he was saying things like, "You are a nice person. I like you." Those kinds of words didn't work well with me—it just made me more angry and suspicious. It was just like pouring fat on the fire.

On Monday morning Brown called me to say there actually would be a trial. Once again, he started up with the stuff, "Your a nice person. I like you." It was really so hard to hear that. But finally I said to him, "You have my trust. I've looked beneath your cloak and I see no dagger." From that time until the trial was over it was like I had been drawn under Brown's protective wing. But emotionally I was very wrought up. I found that I couldn't sleep, or eat; I was in this horrible state of emotional turmoil.

The trial was on Tuesday. My ex-boss came and was a witness the first day. Brown was furious with her because he had to force her to testify. She did indicate that everything I had done had been under her direction; and she had checked everything out with the superintendent.

The whole time I was on the witness stand, I had the mental vision that I was sitting on my horse, and I was somewhere far away, and I was searching for something. Occasionally I came back to the courtroom. I had gone almost a week with just a few hours of sleep each night. I was losing weight like mad and I looked awful.
The first time I was called to the witness stand I was aware that I was looking for something. I was looking and looking; but I didn't know what I was looking for. I didn't know what it was until I started this process with you, the point when I said I had found the dragon in my closet. I didn't know what it was that they had used on me. The monster was the fear of insanity, the same fear I had as a child, the fear that said, "What you are picking up is not correct; you must be crazy." It was the same dragon Chet used. And the school system used it on me again.

C: With the witch accusations?

E: Right. And other things too, like, "You're strange, you're weird, no one can relate to you." The implication I drew was that I must be crazy. That's what I ran from. If that's what they really thought, I don't know. In retrospect I don't think they really thought that, but it was a weapon they used because it succeeded in getting a reaction from me. So they just pushed that button and continued to push it. Because that was my secret fear—that I was insane.

I continued to leave the witness stand mentally in this manner—on my horse. The jury was only a few feet away from me. But most of the time I didn't see them. I could look right at them and not see them. I was told by Brown to look right at them. I did but I couldn't see them. I was sitting on my horse, and there was a kind of grey mist surrounding me. I was looking for something. I was desperately searching for something.
Brown started questioning me on the witness stand. He would ask me a question, such as; "What are the responsibilities of a principal?" He was providing the jury with background information—those were questions he had already prepared me to answer. My body would respond with an appropriate answer. But the whole time, I was out searching for something on my horse. But I couldn't find it. I didn't even know what I was looking for, but I was searching desperately. I was over here, and then over there—all the time looking and searching for something. I was in the woods—I was looking for whatever this thing was. That's what it felt like at the time.

The other attorney got up to cross-examine me. After he asked the first question, I thought, "I am going to eat you alive." What I was doing visually, I was riding my horse into the ground. But verbally, I came back with a very good answer. Then I decided to sneak something in; and I keep managing to get these things in.

Brown kept saying, during the recess, "Why is that attorney letting you get away with so much?" Because in my deposition he hadn't let me get away with anything. I was still distraught. I couldn't sleep. I could hardly think. The attorneys kept fighting over all of these constitutional issues. The whole time, the judge was tying his hands. He made some wrong rulings; Brown was talking about appealing the case if we lost. I was thinking, "I'm not going through this again." I lost about twelve pounds in one week. I looked awful. I wasn't getting much sleep. But the whole time, I
was losing pain; I was not aware of it at the time—but I was losing pain.

On the day the verdict was to be handed down, Brown had Andrea come in to be with me while it was read. Andrea was the attorney who had been through all of the depositions with me. Brown was thinking, "If she falls apart, she'll need a woman with her."

The jury came back in and they gave the plaintiff $12,500.50 and nothing else. The judge had ruled in the morning—the morning after the whole trial was over—that the school had a contract with the artist. He waited until then, which was a dirty thing to do. Legally, had the school chosen to appeal the case, what would have been questioned was the judge's legal right to make the ruling that it was a contract. He should have let the jury decide.

The jury was out for about four hours making their decision. Because the judge had ruled it was a contract, they had to give him something. I decided I had to leave—I felt like I would soon be in tears. There was a session going on among all the attorneys after the verdict was read. They were trying to make a decision as to whether they wanted to appeal the case. As it turned out, the settlement was so small, the case was never appealed. I left and had a little crying session.

Chet called me after the trial was over and jumped all over me—because I had asked him to keep Mark. Mark had been acting like a little jerk for quite a long time. Chet made this big deal over insisting that I come and get Mark immediately after the trial. The
next morning, I was feeling really angry. I told Chet, "I don't have anymore money, Mark is coming to live with you, and I am not paying any child support." Then I told Mark, "Pack your clothes. You are going to your father's tomorrow. You have wanted to go, but you haven't had the guts to say you're going to go." This all happened the next day after the trial.

Just like that, I threw everybody out of my life that had been giving me problems. I decided then and there, "If I'm going to live, I'm going to live life on my terms." The next morning, after the trial, I woke up and something was missing. What was missing was a lot of the emotional pain. I didn't hurt anymore. When it was over, it was over. Now it's taken a lot of time to get where I am right now. I am extremely happy. I feel like I have a second chance at life. I am not going to let anything stand in my way.

I have gone through so much change in the last month. Becoming vulnerable, allowing myself to feel, allowing myself to experience all kinds of emotions. I've also been getting back all the femininity that I had suppressed--all the womanhood that had been locked behind the fat. My eating was triggered by my unhappiness. I'm not unhappy anymore, and I don't have to overeat.

The trial ended just before I met you. The trial was in the middle of May. It was the following Monday I met you. All of the doors had opened. I felt like I had been given a second chance on life. I felt like, "Yes, now I can go on with my life."

Through this very difficult period I have just been through, I've learned a lot. I grew a lot. I found out what the trial was
really all about. It wasn't about winning or losing the case. It was about getting in touch with my feelings enough to shed the pain I was feeling over how the school system had treated me. The shedding of that pain has really freed me. I am free and I am happy now. I feel that I can go on and achieve what I was meant to achieve. But I could not be free until the lawsuit was ended. I kind of got stuck after Nick died. Then I stayed stuck by remaining in my job at Riverview. When I had finally made the decision to leave the school system, I found out I couldn't really get away because of the lawsuit.

C: Have you heard anything from the school system since the trial?

E: No, I haven't heard from anyone. It doesn't matter. They are so insignificant now. What I had done was to allow myself to be intimidated. See, I didn't know what my dragon was. I kept looking for something external. I kept asking myself, "What did I do wrong?" I kept looking and looking. I would go over papers and documents searching for an answer. I kept asking, "What is this thing? I kept thinking that there must be something I could pin it to. I was looking for the dragon, for the monster--whatever this thing was that made me so internally afraid. And I did not know what it was. It was that intimidation thing that kept coming up over and over--the fear of insanity. Especially with my mother's behavior the way it was; and my very different kind of upbringing which stressed our family heritage and bloodlines.
The thing was, throughout my life, I kept thinking I must have done something wrong whenever problems surfaced. That kind of thinking caused me to take on a lot of guilt I didn't deserve. Logically, this reasoning doesn't make sense. But intuitively, it makes a lot of sense. That unresolved mystery about the nature of my secret dragon was a very destructive thing--because I am a person who really needs resolution.

C: Is this what you were looking for on your horse during the trial.

E: Yes, but I couldn't find it. The dragon really didn't exist in an external sense; it was within me. I had allowed others to use it to intimidate me. I learned a lot participating in this study of yours. I am so glad for this process because it has helped me put a lot of perspective on things.

I have faced my own death; and I was so far gone, I wasn't alive anymore. I've come out of that frame of mind. And I came out of it not just shedding the pain of Riverview, but also the pain of my childhood, my marriage to Chet, and Nick's death. It was like all of me came together. I feel years younger. I never intend to get caught in that kind of situation again. That's why this process is so important to me right now; I really need to analyze my life patterns. I'm very interested in getting your input as we analyze this data together--that will give me the opportunity to see myself through fresh eyes. Because the thing is, I am subjectively caught up in my own point of view. I think I sometimes see myself as I
want to see myself. It's hard to look honestly. But this process has given me the support to try to do that.

If I dread anything about the future that lies ahead of me, it would be to have come this far and not use what I have learned. To repeat a destructive pattern from the past--for instance, to allow this fear of insanity to continue to haunt me--that would be the worst thing that could happen. To have a destructive cycle repeat itself would be dreadful. That is why it's so important to me right now to take the time to try and analyze my life patterns. I want to look at my life history from the perspective of: "Where do I see this pattern first taking shape? What information was available to me that I ignored?" I feel that if I don't make this effort to reflect upon my life patterns, the destructive ones are bound to repeat themselves. I'm just going to forge right ahead and walk the same path again.

The end of the trial marks the end of this chapter. I'm going to read you the poem I wrote about my plan to escape this chapter through death. It's called:
Soaring Free

You freed my tear stained heart,
And, took away the pain.
To fly forever free again
Soaring
Soaring
Soaring

After the rush of the wings of night,
Following on in full flight.
Valleys of life I leave behind,
Saying good-bye to all mankind.
Soaring
Soaring
Soaring

Breaking forever the warp and woof,
Of the fabric of life.
The blood of my die is cast,
Free at last.
Never to touch the earth again.
Soaring
Soaring
Soaring

Deep in the dark hollow of night,
I follow on in full flight.
Fear forever gone,
I fly endlessly on and on.
Soaring
Soaring
Soaring
The mists of morning are slowly rising,
    And, in the distance I can see.
The dawn of the other side,
    Never again to cringe and hide.

Think always of Me,

Soaring Free

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Curtain
Scene Seven
Wings of Promise: 47

Elizabeth and Cindy are seated at a table on the veranda of a small cafe. In the cool of the evening, Elizabeth finishes telling Cindy her story.

One of the things I had to do after the trial was over was some sorting out. And this process has really helped me sort my life out and examine it. I needed to look at things like—ways I've been self destructive, punitive—and yet, come to terms with how much I have to offer. Because I'd really given up on life. Then I had to decide, "Am I going to fight, am I going to live, am I going to stay around?" When I made the decision that I was, then I had to decide on what terms I was going to live and what I was going to do with my life. I can't change the past. I can't make the school system apologize for instance. When I found the dragon in my closet, I got the answer that I needed to change my perspective in a meaningful way. Never again will I run. Never again will I not stand up for myself.

Thursday night the trial ended. That night Chet jumped on me. From that moment on, I have been at war with everything. I made so many changes in my life. I got rid of people in my life who had been draining me. I sent my son back to live with Chet. As long as my father is alive, I owe him the kind of honor and the verbalization of presence that are important to him. He's too old, it's way too late to engage in any kind of confrontation with him to resolve past issues. But I don't owe anyone else anything. I don't
owe my brothers anything; I don't owe my nephews anything. I only have to deal with Chet until Mark has graduated from high school next year.

I called my stepsons and said, "We are going to resolve this lawsuit one way or the other; let's get on it." The Greek government of Papandreou looks unsteady; they may stay in, they may go out. It's been back and forth. The three of us are filing a lawsuit against the Greek government. We had been negotiating and now we've filed suit; our attorneys are handling the case on a contingency basis. We are going to force the issue so we can get some sort of a resolution on this. The money is in this country, but it's frozen and we can't get our hands on it.

So then I had to say to myself, "All right, Elizabeth, this is where you are. You are alive. You don't have very much money so you better start figuring out what you are going to do." I have some money in retirement which I would prefer not to pull out; I would rather sell the land I have in Pennsylvania. I would prefer to sever that bond anyway. I have pretty much relinquished the bond with my family.

Being involved in this process and finishing the hours I needed to complete my superintendent's certification kept me motivated to stay in school this summer. Every single day, I was re-evaluating and re-analyzing my life. I've found that I have a lot goals in life and I have to start moving towards getting them actualized. I feel I have a second chance in life. I don't have anything but open doors in front of me. I think at this point, there
is nothing that should hold me back but myself. And that's why it's so important for me to go through my life and to look at patterns that have been destructive, and to look really hard at my strengths.

Steve and I have put a business plan together which involves setting up corporate day care centers. I want to meet all the day care regulations, but run it as a school; the day care regulations are much more stringent than a school's. Our clientele will be the upper and middle income bracket. For every three centers we set up, we are going to try to con the corporations we serve to sponsor one for free in order to accommodate the woman who is trying to get started--the woman who trying to go back to school or whatever.

We will set up the day care centers, and then we will run them or the give the corporations the option of maintaining them. In any event, we will set them up and provide our plan. I've been visiting the best facilities so that I can make ours better. You can improve on anything. I want to look at staffing patterns and come up with a sound financial package. Steve and I are consulting with two very good accountants. We have a lot of pro bono legal help, but I still have a lot of networking to do. Tomorrow I go to attend a workshop on how to set up corporate child care from the standpoint of looking at all the state regulations. Next week I will start talking with some of the state licensers. I may have to work part-time for a period while we're getting our business plan up and running, but I'm trying to find any way to avoid it.

School is not that important to me now. But it may be of value to me later. I may want to develop some more skills and
advance my academic credentials at some point in the future. I have made a lot of contacts while I've been enrolled here; and OSU has given me some answers and directions. There are several more courses in statistics I would enjoy taking. I don't feel any time pressure, so I'm putting my educational plans on hold for awhile. I definitely want to complete the MBA/Ph.D. at some point. I don't ever intend to stop going to school.

Looking at family longevity, Esther Anne was 103 when she died, I have another aunt who is well into her nineties. My father is learning to use a computer at age 87. Had my grandfather not had the accident in his 80's, he would have gone right on. Mother started another career late in life; she was 62 when she got her Ph.D. Had she not been in the accident, she would have kept going too. So unless there is some external force that comes into my life that wipes me out, I'm going to live a long time. And it's really important that I have my inner resources intact and that I continue to advance educationally. But it is not a priority right now.

I've also been thinking about the qualities I want in husband number three. He has to have tenderness and compassion. All of the men in my life have been only one type—cold. There has been no compassion, no caring, and no tenderness. But this is not a priority right now either. It's something I'll give more attention to once I've got my life put back together.

For the near future, I'm looking at, "What business idea can I launch which taps into what I know how to do with kids?" The corporate child care business makes a lot of sense from this
perspective. If I really make up my mind to do something, then there shouldn't be anything that stands in my way. I have no pain now. I don't hurt anymore. I have let go of it. I need to get rid of some of my fat, and some of the problems that have held me back. So the way I see it, I should be hitting the best years of my life. And that sounds terribly pompous and egotistical, but that's really how I feel. See, I think I probably created my own crisis and then created my own salvation.

This gets me to the last thing I wanted to mention. I am a woman of a certain age. It's not middle age, I am a woman of a certain age who is just now claiming my own power. I've reached a point where I can tap that power. See, I've had all these experiences which have involved nurturing and caring and all of that kind of stuff, and I'm saying, "Forget it!" Yes, I have reached a certain age. My power comes from that age, that certainty within myself. I couldn't have walked through that much flame, torn myself apart, looked at what was there and pulled out the little tatters in my soul without coming to terms with who I was and where I was going. This may not be the same road I'm on next year or five years from now, but this is the path I choose to take for now.

C: It's a wonderful life story. At times it's made me tremble inside.

E: Well it is a wonderful story now. But a year ago, or even two months ago it wasn't.

C: It's just a stroke of fate isn't it that we met each other when we did--that this story is even recorded?
E: I needed this desperately.

C: Well it's been mutual. I really needed to find you desperately, too, at the point our paths crossed.

E: This is my final poem for you. It's called:
Wings of Promise

I hear in the pipes of morning,
    Where the leaves of Autumn fell.
    The beat of a different drummer,
    As he comes up the dell.

Beneath the dark velvety mists,
    Lies the enchantment of his song.
    Fluttering on "Wings of Promise",
    Is a "Dream" for which I long.

I, herald the "Dreams" of tomorrow,
    He turns and says to me.
    The future is yours to determine.
    For, you are now: Forever free.

You have walked the endless journey,
    Met the dark "shadow side" of your soul.
    Drew your sword and slew the dragon,
    And, returned to the world: Forever whole.

And, as I bid him farewell, I hear him say,
    She stands there: Forever whole, Forever free.
    Traveling life's path on Wing's of Promise",
    For, she now commands her own destiny.

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*Sound of Fading Drummer's Beat In Background.*

A NEW BEGINNING
A Praxis-Oriented Poststructural Exploration
of the Ways in Which
Grounded and A Priori Psychosocial Theories
Can be Used to
Inform Each Other
Volume II

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Cindy S. Snyder, B.A., M.A.

*****

The Ohio State University

1990

Dissertation Committee:
Robert Bargar, Ph.D.
Robert Donmoyer, Ph.D.
Patti Lather, Ph.D.

Approved by

Robert Bargar, Ph.D.
Adviser
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Categorical Beliefs and Their Thematic Components
CHAPTER V
LILY'S LIFE STORY

Lily served as the first informant in this study. In April of 1988, we taped two interviews wherein Lily provided me with an overview her life story by highlighting key events which stood out as she thought back about her past. Many of our subsequent interviews were spent over lunch as we built rapport and tried to focus the study. By April 1989, I had developed the study's interview format (see Appendix A). At this point, we began gathering Lily's life history in earnest. Our interviews were completed in June, 1989.

We utilized a split page reporting format to present Lily's reconstruction and analysis of her life story. We printed Lily's narration of her story in the left column of each page. In the right hand column, we delineated the key themes and ideas Lily identified as she analyzed her raw data. The prominent themes and ideas I uncovered during my analysis of the raw data are also presented in this column; they appear in italicized print.

At one point during the data analysis phase, Lily and I faced a dilemma. At issue was Lily's wish to reformulate words she had used to describe herself as she told me her life story. Lily's need to unsay these words arose as she became aware that they had helped
to perpetuate a negative identity she had come to challenge and liberate herself from during her enrollment in graduate school.

I understood Lily's discomfort over the circumstance that the words she had used to describe herself earlier no longer fit her reformulated identity. Yet, I felt the old definitions played a critical role in informing the reader of the dramatic shift which transpired in Lily's self-concept during the time the study was underway. We resolved our dilemma by bracketing the words Lily wanted to unsay with parentheses. We felt that, by using this tactic, the reader would be apprised of the old self-definiitions Lily had transcended, but Lily would be distanced from these definitions in a way which would remind the reader that she no longer identified with them.

We wanted to find a way to juxtapose Lily's early data next to the data we collected over a year later, so that we could show the reader some of the sweeping ways her perspective had shifted while she was a graduate student. To this end, in the final chapter of Lily's life story, we deviated from the data reporting and analyzing format described above. This chapter is titled "Leaps and Bounds" and it spans the period of time Lily was enrolled as graduate student. The data we collected in June, 1989 is reported in the left hand column. The data we collected in April 1988, which dealt with this same portion of her life, is juxtaposed next to it in the right hand column; this material is interspersed with the themes and ideas we collaboratively generated.
Childhood: Birth - 12

L: I was born in Annapolis. My father was a professor there during the Second World War. My dad had all kinds of education—one year at Stony Brook, four years at Annapolis, an MBA from The University of California at Berkeley, and also Yale—advanced studies but I don't remember what it was in. He had a whole bunch of education.

My Mother had a high school education. It was a major catastrophe in her life that she couldn't go to college when she got out of high school. She was a very bright, lovely woman who read voraciously. She grew up in the depression, and she had four sisters. The family really had a hard time making ends meet financially. So Mother did not have the money to go to college. She worked as a secretary after high school; that's how she met Dad. He was quite a bit older than she. They lived in Columbus for a short while after they got married and then they moved to Annapolis.
The time we spent living in Annapolis had to have been very significant for my mother which would have affected me also. The atmosphere had to have made her feel inadequate—maybe only through her own thinking—because she didn't have a college education. I know this for a fact about Mother. What she said was: "I was raised in the depression, and I didn't have any money to go to school." And, it was like that was a closed chapter for her, when in reality, it certainly didn't have to be. After she got married, my dad had the money to send her to college at any point in time that she ever wanted to go. So it was not a question of money later on. She could have gone. And there was a college just minutes from her doorstep. But, being thrown into the Annapolis experience must have really confronted Mother with what she felt inadequate about—her lack of a college education.

Mother would probably have felt guilty about leaving her family to go back to school. From her point of view, she didn't have permission from society to do that. Her job was at home—that was supposed to be her lifetime commitment. And that was a real limiting idea. But that's how she was socialized. That's also how she socialized me.
Dad was a disciplinarian. I didn't talk back to him. Throughout childhood, I was mostly scared of him. He would yell at me and make me shake in my boots. So I saw him as an authority figure, but I also looked up to him. I saw him as a security factor too. I knew I could go to him if I had to.

His authoritative power made me scared of him. Later on, when I grew up, he mellowed out and we turned out to be really good friends. But that childhood fear of him, I've still retained that fear of men.
And Dad wasn't a tyrant. He was very kind. He was a dichotomy. He would see a little animal die and become all upset. He would nurse and nurture it. He was one of the kindest people in the world. Here I am talking about how it was so scary, and I was shaking in my boots, but he was one of the kindest men. And I've always had a problem with that. Because here he was, this very kind person, but on the other hand, his attitude was "Well, let's go bomb Vietnam." So he had a real dichotomy going on. I don't know if I'll ever understand it completely. Dad accepted a position with the defense industry, and we moved to an affluent neighborhood in Columbus when I was just a small child.
Mom and I really had a close relationship when I was young. There were a lot of times when I didn't want to go to school. And looking back, it was probably separation anxiety. You know, during that time, it was just fine with my mother if I stayed home from school. I think she was lonely. I remember a couple times we'd drive down to the school, and I'd say, "Oh, I really don't feel like going to school." And she said, "Oh, O.K."

I remember that I didn't have much sense of my own mortality during this chapter. It felt like my life would go on forever. Now, time goes by so fast. But back then, it just seemed to drag on and on.
My sense of well being during this period centered around the fact that I had the family. We had our holidays, and traditions. Mother would always cook fruit cakes. Every year she would come home with grocery bags that would fill the whole circumference of the table. There would be citron and all this other stuff that you put in fruit cakes. It was always a big tradition. I would help her, but she was very particular about getting everything cut up exactly the right size. Then she'd get compulsive about decorating the Christmas tree. We would use live trees. And she'd say, "Now you have to put three icicles on this branch, three on this one" (laughter). And she wouldn't beat me up if I didn't do it right--but I knew that I had to have three, three, three. So we did three, three, three on the whole tree.

Theme: The happy memories of childhood

Theme: The importance of familial relationships and sense of connectedness with family

Theme: Belief spawned in childhood: Familial relationships are all-important

Theme: My mother was my role model

Theme: the importance of family traditions to my sense of well being

Theme: Belief spawned in childhood: It is important to uphold and pass along family traditions
Thanksgiving with the turkey was always a real big thing. We'd sit around this huge table in the dining room. Mother did cross stitch table cloths. She also did needle point chairs. We would eat off her table cloths; and she'd put out just a spread of food. She would get out all of the good china. She loved to do this. She loved to entertain.

Mother was very creative. Creating was very meaningful for her. It was part of her essence. These creations are the heirlooms now that are precious to us. The traditions and creations she passed on to me are the part of her I have left.

Theme: Belief spawned in childhood: It is important to uphold and pass along family traditions
Theme: the happy memories of childhood

Theme: Belief spawned in childhood: Familial relationships are all-important

Mother liked to sing. We would all sit around and sing. We'd be in the kitchen and we'd sing. Mother was really big on cooking and sewing. It's funny, at the time I wouldn't have thought of these as happy memories; but as I look back on them, they are. She was just devoted to doing all of these family centered things.
I wanted to be a doctor. My grandfather was a surgeon and I wanted to become a doctor too--I was really inspired when I was young. I also had a woman pediatrician which also provided modeling for me. All my dolls were patients. I operated on all of them. I had cotton balls and everything. And I'd give them all shots and operations and take their tonsils out. My dolls were immediate patients and I had this traveling ironing board--that was my surgery table.
When I brought up the idea about wanting to become a doctor with Mother, the message was, "No you don't want to become a doctor you want to become a housewife and a mother." I remember that episode with crystal clarity--like it was yesterday. What Mother valued in her life at that point was her husband, and she really thought that to be a woman and to have a fulfilling life you had to have children. It was a value and a belief of hers. She may have questioned it later on. But at that point in time, that is something that she was telling me and modeling for me. And she was my role model.

She valued motherhood which was, at that time, the meaning in her life. I also had the feeling that I would have somehow betrayed her if I'd pursued my doctor ambition. This brings up a loyalty issue which makes me wonder if I was afraid I'd lose her love if I'd pursed this dream.

Themes: Beliefs spawned in childhood: I must conform to parental expectations; I must let others define me; my only valid role is to be a wife and mother; and being a wife and mother is my only dream for the future.
I made a major reappraisal with that doctor business. I was about eight years old at the time. Who knows if I had the brains to actually do it? But at that point, it was a legitimate dream. But mother invalidated it. In retrospect, I think I felt like I would have lost her love if I'd pursued it. It's funny, because I remember this decision vividly. I thought, "O.K. Mom, I won't be a doctor. I'll be a wife and a mother if that's what you want me to do." But it didn't have to be either or. It could have been both. But Mother didn't see it that way. It's all right because she was a product of her time.

Theme: Sense of limited options--during childhood, I didn't get validation from Mother for any role other than wife and mother.

Theme: Mother invalidated my dream about becoming a doctor

Themes: Beliefs spawned in childhood: I must conform to parental expectations; I must let others define me; and being a wife and mother is my only dream for the future

This is where the fallacy was in terms of my early socialization. Now days, I could see where a kid might feel overwhelmed by her choices. In my generation, we weren't socialized to believe we had a lot of choices.
I had a rich fantasy life. When my dolls weren't patients, they were students and I was a teacher. I had chalk, and I would spend hours writing on the walls. I would say, "Now let's go through these exercises." I would give them a math test, and I would write a test for each one of my students. Then I'd sit down and grade them.

I was also a soldier. There were two themes I played out. Desert commando and navy frogman. I was fascinated by frogmen. This is modeling once again. Because you see, a soldier and all that military stuff was really admirable from Dad's point of view.

Retrospectively, I can see how important parental validation is for the child. During this chapter, Lily dreamed of becoming a teacher.
Something else should have happened with all this fantasy life going on, but it didn’t. Because I ended up with the exclusive mother role. Some of my early dreams and fantasies didn’t get operationalized.

Theme: Belief spawned in childhood: I am powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams.

Early dreams didn’t get operationalized because of perceived limited options.

Theme: Sense of limited options—during childhood, I didn’t get validation from Mother for any role other than wife and mother.

The mother/wife role is the only childhood dream that gets actualized.

Theme: Belief spawned in childhood: My only valid role is to be a wife and mother.

C: What were your expectations about marriage and family life during this Chapter?
L: My fantasy was to have a cottage in the country surrounded by a white picket fence, and a husband who went off to work in the morning. My role would be to please the man— that's what I thought a wife was supposed to do. And when he came home from a hard day at work, I would be there to bolster him and make him feel wonderful. I would provide his haven— away from the rough world. This was my expectation of the wife's role; I'm not trying to describe Mother, although she really did play into it.

Theme: During this chapter, I came to believe the woman's role was to please the man.

Theme: Belief spawned in childhood: The woman's role is to please the man.

My mother was my role model; I looked up to mother and made the choice that her role was going to be my role.

Theme: Belief spawned in childhood: Being a wife and mother is my only dream for the future.
That's the way I thought life was. I wanted to do this with all my heart. I wanted to be the woman who sat home and was the nurturer. And when the man came home I'd be really needed. That's what I thought women did. Even though I went through that little doctor episode, my role was going to be the nurturing wife and mother. Now I really came to want that--it was my dream. I didn't see a life beyond that. I believed that being a wife and mother was going to be my only lifetime commitment. That was a real limiting idea, but I had come to believe that was all there was. But then, I was socialized to be naive that way.

Theme: I wanted to nurture a family of my own and feel needed

Themes: Beliefs spawned during childhood: I need to nurture others; and being a wife and mother is my only dream for the future
I was starting to get a little boy crazy at the beginning of this chapter—which was not a good direction for me to be going. It would have been helpful if I would have had my mind more on my studies. During high school, I got (bad) grades and I just didn't worry about it. That's when my parents began to think, "(Well, she's not too bright.)" I wasn't very school oriented because I didn't think in terms of college, I thought in terms of getting married.

I actually felt humiliated about my grades, and I think I was kind of in denial about it.  

Theme: Belief spawned in childhood: Being a wife and mother is my only dream for the future
I started going with the Marine in the eleventh grade. It was real serious. When he went overseas, nobody could understand why I wasn't happy. I was waiting for this guy. I didn't date anybody else and I stayed home a lot. This was detrimental to me psychologically. You know Cindy, when my kids do badly in school, which doesn't usually happen, I'm in school, asking "What's wrong, what's going on?" I get involved. I would know what's going on with my kids, I would hope. But I just don't think my parents knew anything about what I was going on with me psychologically. They didn't get involved with me in that way. Instead of saying, "Hey, what's wrong in you life that it's having this effect on you?" they just assumed (I wasn't intelligent). My parents just didn't get it. And I'm not sure if they would have acted on the message even if they'd received it. I mean, what are you going to do about a kid who's in love and the guy's out in the middle of the ocean somewhere?

A key choice I made during this chapter was to isolate myself from my peer group by waiting for the Marine and by not dating anyone else. This choice was very detrimental to my sense of psychological well being.

Lily does poorly academically when the Marine goes overseas because she feels unhappy about being isolated from her peer group.

Lily's parents think she is doing (poorly academically because she isn't intelligent)

Themes: Beliefs spawned in adolescence: I am not intelligent; My parents don't believe in me; therefore I can't believe in myself
Now, looking back on it, the big push for college didn't start until my senior year. Mother would push college; she would sit there and say how unhappy she was that she hadn't gone. And she would push it. But, at the same time, she really liked this marine. She never negated that relationship in any way. I don't know what she was thinking about, it's hard for me to figure it out. She liked him a lot. But, at the same time, she was pushing this intellectual thing on me by stressing the importance of college.

C: Well the marine was on the boat far away from you.

L: Good point! Like how serious could the marine and I be if he was on the other side of the face of the earth?

C: That might have made them rest a little easy that you were sitting at home and not out running around.
L: I never even looked at that. Yes, they felt a certain security didn't they? I mean, of course they would. I wasn't getting pregnant was I? And for heaven's sake, I wasn't having sex with anybody.

Because I can put it in terms of my own daughter, Emily. It would be less worrisome for me if she had a marine overseas. Then I wouldn't have to worry; I wouldn't have to worry about sex, pregnancy--actually I don't have to be as worried about that as my parents were. Well from a parent's point of view, I can see why that relationship with the marine sat so well with them. It was convenient. But I didn't see it at the time; I didn't see that until just now.

No wonder they liked that. And then I got involved with the creep, who really was a creep, and then they had all of this to worry about. All of it. And another thing is, I don't know if we can make this a theme or not, there was absolutely no communication with me about any of this; none. My family was not taught how to communicate.

Theme: No communication in family of origin

My family would not communicate; that's something I've had to learn to do on my own, and it was an enormous struggle
College wasn't pushed really strongly until the twelfth grade. That's when they got me applications to go to school. I didn't get the message, that I needed to watch my grades, and that I needed to be concerned about college until my senior year in high school. I wasn't prepared for it all along. And by the time I was a senior, my grades left a lot to be desired. I did not have my mind on academics at all at that point in time.

Lily gets a mixed role modeling message from her mother during her senior year of college--her mother begins to stress the importance of Lily getting a college education

Theme: Sense of limited options--During childhood, I didn't get validation from Mother for any role other than mother

Theme: Belief maintained in adolescence: My only valid role is to be a wife and mother; and being a wife and mother is my only dream for the future
C: And you'd broken up with the marine?

L: Yes; it was a painful experience. He was going to be gone forever and I thought, "Well, this is enough." I broke up with him not because I didn't love him. I broke up with him because it was too painful sitting at home. And, for a long number of years, I felt like I still loved that guy. But I tried, of course, not to admit that. When I broke up with him, it was a mistake. I still loved him when I broke up with him.
I was going with the creep my senior year of high school. At the time, I didn't know he was a creep, I thought he loved me. And Mother hated that guy. He was obnoxious. He was really bad news. Anyhow, Mother really stressed college during the last part of my senior year. Her idea specifically was Smith. I was getting a contradictory message at this point. The mixed message was, what you should really want out of life is to stay home and have kids but, yet, you should also go to Smith or Brown or whatever name she had lined up. I was really angry about the mixed messages. Her dream was that I should attend an Ivy League college. But it made me feel inferior, because I felt that her dream was an imposition on me. I felt like I could never measure up to it.

Lily gets a mixed role modeling message from her mother during her senior year of college--her mother begins to stress the importance of Lily getting a college education

Theme: Sense of limited options--During childhood, I didn't get validation from Mother for any role other than mother

Themes: Beliefs maintained in adolescence: My only valid role is to be a wife and mother; and being a wife and mother is my only dream for the future
Especially when nobody was taking me to the Smith campus. I didn’t know what Smith was. I mean I had a vague idea. But I was never told what Smith was, I was never taken there, I was never taken to Brown. These were just Mother’s abstract goals for me.

C: Maybe it had to do with getting you away from the creep?

Mother got a strong dose of humiliation during the depression. As a result of enduring this experience she wanted idealistic things for me.

Theme: High expectations but no exposure to the means of actualizing them
L: Probably--because she couldn't stand him. I was separating at that point, and Mother had to have been going through some mid-life changes. It's hard to know what she was going through, because she never verbalized any of this. But I never got any verbalization of why she withdrew. It hurt because I got the message that she no longer cared for me. This was around the last part of my senior year. I was always real close to her up until that time.

Theme: Separating from mother

Theme: Belief maintained in Adolescence: Separation is a loss

Theme: The kid has to separate and the mother has to let go

My mother felt that I didn't love her anymore, and I thought that she didn't love me. That's not what was going on. I can see that very clearly now that I've been a mother. What was going on was I was separating and she was having a hard time letting me go.
The thing that cinched internalizing my parents' message that I was (not intelligent), is that I applied to the University of Wisconsin and they sent this letter back which said "You've been rejected on the basis of your high school grades. Maybe you should consider going to business school." I intercepted that letter. It was addressed to my father, but I opened it. You know, if I got a letter like that back about one of my kids, I would say, "This is trash, we're not going to listen to this." Instead of being supportive Dad says "Oh well you shouldn't have opened the letter." There wasn't any discussion about the letter being trash, instead of saying something supportive, his lack of saying anything was translated to me as, "Well they're right. You know, I have a flunky kid on my hands. So we'll send her to business school." See they just didn't know. They just didn't have the belief in me.

Themes: Beliefs spawned in adolescence: I am not intelligent; my parents don't believe in me; therefore I can't believe in myself
Dad was starting to mellow out some at this point. We were starting to get closer during this time frame. My relationship with him was improving, but the one with Mother was going downhill. But even though our relationship was improving, Dad was still in the mind set that (I wasn't too bright) so I had to go to business school.

I was real dependent on the jerk who was sociopathic. I was dependent in an unhealthy way on him. I let him define me. He was giving me a lot of negative messages. He was giving me a lot of negative feedback and I was listening to it.

C: Can you give an example?
L: He wouldn't treat me very well. He would spend twenty minutes with me and then he'd say he had to go do something. One night I followed him. He went over to his friend's house, and then they took off in the car. I lived for him, and he was out running around with his friend, probably picking up girls. He would give me these negative messages, and I would internalize them. I internalized them in the sense that I believed they were valid.

Dad was telling me that (I wasn't too bright), mainly in nonverbal ways. The creep was treating me horribly. He put me down continually, and I was accepting it.

Theme: Letting others define me

Theme: Belief maintained in adolescence: I must let other define me

Theme: Lack of belief in myself

Theme: Belief spawned in adolescence: My parents don't believe in me; therefore I can't believe in myself
So I was defining myself by daddy's message that (I wasn't too bright), and I was defining myself by the negative way the jerk was treating me--no wonder. I'm not sure if I'm realizing this for the first time or if this is just the first time I've been able to verbalize it--but this is a real insight. I was defining myself negatively from the negative messages I got from my dad and the negative messages I got from the jerk. Here we are with the male thing again--dad and the jerk. I'm still intimidated by men. The disbelief issue--well that's a reason that's tied up with my father. I'm so intimidated by men. Particularly male professors, I don't volunteer in class because I feel that whatever I say in class is not going to be right or good enough. I'll ask questions but I'm just floored by male professors--I am intellectually intimidated by them.
I needed to be close to Mother at the later part of this chapter. And I felt like I couldn't be close to her. She was not ready to relate to a teenager who was definitely separating. She cut off the communication. The event which precipitated this was when I came home one evening from a date. I sat down on the couch with Mother after my date--except make out a little obviously. And she gasped at me and said, "My blouse is wrinkled!" She was real upset over the fact I had a wrinkled blouse on. And I said, "So? My blouse is wrinkled."
Well she tried to make something out of the fact my blouse was wrinkled. I had not deserved that. But you see, she stopped the mother/daughter communication at that point. Because I thought, "Oh, what have I done?" But then I thought, "I didn't do anything. So why is she acting this way?" This episode was real detrimental to the mother/daughter communication lines. I should have been able to confide in her. And from that moment on, I couldn't confide in her because I was afraid I was going to get this kind of adverse reaction from her. I needed to be able to be close to her, but I couldn't from then on. And that was a turning point, a demarcation point for us.

You can't deal with feelings if you don't know what the feelings are.

Theme:
Separating from Mother

Theme: the kid has to separate and the mother has to let go

Theme: Lack of communication in family of origin

When Mother and I didn't get along she probably felt like I was rejecting her and invalidating her role as a mother. This wasn't true, but how was she to know it? She couldn't have known it; we didn't communicate during my separation process.

Theme: Belief maintained in adolescence: Separation is a loss
Dad told me up in my bedroom one night, "You know this guy doesn't love you." Dad didn't have enough of a foundation with me to be telling me that the jerk didn't love me. I felt real alienated from him when he told me that. He was right, but at the time, I didn't want to believe it. So from my perspective, I had Mother shutting me out and I was feeling alienated from Dad. That just intensified my relationship with the jerk.

After the senior year was over and I had graduated, Dad, had gotten me into a girls' junior college. I had to fill out the application, but he did the rest. I had no choice in the fact that I was going to go to this college and major in secretarial science. And I'm grateful for that now. But at the time, I had no choice in the matter. I was going to go to school. They would find me a school to get into regardless of my bad grades. So even though I'm grateful now, but I had no choice in that decision.

When I was in the process of separating from mother, I felt that she was rejecting the person I was becoming; so I turned to the jerk for validation.

*Theme: Belief maintained in adolescence: Separation is a loss*

Theme: I felt powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams

*Theme: Belief maintained in adolescence: I am powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams*

This resulted in a lack of a sense of self-esteem and instrumentality
I was caught in a contradiction: I was engaged to the jerk during my senior year of high school. And I was thinking, at that point, that I was going to get married when I graduated from high school. When I think about it, I was really getting mixed messages. I was all ready to get married, and yet, Dad kept pushing me to fill out the application materials for college. They didn't pay any attention to this engagement thing I was going through.

Theme: I felt powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams

Theme: Belief maintained in adolescence: I am powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams

Theme: During childhood, I didn't get validation from Mother for any role other than wife and mother.

Theme: Belief maintained in adolescence: My only valid role is to be a wife and mother
So I went away to school in order to please my parents. There was this little flame in me that said, "Well maybe I might like it." There was just a little bit of light there, a little recognition that it might be a fun experience. But separating from the jerk felt traumatic. I hurt so badly inside, it felt like I was going to die. I thought I had some kind of a fatal condition.

Theme: I developed a need to please others

Theme: Belief maintained in adolescence: The woman's role is to please the man

Theme: Separating from the jerk by going off to college

Theme: Belief maintained in adolescence: Separation is a loss

Mother didn't have any direction when I left home; she hadn't found a way to reformulate her maternal identity or generate new goals. This explained why letting go was so hard for her.
I didn't do well on my first science test. I had gotten a D on that test, and it was a turning point for me. Because I said to myself, "This is ridiculous. This kind of grade is no longer acceptable. This doesn't define me. This isn't what I'm all about. And I can do better." It was a real important turning point, because from then on, I did a lot better. High school for some reason didn't matter. I don't know why it didn't matter. But college did. So I turned around and I think I got an A in that course.

C: Did your choice to major in secretarial science have anything to do with the fact that it had been your mother's profession before she got married?

L: Yes. My parents advice to me was, "Take secretarial courses." This was after I'd been turned down by the University of Wisconsin. See, that rejection letter was like a pronouncement from God. That's what disturbs me so much about this. This was a pronouncement from God, that, because I didn't get into the University of Wisconsin, (I had to be dumb). The letter itself said, "Get
her lined up in a business school." And this was just an off the wall suggestion that really ended up being detrimental to me. Yet my parents just blindly accepted it. And they shouldn't have accepted it. They could have at least gotten me tested or done something proactive. But, they accepted this pronouncement—that (I wasn't too bright)—from someone who didn't even know me. They sent me to this girls' junior college which was like a finishing school. And they had me enroll in secretarial science.

Theme: Maintaining belief spawned in childhood: I must let other define me

Theme: Maintaining belief spawned in adolescence: I am powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams

Theme: Lack of belief in myself

Theme: Belief spawned in adolescence: My parents don't believe in me; therefore I can't believe in myself
I can see why they did this, but in the long run, it caused me to waste a lot of time. It wasn't a complete waste, because I can type now—it comes in handy for typing my papers. So I can't completely find fault with it. But I didn't like that secretarial definition. Looking back, it was real constricting. My parent's big push was that I had to be sure I had a skill to fall back on in case my husband died. This was an instrumental goal on their part, and a harbinger of the future. It got me into that secretarial slot which closed off so many other avenues of experimentation. It was a real confining curriculum, but at least it got me into school.

C: Well, it seems that the choice of a secretarial science major had to do with that letter of rejection from the University of Wisconsin, and also your mom's experience as a professional secretary.
L: It defined me in a negative way Cindy, and it is connected with that letter. The letter said, "Send her to a business school. She's nothing else, she's business." And this advice was coming from someone who didn't even know me. Actually business school would have been great, we're really talking secretarial science here, which--if you're doing it well--is one of the hardest jobs in the world.

But at the time, from the context of that letter, the suggestion of business school negatively defined me. This business school thing is probably an important theme by the way. This is becoming very significant to me right now. It has over the last ten minutes. It's real significant in that the whole secretarial thing was negatively presented to me from the beginning--because of the letter. I just now realized that. That secretarial role defined me in a negative way--if I'd stayed with that, I would have been negatively defined for the rest of my life.

Theme: Belief maintained in adolescence: I must let other define me

My fantasy is to write a letter to the University of Wisconsin. I'd say, "I want to tell you about the devastating effect that letter had on my life and how long it's taken me to resolve the devastation." I'd like to enclose a copy of my graduate school transcript with that letter. See, I'm mad about it, even now.
It's not that a secretarial position is negative--it takes a lot of talent to be a good secretary. But the message I got from that rejection letter was, "This is what you can go do, because (you're not smart enough) to do anything else." Now I understand why this graduate academic experience has been so vital.

Theme: Letting others define me

Theme: Belief maintained in adolescence: I must let other define me

Theme: I felt powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams

Theme: Belief maintained in adolescence: I am powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams
See, the letter defined that whole first two years of college in a negative sense. I was negatively defined from the minute I set foot in junior college and began pursuing a secretarial curriculum.

C: You felt you were channeled into that slot because (you weren't smart enough) to fit in anywhere else?

L: Yes!
C: And you probably looked around at other curriculums the junior college offered and were quite aware that there were lots of other wonderful possibilities.

L: But I couldn't have possibly pursued them because I was negatively defined from the beginning. I don't mean to put all of the responsibility for this on my parents. They didn't intentionally mean to do it.

Theme: During high school, I was in the process of forming an adult identity and part of the identity I assumed was that I was not intelligent.

Themes: Beliefs spawned in adolescence: I am not intelligent; and I will always operationalize my identity from the definition of myself that I have thus far assembled.
So now you know the very vital importance of graduate school for me--and I've just come to realize all this--that's why this feels so vital that I succeed. In a way, this was my last ditch effort to define myself in a more positive way. It goes way back into the teenage stuff. I always had trouble with my typing because of my anxiety. I just now realized why. It was my reaction to being negatively defined.

The typing mistakes were made from being anxious. The source of the anxiety was having been led into secretarial school for negative (not smart) reasons.

Theme: Anxiety over typing mistakes

The anxiety was related to having been channeled into the secretarial major for negative reasons. The typing mistakes were an expression of the uneasiness about living out a negative definition. Since, I've realized this, the typing mistakes have stopped.
So that takes us up to the end of this chapter—which was February of my first year of college when Mother died. I went home for a week and we had the funeral. Looking back on it, that was really traumatic; there is a tremendous finality about death. The big thing I learned was something that I already knew—but I really owned it at this point—and that was that when people die, they don't come back. You never see them again. This was a hard realization, not to mention the fact that personal issues remained unresolved.

Theme: Belief spawned in adolescence:
Change is sorrowful; things get left behind; I must resist change

Theme: The black hole

The black hole represents the loss of my role model when mother died. It represents a gap in the modeling process—mother never modeled how to let go and generate a new dream once the kids separated.

Theme: Belief maintained in adolescence:
Being a wife and mother is my only dream for the future
Until Mother died, I didn't seriously consider that I would finish my second year of college. I was just looking to deal with year one. I thought I would be married after that and have babies. As this chapter came to a close, I didn't realize, yet, that I wasn't going to have a marriage with the jerk. I thought we were solid, and I had his ring with the speck of a diamond in it.

Marriage was my dream, that's what I really wanted. But in terms of instrumentality, it wasn't too productive a dream. It was the sort of dream that diverted me from focusing on becoming instrumental. I was too focused on this dream of marriage—that didn't have to be the only dream I had in my life. I should have been developing my sense of instrumentality more all along—I should have been doing more for myself developmentally all along. Eventually, I did get to have my husband and kids. So I realized my dream. In that sense, I was really lucky. But I could have been taking better care of my instrumental needs all along.

Theme: I hadn't managed to develop a sense of instrumentality during this chapter

Theme: Belief maintained in adolescence: The woman's role is to please the man

Theme: My only dream for the future was to be a wife and mother

Theme: Belief maintained in adolescence: Being a wife and mother is my only dream for the future
In retrospect, high school was my first attempt at being an adult. It was like I was testing my wings as a beginner adult as this period came to a close. I felt like this experience had not worked out very well. And yet, it became the standard by which I continued to judge myself in later years.
Growing Up Time: 18-29

I dreaded life after Mother died. Everything changed. Dad was left permanently depressed because of unresolved bereavement issues. There was no longer any happiness in the house. See, Mother's death caught Dad way off guard. It was off-time in the sense that he was supposed to die first. He was in shock that this wasn't the right time table--she was so much younger than he. I had to tread on eggshells around Dad. It was too bad grief-wise because he couldn't get it out; nobody could grieve. There was some kind of mutual consent going on that we weren't going to give each other permission to grieve around each other. It was like we would disintegrate if we grieved together.

Theme:
Maintaining belief spawned in adolescence:
Change is sorrowful; things get left behind; I must resist change

Dad gets stuck in the bereavement process

After Mother died, we couldn't mourn together. I walked around on eggshells not to say anything that would make Dad upset. We were locked into this. It was significant in terms of Dad's unresolved grief. He needed to be able to grieve. He didn't have anybody to grieve with. As a family, we couldn't do it together.
I partially separated when I went away to college, but after Mother died, I had to go back—psychologically and physically. Dad was depressed. He was permanently depressed—I don't think he ever got over Mother's death. I think he got stuck in the bereavement process and I don't think he ever got out of it. And I didn't understand what my role was supposed to be in all this.

So Mother's death curtailed the separation with Dad somewhat, because I was so concerned about his welfare. He just got stuck in life after Mother died, and that caused me quite a lot anxiety where he was concerned. Mother's death definitely threw a wrench into my need to separate. Had Mother lived, I don't think that would have happened, I would have separated and gone on with my own life.

Theme: the kid has to separate, and the father has to let go

Theme: I got stuck in my separation process from Dad
I grew up with these pioneer images about how you take care of your own. I'd been raised with this standard that you take care of your family. I remember feeling real responsible. I began to think, "Mother's dead now and who is going to take care of this poor man?" Oh! It all comes back! Well, Cindy, he wasn't a poor man (laughter). You know, I see that now. He could have taken care of himself. But at that point, I didn't know it, and he didn't know it. I didn't know what my responsibilities were. For about three years I thought, "What am I supposed to do? Take care of him? Am I supposed to stay home and take care of him? Am I supposed to get married or am I supposed to go to school. What do I do?" If he was out dating, or out building a life for himself, I wouldn't have felt this way. So it did present a problem to me that, from the time Mother died, Dad was depressed. He didn't move on in the grieving process; I don't think he ever got normal again.
By the end of the first year of college, I had, in fact, taken on a secretarial identity. I felt all right about being a secretary, and I wanted to be a very good secretary. And I was going to be a wife, too. I did not see beyond those two possibilities during my first year of college. By the time the year was over, I had come to terms with a decision to go on with my college education. And I did get it together to transfer to Indiana University.

C: And what precipitated that?
L: I didn't want to stay at Trinity junior college; the atmosphere was too babified. It was like a girl's finishing school. We had to get dressed up for dinner every night and watch our manners. They served our dinner by candlelight. This place was really small and they had call downs--which was like a demerit system. For instance, someone would check up to see if you had made your bed in the morning--if you didn't, you got a call down. You got expelled if you had too many call downs. The message this type of atmosphere sent me was, "She needs to be taken care of, she needs to have these controls on her, we don't trust her." And I didn't want to go back for that reason. I didn't want any part of it. How do you extend your wings and fly--become autonomous/instrumental in this atmosphere?
But looking back on it, for stability sake, I should have completed my second year there. I should have gone back. As far as meeting my affiliation needs, I should have gone back because I was really close to those girls. It's taken me years to realize that. I had good relationships with them.

But, even though I felt I should move closer to Dad, I didn't want to come home. I knew I still needed to be away from home. So I got enrolled in Indiana University on my own initiative—that was my doing and not daddy's. That was the first time that I actually took steps autonomous, instrumental steps toward planning for the future.
I was still buying into the secretarial science major—those were the classes I took at Indiana University. I would have had an associate's degree in secretarial science from Indiana University, but my advisor didn't notice that I was missing one course that had to do with running adding machines. I depended totally on my advisor, because I didn't feel that academically oriented that I could set up my own schedule—too dependent once again. So I didn't get my associate degree. And that was traumatic for me.

Nothing in particular stood out about that year. I got out of Indiana University, and I came home. I was really kind of lost. I knew the secretarial thing hadn't panned out. And I felt badly about the fact I hadn't completed my associate's degree in it. I thought, "I haven't completed my degree requirements so I won't be able to get a job." I just felt kind of deflated by it all.

Theme: The identity I assumed during this chapter was shaped by parental expectations

Themes: Maintaining beliefs spawned in childhood: I must conform to parental expectations; and I must let others define me
So I hung around home for a while; and I didn't know what to do about Dad. By this time I had broken off with the creep. I found out that he had been going out on me for some time. I left that relationship feeling totally humiliated. For a long time afterwards, I didn't date anyone else. That was unsettling, but in retrospect it was all right. It provided me with the time to sort out issues about how I wanted to relate to men. During this period, I went back to Ohio State for two quarters. They were not the best quarters; that's when I was having trouble concentrating because so much confusion was going on internally. There were times when I'd study real hard and then I wouldn't study at all. I was real undecided in terms of having an overall educational and employment objective; I was adrift.

Theme: I begin to address the issue of how to set my own boundaries; how to define myself in relation to others

Theme: Dismantling belief spawned in adolescence: I must let others define me
I dropped out of Ohio State, and was employed in several secretarial positions. I gradually began to date again, but I was having a tendency to get mad at men. I was starting to think about the limits I was going to set in terms of not allowing myself to be defined by their expectations. I was learning that I couldn't define myself through men and put myself in a position where I would get run over. I think this came out of my experience with the jerk. I felt like I had been duped by my naivety.

Themes:
Dismantling beliefs spawned in childhood: I must let others define me; and the woman's role is to please the man.
One thing that stands out about this chapter is that I realized I had my own life to live, and I didn't have to stay home and take care of Dad—that was his responsibility. But the decision I made that Dad could take care of himself evolved ever so slowly. He was in a very deep depression, but I gradually came to the realization that Dad was responsible for himself. I came to understand that he was not totally my responsibility. And by the time I worked that issue out, I didn't feel anymore anxiety about it. I had to give myself the permission to come to that decision, I never got it from Dad.

**Theme:**
Separating from Dad

**Theme:**
Dismantling a belief spawned during childhood: Separation is a loss

**Theme:**
Dismantling belief spawned in childhood:
Familial relationships are all-important

**Theme:**
I gave myself permission to grow and move on by separating from Dad
When I was about twenty-six, I left home and moved to California. I stayed with my aunt. That was instrumental in the sense that I drove clear across the country by myself in my little Volkswagon. When I left for California, it was a gesture towards doing my own thing. People would say, "What do you mean by your own thing?" And I didn't really know. Looking back I see that doing my own thing meant having more autonomy and building some sense of instrumentality.
I stayed in California for three months—I had a job. But California didn't jell for me; I missed the greenery. I needed the rain; rain depresses some people, but I find it cleansing. So the false assumptions I came to question during this chapter of my life were that I had to take care of Dad, and that California was going to be my proving ground for independence. California was not really where my autonomy was. My autonomy was growing inside.

What I realized was that, no matter where I went, I would always have myself there. That sounds so naive. I thought I was going to go off and do my own thing. But what I realize now—I didn't know it then—my own thing was just trying to be independent and instrumental—even way back then. What I didn't know was that I didn't need to go off to California to do that, I just needed to do it internally. But then again, I needed to break away, I needed to grow so the external separation might have helped the internal process along. And I did grow. Because I was a little different when I got back.
C: So how did you see things differently when you got back?

L: I had to go back home when I came back. I walked back in the house, and I felt like I was in a capsule. I felt like I was being squeezed and that didn't feel good. That's when I knew that I couldn't live there anymore. Maybe I had just completed a very long process of separation and individuation. I think that process was put on hold when Mother died. Developmentally, that's what I think happened. Whatever separation tasks I had ahead of me, they were just aborted when Mother died. I couldn't separate because I felt so responsible for Dad.

Theme: Separating from Dad

Theme: Dismantling a belief spawned during childhood: Separation is a loss
I moved into this dinky little boarding house. I had one room, and it had a bath tub. I finished up the last two years of my bachelor's degree at Ohio State. Those years were very good academically. I was earning A's and B's and made the dean's list three times. And when I went back to Ohio State for those last two years, I started to get more direction. That's when I got interested in sociology and psychology courses. My major was social science. It was an introspective time for me and a growth period. I finally found some direction, in the sense that I knew where I was going to go from there on. I was getting good grades--A's and B's. And even though I wasn't totally owning them, I was redefining myself at that point. That's when the whole redefinition of myself really started. But I didn't completely it until now; it's taken all this darn time. It took all these years to complete the process.

I made a commitment to myself to do well academically at this point in time

Theme: Dismantling beliefs spawned in adolescence: I am not intelligent; my parents don't believe in me; therefore I can't believe in myself

Theme: Rebelling against the negative identity that I was not intelligent

Theme: Dismantling belief spawned in childhood: I must let others define me

Theme: Not owning my achievements
So during those last two years of my baccalaureate program, I was getting academic direction. But I also definitely wanted to get married and have kids. I felt a real push to get married. So the growing up time had to do with the tasks of growing up academically, getting direction, and learning how to define myself where men were concerned. Growing up meant beginning to define myself.

When I got my papers back from one of my sociology professors, he singled me out in front of the class by saying that I was the only one who had listened to the assignment on all three papers, and had done what he had asked. He went on like this for about five minutes. At that time, even though I was embarrassed, I hooked into the idea that, "Maybe I can succeed academically." That was my very first inkling that I could, and it was definitely a harbinger of my success in graduate school.

Theme: Dismantling belief spawned in childhood: I must let others define me
I'm very happy to say that Dad knew about that incident. Looking back, it's important to me that he knew. It's nice to know he knew (I wasn't really dumb). His reaction was that I was a late bloomer; I never liked that analogy. But at least I bloomed while he was still alive. But for some reason, I didn't operationalize from that experience, I operationalized from my high school experience.

Theme: During high school, I was in the process of forming an adult identity and part of the identity I assumed was that (I wasn't intelligent).

Themes: Maintaining beliefs spawned in adolescence: I am not intelligent; and I will always operationalize my identity from the definition of myself I have thus far assembled

Theme: In adulthood, I operationalized from the underachiever identity I assumed in high school
At one point after I came back from California, I was running out of money. I went to the City National Bank and asked for a student loan. I filled out the application. When I went back home, Dad said, "Why are you filling out a loan?" I said, "Because I need some money." He said, "No, you don't need to do that, I'll pay your way."

I went through all of these changes trying to give myself permission to take that money from him at that point. I also felt like, "I'm really enjoying my poverty." Because even though it was poverty, it was mine. Poverty meant independence. So the little one room place was fine, because it was mine. It felt really good to be on my own, and I was feeling real instrumental. In my mind, it was a real adventure because I was poor and I loved it. At no time was I in real jeopardy.

I felt like I should not be taking money from Dad at that point, that I should be on my own. My god, I was old enough. And at that point, I was trying separate from Dad.
When I lived on my own, I could have guys over and not have to worry about combat boots being tossed on the floor. Dad would keep his combat boots by his bedside, and when he wanted the guy to go home, around one in the morning, he would stand up there and throw his boots on the floor. And the guys would always get the message and leave. No wonder I got married late. So it was good to be out of the house and not have to listen to the combat boots anymore.

The Christmas before I graduated, I met Jim. We were married that March. I had only known him for about three months. I got married and we moved out of town. I wasn't dependent on Dad anymore. But I cared about him in the respect that we would often go home and see how he was. He was living alone.
I was feeling that I was entering the marriage on an equal basis. I really did feel some autonomy by that time. But I also still had a bit of the little cottage with the white picket fence fantasy left over from childhood. So, I gradually went from being independent to being outer directed where Jim was concerned. I think the country cottage business is where I started to get into a little bit of trouble with losing my sense of independence. Because I fantasized about this, and I internalized that fantasy to the point where I came to expect it. And later, I ran up against the awareness that the expectation couldn't be realized. What wife can provide for her family's every need? What family can provide for a woman's every need? She must seek it within herself and systems outside the home.

Lily gradually becomes outer or other directed when she assumes role of wife and mother

Themes:
Maintaining beliefs spawned in childhood: Familial relationships are all-important; the woman's role is to please the man; I need to nurture others
Looking back on it, I wish I hadn't completely focused my attention on my husband's needs. I wish I had kept going with my own identity, self-actualization and growth. Somehow, even though I gradually became more instrumental throughout this chapter, a part of me still defined marriage as the woman being totally devoted to her husband in the sense of trying to make him happy. This translated as doing everything for the man--being totally in his service and there for his sake. What I've learned from all this is, I'm never going to turn my back on my own need to grow autonomously. No one should.

By the end of this chapter, I had finished my bachelor's degree, and I had gotten married. Those were the goals that I had set for myself at that point. And I fulfilled them. Getting the degree was an important goal, as you can tell from my life history. There were times I did take stock of myself and worry that I would be like Mother in the sense of never getting it. That was a standard that I really did feel that I had to live up to.

Theme: Maintaining beliefs spawned in childhood: I need to nurture others, my family will be my only career; and being a wife and mother is my only dream for the future

Theme: Maintaining belief spawned in childhood: I must conform to parental expectations
I was aware that I was aberrating from the norm of my time because, you either went to school for four years and got married or you got married after high school. My family's time table was that I would get out of high school and go through four years of college. The time table was not to take ten years to finish my first degree. I went through that thing where Dad called me a late bloomer. So I knew that there was a time table academically, and there was a time table as far as marriage was concerned—I was aware that I was deviating from both timetables.

I considered myself, at the point I got married, as getting married just under the finish line. Now days, twenty-nine would be a perfectly acceptable age to get married; but back then it was considered late. I really do think that figured in when I met Jim. I thought, "Well, I better hurry up and get married." So I was feeling the pressure of an academic time table as well as a marriage time table.
Now, in a societal sense, you can get married at any point in the life cycle without raising an eyebrow; and you can have kids later. I think, if I hadn't felt the pressure of this time table back then, I might not have jumped into my marriage so quickly.

Society has also changed today in terms of academic time tables. Just look at all the older women who are coming back to school now. I didn't have any older ladies in my classes when I was an undergraduate student. In fact, when we saw them, it seemed strange. And now, I feel a real sense of acceptance on the part of younger students. Back then, it wasn't that way Cindy. Older students were an oddity; and they aren't anymore. It seems to be more the norm.

C: So maybe one of the effects of this societal shift is that it made it easier for you to come back?

L: It did make it easier, but I would have done it any way. If I'd been the only middle aged woman here, I still would have come.
I had just graduated with my bachelor's degree when I was twenty-nine; I had given up on the option of going on to graduate school. I made the choice to get married instead. I started a family and basically settled down. The decision to have kids was actually made way back in the bedroom with Mother. And it's not like I really did decide then, but I can say the suggestion was planted then and I acted on it during this time period. I expected to get married and have kids—that conformed to the social norms, and that's what I did. So I think the social norms as well as my childhood upbringing were big factors in shaping my life at this point.

I wasn't keeping any options open really. I was making commitments all over the place. I made a commitment when I got married, and I made a commitment when I had the kids. The kids were a life-time commitment. Idealistically speaking, the marriage was too. So this was really a chapter shaped by strong commitments.

In retrospect, I wish I had combined the two.

Theme: Sense of limited options—during childhood, I didn't get validation from Mother for any role other than wife and mother.

Theme: Maintaining belief spawned in childhood: My only valid role is wife and mother.

Theme: I've always been commitment oriented.

Theme: Maintaining belief spawned in childhood: Familial relationships are all-important.
I waited a year after I got married before I conceived my first child. I was very time oriented, because I felt like I was up against the biological clock in terms of having kids. I felt like I was an old mother. It took me ten years to get through undergraduate school. That was not the right timetable to start off with; then I was an older mother for my generation. That wouldn't be true today. If I was thirty years old and starting my family now, nobody would blink. But for that time, I wasn't on the normal timetable. I was late on all of it.
I went through twelve hours of labor when I had Emily. Then I had a spinal. These birth experiences are just crystal clear; it's like it happened yesterday. You don't forget this stuff. Then they put her up close to me, and because I'd had the spinal, I could hardly move. All I could do was touch her nose. I was just transfixed. I don't know what the right word is really, it was like being in another world. I was so happy. I looked at her and I just couldn't believe it. I just couldn't believe that she was mine and I had given birth to her. I loved her so much, I couldn't believe you could love another human being that much. I just couldn't believe it. And the same thing happened with John. So that's the first thing. I was totally amazed and then secondly, any problems that I'd ever had with my own mother were instantaneously understood, and resolved.

Theme: Meaningfulness of mother/wife role

Theme: Maintaining beliefs spawned in childhood: My only valid role is to be a wife and mother; being a wife and mother is my only dream for the future; the role of wife and mother will always provide my life with its meaning; and my family will be my only career
Mother used to worry about me and put these rules on me; and for a long time I thought, "Oh why is she doing this to me?" I could never understand. But once you see how much you can love another human being, then the parental role is automatically visible and understandable.

We moved to Cincinnati when Emily was three months old. I was totally absorbed in taking care of her. I don't know how working mothers do it. I worked the whole time I was pregnant with Emily. I did secretarial work. I chose not to work after Emily's birth. I wasn't going to work outside the home unless I had to. That was a choice I made—not to work anymore so I could stay home with her. If I had it to do over again, I would have had a part-time job, even if it was only an hour a week, just to keep my foot in the economic door. Because once I went home, I lost my validity in the economic world.

Theme: I considered my family to be my only career

Theme: Maintaining belief spawned in childhood: My family will be my only career

Theme: Meaningfulness of mother/wife role
Even though it was a lot of physical work, I think it was probably the happiest time of my life—when the kids were babies. I just loved Emily so much that I thought, "I have to have another one of these! This is wonderful!" So, two years later, I had John. He only weighed three pounds at birth. He was back in the hospital for severe diarrhea when he was six months old; it was a life threatening situation for him. Dad caught pneumonia at the same time and said, "I'm sick but I'm not going to the hospital because my grandson's in the hospital." It didn't make any sense. He should have been in the hospital, too. So he stayed home and got worse with his pneumonia. Finally, he went into the hospital, after my son had been discharged and we had him home.

Theme: Meaningfulness of mother/wife role

The role of motherhood was the meaningful one in my life.

Theme: Maintaining belief spawned in childhood: The role of wife and mother will always provide my life with its meaning
After Dad had recovered from pneumonia, and was released from the hospital, I had gotten a cold, so we couldn't go home to see him. Aside from the fact that we were all exhausted from Michael's illness, we couldn't go home to Dad because he might have gotten sick from being exposed to the cold I had. So I told him, "We can't come home right now because you might get sick again."

My dad had been suffering for quite a long period of time with emphysema, and was in the last stages of terminal emphysema. While he was in the hospital, his doctor told him, "You've got approximately one month to live so you better stop feeling sorry for yourself and snap out of it." You don't tell a depressed person to snap out of it; people who are depressed can't just snap out of it.
Well my dad went home and, being of the military tradition, he got a gun out and shot himself. That was real shocking to me. All I could think about for two months afterwards was the gun and the bullet. But to him, the humanitarian thing to do when something was suffering, was to put it out of its misery. Plus he'd been depressed all these years about Mother.

This is where a biopsychosocial perspective would have been helpful. When Dad was ready to be discharged from the hospital, his doctor didn't say: "Do you have anybody to go home to, do you have any friends, any family?" In other words, his doctor only dealt with my father's physical condition; he didn't deal with his environment, at all. He didn't address his state of mental health. He didn't say "Aren't you a little depressed to be going home all by yourself?"

The trauma I faced following this event has been best described as an emotional grenade which exploded in my face. It made us feel like we weren't worth living for.
Our family ties were real strong. When I got pregnant and had the kids, I began to get real dependent on Jim. During the later part of my pregnancies, I felt like I had swallowed a nine pound bowling ball; and I felt physically dependent upon Jim. After I had given birth to the kids, I stayed dependent on Jim in both a physical and a financial sense. At that point in time, I didn't have any problem with it.

When I had John, I wanted to nurse him. John was in the incubator at the hospital, and Jim would take my milk in and drop it off on his way to work. I was dependent on him in that way. He was part of the unit. We were real connected in that sense. So that's an example of the kind of thing that was going on. I had a real sense that the kid's survival depended on this family unit. This had a lot to do with how I became other directed--too much so.
I have to say in defense of Jim, when he had a woman staying home with the kids, he had a heavy role to carry. He had the work role, and the role of being the husband and father. When babies are little, and the wife is staying home with them, it's exhausting and she needs support. Jim was having to fulfill a lot of my affiliation needs during this period; I wasn't getting out to see people, I wasn't generating income. In other words, I had a lot of needs he was having to fill. I think that's a hard role for a man.

I think I also wanted Jim to fill in a little bit where Dad didn't--particularly in terms of affirmation. I was expecting Jim to fulfill areas of my life that hadn't been fulfilled as a child and adolescent; and when they didn't get fulfilled, I'd wonder, "Why not?" I'd figure something was wrong. And in retrospect, I think maybe I wanted Jim too do too much. Maybe I needed him to much.

This increased dependency on Jim was accompanied by a decrease in my own sense of instrumentality—this was deleterious to my sense of self-esteem.

Our emotional feelings were interdependent—this was satisfying.

Lily gradually becomes outer or other directed when she assumes role of wife and mother.

Themes:
Maintaining beliefs spawned in childhood: The role of wife and mother will always provide my life with meaning; and familial relationships are all-important.
I eventually became a member of the YWCA. All of these ladies from the community would meet and they had different kinds of classes—Ukrainian egg decorating, crocheting, and needlepoint. I did calligraphy—all kinds of stuff. Those YWCA classes really were the only avenues of instrumentality that I had. It kept me instrumental—in a creative sense—not in a career sense. It gave me some social contact too. It was a really important part of my life actually. I participated in those classes for a number of years. They had baby sitting services, so I could take the kids there and trust that they would be well taken care of.

We moved back to Columbus during this chapter, and I didn't have any aspirations to pursue a career outside the home. I still have part of me, even now, that says, "It's all right. I don't need a career." There is still a part that says, "Stay home, it's so much fun, plant your geraniums. Be there when the kids come home." Can you imagine? I would drive my kids crazy.

Theme: Coming out of the black cave. This refers to the process of getting re-engaged in and reconnected with systems outside of the home.

Theme: Dismantling belief spawned in childhood: The woman's role is to please the man.

Theme: I considered my family to be my only career.

Theme: Maintaining belief spawned in childhood: My family will be my only career.
I had two children, by choice--and I took very, very good care of them. I just wanted to be a good wife and mother. The kids were my primary first concern at every moment. During this period, my career ended up being a real good mother. And I have to say that it's still my primary career; it's my blood career--although I'm not spending a lot of time at it anymore. The mother role is a career that never ends as far as I can see.

I look back with satisfaction on the fact that I was a good mother. It's not like I'm not a good mother now; it's just that the roles have changed. I look back on this chapter in retrospect, and I really feel that I did that part of my life right. I did it right in the sense that I did it to the very best of my ability.
In regard to taking stock of things, what I've come to realize is that my dream has changed. When I was growing up, I didn't think I would have to grow beyond the dream of being a wife and mother. This is where it's significant that Mother didn't model it. She died at that point in her life where the dream changes; so I didn't have an opportunity to look into the future through her experience to see that, yes, the dream does change. It's just a function of living; it's not like you lose your dream, it just gets grows and gets reformulated. But I thought, you had this one dream and you lived happily ever after with it. It's not like it's unhappily ever after either. It's just that the dream changes over time. That's what I wasn't prepared for.

Theme: The need to be needed created somewhat of a dilemma for me. I eventually had to find a way to balance my need to nurture my family with a recognition that I needed to take care of myself too.

Theme: Dreams change as does all of life.

Theme: Dismantling belief spawned in childhood: Being a wife an mother is my only dream for the future.

The maternal role was not becoming meaningless. But as the kids grew older, it was changing. My meaningful role was becoming altered as they entered school and began to separate I began to feel empty.
Gradually, when the kids went back to school and they were gone all day, I was left with all this free time. I found myself getting depressed like most housewives do. It gradually began to dawn on me, "I have given everything to everybody and I have not taken very good care of myself." It's like batteries, it's like the batteries wear down. You just give away all of your energy to all of the other systems; you know? You've had systems theory? You know what I'm talking about?

Theme: Identity crisis

My mother role changed as the kids went to school. They no longer needed me in the same way. I was losing part of myself through the loss of that role.

Themes: Dismantling beliefs spawned in childhood: The role of wife and mother will always provide my life with its only meaning; my family will be my only career; and being a wife and mother is my only dream for the future

Theme: Black hole. Mother never modeled how to resolve this identity crisis.

C. Oh Yes.
L. So, I went into a kind of a little entropy thing there and didn't really taking advantage of the other systems.

C. To get back energy?

L. Yes. I'm not saying my family took everything I had, I don't mean it that way. But, when children are developing, they're not supposed to be people who are giving you your energy. I had to grow to realize that it was my responsibility to search for energy from systems outside the home—or else find it within myself.

Theme: I needed to include myself in the list of people who needed to be nurtured

Theme: Dismantling belief spawned in childhood: I need to nurture others

Theme: Giving myself permission to grow
See, something shifted when my kids went to school. They didn't need me in the same way anymore. No matter how involved I get with other things, my kids are my first priority—they are part of me. I love them a lot. But the thing about making the family my career was, when the kids went off to school, they were really separating and starting their own careers. The feeling of being needed started to diminish at that point, and it hurt. So the fact that I was making them my career was no longer functional at that point. The roles were starting to change. I think it became dysfunctional for me to stay home after the kids entered school. The kids were separating but there was a critical point in there where I had to let go.

The mother role is always there and it's a meaningful one, but it changes after the kids start school, because they don't need you in the same way.

Theme: Black hole. Mother never modeled how to reformulate her identity when the kids start to separate

Theme: The inevitability of role change

Theme: Goal depletion; the need to reformulate goals

Theme: My identity crisis had to do with my need to redefine myself by reformulating my goals
I can remember looking out the window, when my five year-old daughter was getting on the bus to go to the zoo. And I saw that bus drive away and I thought I was going to die. I stood there and cried at that window. I thought, "Oh my god, she's leaving me!" I thought, "This is it! This is going to be the way it feels from now on. She's separating." And it still feels that way, even though it comes out in other ways. When my kids started separating from me, then I began to realize that I had to start letting them go. And that was never modeled for me by Mother.

Letting go has to do with the mother loosening her ties with the kid. Separation has to do with the kid actually going away. The salient thing here is, they are two separate processes.

Themes: Dismantling beliefs spawned during childhood: My only valid role is to be a wife and mother; my family will be my only career; and separation is a loss
It didn't reach the crisis point until one morning I woke up in bed and all of a sudden everything I had achieved seemed like it was in the past. My future was forever going to be different. I had achieved the big goal—to me getting married and having kids was my main goal. In retrospect, I can see I was progressing to this crisis point, but I didn't feel it until just all at once (emotion) and I thought, "What have I done for humanity?" And I felt that I had done nothing. I had given birth to two kids, taken care of a husband; I had achieved what I had wanted to achieve which I find out later you never really do. (laughter).

I felt I had capacities that I had a responsibility to develop so I could make a contribution to society on a humanitarian basis.

Theme:
Dismantling belief spawned in childhood: I am powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams

This was the crisis point. I realized that I had to set new goals for myself in order to grow. I had come to an impasse. I felt empty. Therefore, the sense of accomplishment was gone. and I needed new goals. The hard part was, to realize that I had to find the internal resources within myself to continue onto realizing those goals.
It doesn't stop. I was about in shock. This crisis filled me with a sense of sorrow. I knew that in order to resolve this crisis, I would have to leave part of my old sense of self behind. It hurt to think about giving that up. That was part of the crisis. It was a loss. It was also a moving forward; but it was still a loss. But, once the crisis hit, there was no turning back, I really didn't have a choice.

Theme: I had to move on; I couldn't turn my back on my own growth process

Theme: Sorrow caused by my self-initiated attempt to begin the process of redefining myself generating new goals which would contribute to humanity

Theme: Separation anxiety over a reformulating identity

Themes:
Dismantling beliefs spawned during childhood: Change is sorrowful; things get left behind; I must resist change; and separation is a loss

Theme: awareness of time ticking away

Theme:
Dismantling a belief spawned during childhood: Time goes on forever
As a result of this crisis, I felt that whatever inner potential I had—I really had to get on the ball and actualize it. If I was going to go back to school, I knew I had to hurry up and do it. So when I was thirty-eight, I applied to the College of Social Work's graduate program. I believed that entering the field of social work would be a healthy way to operationalize my need to feel needed and offer something to humanity. I was rejected. I internalized that rejection by, once again, allowing an external source to define me. That's a theme that seems to pervade my whole life story. It was like here was the pronouncement once again, "You can't get in because you're not good enough!"

**Theme:**
*Dismantling beliefs spawned in adolescence:* I am powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams; and I must let others define me

When I woke up and felt I had achieved nothing, it was a function of having exhausted my goals. My new goals were more self directed and were targeted outside of the home. Encompassed in those goals was redefining and expanding my sense of identity so that I could actualize my potential and use it to make a contribution to the world in a humanitarian sense.
I couldn't believe the rejection letter I got. It said I had to take the GRE and a statistics class before I reapplied. This was like saying, "Here are two mountains, go climb them." I had a grade-point of 2.69 which was my cumulative average from three colleges. My defenses went up when I got rejected. I thought, "Well if you're stupid enough to reject me, I'm not interested in your college." That was a defense, it hurt too much for me to deal with it at the time. But I internalized the rejection. For a number of years, I felt (not good enough).

Applying to graduate school was an attempt to work out issues related to: redefining my identity in a more positive sense, getting reconnected with the world outside my home through reentering the work force, actualizing my potential so that I could make a humanitarian contribution to systems outside of my home, providing a better role model for my kids, and also providing them with greater economic security.

Theme: Letting others define me

Theme: When I was rejected from graduate school, I didn't feel I had choices or options.
In my case, applying to graduate school and then getting rejected was just devastating. I suppose I'm too sensitive. But you have to consider that I was married with two kids. We were settled in Columbus, and I didn't have the luxury of uprooting to move to another university to pursue graduate work elsewhere. I saw Ohio State as being my only option. So the fact that my options seemed limited to begin with made my rejection feel even worse.

Right about the same time I was experiencing all this, Jim got sick. I was sitting in the hospital, and this doctor approached me after Jim supposedly had an abscess removed from his appendix. The doctor comes up, and he says--right there in the hallway--"Well, your husband has cancer."

Theme: When I was rejected from graduate school, I didn't feel I had choices or options.

Theme: Maintaining belief spawned in adolescence: I am powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams.

Jim's health crisis was separate from my identity crisis but the crises struck at about the same time.
I just fell against the wall. It was like I'd never heard the word before, and I hit the wall. At that moment I hurt so badly. I loved him with all of my heart, and I felt that if he died, I wanted to die too. I felt so alone and I thought "My God! Why isn't there somebody here? There's got to be somebody in the world who can be here for me right now." Cindy, I thought I was going to die (emotion) and I thought, "Damn! Sometime if I can ever be there for anybody who has to go through this kind of pain, I'll be there."

So that was my inspiration. See? It became a responsibility not only to myself but a responsibility to whoever else in the whole world I would happen to meet in the future who needed somebody at a painful moment in time. I would be there for that person. So that's why I'm in social work and that's also why I want to go into bereavement counseling by the way.

The inspiration behind my humanitarian commitment

I knew I had to get credentialed to actualize my commitment to make a contribution to humanity

Theme:
Dismantling a belief spawned during childhood: My family will be my only career
Jim's situation changed everything. It changed my future, it changed his future and the kid's future--it was all encompassing. I realized at that point, when I got the cancer diagnosis in the hallway of the hospital that night, that my dependency was going to have to go. At that point I was just so dependent.

I'd have to say that from the time Jim got sick until the time I went back to school, it just started evolving that I started to resent my dependency more and more. That gets us into the next chapter, but the awareness of that resentment started in this chapter. It was not like the glimmer of an awareness, it was like a Mac truck hit me. The diagnosis of cancer was like being hit by a Mac truck. And part of that was realizing that the dependency was going to have to go. I was going to have to become more instrumental. Jim was my life line; and when the kids were real little, it was all right, I didn't care. I was like every other mother on the block. But by this point, I was very uncomfortable with it.

Theme: I understood that I had to start becoming more independent and instrumental

Theme: Increased financial dependency on Jim after the kids are born

Theme: Dismantling belief spawned in childhood: The woman's role is to please the man
My goal throughout this time period was stability. I had kids, and I wanted a stable environment for them. I was trying to avoid life changes that would upset their sense of stability. Unfortunately, I think that's all they've had starting with the time Jim got sick. They've had a big dose of life changes in the things they've had to cope with. That's the one thing I feel bad about.
I was thirty nine when Jim got sick. That would be the demarcation point that ends the chapter. As it came to a close, I could very well envision the possibility that he might die. It was either/or, and nobody knew. It was a period of uncertainty, but what was certain was that I knew that I was going to have to become more instrumental. There was a lot of dread surrounding that issue. Dread in the sense that I didn't know how to do it; I didn't know where to start. I knew I had to do it. What was good about it, was that I knew that I could do it--and I don't know where that came from. I knew that I could do it, and I had to do it. There was never any doubt in my mind that I would be able to take care of the kids, even if it was on a word processor's salary.

**Theme:** I understood that I had to start becoming more independent and instrumental

**Theme:** Dismantling belief spawned in childhood: The woman's role is to please the man
At that point in time, Jim had insurance, so I wouldn't have been put out on the street. So I did have a little security. I could have just gotten overwhelmed by the anxiety and stayed home. But, I think I knew intuitively if I chose that option, it would have been worse waiting around than taking action. But there was a dread there in the sense that I was going have to climb out of my black cave. I was going to have to pull myself up by the bootstraps. At that point in time, when you consider the amount of dependency I was feeling towards Jim, it was very difficult.

I've come to learn that crises have their flip side. A crisis has a personal growth dimension as well as the devastating side. We studied that this year--a crisis presents two options; you can grow from it or you can deteriorate. I feel almost selfish saying that I grew from other people's traumas. But life just hands you these things, and you don't have any choice about them--they just happen. And if you don't grow from them, I do think it's true that you're going to deteriorate.

The black cave has to do with coming out of the home. By staying home, I ended up getting real isolated from the outside world. The black cave also represents a state of no-confidence.

Theme: Increased financial dependency on Jim after the kids are born.

Theme: I had to move on; I couldn't turn my back on my own growth process.
Dad's death actually ended up giving me a direction in terms of wanting to work with survivors of suicide. I know that I could work very well with that population because I've worked it through in so many directions within the context of my own life. So that provided some direction relative to the future. And the combination of Jim and Dad gives me a lot of experience I could transfer into bereavement counseling. I know I could be real valuable in that respect. So these crises did give me some direction.
When Jim got sick, after the initial shock and devastation begin to wear off, I began to think real instrumentally. It got me oriented in the direction I needed to be going. That's why the anxiety was positive. I wouldn't have conceptualized it this way at the time, but I channeled my anxiety and used it to get going. I know, now, that no matter what happens to Jim--or my relationship with him--I'll be all right. Because I've had to face this. So, as a result of Jim getting sick, I realized that I was a whole lot stronger than I thought I was. Now, I have no doubt that I can take care of myself. I did before I was married anyway.
Throughout this chapter, there was always anticipatory anxiety and grief where Jim was concerned. He went into the hospital for his cancer operation before Thanksgiving, and I didn't know if he was going to make it home for the holiday. I thought he was going to die. It was presented to me as being that serious. He was in chemotherapy for the next year and a half, and we just weren't sure if he was going to live or not. The doctors said it would be five years before we really knew what Jim's status was going to be. We didn't know if or when the cancer might appear in some other organ. This tentativeness went on and on.
So I had major separation anxiety where Jim was concerned. It had to do with the potential loss of the relationship, but it also had to do with the fact that I did not view myself as being independent. Yet, I knew that I would have to find a way to carry on if Jim died. I knew intellectually that I had to survive, but emotionally I didn't know if I could or not. I'm in a real different place than I was back then; at that time, I was traumatized.

This might sound bizarre, but, during this time period, I needed some protection from my own sense of self that resisted moving on. I needed protection from that old sense of self that was comfortable with the way things were and didn't want to make any changes that would have helped me to move on by becoming more independent and instrumental. This is a constant battle I have with myself to this day, because I get real comfortable. I love to sit and watch my geraniums grow Cindy.

Theme: Increased financial dependency on Jim after the kids are born

Theme: Separation anxiety

Theme: A part of me resisted making changes and moving on

Theme: Dismantling belief spawned in childhood: Separation is a loss

Theme: Dismantling belief spawned in adolescence: Change is sorrowful; things get left behind; I must resist change
Yet, I knew that a lot of changes were going to have to be made. And I knew I had to make them. And I was real apprehensive about it. I did have the sense that, no matter what happened, I had to keep on going. There was no way I could back up. I knew I had to move on. Remember back when my parents said I had to learn how to be a secretary because something might happen to my husband?

C: Yes.

L: I conformed to that idea during this time period. It gave me a vision that I had to move on. I was conforming to my parents world view that, yes, in fact, I did have to go on. That's probably why I didn't curl up into a little ball and deteriorate. Because it had already been presented to me that I would have to move on. So even though I changed my way of moving on—I wasn't going to be a secretary—I accepted the idea of being responsible and moving on.
When Jim got sick, I was faced with having to make monumental changes in my life. Looking back, it was enough to throw me into some major denial. It's probably why I put off school, and postponed job hunting for the first three years of his illness. Initially, I wanted to stay home with him. I thought my role was to be there for him. And I felt all right about that decision. I felt that it was our project to make him better, anyway we could do it. I was totally devoted to that idea.
But, after three years of helping Jim fight his cancer, I reached a point where I realized I was going to have to take action to move on and leave that old dependent sense of self behind. There was a sorrow there. And there was a real sense of anxiety emerging that said, "You can no longer be who you used to be." It wasn't even a choice; it was just a situation life had presented me. I knew I was no longer going to be able to define myself the way I used to. I was confronted with having to make a whole lot of changes in my life. And there was a lot of anxiety surrounding having to leave my old role in order to find the new one.

Theme: I understood that I had to start becoming more independent and instrumental.

Theme: Dismantling belief spawned in childhood: The woman's role is to please the man.

Theme: Sorrow caused by my self-initiated attempt to redefine myself.

Theme: As I reached midlife, I felt whatever potential I had, I better get on the ball and develop it.

Theme: Dismantling belief spawned in adolescence: I am powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams.

Theme: Awareness of time ticking away.
For the first three years of this time period, I was in the midst of preparing for changes. I was making commitments all over the place. I made a commitment to lead a productive life even if Jim died, and I made a commitment to be there for the kids. I was making a commitment to actualize my potential--and that commitment of my potential involved helping other people. This chapter came to a close as I began moving these commitments into action by returning to graduate school.

We wanted to find a way to juxtapose Lily's early data next to the data we collected over a year later, so that we could show the reader some of the dramatic ways her perspective had shifted while she was a graduate student. Hence, in this final chapter of Lily's life story, we deviated from the data reporting and analyzing format utilized in the chapters above. The data we collected in June, 1989 is reported in the left hand column. The data we collected in April 1988, which dealt with this same portion of her life, is juxtaposed

Theme: Dismantling a belief spawned during childhood: Time goes on forever
Theme: Finding out, during a time of crisis, that I had a whole lot of energy, perseverance and strength that I never before knew I had
next to it in the right hand column; this material is interspersed with the themes and ideas we collaboratively generated.

Leaps and Bounds: 43+

6/7/89

I went down to campus to pick up a copy of my transcript because I had to see how I really did the last two years of my baccalaureate program. I remember the day I walked down to Lincoln Tower; I had high heels on and I got big blood blisters on my feet. This was before I was campus-acclimated. I paid ten or twelve dollars for an emergency transcript because I wanted to see right then and there how I did. I had both of the kids with me. I was looking at my transcript and I remember saying to them, "My god! Look at that! I had A's and B's." My whole last two years was almost all A's and B's. But somehow I had internalized that earlier rejection and I thought I had done just terribly in undergraduate school.

4/11/88 & 4/19/88

L: We talk about models. And I haven't figured this out, I may never figure this out, but Mother died shortly after I went away to college. I can remember her saying, "Oh I've got to go get a job. I've got to do something with my life. But I wonder if anybody would hire me?" She was maybe feeling the empty nest at that point. My model died before she resolved her own midlife crisis, and for some reason, that's real significant to me.
The kids said, "Oh yeah, mom look at all those A's." People must have thought I was crazy because I was so elated. It's like we were having a celebration--I was jumping up and down. That's when I decided I was going to reapply to the College of Social Work again. I came to talk with you about it--you were working in the Social Work Admissions Office. I really felt a sense of urgency to get my graduate course work under way.

C: I remember so clearly the time I met you. Because you brought your transcript in, and we figured out exactly how many classes you needed to get your cumulative up to a 2.7.

Her kids had separated and left home, but she hadn't reformulated her goals. She was at a real scary point there, and she never had the opportunity to resolve it. So when I went on to work out my own crisis, it was real shaky. I've kind of had to forge ahead alone. And it's been real shaky. There is a black space in the role modeling there. She died before she could get her rebirth and for some reason that's scary to me right now.
L: You even told me about that psychology of women class which ended up being a real key event in my life. At that point, I thought I was a failure because I was unhappy about being at home. I was feeling depressed about the whole situation. But that class helped pull me back up. I learned the traditional wife/mother role can get real dysfunctional, and I wasn't a failure. The professor stressed that feeling real burned out about being home was normal. But I hadn't known that. I was just so relieved. I thought, "My gosh! I'm not a failure!"

Jim's been real good around the house since I've been back in school. He doesn't mind the switching, and there's a lot of role switching, just flagrant role switching. He doesn't mind that. I have ironed his shirts; he's a business man so he has to look nice. I've ironed his shirts for sixteen years. Religiously—down to the point where they are ironed so well. I am the best ironer in the world Cindy (laughter).
After I was enrolled in that class, I went down to the student employment office, and they referred me to the Art Department. I had my blue suit on, I carried my briefcase with me. They didn't want to see me when I first showed up—it was 10:00 a.m. and they couldn't see me until the afternoon. But I told them it was all right I would wait. And then they referred me to the Art Department and I got a job doing word processing. I had to interview with three different people—for a minimum wage job. I interviewed with the head of the department and two other people. I felt like I was being interviewed for some high powered position. It turned out that the head of the department was a pussycat, but he scared the living daylights out of me the whole time I worked there.

He irons his own shirts now. And the first day I saw him doing it I thought, "Oh my god! He's ironing his shirts!" I felt really guilty. That's the one time I thought, "Oh my god! What have I done?"

But now he vacuums, too. And he does the dishes—you know, he's kicked in.
So I worked for the art department doing word processing as a student employee and began taking graduate non-degree course work. I took three classes and got A's in all of them. And as you know, that got me on the very brink of the 2.7 grade-point average I needed to get into graduate school. Five years had passed since my earlier rejection. I was in an uproar, I was on tenterhooks—for being accepted, for taking the GRE, and for surviving in an academic sense.

The fact that I got got some direction and acted on it during this chapter was masterful from my perspective. You have to remember how dependent I was upon the roles I had been fulfilling. I discovered that I had a lot more resources than I thought I had. But I had to mobilize them. It happened in little bits and pieces. But the key thing is, I saw what I had to do, and I did it. Or, at least I started the car—the old jalopy had been in the garage for a long time (laughter).

Themes:
Dismantling beliefs spawned during adolescence: I am not intelligent; and I must let others define me

I'm moving along alright, I feel like an old jalopy that sputters along. I go along all right for awhile, and then I fall back. I'm determined, but it's been hard. Last year it was just really a heck of a struggle.
So, I finally got accepted to the College of Social Work. I got a job as a work-study student in the main library. And I carried my briefcase every day. I had everything in it. I had a sewing kit in there—everything. I could have camped out with all the things I had in that briefcase. I must have felt really insecure. That's embarrassing to look back on. Let's see, I had liquid soap, hankies just everything. That was my security blanket at the time; I had to have that. I always carried my umbrella even when it didn't rain. Looking back on it, I was slightly traumatized. I knew that I had to have this degree in order to be able to take care of myself and the kids. So the pressure was really on me to be able to survive this experience--academically. I had to succeed--there wasn't any doubt about it.

To begin the ascent out of my crisis involved becoming aware of the black cave I was in and emerging from it. This emergence involved my beginning to rebuild a sense of self-confidence and connection with the outside world, and it produced great sorrow within me. Because by engaging this process, I had to leave a lot of the old stuff, that had been mine, behind me.

Theme:
Dismantling belief spawned in adolescence: Change is sorrowful; things get left behind; I must resist change
I sought stability as well as change during this chapter. Part of the stability seeking had to do with having my security blanket of stand-byes—the umbrella and all of the stuff I carried around in my briefcase. That all had to do with achieving a sense of stability. I think it was really important that, when I came back to school, I developed some pockets of stability. I was going through so many changes it was really scary.

I was having so much anxiety my first year of school, I was wondering why I wasn't having a heart attack. I was having hot flashes and everything. I thought I was going through the climacteric; I was experiencing so much stress that I stopped menstruating. When I went to the doctor, I found out that it was anxiety that was causing it.

You know, it was real hard to get the confidence up to get back into the world again. I don't want to be too dramatic about this, but it was like coming out of a black cave. It was real hard to get myself re-engaged, again, in the world outside my home. If I ever resolve this issue of high school being the point by which I reference my intellectual capacities—I just don't know. I should be able to do it, but if I ever will or not, I just don't know. Maybe two years of graduate school will do it.
C: I think it's important to note here that I saw you pretty regularly that whole first year, and I had no idea how much anxiety you were experiencing. Outwardly, you seemed just fine.

L: Well, I was doing well in my library job. I think that was helping me to develop a sense of instrumentality that was building up my confidence, and that started to spread out into other areas. Working at the library was something that kept me going while all these other areas were in question--other areas meaning scholastic things. Often I didn't know how I was doing, because of the delayed feedback that is part of the grading system. Work gave me immediate feedback that I was doing all right; and that supported me on a level where I could sustain myself amid all the scholastic anxiety I was experiencing. So during this whole graduate school experience, I had to find ways to remind myself that I was capable.
Then, too, I kept making good grades. And the comments on my papers were so positive. That whole first year I was in a survival mode; I didn't know if I was going to survive, let alone achieve anything scholastically. I started at a survival level and gradually built to excellence. I didn't believe it. One of my professors returned a test I had taken when I was taking the graduate non-degree course work, and she had written 20 points by each of the five questions. At the end of the test she had written $20 \times 5 = 100$. I just sat there and stared at it and I asked her, "What does this mean?" And she said, "It means you did very well, you got a perfect paper." It's so embarrassing looking back now that I had to ask her--but I just couldn't believe it. And it was like that every time I did well--I couldn't believe it.

And then two days later he's upstairs instigating every fight that he possibly can with Emily. And I think it's the shift of attention away from him and onto the study room. So, in a way, I think he is real proud and in another way I think he'd probably like me fulfilling the old role.

See quite frankly, I'm not paying a whole lot of attention to the kids when I'm studying and this sometimes goes on for two days at a time. And they've had to adjust to this.

Theme: Dismantling a belief spawned during adolescence: I am not intelligent
It wasn't a fantasy in terms of looking towards the future; it was a fantasy right then and there. Because I kept getting these good grades--and in a way, it was like somebody else was doing it. It was hard to internalize the fact that I could do well. It was hard for me to own it.

I'm still focusing on the stuff from high school where I got the message, "That's all right. She's not very bright. She can go to business school."

Theme: *Dismantling a belief spawned during adolescence: I am not intelligent*
I had already developed some belief in myself when I took a hard look at my undergraduate transcript and saw that I'd done pretty well my last two years of college. That shed some light on the belief issue; it gave me enough belief in myself that I could go on. It helped cancel out some of the negative feelings I'd had when I'd been rejected earlier. I'd let the rejection define me, and when I looked at those grades, I realized I didn't have to do that. Each one of those good grades I earned when I started the master's program helped reinforce that belief. But it was not something that happened all at once—I kept needing to get that reinforcement. If I got one A that was really great, I felt good about it—but two A's were even better. The 4.0's for the quarters helped the most (laughter). The confidence level kept improving over time.

I think that belief is what fertilizes human growth. And I don't believe that maturation is possible unless a core belief in oneself is nurtured in such a way that it can grow.

Themes:
Dismantling beliefs spawned during adolescence: I am not intelligent; my parents don't believe in me; therefore I can't believe in myself; and I must let others define me
So, a relationship that has been central in this chapter is the relationship that I had with the professors—getting their positive feedback on my scholastic efforts. It turned out that grades ended up being my life line. They gave me the affirmation I needed and had earned. And they contributed to building my sense of belief in myself. It has taken all of this time. I was lucky that I got to do it. Because I'm certainly in a far different place now than I was three years ago. I feel a much greater sense of personal security and instrumentality. That's something no one will be able to take away. Events my temporarily shake it, but nobody's going to take it away.

My husband physically is doing just fine. But he's not real happy with me leaving home. I truly believe, in fact I know, there is a part of him that isn't happy about my being back in school. He can't allow himself to admit the ambivalent feelings he has about me going back to school, and assuming this different, more instrumental role. Although I can see his ambivalence and feel it very well.
I was thinking about the issue of grades this morning. I can get a grade from a woman, and think "Oh, I don't care!" I rationalize it so well. This is really so obvious—but I finally own it now. Dad was a professor. When I got my bad grades in high school, I felt that, in his eyes, I was less of a person because I was underachieving. He would probably disagree with this if he was alive but, you know, we all interpret things in different ways. Graduate school has been a wonderfully corrective experience. Because I have all of these professor father figures that are giving me good grades and correcting this emotionally trashy experience I had back in high school. That's why my academic achievements mean so much to me right now.

I still see myself as a (dumb), struggling kid in high school. That's why I go through all this incredible pressure that I put myself through. Of course, now, having made all of these A's, I just have to have them—which is kind of ridiculous.

Themes:
Dismantling beliefs spawned during adolescence: I am not intelligent; and I will always operationalize my identity from the definition of myself I have thus far assembled
The other key relationships during this chapter were with my family. And the relationships all changed. It changed with the kids in the respect that they got the modeling of Mother going out and achieving rather than staying home and getting depressed. I didn't fade off into some oblivion. That's helped them to grow over time during this chapter. It's given Emily a good role model. It's helped John, because he is going to be able to relate to a wife that wants a career. They've grown and benefited from my growth. It's distanced me from Jim in a way that hasn't been all bad. And in a way, he's distanced himself—you know, there are certain parts of my growth that he just hasn't been happy with. That's been his choice.

C: What part of the distancing has been good for you?

I can see how my growing sense of instrumentality might pose a threat to Jim. I don't know that it's a realistic threat but I can see how it might seem like a threat to him—or to a husband or wife in a similar situation. But the fact of the matter is, when you're in the situation of growing by leaps and bounds, you can't help it. I can't help this. I can't turn around. I can't go back.
L: As far as the kids are concerned, it's a lot easier to let them go—I have interests of my own—and the kids need to be let go. That would have been real hard for me if I was still at home. I probably would have been dysfunctionally enmeshed in their lives—to the point the separation thing would have been even harder for them.

The part of my distancing from Jim that has been good, is that I'm not as dependent on him. I'm much more instrumental. Looking back on it, I have some ambivalence. Because I don't have the relationship that I used to have with him. We have a redefined relationship. So there is a lot of redefining that's had to take place. We've had to redefine our relationship—identities have gotten redefined.

Theme: The kids have to separate, and I have to let go.

Theme: Dismantling belief spawned in childhood: Separation is a loss

L: At the point Jim got sick, I was so connected to him, and also so identified with him in that wifely dependent kind of way. I was real, real dependent on him.
I have to give Jim credit here, he gave me enough support that I got through. He could have refused to help out with the housework, he could have put his foot down and said I wasn't going back to school. I don't know what I would have done. I probably would have had to have left him. Because I got to a point in time where I had to chose for myself and not for him. So if Jim had said I couldn't have come back to school, I would probably have had to say good-bye.

The role switches he's done real well. But internally, who knows? I don't know how happy he is internally. But superficially he's done well.
I've made a conscious choice by the way, to let the energy I get from my accomplishments accumulate. It's not like the empty bucket metaphor anymore where my accomplishments all leak out and I have to keep refilling the bucket. I've made the conscious choice, "If you're going to do it, darn it, take the credit for it." I had to give myself permission to accept my accomplishments as being valid. I had to consciously say, "Yes these accomplishments are mine." And that's helped me redefine myself in a much more positive light. I've learned to own my accomplishments.

Theme: The importance of owning my achievements
During this chapter, I had been operating under a false assumption that (I wasn't intelligent); mentally, my reference point was high school—I don't know why, but it was. The lack of confidence from the bad grades I got in high school somehow followed me into graduate school. The false assumption I had to challenge was defining myself that way. We've already traced the origins of all that. And I came to question that assumption, because my academic achievements in graduate school were providing disconfirming evidence to the assumption that all I wasn't intelligent. It's taken this long to disconfirm that assumption and redefine myself by the way.

C: I was wondering if you thought this sense of disbelief in your academic achievements was something that will get resolved at some point in the future. Like, after you get your master's degree and graduate with a 3.8 or whatever (laughter).

L. See, I'm laughing; to me that's so unbelievable. But I've got a 3.8 right now. See? It's unbelievable.

Theme: Dismantling a belief spawned during adolescence: I'm not intelligent
See, the high school chapter was a crucial one; I was going through adolescence making an attempt to forge an adult identity. That's when I was really forming my adult identity; part of the identity I assumed was that (I wasn't smart). That's really connecting now. Yes. That's why I needed this chance to come back and reform my identity scholastically—to the point I could internalize it and operationalize it. Otherwise, I would have been in terrible straits. Now I see why it was so important for me to come back to graduate school; I see why I needed this experience so badly. I don't think I really understood it until right now. I needed it for redefinition purposes.

C: And why should it be unbelievable?

L: I'm blown away by it because I'm still in high school. That's my reference point. Being in high school, making terrible grades and thinking that I was dumb. I don't really know why I can't move on from that reference point.
Those last two years of my baccalaureate program were the beginning of my redefinition. But for some reason it never jelled completely; it never convinced me. I didn't get convinced until just lately. I've come to define myself very differently over the course of the past two years. I have managed to wipe out about twenty-years worth the negative parts of my self-image, and I feel like I'm really firmly grounded now in believing in myself. It's taken me so long to get here Cindy. I wrote a theme down on one of the transcripts I was reading. It's the theme of how I had to learn to define myself from inside instead of outside through hard work, jobs, and school. It took so much strength, growing, and time to be able to say, "I will define myself." I feel that I'm in command of my own ship now.

C: I think we should mention here that you have a near-perfect cumulative and have been inducted into two honor societies.
L: Yes. I'd like to have a 4.0 (laughter). By the way, as of today (June 7) I realize that the old jalopy has turned into a Mercedes. See, if nothing else in the whole world comes out of graduate school, it's helped me to free myself from the old tapes. I'm free from having to feel like an underachiever.

I'm going to include my maiden name on my Master's diploma. It's symbolic because I gave up a part of myself when I dropped my maiden name. I lost part of myself through the whole marriage process; I don't place any blame on anyone, it's just something that happened. I lost what my maiden name symbolized, and I want it back. I am on this incredible high because I have regained and redefined a part of my identity; I feel like I have found myself again. This is one of the values of women coming back to school. I have redefined and reowned myself, and in that sense, I have regained myself.

Themes:
Dismantling beliefs spawned during adolescence: I'm not intelligent; My parents don't believe in me, therefore I can't believe in myself.

Themes:
Dismantling beliefs spawned during childhood: The woman's role is to please the man; being a wife and mother is my only dream for the future, the role of wife and mother will always provide my life with its meaning; and my family will be my only career.
You know, I've been thinking about dad lately. In my soul, I'm not mad at him for not helping me believe in myself. He didn't have that core sense of belief in himself. How was he going to give it to me? And, while he didn't believe in me, he never gave up on me. I was not the shining intellectual student in high school. Nevertheless, he did manage to find a college that would accept me. So he never completely gave up on me, and this is an important theme. Because even at my worst point, I never gave up on myself. When I got turned down the first time I applied to graduate school, I didn't give up on myself. And I think a lot of that had to do with the fact that Dad never gave up on me even though he didn't have a very strong belief in me.

It would have helped me a whole lot to have had a sense of belief in myself instilled from the very beginning--during childhood. I've had to learn to believe in myself on my own. And it's been an uphill battle most of the time. I'm not sure if I'll ever get a handle on it.

Theme: Dad never gave up on me

Theme: Dismantling belief spawned in adolescence: My parents don't believe in me; therefore I can't believe in myself
C: It's interesting to me that you managed to break that pattern. It's exciting that your passing on a different tradition to your own children. They really impressed me as having a sense of belief in themselves.

L: Well I've made some of the same mistakes my parents made with me unfortunately; but I've also had some insight they didn't have. And I think your right that it has made a difference in my children's lives. My family remains the most meaningful aspect of my life.

Theme:
Dismantling belief spawned in childhood: It is important to uphold and pass on family traditions
I guess I told you about my daughter, Emily, making A's and wanting to be a veterinarian.

C. So you've got to be a wonderful role model for her.
I grew a lot these last two years—maturationally, professionally and scholastically. I am really looking forward to graduation this Friday. I bought scarlet and gray banners which I put all over my porch. I've gotten graduation plates, cups, and napkins. I have a great big banner that says, "Congratulations Lily!" which I'm putting across my garage. See, I'm doing these things because I'm proud of my growth and change. I'm owning and celebrating my achievements. I've earned a purple heart. Emily has already been trying on my cap and gown, and John is taking home economics during his last semester of middle school. Ah, widening horizons.

L. Oh Yes. But its terrible for her in a way because I bring home these A's and she thinks, "Oh no--not another A (laughter)--Now I've got this to live up to." She won't say that to me but that's the way she acts.

Theme: Owning and celebrating my achievements
CHAPTER VI
ANALYSIS OF DATA AND DISCUSSION OF METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the themes, categories, core categories, and grounded theories the informants and I collaboratively generated relative to their respective life stories. I then give consideration to the ways in which grounded and a priori psychosocial theories can be used to inform each other. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the results of the methodological framework undergirding the study. The methodological questions put forward in Chapter One provide the framework for organizing this discussion.

In order to explore the ways in which a mutually informing dialogue between grounded and a priori theories can be set in motion, I focus on four aspects of grounded theory: themes, categories, a core category, and the grounded theory. Once the themes, categories, core category, and grounded theory have been presented to the reader, I give consideration to the ways in which each of these key aspects can be used to both critique a priori theory and be informed by it.

A theme represents a relevant unit of information occurring in the data. Themes are generated by the analysts' examining and thinking about the data and then identifying what seems to be
important. A theme makes sense in that it stands on its own in terms of generating an idea. In metaphorical terms, a theme could be likened to a sentence abstracted from a paragraph.

A category represents a heading under which the themes may be grouped along the dimension of a shared characteristic. Categories are generated by examining the themes, and in the process, drawing comparisons and making distinctions. A category provides the "lead idea" which creates a linkage with a series of subsidiary themes. In metaphorical terms, a category could be likened to the topic sentence within a paragraph; a topic sentence represents the idea which possesses the highest level of generality within a paragraph.

A core category is a central concept that relates easily to many of the categories occurring in the data. Thus a core category provides many linkages among its subsidiary categories. As the details of the relationships are explored and worked out, the outline of a grounded theory which describes and explains these relationships begins to take shape. The identification of the core category can be thought of in metaphorical terms as generating a title for a book, paper, etc. A core category represents the highest level of generality within the body of data.

There may be more than one core category in a given body of data. Yet, Strauss observes:

Probably one core category is all that analysts who are still inexperienced at grounded theory method can manage effectively. More experienced people can
perhaps manage two in one monograph...We do not suggest more: Not only because of the difficulty in integrating, but because more expenditure of time and effort are needed to do the job effectively (1987, p. 270).

Strauss suggests that if the novice grounded theory builder identifies more than one core category in the body of data, one should be demoted to category/but near core category status.

The grounded theory is built by exploring and integrating the relationships between the core category, its subsidiary categories, and the categories' subsidiary themes. The theory attempts to describe and explain these relationships. The shaping of the theory can be thought of in metaphorical terms as an ebbing and flowing from the particular categories and their subsidiary themes to the general core category. The actual articulation of the theory is the result of an inductive process by which particular observations identified in the story flow into a general theory. The goal of the grounded theory is to account for the informant's lived experience in a way that "rings true" for the informant.

The process of building a grounded theory is summarized in the figure below.
A Collaborative Analysis of Elizabeth's Data

The results of the collaborative efforts which transpired between Elizabeth and I as we jointly analyzed her life story are presented in this section as well as the Appendices. As evidenced by two of substantive questions which guided the study, I was initially interested in being able to separate out the themes the informants' identified from those I observed. In the actual process of collaboratively analyzing data, I quickly learned that there is much blurring of distinction between who saw what first which led to such and thus later on. Nevertheless, I did place a substantial amount of energy in trying to keep this issue sorted out. Hence, I report informant/researcher thematic and categorical distinctions in the spirit of acknowledging the individual effort that undergirds any collaborative project; my intent is not to support the
maintenance of artificially contrived researcher/researched dichotomies.

To this end, the categories that Elizabeth discerned through her analysis of the data appear in plain print. The categories I distinguished, when analyzing the same material, appear in italicized print. The subsidiary themes which are linked to the categories appear as a narrative description beneath the indented categorical headings.

Elizabeth's Emergent Themes and Categories

Chapter One: The Meadows of My Childhood

Family secrets

Elizabeth was raised in a family that was heavily involved in illegal activities associated with the Irish Republic Army (IRA). Elizabeth's upbringing stressed family bloodlines and heritage. While Elizabeth was privy to much of the family's history and day to day activities, there were other family secrets which were never openly discussed. For instance, there was a cabin in the woods where the children weren't allowed to go; boxes were mysteriously deposited in the barn only to disappear later; and her mother was never allowed to be alone with the children. Elizabeth recalls, "After I turned four, there was always someone in the house with her. Mother was never alone with my younger brothers when they were babies." Hence Elizabeth grew up in an atmosphere of secrecy and innuendo.
Elizabeth was continually admonished to keep her mouth shut; family business was to be kept secret and not discussed outside the familial circle. She reflects,

My father would go around the table and say, 'This is family business, do you understand that this does not go outside the family?' He'd go around the table and say, 'Do you understand? Do you understand? Do you understand?' Because we were allowed to talk about anything within the family circle. But not if there were strangers present. A lot of the things that were going on in my family were very illegal.

Elizabeth accepted this prescribed vow of silence which served to isolate her from others outside the family circle.

**Guilt/Responsibility mentality**

Elizabeth notes that the maintenance of family secrets was very deleterious to her sense of well being as a child. She reminisces:

The keeping of family secrets was really a psychological burden in many ways. Knowing that our IRA involvement was wrong and could not be spoken about—and then, the knowing that there was definitely something wrong with my mother, yet no one would discuss it—these were psychologically bothersome events. It would have been so much better if the hidden agenda surrounding my mother was out in the open; but people didn't deal with mental problems—at that time—in an open way.

The keeping of family secrets contributed to fostering what Elizabeth has defined as a guilt/responsibility mentality. She felt
personally responsible for the family's involvement in the IRA. Living within a family that operated outside of the law left her with a deep sense of guilt. Because the guilt could never be verbalized, it could not be concretized in a form that could be examined and eventually discarded. It was left to fester and reappear in many forms throughout Elizabeth's adult life.

Elizabeth also felt responsible for her mother's bizarre behavior during her attacks of mental illness. At age twelve, Elizabeth's mother's mental condition deteriorated and she was removed from the family for a three year period. Elizabeth spent much of her early adolescence nurturing and watching over her brothers. She reflects, "I was a child taking care of children." But, Elizabeth also had a strong need throughout this chapter to achieve, compete, and be instrumental. Hence, at a very early age, Elizabeth was managing the difficult task of developing her relational and mastery dimensions in tandem.

Secret lives

Elizabeth attributed her pattern of escaping into secret lives as an adaptive mechanism which originated when she witnessed a murder at age four. This event left her with the sense, "I don't want to be here, I want to disappear." Age eight was a memorable year for Elizabeth. She was given a horse which gave her freedom and mobility. Throughout the remainder of her childhood, it became much easier to disappear. She reflects, "As soon as I had the freedom of movement, I was out of the house and simply gone."
Elizabeth's first poem describes her secret life with Nick. The meadows of her childhood symbolized those places where her secret side roamed free and unencumbered by family responsibilities. Elizabeth shared another secret life with her maternal grandmother who selected her, rather than her mother, as the person to whom she transmitted her metaphysical knowledge.

*The necessity of a male protector/Or quid pro quo*

Elizabeth's need to disappear was compounded by her sense that her security within the family circle was threatened. The threat seemed to emanate from her mother who Elizabeth suspects physically abused her as a child. She dealt with this threat by keeping out of her mother's way and securing the protection of the family's dominant male figure--her grandfather. She learned that his protection could be ensured by pretending that she was fearless and shared his passion for horses. Elizabeth was rewarded by her grandfather for displaying acts of courage. She was encouraged to be independent, to stand on her own two feet, and not approach others for help.

*Quid pro quo: Or the price of a male protector*

In retrospect, Elizabeth realized the extent to which she had idolized her grandfather and not seen him as the man he really was. Elizabeth retrospectively came to realize she had paid dearly for her grandfather's protection; she had to live up to his expectations. He expected that Elizabeth would show courage and fearlessness. Elizabeth fully understood the consequences of failing to live up to that persona; her grandfather would have withdrawn his support...
immediately. Elizabeth's grandfather was encouraging her to develop qualities that added to his own sense of prestige; Elizabeth's unique developmental needs were not the focus of his concern. Elizabeth reflects:

"It's taken me a long time to be able to look at him as he really was and not how I idolized him. He was strong, cold, and completely lacking in compassion. I would never have had his support had I not always been proving myself by displaying the qualities he thought were important—such as courage.

Indeed, Elizabeth came to internalize the persona of the fearless horsewoman who would courageously attempt any jump. As this chapter came to a close and Elizabeth took her provisional step into adulthood, she negotiated it in a way which would conform to her grandfather's expectations. She exhibited great courage by going on the road alone with six show horses. As so frequently happens in that first bid for adult autonomy, Elizabeth discovered she had over-reached herself. She had left the sheltered life of Albion only to discover that it was not so safe in the larger world. Tragically, Elizabeth's grandfather died at the close of this chapter; this loss cost Elizabeth greatly in terms of psychic pain. Yet ironically, his death freed her to forge a second adult life structure that was more authentically her own.

**Escape into education**

Elizabeth looked back with great fondness at the two room school house she attended. Throughout her childhood years, she
excelled academically. Elizabeth speculated that these positive childhood educational experiences precipitated her sense that school was a safe haven, a way of escaping a difficult situation—her home life. Her one unpleasant childhood scholastic experience served as the impetus for later becoming a child advocate in adulthood.

**Childhood omnipotence**

During childhood and adolescence, Elizabeth experienced a sense of omnipotence; if a role was made available to her, she accessed it. She never considered the possibility that she couldn't do something. She notes, "it wasn't until I reached adulthood that I realized there are some things you just can't do."

**Chapter Two: Forced Choices**

**Breaking away**

It has been observed that that at the close of adolescence, the novice adult is engaged in the process of separating from her family and developing an independent sense of self (Sheehy, 1974; Levinson, 1978; Gould 1978; Scarf, 1980). Scarf notes:

> It is as though an inner terrain has undergone shift and change—in some instances, complete transformation. Individuation, or the work of becoming the individual that is 'me alone' is now under way. There is a feeling, at this phase of living, of a certain existential territory, or boundary of the self, having been (albeit roughly) marked out." (Ibid., p. 234)

Elizabeth spent the first six months of this chapter fulfilling the obligations of her horse training contract. Finding herself overextended in an occupation which was chosen to please her
grandfather, Elizabeth began to reappraise her career options. Her second attempt to build an adult identity was based on satisfying her own needs rather than those of others. Elizabeth chose to go to college and major in business—a move which marked a definite break from family tradition. She had come from a long line of female ancestors who had majored in the field of education; the family’s script was that Elizabeth was to become a fifth generation educator. The six months that Elizabeth was enrolled in business college in Pittsburgh proved to be the happiest period of this chapter. She blossomed in this more cosmopolitan environment, and life seemed an open road ahead of her teeming with possibilities.

*Childhood omnipotence shrinks into forced choices*

While attending school in Pittsburgh, Elizabeth continued to see Nick. Yet she resisted Nick’s sexual advances which precipitated his stormy exit from her life. She remembers, "I was determined that I was going to be a virgin when I married, and I would not sleep with him. We didn't have sex, and that finished us." This event was followed by a series of family hardships wherein Elizabeth's sense of well being became increasingly eroded. After the death of Elizabeth's grandfather, the familial relationships became dynamically reconstellated. Elizabeth's mother emerged as the matriarchal head of the family while her grandmother simply gave up the will to live.

The family fortune was dissipated as Elizabeth's mother tried to resolve her oldest brother's financial obligations. In order to help
out financially, Elizabeth took a job teaching school in Albion which mandated that she leave Pittsburgh and attend a smaller college which was closer to home. Her teaching position was contingent on changing to an education major. Hence, she had returned full circle to those aspects of her life from which she was attempting to break away—her family, Albion, and a career in education. Elizabeth resigned herself to making these alterations believing that they were only temporary.

Upon her grandmother's death, Elizabeth was forced to move back to her mother's house. She found herself falling more and more under her mother's control. Elizabeth was being pressured to quit school and marry Floyd, a classmate from a wealthy family who she had dated in high school. Elizabeth secretly despised Floyd; she dated him solely because he was controllable. Elizabeth's entire support system had dissolved during this chapter; she had lost both of her grandparents, Nick, her childhood friend Emily, and Charlie. Elizabeth's need to escape her mother's control, the family problems, and the confines of Albion began to assume crisis proportions. Elizabeth reflects:

My god, I would have done anything to get out of that house and my mother's control at that point. I would have done anything. It was a very threatening situation. I knew that in order to survive--and survival has always been very important to me--I was going to have to get out. I also knew that I was not going to be permitted to leave any way other than marriage. That was the rule. That was my parents attitude and that was
Amid the protests of her family, Elizabeth married Chet. Although she did not love him, Chet appeared to Elizabeth to be the best marital prospect available.

This chapter began with Elizabeth's sense that an endless array of possibilities stretched out ahead as she made her initial bid for adult autonomy. Upon entering business college, she was making healthy progress developing a dream or a sense of herself in the world that generated energy and hope (Sheehy, 1974; Levinson, 1978). As the chapter unfolded, a series of unexpected external events impinged and Elizabeth watched these possibilities and feelings of vitality shrink away. Scarf observes that the dissipation of adolescent expectations is a normal part of assuming one's place in the adult world:

Gone, by and large, is the adolescent's old, playful child's sense of limitless possibility. Gone too, childish beliefs that events are reversible: that if one career or love commitment doesn't seem worth honoring, there will be an endless assortment of possibilities to be explored. Fantasies about potential futures...are less believable and satisfying, for they're now subject to the cold blasts of the truths of the actual world. (1980, p. 234)

Elizabeth had experienced a non-traditional childhood upbringing which stressed the importance of developing a keen sense of autonomy and independence. Yet, upon reaching adulthood, the family imposed a narrow definition of what her adult role entailed-
matrimony or a career in education. Elizabeth accepted this limited definition of her available options. She recalls:

Where women were in terms of social expectations of the time had a lot to do with my limited sense of options during this chapter. In that community, young girls didn't have a lot of choices. Of the girls that graduated from high school, only a few went on to college. Professionally, there were very few choices open to girls. You could be a secretary, nurse, or teacher. This was the end of the 1950's in a town that was already forty years behind the times.

Leonard (1983) laments the fact that women are developmentally wounded by the circumstance that they mature in patriarchal cultures which devalue their worth. Through this devaluing process, feminine identity is reduced to a restricted range roles or qualities which are a cultural abstraction and simplification of a maturing woman's own experience of herself. Leonard contends that much of a woman's adulthood years are spent healing and recovering from the patriarchal wounds sustained during childhood and adolescence.

*The necessity of a male protector/Or quid pro quo*

Elizabeth sought the best available male protector she could find in order to establish herself apart from her family and Albion. She was attracted to Chet as a marital partner, because--like her grandfather (and former male protector)--he had political ambitions. Sheehy (1974) suggests that expecting a mate to replace our childhood love bond does nothing to free us from childhood
demons. A mate merely insures that someone will be around onto whom these demons can be projected and, hopefully, resolved. Childhood demons relate to "sex, intimacy, competition, the right values to pursue, and all the other volatile matters on which we have not yet established our own authority" (Ibid., p. 149).

After choosing the solution of marriage as an escape from her family, Elizabeth paid dual penalties. She was entrapped in a relationship devoid of intimacy and she was guilty--because she had married a man she did not love.

*No exit/Quid pro quo*

One of the most entrapping aspects of marriage for Elizabeth was her sense its finality. Four months after her marriage she simultaneously discovered that it was a disastrous mistake and that she was pregnant. She had married to escape from her family only to become more firmly entangled in a loveless marriage. Her childhood upbringing in Catholicism had led her to believe that divorce was not an option. Hence Elizabeth resigned herself to the assumption that she had to live with her choice and remain captive in a loveless marriage forever. This was largely a false assumption. Sheehy observes:

> Change is not only possible; some alteration of our original choices is probably inevitable. But since in our twenties we're new at making major life choices, we cannot imagine that possibilities for a better integration will occur to us later on, when some inner growth has taken place (1974, p. 123)
The decision to stay in an unhappy marriage set into motion a gradual erosion of the sense of self-esteem Elizabeth had thus far assembled.

Chapter Three: Shades of Gray

*Eric makes three*/No exit/Quid pro quo

As she gazed into the eyes of her newborn child, Elizabeth was confronted with a formidable consequence of her marriage. Having spent so much time nurturing her younger brothers, she had not planned on having any children of her own; Eric had been an accident in birth control. But to her surprise, Elizabeth experienced an immediate bonding process with him. Eric's birth reaffirmed Elizabeth's commitment to remain in a troubled marriage; secretly she did not believe she could survive financially on her own with a baby. Thus Elizabeth decided to stay in the marriage and live behind the facade that it was a success. To this end, she became superwoman. She observes: "I was the perfect little wife at home. I kept Chet sexually satisfied, I kept an immaculate house, I kept everything organized."

*Escape into education*

Shortly after Eric's birth, Elizabeth returned to school and managed to complete her bachelor's degree in two years. True to form, Elizabeth returned to school as an attempt to escape a life which often seemed intolerable.

*What about ME?*

Elizabeth quickly realized that Chet would not actualize his political aspirations; she reflects, "he just didn't have that kind of
stuff in him." Nonetheless, she was determined he would do something positive with his life. She observes:

I promoted him. I put him first, or at least that's what he saw. He had the best clothes in the family—all of that kind of stuff. I was going to make something out of him, and a lot of this had to do with my refusal to face up to the fact that my marriage was a mistake.

After earning her baccalaureate degree, Elizabeth began to push Chet to enroll in graduate school. She reminisces:

Throughout the majority of the marriage, all of my time and energy were poured into forcing him ahead. He would not have completed his doctorate without me; I don't think he would have ever applied to his master's program without the kind of pushing that he got.

The cost of promoting Chet was that Elizabeth subjugated her own needs. Baruch et al. contend that women are socialized from childhood on to suppress their own needs in favor placing themselves in the service of others. They note:

These attitudes create what might be called a 'nurturant imperative' for women. Its constant pressure inevitably influences a woman's behavior, thoughts, and feelings, often creating guilt if she even starts to examine her own needs. Social scientists have only recently begun to examine the power of such attitudes; to discover how deeply ingrained the idea is that women exist mainly to nurture others. (1985, p. 42)
Elizabeth remembers:

Looking back, I never gave myself or my own needs enough consideration. I never put myself first in any area. I simply assumed responsibility for other people. I never even considered the fact that Chet also should assume responsibility for the children.

Baruch et al. note that the nurturant imperative can become a self-destructive pattern if women fail to include themselves in the list of people who are to be nurtured. They posit, "If they can give only to others and never to themselves, they fail to develop their own sense of self and the results are feelings of low self-esteem" (1985, p. 44). Elizabeth reflects upon the effect this nurturant imperative had in her own life:

My tendency was to always give more than I got. I continually invested my time and energy in others, and I didn't take care of myself. I put myself last in the hierarchy of the family; I didn't consider my own needs. Even now, I'm finding it difficult to put myself first.

Sheehy observes that the role of caregiver is the life pattern most frequently mobilized by the choices a woman makes in her early twenties. Sheehy notes that caregivers have a tendency to work out any personal ambitions through others. She posits, "At some point, every caregiver must learn to care a little more for herself" (1974, p. 311).

Baruch et al. discovered that women's sense of self-esteem is closely tied to their husband's approval. They contend that such
dependence creates a zone of vulnerability for married women. Elizabeth recalls:

The chipping away of my own self-esteem took place throughout the marriage. Because for one thing, I felt guilty as hell for being married to this person I didn't love. Also, I didn't want to face the fact that he truly didn't care about me.

While it is clear that Elizabeth's sense of self-esteem deteriorated during her marriage, she did manage to contain the destruction by developing a sense of instrumentality through her career. Chet's acceptance into graduate school mandated that the family relocate from Pittsburgh to an economically deprived area near Ohio University where Elizabeth had secured a teaching position. Elizabeth plunged herself into her teaching career, and her hands-on science program became the marvel of the Laurelville school system.

Secret lives

Elizabeth eventually discovered she was not happy trying to be the perfect wife. While living in Laurelville, she developed the secret life of an activist to escape her unhappiness. She was an activist in any cause which happened to be marching at the time. Elizabeth notes, "My mental protection has always been to have a secret life. It had to do with escaping from the real world, or the world I was living in at the time."
And Peter makes four/No exit/Quid pro quo

At the end of Elizabeth's second year with the Laurelville school system, she and Chet relocated to Newark. Eight months later, Elizabeth discovered she was pregnant, again. Peter was born with numerous health problems. Baruch et al. observe that, in the past, social pronouncements have extolled the positive effects that babies have on their mother's lives. Yet this team of researchers discovered that it is very difficult to predict how things will turn out with children. They liken the appearance of a child in a mother's life to a turn of the roulette wheel; the outcome can not be known in advance. They note, "A child is truly a surprise package...A calm, relaxed woman can have a colicky baby who cries all night and frays her nerves" (1985, pg. 109). One of their most interesting findings was that children were very bad for their mothers' psychological health when there were parent/child problems. Yet children didn't seem to enhance their mothers' sense of well being when things were going well.

Several months after Peter's arrival, Elizabeth suffered an episode of post partum depression. She was filled with a sense of hatred for her children and seriously contemplated suicide. She recollects:

I think one of the factors that contributed to my mental deterioration at this point was not facing the truth that I had to get out of the marriage. Initially, I hadn't gotten out of the marriage primarily because I didn't think I could survive alone with Eric from a financial standpoint. But the longer I stayed
in the marriage, the more it eroded my sense of self-esteem and self-confidence. So, therefore, I became trapped even longer.

Elizabeth worked her way out of her mental slump by finding a reliable sitter for Peter and hurling herself back into work. She was put in charge of developing the Newark school system's elementary science program. Elizabeth's program brought the school state and national recognition. As she began to amass work-related instrumental achievements, Elizabeth managed to restore both her mental health and her positive relationship with her children.

Baruch et al. indicate that the women who reported having positive, rewarding relationships with their children also scored high in Mastery—or a sense of instrumentality. Ironically they found that women who felt very coupled with their children scored the lowest on the Mastery scale; they also were the group who found the experience of motherhood the least rewarding. Thus by developing a sense of instrumentality outside of the home, Elizabeth took a very positive step in healing herself as well as the relationship with her children.

Despite the pressures of motherhood and the enormity of her work-related responsibilities, Elizabeth concurrently enrolled in graduate school part-time. Baruch et al. note that popular wisdom cautions women against trying to fill too many roles. The notion is, the overloaded woman will fall victim to the deleterious consequences of role strain. Baruch et al.'s findings contradict this popular viewpoint. They discovered that involvement in multiple roles had a very positive effect on a woman's sense of well being. A
key finding was that the group of women scoring the highest on well being were married women with children who occupied prestigious jobs. This is the group conventionally targeted as being at risk for role overload and burnout. Yet Baruch et al. discovered that the women whose sense of well being was at greatest risk were those with role underload—married women at home without children. They surmise, "With fewer roles, one has fewer supports for the psyche" (1985, pg. 187).

In support of Baruch et al.'s findings, the assumption of a diversity of roles marked a positive turning point in Elizabeth's life. It was the period during which she decided she would invest her promotional energy in her own advancement rather than Chet's. This change in status quo appeared to relieve some of the strain from the marriage. When Elizabeth freed herself from feeling responsible for one of Chet's achievements--completing his dissertation--she discovered that he had the capacity to assume the responsibility himself.

*Out of the meadows of my childhood/No exit/Quid pro quo*

While demonstrating in Washington, shortly after Peter's birth, Elizabeth accidently reconnected with Nick while she was being detained for questioning by the police. Reflecting upon this event Elizabeth reminisces, "Nick rescued me." This began another secret life wherein Elizabeth and Nick became collaboratively involved in activist issues.

Three years after their reunion, Nick began to pressure Elizabeth to divorce Chet and marry him. Elizabeth recollects,
"When I told Nick I wouldn't do this, he decided to break off with me, and he went back to Greece."

**The betrayal/What about ME?**

Elizabeth's marriage did not completely fall apart until Peter was five years old and Chet's estranged boyfriend contacted her. She reminisces, "I got this phone call. Chet was not at home, and this man proceeds to tell me things that only a doctor or somebody who had been intimate with Chet would know."

Elizabeth recalls that during her emotional confrontation with Chet later that evening, "A voice inside said, 'What about me? What about me?'" Relative to this crucial question, Baruch et al. contend:

In their search for a sense of Mastery, which depends so heavily on a sense of self-worth and of control, women must ask a very important question: what about me? It is a question that until quite recently was taboo. A woman who had the temerity to ask it was more often than not branded as selfish and narcissistic. It is still not an easy question for most women. (1985, p. 42)

Elizabeth affirms that the ability to articulate this query was a turning point in her life. She notes, "For me, that was the beginning of the way out."

Even though she was actively seeking her way out, the disintegration of Elizabeth's marriage was an extraordinarily painful event. She recalls, "It was such a shock when the reality finally surfaced, and it took me a long time to get over it. It was such a betrayal." Baruch et al report that many women experience
surprise at the pain they feel as marriages they desperately want to
escape come to an end. They contend:

This is probably because they are not
mourning the marriage itself, but the end of
a dream--what might have been. Most
marriages begin with promise and high
hopes, and to lose those can hurt--even
when the marriage itself has caused more
pain than pleasure. (1985, p. 213)

Leonard observes that fairy tales typically depict women characters
who are relegated to passive, inferior positions. These women are
frequently rescued by princes or knights in shining armor and go
off to live happily ever after within the safety and security of their
marriage. Leonard contends that female children mature in
patriarchal societies which spawn such images, and they begin to
internalize them. Hence, rather than finding out who they really
are through the difficult process of active self-examination, women
frequently passively accept an identity based upon the patriarchal
projections others have placed upon them. It is thus
understandable that marriages entered into with happily-ever-
after-high-hopes, often end with women experiencing a sense of
painful betrayal. Leonard concludes, "Our culture has collaborated
in this betrayal" (1983, p. 37).

In retrospect Elizabeth realizes she colluded in her own
betrayal by choosing to ignore any information which would have
informed her about the true status of her marriage. She recollects:

All of the information concerning his
bisexuality was there had I looked--little
comments and innuendos. Everything was there. I was so innocent and dumb. I had been so sheltered and protected growing up. I had been brought up to look for my knight in shining armour and that kind of crap. But looking back, all the information was there had I but the eyes to see it.

From Sheehy's perspective, it is quite understandable that Elizabeth was blind to a critical life event she saw so clearly with the benefit of hindsight. Sheehy surmises that a woman seldom anticipates the marker event that will bump her out into the world in a sink or swim way.

**Escape into education**

Sensing that her divorce was imminent, Elizabeth hastened to finish her graduate degree. She reflects, "Here I was running a science center, teaching, and I registered for three graduate classes. I knew I had to hurry up and finish up my degree and get out of that marriage."

**More betrayal**

Even though Elizabeth accepted that the marriage was finished, it was Chet who forced the issue by walking out. Elizabeth notes:

A week before Christmas, in 1978, Chet moved out of the basement; he'd been sleeping down there for almost a year. But just before that, he drained every account, he took all of our cash. Every liquid thing that could be sold was sold. So much of our community property simply vanished.
Elizabeth and Chet engaged in a two year battle over the remaining assets before their divorce was finalized.

**My secret dragon**

Elizabeth recalls that throughout her marriage, she was controlled and manipulated by a secret dragon. She notes,

> I was trying to think, 'What is the dragon that has always haunted me?' The dragon was the threat that I was insane--because of my mother. That was the dragon Chet used against me. There were times when my mother was not functioning well. That's what he used. The whole thing was, when I was angry at him he would say, 'you're out of control; you're just like your mother. You're going to end up in a mental hospital.' That was my secret horror—that I was insane.

During this chapter, Elizabeth's relationship with her mother had improved as they gradually became much closer. Baruch et al report that the findings from their study suggest that relationships between mothers and daughters typically do improve over time. They observe, "The mother-daughter struggles seem to center around issues of autonomy and identity--'growing up' in plain language--and they are usually resolved by the time a daughter is in her late twenties" (1985, p 238).

That such a positive change was transpiring in the mother/daughter bond is evidenced by the fact that Elizabeth's mother periodically took her children in the summer which freed Elizabeth to pursue her secret life as an activist. Her mother was the first person with whom Elizabeth confided the circumstance of
Chet's bisexuality; and it was her mother who helped her develop a plan of action to get a fair divorce settlement. Elizabeth's childhood upbringing had stressed family heritage and bloodlines. Perversely, as she became closer to her mother through a natural maturing process, she became increasingly susceptible to Chet's suggestion that she had inherited her mother's mental health problems.

Chapter Four: Cruel Winds

**Betrayal**

The finalization of Elizabeth's divorce marked the beginning of this chapter. Elizabeth went through a period of grieving immediately after her divorce. The poems, "Shades of Gray" and "Cruel Winds" were attempts to sort through her grief and deal with her feelings of bitterness, hurt, and betrayal.

**Expanding horizons**

Elizabeth slowly began to take stock of her life and concluded that, during her marriage, she had been living a life of shrunken possibilities. She notes, "I took stock of the fact I didn't have any friends I really liked, and I wasn't doing the kinds of activities I enjoyed. I knew I had to expand my horizons."

To this end, she built a new support system of friends. Elizabeth reflects, "They became a more positive foundation around which I rebuilt my sense of self-esteem." During this chapter, Eric left home to enter the army, and Peter decided that he wanted to live with his father. Far from grieving over her empty nest, Elizabeth surmises that being freed from the responsibilities of parenting greatly augmented her sense of well being during this
chapter. She was free to pour her energy into her career which steadily advanced throughout this chapter. Within the Newark school system, she had been promoted up the ranks from teacher, to math coordinator, to principal.

Baruch et al. discovered that the divorced women in their study tended to mention the dissolution of their marriages as a definite turning point in their lives. And eighty percent of them said that it was a turning point which ultimately oriented them in a more positive direction. Baruch et al. elaborate on this striking finding:

Freed from the tension of what has been an intolerable, or at least a problematic, marriage, the divorced woman often finds she is beginning to feel better about herself than she has in years...For many of the divorced women in our study, marriage had been a source of anxiety, tension, and loss of self-esteem...Divorced women speak of having 'grown up,' of having become a whole person, of taking charge of their own destinies at last (1985, p. 207)

Elizabeth's divorce had indeed bumped her into the world in a sink or swim way (Sheehy, 1974). But once in the water, Elizabeth found she could swim quite expertly.

*Out of the meadows of my childhood*

At the end of this chapter, Elizabeth received a telephone call from Nick. He informed her that they would marry in four months. Elizabeth reminisces, "He implied, 'I am coming, we are going to be married, if you run, I will track you down.' He had reached the
limit of his endurance and he let me know, 'This is what we are
going to do.'" Elizabeth experienced some ambivalence toward the
idea of marrying Nick:

What upset my sense of well being relative
to Nick is the fact that I always feel enclosed
when I'm in a relationship. I like to have
lots of space around me, but I also like to
know there is someone there I can fall back
on. So the very thing that provides me with
a sense of well being--having a committed
relationship--also gives me a sense of panic.

Baruch et al. purport that Elizabeth's feelings were common among
the divorced women they studied. They stipulate, "Many divorced
women today feel that there is a dichotomy between their own
need for autonomy and the comfort of a stable intimate
relationship" (1985,.p. 224). Despite her reservations, Elizabeth
agreed to marry Nick--primarily because she felt she didn't have
the strength to resist. After making this decision, Elizabeth went on
a crash diet to take off the weight she had put on during her
divorce.

Chapter Five: Eye of the Storm

Secret lives

Elizabeth married Nick four months after receiving his phone
call. They had mutually agreed to keep their marriage a secret for
the first year. Elizabeth explains:

I didn't think it would last...I did not
anticipate that he would be faithful. I knew
he would try. I knew he cared about me.
But I didn't think he was capable of being
monogamous. But my other reason for not telling anyone about the marriage was I did not want to have to go through a second divorce publicly.

After being married to Nick only a few days, Elizabeth realized she didn't really know him. Her experience with him was from another chapter of her life—he had matured into quite a different person. Nonetheless, it felt to Elizabeth like the relationship was working despite the fact they argued constantly. She felt very safe with Nick and likened it to being in the eye of a storm.

Elizabeth's accelerated weight loss triggered medical problems in her kidneys which necessitated surgery. She attempted to keep the surgery a secret from Nick. Elizabeth reflects, "For me, it is very, very difficult to share a negative aspect of my life with anyone." Elizabeth traces the origins of this difficulty to the circumstance that she was raised to believe she had to solve her own problems and that she couldn't ask anyone for help.

*Shattered dreams*

Elizabeth's dream for herself during this chapter was making a successful transition into her new life with Nick. Elizabeth planned to resign from her job as principal at the end of the academic year. Nick's vast wealth had opened all kinds of new options. Elizabeth planned to travel, write, and eventually return to school. Unfortunately, these dreams were never realized. Nick was killed in an automobile eight months after their marriage.
Having kept her marriage a secret, Elizabeth felt that she could not publicly acknowledged her loss. She remembers,

It's hard to describe what it was like for me after Nick died. It was like I walked behind a glass door and then I just stayed there. I didn't cry, I didn't grieve, it was like I was just caught--frozen is more like it.

It was the the most shattering thing to be living and, yet, not feel alive...I had this sense of being cold all the time. I was hurting, and yet, I really didn't feel it. I was grieving inside, but I couldn't show it.

It got a little sticky sometimes keeping Nick's death a secret. But basically, after he died, I just sort of walked behind a glass wall. I became more quiet. I hurt terribly inside, but I couldn't get it out; I couldn't express it. That's where I stayed for several years. Nick's death was the catalyst of my deterioration--or flight...I was just numb at the end of the chapter. Cold. There was nothing I particularly looked forward to.

Elizabeth attended Nick's funeral as his girlfriend rather than his wife. It was not until the will was read that Nick's sons learned they had a step-mother. Elizabeth decided to keep both her marriage to Nick and her loss a secret from everyone else.
Chapter Six: Soaring

Escape into education

As this chapter commenced, Elizabeth immediately started taking business classes at Ohio University. She observes, "See, the pattern is, once things get bad in my life, I go back to school."

Guilt/Responsibility mentality

After Nick's death, Elizabeth found herself under attack in the work arena. She began to receive criticism on her performance evaluations--she was told that she was being uncommunicative. She also received negative feedback about the way she dressed--at issue was the complaint that she wore too much black. Eventually, Elizabeth was put on probation. Elizabeth reflects:

What could I have done? I could have told them, 'Yes I acted a little differently this year, maybe you are seeing a change in personality--I just recently lost the man I loved.' There were lots of things I could have done all the way along. I didn't change my dress. And I did not challenge it publicly. I think they thought that I would take legal action after they raised this issue a second time--about the color of my clothing. Had I done so, I think I would have been all right. Had I told them about Nick's death I would have been all right. But I didn't do that. I chose to withdraw, which was a big mistake.

In retrospect, Elizabeth regretted not telling her colleagues about Nick's death. She believes her behavioral changes would have been more comprehensible to them. Additionally, had Elizabeth been
able to express her loss, it is quite possible that she could have avoided prolonging her grief.

*Full flight/Guilt responsibility mentality*

After assessing her situation at Riverview, Elizabeth decided to resign from her position as principal. She reflects, "Throughout this chapter, I was in my running mode. To be really honest, I think I was in full flight at times." In retrospect, Elizabeth is surprised she chose flight over fight by running rather than defending herself once she was under attack. She traces her choice to flee back to the guilt/responsibility mentality she developed as a child. Elizabeth observes, "The thing was, throughout my life, I kept thinking I must have done something wrong whenever problems surfaced. That kind of thinking caused me to take on a lot of guilt I didn't deserve."

Having resigned from her job, an array of internal and external critical life events impinged upon Elizabeth. Her mother and only grandchild both died within two weeks of each other. Elizabeth was mugged; shortly afterwards, she had an automobile accident. The blow to her head from one or both of these events caused an abbess to form behind her eye and she was in jeopardy of going blind.

The year she had resigned, Elizabeth had written a grant to fund an artist in residence for a year at Riverview. The school had discharged him shortly after he was hired, and he filed a lawsuit naming Elizabeth and Riverview as defendants.
Nothing seemed to be going positively in Elizabeth's life; she began to contemplate suicide as her final form of flight. The poem "Soaring" depicts Elizabeth's suicidal frame of mind. Elizabeth reflects:

It was a very frightening time in my life, because I am a person who likes to be in control of myself. As it evolved, I came to believe that my death was the only thing I could be fully in charge of.

While it appeared to Elizabeth that nothing was getting resolved in her life, some positive changes were taking place. After her mother and grandson's deaths impacted, her grief load became unbearable. She told her youngest brother about her marriage to Nick and shared her sense of loss with him. A short while later, she told her sons about Nick. Thus, Elizabeth had begun the difficult process of shedding her grief over Nick's death by sharing it with others. Additionally, Elizabeth's abscess healed completely; she was no longer in danger of losing her eyesight.

**Escape into education**

Elizabeth decided to enroll in graduate school so that she would have a safe haven while she was going through the anguish of the trial. She notes, "Enrolling in graduate course work at Ohio State that winter is what saved me. I told myself, 'I need some place to hide out.' And I really did. School helped me get through the bad times."
The trial that Elizabeth so dreaded going through ended up having a healing, cathartic effect on her life. As the litigation proceedings progressed and Elizabeth relived past events, she managed to place them in perspective. Throughout the course of the trial, she was shedding the job related pain she had accumulated during her last years at Riverview. As the courtroom drama unfolded, Elizabeth was aware that she was looking for something. She was looking for that secret dragon that had kept her afraid and in flight throughout this chapter. But the dragon continued to allude her.

Chapter Seven: Winds of Promise

I met Elizabeth a week after the trial was over. She expressed interest in serving as an informant for my dissertation, and two weeks later, we began the data collection process. It was not until she was well into the telling of her tale that Elizabeth found her dragon. She elaborates:

I didn't know what my dragon was. I kept looking for something external. I kept asking myself, "What did I do wrong?" I kept looking and looking. I would go over papers and documents searching for an answer. I kept asking, 'What is this thing?' I kept thinking that there must be something I could pin it to. I was looking for the dragon, for the monster--whatever this thing was that made me so internally afraid. And I did not know what it was. It was that intimidation thing that kept coming up over
and over—the fear of insanity. Especially with my mother's behavior the way it was; and my very different upbringing which stressed family heritage and bloodlines.

Elizabeth traced the origins of her dragon back to childhood. She observes:

The monster was the fear of insanity, the same fear I had as a child. The fear said, 'What you are picking up is not correct, you must be crazy.' It was the same dragon Chet used...The implication I drew was that I must be crazy.

Elizabeth had been in her full-flight running mode since Nick's death. It was not until that metaphorical moment that she turned to face her dragon and slew him with her sword that she managed to confront the fear that had kept her in a perpetual state of flight. This poignant turning point is depicted in her final poem, "Wings of Promise."

*Second chances*

Kotre observes that the theme of "second chances" pervaded the life stories of women he studied who had entered the second half of life. He speculates that the reason for this is that the second half of the life-span is typically child free, and it opens up a new segment of generativity for many women. It is a time when they can focus on themselves and rework aspects of their lives which have proven unsatisfactory in the past.
Relative to her own life Elizabeth notes,

I feel like I have a second chance at life. I am not going to let anything stand in my way.

I have faced my own death; and I was so far gone, I wasn't alive anymore. I've come out of that frame of mind. And I came out of it not just shedding the pain of Riverview, but also the pain of my childhood, my marriage to Chet, and Nick's death. It was like all of me came back together. I feel years younger.

Kotre maintains that the phenomena of increased longevity is resetting women's social clocks. He mentions, "There is time for second and even third chances...No matter what lies in one's origins, more and more it is not too late to make a new beginning" (1984, p. 91). Kotre mentions that, as individuals retrospectively view their life histories, they may come to terms with the fact that they can not change their past, but they can change the themes which will shape their futures. Relative to this point, Elizabeth surmises:

One of the things I had to do after the trial was over was some sorting out. And this process has really helped me sort my life out and examine it. I needed to look at things like--ways I've been self destructive, punitive--and yet, come to terms with how much I have to offer. Because I'd really given up on life. Then I had to decide, 'Am I going to fight, am I going to live, am I going to stay around?' When I made the decision that I was, then I had to decide on what terms I was going to live and what I was going to do with my future. I can't change
the past. I can't make the school system apologize for instance. When I found the dragon in my closet, I got the answer that I needed to change my perspective in a meaningful way. Never again will I run. Never again will I not stand up for myself.

**A woman of a certain age**

When Elizabeth saw her marriage disintegrating, she was able to articulate the question, "What about me?" As Elizabeth launched this newest life chapter the question "What about me?" had evolved into a declarative statement: "I am a woman of a certain age." Elizabeth notes,

> It's not middle age, I am a woman of a certain age who is just now claiming my own power. I've reached a point where I can tap that power.

Kotre mentions that, when redeeming second chances at life, individuals have an opportunity to heal themselves from the wounds they have suffered at the hand of others. As this chapter got underway, Elizabeth had resolved much of the pain from her past, and she was in the process of generating a new Dream. The sense of energy, hope and renewal this Dream engendered is depicted in Elizabeth's final poem, "Wings of Promise."

**Elizabeth's Emergent Core Category: The Psychic Wounds of Childhood**

Scarf has speculated that the complex journey from childhood to adulthood can not be made without sustaining some degree of personal trauma. She notes, "No matter how benign a particular individual's childhood circumstances may have been, there is surely
no one who reaches the shores of maturity without having taken on a freightload of unresolved issues" (1980, p. 229). It is Scarf's contention that these unresolved issues are linked in a most intense manner to our adult sense of self. She observes, "In the choice of a mate, a profession, a way of living, we may be working on one of these themes, seeking salve for an unresolved, untreated psychic wound" (Ibid., p. 229). Along parallel lines, Gould speculates "As we strive to live up to our full adult potential, we confront layer after layer of buried childhood pain" (1978, p. 25). Similarly, Sheehy describes adult development as a process by which the individual breaks away from the prohibitive aspects of an internal psychic force which guided development during childhood. She names this force the inner custodian. Indeed, when Elizabeth analyzed her life story for major themes, we were surprised to discover they all had their origins in childhood. Hence, the psychic wounds of childhood emerged as the core theme which shaped Elizabeth's life story.

A Theory of Elizabeth's Pattern of Life-span Development

Childhood was the critical chapter wherein Elizabeth developed her initial sense of identity or to put it in her own words that awareness of "who and what I am." This core identity initiated both positive and negative agendas which Elizabeth transported into adulthood. In the process of telling me her life story, Elizabeth once said, "Childhood was a happy time for me." Indeed, the poem she wrote about this chapter of her life is filled with idyllic imagery--mayflowers, meadows, lakes, butterflies and shrouded beech trees. But Elizabeth's childhood had another, negative component. As she
made the difficult passage from childhood to adolescence, she did not escape the journey into maturity without sustaining a measure of psychic pain and wounding. Elizabeth's adult years were filled with the recurring themes of these psychic wounds which continued to reassert themselves and haunt her.

It should be noted that the wounding Elizabeth suffered during childhood had multiple origins: biological (being born female); historical (being born into a patriarchal post-war 1940's birth cohort which restricted women's developmental opportunities and stressed biological determinism by emphasizing the importance of a woman's maternal, nurturing role); social (being born and raised in the context of an isolated, backward, rural community); familial (being born into a family which operated outside the law, guarded many family secrets, stressed family heritage, and had its share of members who suffered periods of mental illness); and idiosyncratic (developing secret lives a mechanism to escape from unpleasant situations).

By midlife, the burden of accumulated pain these wounds had spawned became unbearable, and Elizabeth contemplated the escape of suicide. Paradoxically, even though midlife surfaced as a time of crisis, it also proved to be a period of psychic realignment and healing. As she explored the nature of her wounds, Elizabeth discovered that she was able to: 1) trace their origins back to her childhood; 2) recognize their internal, subjective configuration as well as their external, objective manifestation in the realm of
relationships and events; and 3) begin the process of relinquishing the pain they activated.

The key developmental task which confronted Elizabeth during her adulthood years was to resolve the pain spawned by psychic wounds inflicted during childhood. Adulthood provided Elizabeth with the opportunity to not only resolve childhood pain, but also build a better integrated sense of self from which to launch her journey into later adulthood. It is my belief that the key developmental task awaiting Elizabeth in her later adult years has shifted in a momentous way. Its shape, at present, is still indiscernible; yet I propose the following hypothesis: As Elizabeth becomes increasingly masterful in identifying her childhood wounds and healing herself from the pain they engender, they will cease being the the dominant themes which shape her life in later adulthood.

A Consideration of the Ways in which A Priori Theory and Elizabeth's Grounded Theory Can Be Used to Inform Each Other

Levinson's theory of male development did little to inform Elizabeth's pattern of psychosocial development. Levinson depicts a man in his twenties as being engaged in the task of developing a provisional life structure. It is a period during which the young man will scan the horizon of possibilities in order to seek those opportunities which will help him actualize his Dream—or vision of himself in the future. At this point, there is a tentativeness that whatever initial life structure he builds might only be temporary.
In the course of this searching phase, he will seek mentors who will facilitate his successful transition into a less provisional--more solidly rooted--adult life structure. He will also be searching for a love partner who will become his companion in the life structure building enterprise in which he has become so invested. Scarf notes that within Levinson's framework, "there tends to be a traceable progression from exploration in work and love to commitment in work and love" (1980, p. 240). This pattern of exploration and commitment continues throughout the course of his life cycle. He builds a life structure, reexamines it, and makes modifications which will allow him to either maintain his commitment to that life structure, modify it, or forge a new one.

If all has gone well, at age forty, the man will have succeeded in "becoming his own man." This implies that he has assumed a place of seniority and authority within his work place and community. As he makes his transition into midlife, he is likely to suffer a moderate to severe crisis as he reexamines the life he has thus far built. His task is to modify his life in such a manner that it will provide an appropriate basis for pursing his goals in his midlife years.

Elizabeth forged relational and career commitments in her early twenties. These commitments were made in tandem rather than sequentially, and they were not modified until Elizabeth's late thirties. Elizabeth never mentioned influential mentors who significantly impacted upon her life. Because Elizabeth found little support for launching her provisional Dream of entering the field of
business, she modified it so that it would conform to familial and cultural expectations. Even though Elizabeth had forged relational and occupational commitments based on a sense of limited options, she was not inclined to revise them. This had a great deal to do with her childhood upbringing which stressed that her word was her bond. Even though she found herself caught in an unhappy marriage, it was Chet who terminated the marital commitment.

Instead of having a midlife crisis, at age forty, Elizabeth was, in Levinson's terminology, "becoming her own woman." Freed at last from an unhappy marriage she began to take stock of her life and make crucial modifications which greatly enhanced her sense of well being. By age forty-two, Elizabeth had renewed her love bond with Nick, and recommitted herself to that relationship. Nick's unexpected death sent Elizabeth into an escape pattern she described as "full flight" from life. This pattern kept Elizabeth in a state of unresolved grief and mourning for the next five years. During much of this time period, Elizabeth was in a state of midlife crisis. But the crisis had little to do with a cognitive recognition that her life structure was inadequate and had to be modified. Rather, it had more to do with a series of external tragedies and events which impinged at a time when her coping processes were becoming increasingly impaired due to the burden of an accumulating grief load.

To summarize, Levinson suggests that male development advances along a linear, stage-related time line and involves a logical progression of events. I would suggest that Levinson
obscures something in his attempt to analyze his informants' themes so that they can be woven into "an underlying order" (1978, p. 318) or "an overarching framework" (Ibid., p. 64) of human development. That something is the less reducible idiosyncratic inner dramas his informants experienced. It may well be that the type of development that proceeds along highly predictable stages is less influenced by the informant's complexities and inner dramas than by collective norms espoused by the culture--particularly the researcher's norms and culture.

Jung's concept of the collective unconscious and its archetypal contents sheds interesting light on the core theme of psychic wounding which emerged in the collaborative analysis of Elizabeth's life story. Jung differentiated the collective unconscious from the personal unconscious by postulating that its existence was not dependent upon personal experience. He described the collective unconscious as a reservoir of archetypes--latent images extending back to the primordial beginnings of the species. Jung maintained that these deposits represented a living system of instincts, reactions and aptitudes that guided the individual's life in invisible ways. The concept of the archetypes implies that "just as conscious contents can vanish into the unconscious, new contents, which have never yet been conscious can arise from it" (Jung, 1964, p. 25).

Leonard underscores Jung's point that, while we bear the influence of our familial and cultural systems, we are not fated to remain the mere products of such institutions. Jung purports that the psyche can access archetypal symbols which serve as inner
models, even when outer models are absent or unsatisfactory. Hence, from Jung's theoretical viewpoint, Elizabeth's psyche possessed a tremendous drive and capacity to heal itself from the wounds sustained in childhood.

Jung's portrayal of the manifestation of the shadow during midlife casts an interesting perspective on Elizabeth's confrontation with her secret dragon. Jung stipulates that the development of the shadow parallels the development of the ego; it embodies qualities the ego has repressed and could be conceptualized as its mirror image. In youth, the shadow dimension is not well developed. As the ego gains a stronghold during the first half of the life-span, more and more material is repressed causing the shadow to become increasingly dense. Jung noted that the shadow is not wholly the negative manifestation of the conscious personality; it contains childish, primitive qualities which can serve to revitalize one's existence. von Franz (1978) mentions that the shadow often points the individual in the direction of psychic healing. It does this by underscoring the necessity of readapting consciousness in such a way that it exists in better relation to the unconscious dimensions.

But because the shadow always appears as a projection of some sort, it is often difficult to withdraw the projection and integrate it into one's personal life. In order to apprehend one's personal shadow, the individual must first accept what appears to be criticism coming from the unconscious. This is done by reassessing internal qualities that the individual had previously chosen not to examine too closely. From a Jungian perspective,
when Elizabeth recognized that the flight from her secret dragon was actually a flight from the fear that she was insane, she had withdrawn a shadow projection. Elizabeth portrays the internal reclamation of her secret dragon shadow figure metaphorically in her poem "Wings of Promise." Jung (1971b) observed that the conscious withdrawal of shadow projections is an achievement beyond the ordinary boundaries of accomplishment:

To become conscious of it involves recognizing the dark aspects of the personality as present and real. This act is the essential condition for any kind of self-knowledge, and it therefore, as a rule, meets with considerable resistance (Ibid., p. 145).

From Jung's (1933; 1971b) perspective, individuation during the first half of the life-span is governed by the adaptation of the psyche to outer reality. It is characterized by the consolidation of a strong ego capable of gaining a conscious foothold and adapting to the external world. It is through the greatest possible differentiation of the dominant function and the formation of a suitable persona that the ego acquires the necessary tools to make this adaptation. The problems associated with this phase of the life cycle largely concern making a place for oneself in the outside world by mastering developmental tasks relating to identity, career, and human relationships.

Jung's theory of individuation, as it relates to typology development, casts an interesting illumination upon the difficulties Elizabeth faced in making a successful transition into the adult
world. From Jung's perspective, the most essential developmental task facing the young female is to find an environment which will be congruent with her consciously differentiated dominant function as well as supportive of the continued development and widening of her second auxiliary function. It is with these two primary functions that she will gain her best foothold in the outside world. Elizabeth's dominant function was intuition; her second auxiliary was thinking.

A thinking person will tend to form judgments based on logic and impersonal analysis. Such a person will not show emotion readily and may oftentimes find it difficult to deal with other people's feelings. The thinking preference shows a marked sex difference; the proportion of the American population preferring the thinking function is substantially higher among men than women. It is interesting to note that women have traditionally been assumed to be less logical, analytical, and impersonal than men. All of these traits are thinking qualities; thinking types of either sex will tend to have them; feeling types will not.

Briggs-Myers contends that the generalization tends to pass over women with a preferred thinking function partly because individuals who don't fit the cultural stereotypes have often learned the art of assuming an appropriate sex role personna. Put a bit differently thinking women are aware that it is culturally assumed, by circumstance of gender, that they will be more passive, tender-hearted, nurturing, and accommodating than men. Thinking women are culturally pressured to develop such shadow qualities in
tandem with their own antithetical dominant personality preferences. From Jung's (1971) perspective, this is a developmentally deleterious cultural expectation. He purports that is not until midlife, after the adult female has had ample opportunity to adapt to her environment via the dominant function and second auxiliary, that she should attempt to confront the unconscious aspects of the shadow side of her personality.

To recapitulate, from Jung's viewpoint, a woman's development in adulthood is largely contingent on being able to access an environment which is congruent with her consciously differentiated functions. Yet, Elizabeth was a member of a birth cohort and cultural milieu which provided few opportunities for making a successful transition into adulthood via her thinking function. As a young adult, she found entry into environments supportive of the thinking function difficult due to the pressures exerted by cultural and familial expectations. Conforming to these pressures, Elizabeth married, got pregnant a few months later, and resigned herself to becoming a fifth generation educator. Having made these choices, Elizabeth had succeeded in donning an appropriate sex role personna at great personal cost. She felt irrevocably trapped in an adult life built in response to a sense of limited options and forced choices that were incongruent with her own developing sense of self.

Erikson's theory of adult development is illustrative of the psychosocial theoretical climate which supported Elizabeth's sense of limited options as she entered adulthood. From Erikson's
framework the benchmark of the ascendency of early adulthood is the emergence of identity. As Gilligan (1982) has observed, for Erikson, the task of identity formation is associated with establishing independence. However, for women, especially those who have children, issues of personal identity are often fused with intimacy or do not come into ascendency until child-rearing responsibilities diminish in the late thirties and forties (Sheehy, 1974).

Recognizing problems of relevance between his theory and the experience of many women, Erikson (1959) modified his stages for women such that they gained identity through achieving intimacy in the form of marriage and procreation (Freize et al, 1978). Hence, he accentuated women's maternal role as being central to feminine identity as well as contributing to society (Ibid.). But, Erikson has been criticized because of his belief in the biological determinism of female development--that marriage and children are crucial to a woman's sense of well being (Barnett & Baruch, 1978). Barnett and Baruch conclude that the implications of Erikson's theoretical position are ominous: women, but not men, require a spouse and children before they can complete as crucial a developmental task as identity formation.

The developmental picture both Erikson (1959) and Sales (1978) depict for a woman entering young adulthood is someone with diffuse ego boundaries who is: "waiting to become a fully formed person, to find a way of living and being, through a relationship" (Scarf, 1984, p. 246). Scarf notes that, given such
social prescriptions, it is little wonder that women often disconnect themselves from early dreams in lieu of establishing a relational bond which will provide the defining context of their lives.

Baruch et al. challenge Erikson's notion that a woman's identity is irrevocably tied to her relational and reproductive dimensions. They note that these views mythologize the biological component of human development and spawn many unsubstantiated ideas such as:

A woman should be high in well being if she is a wife and a mother, and distressed if she is not. She should be happiest when her children are at home and dependent; when the leave, she should feel only sorrow and loss. Menopause should cause her great turmoil, because her reproductive life—and thus her core identity—is threatened (1985, p. 286).

The findings of Baruch et al. as well as Rubin provide disconfirming evidence for these ideas. Likewise, they are not supported with respect to Elizabeth's data.

Instead of trying to postpone the time when her nest would be empty, Elizabeth was the one who initiated the push which sent both of her sons flying. When Elizabeth discovered that she had conceived a child in her late thirties, she terminated the pregnancy. Rather than feeling depression over the fact that she is approaching menopause and will no longer be able to bear children, Elizabeth is looking forward to finding new ways of engaging her generative capacities.
A woman's child-free years typically begins to open up during the second half of the life-span—the period during which Erikson depicts the ascent of the stage "generativity." For Elizabeth, middle age has indeed heralded new ways of expressing generativity in a cultural—rather than biological—sense. Her current dream is to establish corporate day care centers which have a strong educational component. Thus, Elizabeth's vision for legacy making and value transmission has extended far beyond her nuclear family.

Vaillant's (1977a; 1977b) work validated Erikson's theory with the exception that he expanded it by incorporating two additional stages. One of these stages occurred between Identity and Generativity. He named this stage Career Consolidation vs. Self Absorption and noted that its ascension spanned the years from age 25 to 35. During this period the task of establishing human relationships outside the family of origin had been resolved, and the Grant Study men were working hard to consolidate their careers. Adolescent dreams and idealism had typically been sacrificed in lieu of adopting personnas of conformity as the men struggled to consolidate and advance their careers. Poor at self reflection, self deception about the adequacy of their marriage and career choice was common.

Interestingly, Elizabeth herself seemed to follow this pattern during the age range specified by Vaillant. Not wanting to publicly acknowledge her that marriage to Chet had been a mistake, she erected a facade that it was satisfactory. Having reluctantly entered the field of education in reaction to a sense of limited options,
Elizabeth began to consolidate and advance her career as an educator. Only after reaching midlife did Elizabeth begin to question her career choice and take action to modify it.

Vaillant depicts adolescence as a time of painful individuation and separation. He notes, "Identity formation in adolescence is fostered by a curious fact of human nature; as we lose or separate from the people we love, we internalize them" (cited in Scarf, 1980). Building on this idea, Scarf conjectures that what enables us to separate from our parents in an external sense during adolescence and young adulthood is that we concomitantly internalize their presence. Yet after this separation process has been completed, they remain the "internal instructors"--the authority within--who guide our way through early adulthood. Scarf posits, "Just as their voices once came from the outside, directing us and telling us what to do--how to behave in such and such a situation, we now experience them from the inside" (1980, p. 32).

A portion of Sheehy's (1974) theory of adult development closely parallels the work of Vaillant (1977a) and Scarf (1980)--she also speculates that we carry the internalized imprint of our parental custodians into our adult lives. Sheehy specifies that a pivotal developmental task facing adults is to separate and differentiate themselves from this internalized parental force she names the inner custodian. The inner custodian serves to safeguard development during childhood by providing dictums regarding the "should" and "should not" parameters of life. But the inner custodian's utility begins to wane as the child matures. During.
adulthood, its influence takes on restrictive and prohibitive dimensions which cramp rather than facilitate adult development. From Sheehy's perspective, a key developmental task confronting adults is to internally separate from their inner custodian in the same manner that they externally individuated from their parents. She theorizes that to become an adult, we must become our own authority in both an internal and external sense.

Elizabeth's data supports the notion put forth by Sheehy (1974), Vaillant (1977a) and Scarf (1980) that her parents maintained an internalized foothold which guided her life choices long after she had physically separated from them. During young adulthood, Elizabeth had successfully disconnected from her parents externally by establishing herself in a marriage and career which was removed from Albion. Yet many of her adulthood choices were made based on an internalized system of parental values and beliefs. One example of this is the option she chose to effect her external separation from her family of origin—marriage. At midlife, Elizabeth is examining many of these internalized values and attempting to discard those which have caused her pain and proven dysfunctional.

Gould's (1978) theory of psychosocial development proposes that adults are continually confronted by two realities: present adult reality and demonic reality—comprised of painful, childhood states which intrude into adult life. Growth and change in adulthood is evidenced by the individual taking steps away from demonic reality through dismantling the false assumptions and
irrationalities of childhood. Gould suggests that men and women's lines of development, relative to the shedding of false assumptions across the life-span, are neatly synchronized in terms of: 1) the nature of the false assumption; and 2) the age-graded chronological time period during which each false assumption must be discarded. The one exception is that women, unlike men, have the false assumption that they need a male protector; this assumption goes unchallenged until the 35-45 year age range.

Elizabeth's data did support Gould's theory in the respect that all of the themes she identified as being particularly significant had their origins in her childhood. Additionally, the need to have a male protector surfaced as one of these themes. However, none of the other false assumptions Gould mentions were relevant to Elizabeth's life story. Further, childhood wounds--rather than childhood false assumptions--provided the metaphor of choice for describing the core theme pervading Elizabeth's life story. Gould has taken the rather innocent metaphor of a childhood false assumption and used it as the criterion to sort human consciousness into the polarized dichotomies of childhood consciousness /adult consciousness. The dichotomy undergoes further descriptive elaborations such as demonic/good--as well as prescriptive refinements such as amputate/keep. Elizabeth's data led us to theorize that her own development was tied to healing the pain inflicted on her as a child; it did not involve tracking down and disposing of the child.

Sheehy (1974), Gould (1978), and Scarf (1980) focus upon the parent/child relationship as the source of the psychic pain which
gets transported into adulthood. One of the key findings to emerge from the collaborative analysis of Elizabeth's data, was that the psychic wounds she sustained in childhood were multi-faceted. They were the result of not only parental influences, but also biological, historical, social, and unexpected events—all of which interacted with each other. This finding lends support to the viewpoint put forward by Neugarten (1976), Baltes et al. (1980) and Farrell & Rosenberg (1981) that human development is shaped by multicausal, interactive internal and external events rather than epigenetically predetermined stages and developmental crises (Erikson, 1953; Sheehy, 1974; Vaillant, 1977a; Levinson, 1978; Gould, 1978). It also underscores the difficulty researchers face in trying to fruitfully ground positivistic methods and methodologies within the complexity of the life-span.

The intent of this section was to explore the ways in which a mutually informing dialogue could be set in motion between Elizabeth's grounded theory and a priori psychosocial theories. In the process of engaging this dialogue, I found that there were many instances in which the priori theories proved to be useful in illuminating Elizabeth's life. Yet, there were other times when the a priori theories distorted or oversimplified Elizabeth's lived experiences. In such instances, her grounded theory proved extremely useful in critiquing such disjunctions.

**A Collaborative Analysis of Lily's Data**

The results of the collaborative efforts which transpired between Lily and I as we jointly analyzed her life story are
presented in this section as well as the Appendices. As previously mentioned, I was initially interested in being able to separate out the themes the informants' identified from those I observed. In the actual process of collaboratively analyzing data, I quickly learned much blurring occurred when I tried to make this distinction. Hence, I report informant/researcher thematic and categorical distinctions in the spirit of acknowledging the individual effort that undergirds any collaborative project; my intent is not to support the maintenance of artificially contrived researcher/researched dichotomies.

With this caveat in mind, the categories that Lily discerned through her analysis of the data appear in plain print. The subsidiary themes Lily and I identified, which are linked to her categories, appear as a narrative description beneath the categorical headings. The categories I distinguished, when analyzing the same material, appear in italicized print. The subsidiary themes Lily and I identified, which are linked to my categories, appear as a narrative description beneath the categorical headings.

**Lily's Emergent Categories and Themes**

*Familial relationships are all-important to my sense of well being: Maintaining a sense of connection with systems outside of the family unit is also important to my sense of well being.*

As she entered adulthood, Lily made choices congruent with the belief forged during childhood/adolescence that her identity and validity as a woman would be based on family centered roles. Lily maintained these beliefs by finding a marriage partner, starting
a family of her own, and making the decision that her family would be her only career.

As she approached midlife, the vision that the role of wife and mother would be her only dream for adulthood became too constricting. Lily found herself growing increasingly depressed by the dawning awareness that her maturing children no longer needed her in the same way. As Lily's sense of being needed diminished, she found herself in the grip of a midlife identity crisis. Lily began to resolve her identity crisis by returning to the work force and enrolling in graduate school. These were actions aimed at expanding her sense of identity by reestablishing her sense of connection with--and contribution to--systems outside the home.

That Lily was feeling a sense of emptiness and depression over the circumstance that her children were separating from her is quite understandable from Scarf's perspective. Scarf observes that women have a tendency to experience depression in contexts having to do with emotional relatedness and attachment issues. She notes that for men, depressive themes tend to be different, men don't tend to become depressed over the threatened rupture of emotional bonds. "For men, the depressive motifs frequently have to do with work issues, status and success difficulties, with 'making it' out there in the world at large" (1980, p. 96). Scarf speculates that this phenomena is related to social expectations about what masculinity involves--"independence, action, aggressiveness, and a high motivation toward competing, winning, achieving" (Ibid., p. 96).
Scarf's observation is foreshadowed in Stewart's (1976) dissertation. Stewart concluded that the women she studied had a tendency to forge dreams for the future which had a strong relational component whereas the dreams of the men in Levinson's sample were more individualistic. Rubin, likewise, comments on this crucial life-shaping difference between a developing girl's and boy's dream:

For a boy, marriage and parenthood isn't 'anything to dream about.' For a girl, if it's not the only dream in her life, it's surely the dominant one. In adulthood, it's marriage and motherhood that define a woman, locate her in the world, ground her in a social identity. Therefore, it's how she defines herself. (1979 pg. 110)

Indeed, the theme of the importance of familial relationships which pervades Lily's childhood, adolescent and early adulthood years is only a peripheral preoccupation of the men in those studies which focus on male development (See Erikson, 1953; Vaillant, 1977a; Levinson, 1978; and Farrell & Rosenberg, 1981).

By adolescence, marriage and motherhood had become Lily's only dream for the future. Baruch et al. contend that it is not unusual that so many women internalize the dream that their identity is to be found exclusively through relationships--they are bombarded with this image by poets and social scientists alike. Erikson's (1959) theory is a classic example of the perpetration of this image.
Erikson modified his "Eight Stages of Man" theory for women such that they gained identity through achieving intimacy in the form of marriage and procreation. Hence he emphasized women's maternal role and relational dimension as being central to feminine identity. The developmental picture of a woman entering young adulthood which Erikson promotes is someone with diffuse ego boundaries who is: "waiting to become a fully formed person, to find a way of living and being through a relationship" (Scarf, 1985, p. 246). Sales (1978) and Rubin (1979) note that such ideas cultivate an image for the female adolescent that she is not expected to resolve dependence/independence struggles or develop a bounded and well-integrated sense of self. "In keeping with what is expected, she exchanges dependence on parents for dependence on a husband at the earliest possible opportunity" (Ibid., p. 124).

Sheehy's observations relative to gender based differences in patterns of adult identity development parallel those of Scarf, Stewart, Sales, and Rubin. Sheehy notes a striking difference in the manner in which the men and women in her study told her their life stories.

That is, the men reconstructed their tracks according to the career line they had followed. They measured themselves at each step against the timetable approved for their particular occupational dream. Love partners were filled in as adjuncts to their real love affair: courting the dream of success and seeking their identity through their work....Women, by contrast, spun out their stories around their attachments to,
and detachments from, others: parents, lovers, husbands, children. The central thread was the state of these human connections. The pursuit of an individual dream was most often a stitch that was picked up, dropped, perhaps picked up again. It was what they did before they married, between babies, or after the divorce. (1974, pg. 166)

Sheehy developed a taxonomy of five life choice patterns women used during their twenties to develop an adult identity. The most frequently chosen pattern was that of caregiver—this pattern appears to be similar to the one Lily was using to define her herself. Caregivers "live for human relations and work out any personal ambitions through others" (Ibid., p. 296). Sheehy surmises that, because the caregiver defines herself through her attachments to others, her identity is dependent on her attachments' continuing need for her. Lily's identity crisis was largely fueled by her growing recognition that her maternal role within the family was shifting. She recalls, "My mother role changed as the kids went to school. They no longer needed me in the same way. I was losing part of myself through the loss of that role." Lily's experiences in this regard are also congruent with Sale's observation that the mid-thirties is often a period of crisis for women who realize their early socialization for the role of motherhood had not prepared them for its short-term centrality.

Sheehy and Sales note that, even though a woman's mother/wife roles may have proved very meaningful, most caregivers eventually feel the need to expand their role repertoire
by midlife. This often translates to a woman seeking ways to make a meaningful and valued contribution to systems outside the home. Sales mentions that women, who attempt to do this, frequently experience difficulties; outdated skills restrict their opportunities to find rewarding work. This may explain Sheehy's finding relative to the midlife women in her study: "The overwhelming majority felt it necessary to go back to school, to train in areas that are extensions of their caregiving skills..." (1974,. p. 300). Sheehy mentions that the fields towards which caregivers typically gravitate are social work, teaching, and library science. Lily, herself, entered the field of social work because she felt it was a healthy way to operationalize her need to be needed.

Sheehy surmises that, as an individual approaches midlife, it often seems like all of the magic has dissipated from life. For Lily, the loss of magic in her life stemmed from the loss of the adolescent hopes which were attached to the dream of marriage when it originally took shape. The midlife truth Lily discovered about her adolescent belief that becoming a wife and mother would be her only dream for the future, was that such a vision of herself had become far too limiting. Her dream for the remaining years of adulthood needed to be reformulated.

Similarly, Stewart, found that the women who had opted for the traditional mother/wife roles were traveling in an opposite direction during their middle/late thirties. They were actively engaged in reassessing their dream of marriage and child rearing in lieu of forging a new vision of the future which had to do with
developing their own inner potential. Lily reflects that her identity crisis was fueled by the circumstance that she had realized her early goals for adulthood. They needed to be reformulated so that her remaining years could be imbued with a new sense of purpose. Lily mentions, "My new goals were more self directed and were targeted outside the home. Encompassed in those goals was redefining and expanding my identity so I could actualize my potential and use it to make a contribution to the world in a humanitarian sense."

Separation is a painful loss: Separation is also a letting go and moving forward

Lily was socialized to define herself within the context of human relationships. When she found herself confronted with the circumstance of separating from those with whom she had established a strong relational connection, Lily experienced an overwhelming sense of loss.

Gilligan suggests that girls and boys encounter different socialization expectations relative to the issue of separation. For girls, feminine identity does not hinge on separating from the mother. This circumstance is aptly reflected in Lily's life story; her mother functioned as her role model; and Lily, in turn, is now serving as her daughter's role model. For boys, separation from the mother is centrally linked to the achievement of a masculine gender identity. Gilligan surmises that femininity is defined by attachment while masculinity is defined by separation. Hence, she draws the conclusion that women and men "experience attachment and
separation in different ways and that each sex perceives a danger which the other does not see—men in connection, women in separation" (1985, p. 42). Gilligan's observation may well explain why the theme which was so pervasive throughout the first half of Lily's life—fear of separation—is not evidenced in those studies which focus on male development (See Erikson, 1953; Vaillant, 1977; Levinson, 1978; and Farrell & Rosenberg, 1981).

Sheehy observes the same phenomenon noted by Gilligan: men in young adulthood define themselves through separation while women define themselves through attachment and caring for others. Yet midlife seems to herald a reversal of this agenda for both sexes. As they approached middle age, "each sex seemed to have half the loaf and was uncomfortable about the half they were missing" (Sheehy, 1974, p. 168). Many of the midlife men Sheehy interviewed revealed a desire to learn how to become more responsive in the context of relationships. Midlife women, conversely were showing a surge of independence and initiating behavior. Having devoted their young adulthood years to spinning attachments and nurturing a family, they were separating from that role and aggressively looking for their own mountain to climb outside of the home. Relative to the this midlife role reversal, Jung mentions, "Man's values, and even his body, do tend to change into their opposites...How often it happens that a man of forty-five or fifty winds up his business, and the wife then dons the trousers" (1971, pg. 16).
After over four decades of experiencing various forms of separation—the death of parents, the gradual individuation of children, and the loss of friends, Lily faced her most difficult separation task of all—this was the separation from her old sense of self. Like so many of the midlife women in Sheehy's study, Lily was feeling driven to separate from an exclusively family-centered identity by becoming more instrumental and connected with systems outside of her home. Gould's work sheds some light on the difficulties Lily faced in resolving this particular separation issue.

He observes:

There is one separation situation in adulthood that regularly triggers the demonic images of childhood consciousness...It is the separation caused by our self-initiated attempts to change. This is a separation situation because we are attempting to separate from our outgrown definition of ourselves. (1978, p. 25).

Lily makes many references to the pain, sorrow, and internal resistance she experienced as she attempted to redefine and expand her identity. She notes:

To begin the ascent out of my crisis involved becoming aware of the black cave I was in and emerging from it. This emergence involved my beginning to rebuild a sense of self-confidence and connection with the outside world, and it produced great sorrow within me. Because by engaging this process, I had to leave a lot of the old stuff, that had been mine, behind me.
As Lily's new definition of herself began to coalesce, she became increasingly cognizant of the fact that she was moving forward toward a new sense of self that was quite novel and exciting. Her fear over separating from her old sense of self gradually gave way to a sense of jubilation. As she neared graduation she confided: "I am on this incredible high because...I have redefined and reowned myself, and in that sense, I have regained myself." At midlife Lily had come to understand that, while a separation from an old sense of self does entail a loss, it also presents the opportunity for growth and renewal.

_I am powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams: I am the master of my own wishes desires and dreams. I alone am responsible for their actualization_

Sheehy (1974), Gould (1978), and Scarf (1980) focus upon the parent/child relationship as the source of the psychic pain which gets transported into adulthood. As with Elizabeth, a prominent theme which shaped Lily's life--feeling powerless--can be traced back to the psychic wounding that took place during her childhood/adolescent years.

In early childhood, Lily dreamed of becoming a doctor. When she shared this future image of herself with her mother, she received immediate feedback that it was inappropriate. Lily's mother apprised her that the exclusively appropriate adulthood role she should be envisioning was that of wife and mother. Hence, Lily's earliest dream for the future had been invalidated by somebody she felt a strong need to please. Fearing that she might
rupture their close relationship if she failed to conform to her mother's expectations, Lily reshaped her dream. By the end of her childhood years she had internalized her mother's dream for her; the only future she envisioned was to become a wife and mother.

Lily had become engaged during her senior year of high school and was preparing to get married immediately after graduation. In an effort to keep Lily from entering what they felt to be a disastrous marriage, her parents insisted that she go to college. Once again, Lily received the message from her parents that her own dream for the future was inappropriate. Lily found herself falling into the same pattern of feeling powerless in relationship to actualizing her own dream because of an overriding need to please her parents and conform to their expectations.

Lily's enrollment in college had been a moot issue as far as either Lily or her parents were concerned up until her senior year when she got engaged. By Lily's senior year, her grades in high school "left a lot to be desired" because she had been focused on finding a marriage partner rather achieving academically. Lily was rejected from the college she wished to attend. Having reviewed her application materials, the director of admissions had advised Lily's father to get her enrolled in a secretarial program. Lily's father acted on this advice without questioning its validity. This was the demarcation point wherein Lily internalized the belief that, because her parents didn't believe in her intelligence, she was, in fact, not intelligent.
From childhood through adolescence, Lily had been caught in a cycle feeling she lacked the power to operationalize her own dreams. This sense of powerlessness was largely fueled by a need to please significant others by living out their dreams for her future. Thus, as she made her first bid for a provisional adult identity Lily was not operating from a base of internal power. Rather, she was striving to live up to external parental and social expectations.

As Lily separated from her family of origin, her provisional adult identity had incorporated some negative beliefs which had been spawned through familial and cultural interactions. Such negative beliefs included feeling powerless, lacking a core sense of belief in herself, and believing that she was not intelligent. Enrollment in graduate school at midlife provided Lily with the opportunity to challenge and reformulate these negative beliefs and forge a new vision of adult identity.

Rubin observes that the issue of identity is a troubling one for many women, yet it has a tendency to erupt in a climactic way at midlife. A lifetime of doing what they're supposed to do, of putting the needs and wishes of others before self, gives a particular urgency and poignancy to the question. Who am I? No easy question precisely because for so long women have mystified themselves and others as they sought to comply with socially prescribed roles, sought to obey external mandates about who they are, how they
Rubin goes on to mention that identity is formed through the process of internalizing the external. "A self exists in a social context; it grows and develops as part of an ongoing process of interaction with the social world. External becomes internal" (Ibid., p. 60). Rubin cites a list of self-definitions which are often spawned in external social contexts and then get internalized by women. They include: a focus on the importance of relationships to one's sense of identity, a suppression of self that the external world doesn't seem to want to know about, and a sense of powerlessness which is provoked by a tendency to shape one's self in accordance to the expectations of significant others.

Many of the midlife women in Rubin's study were in the process of changing their lives by challenging the beliefs they had formerly used to define themselves. She speculates that it takes years to incorporate a new definition of the self—to internalize a new self image. Perhaps this is why such a reformulated definition of self does not coalesce for many women until their middle years. Further, Rubin hypothesizes that the integration of a new or expanded sense of identity is often made more difficult because it must take place in the restrictive social contexts most women inhabit. She notes:

To claim this new identity is to claim the right to compete in the world of men. To openly acknowledge her own capabilities is to confront the prohibitions of a lifetime-powerful prohibitions that forbid women to
come into serious contact with their ability
to achieve, to be powerful, to be masterful.
(Ibid., p. 66-67)

Like many of the women in Rubin's study, Lily had spent the
first half of her life internalizing the belief that she was relatively
powerless in relationship to her own wishes, dreams and desires.
At midlife, a shift had occurred; she was poised and ready to claim
her sense of mastery, competence, and instrumentality. Graduate
school provided her with a proving ground in which she could
challenge and reformulate the belief that she was powerless.

Baruch et al observe that social scientists traditionally
articulate two basic domains of behavior within the purview of
their theories of human development. One is the mastery or
instrumental side of life; it is thought to be the specialty of men.
The other is the affective or relational side of life; this is considered
to be the specialty of women. Baruch et al. purport that women are
socialized to believe that their identity hinges on developing and
maintaining their all-important relationships. Men are taught that
their identity is related to attending to the "doing", or instrumental
side of life.

This gender based difference in socialization patterns may
help explain why the theme of powerlessness was absent in the
majority of the studies which focused on men's patterns of lifespan
development (See Erikson, 1953, Vaillant, 1977, Levinson, 1978). Theories generated from studying men indicate that the young
adult years are a period "of looking for new roles, new relationships,
of fashioning a new milieu that is of one's own choosing" (Scarf,
For example, Levinson generates the image of men climbing up a ladder in order to master an array of worldly accomplishments which eventually culminates in becoming their own man at midlife. Such ladder scaling images are to be found throughout the theories of male development; their appearance serves to reinforce the cultural ideals of masculine strength, effectiveness, and instrumentality.

Yet, when one looks at Lily's early adult life, the choices and roles she was able to access appear to be restricted and relational rather than abundant and instrumental. It is little wonder that such a social reality was tinted with a sense of powerlessness rather than mastery.

*Time goes on forever: Time runs out*

A key concept shared by many behaviorist theorists is the idea that the timing of a life event is a critical factor in shaping patterns of adult development (Neugarten, 1968a; Baltes et al. 1980; Farrell & Rosenberg, 1981). According to this line of thinking, age norms specify appropriate times for certain life events such as separating from the family of origin, finding a marital partner, and begetting children. As individuals move through the life cycle, they clock themselves against these age-graded norms and assess whether they are early, on-time, or late.

During Lily's childhood, she had the sense that time was abundant and never-ending. By adolescence, Lily was clocking herself against the social norms of the time. This was first evidenced by her uneasiness over the realization that she would not
be getting married at the end of high school. During her early adult years, Lily was cognizant of the fact that she was off-time in terms of completing her undergraduate degree and finding a suitable marital partner. After her marriage, she felt that she was up against a biological time clock in terms of bearing children. When her children arrived, she felt like she was an "old mother" by the social standards of her time.

Lily summarized the developmental tasks of her early adult years as including: separating from her family of origin, completing her baccalaureate degree, getting married, and having kids. In terms of resolving these tasks Lily reflects, "I was late on all of it." Awareness that she was off-time in completing these tasks was reinforced by social messages such as her father describing her as a "late bloomer."

Lily's midlife crisis was fueled, in part, by her growing awareness that "time was ticking away." Midlife represented a turning point in Lily's life because it instilled an acute awareness that time was finite. Lily realized that, if she really wanted to begin developing her untapped potential, she needed to take immediate action. Sale's observes that many women experience a midlife crisis which is provoked by the sense that time is running out. During such a crisis, a woman is likely to begin rethinking her goals and priorities in order to make the most of her remaining years.

Similarly, Neugarten's (1976) research reflects that Lily's heightened sense of her own mortality is commonly experienced by other individuals making passage into midlife. Neugarten
discovered that, as individuals entered middle age, the concept of time became restructured into a highly internalized framework of "time left to live." Conversely, there was a movement away from an externalized orientation of "time since birth." This shift was evidenced by the fact that adults often displayed difficulty in recalling their age in chronological terms.

Farrell & Rosenberg report that the midlife men in their study, underwent a stock-taking self-appraisal during their middle years which paralleled Lily's midlife experience. Relative to the typical male in their sample they observe:

He's likely to begin measuring his dreams of what he wanted to be against the reality of what he has become...The vague expansive future has shrunk into a very particular present. What's left of 'the future' is limited in time...(1981, pg. 26)

Yet, the findings of Baruch et al. are contradictory. Relative to their all-female sample they note, "Women rarely spoke of measuring their accomplishments against their expectations, or of concern about 'time running out'" (1985, p. 291).

**Lily's Emergent Core Category: Reformulating Beliefs Spawned during Childhood/Adolescence and Forging a New Vision of Adulthood**

Scarf has speculated that a primary developmental task during childhood/adolescence is to separate from the family of origin. She contends that this separation is facilitated by the child/adolescent internalizing a system of beliefs which will serve
as the basis for forging a provisional adult identity and making a transition into the adult world. Vaillant suggests that during the course of one's lifespan, "the metamorphosis of aging alters belief systems" (1977a, p. 195). This observation is echoed by Gould who posits that the child tries to maintain an illusion of safety by adopting an array of protective belief devices. Gould maintains that the task of adulthood is to dismantle these protective belief systems which include: "not only the irrational acts, the rigidly interpreted rules of childhood, and the fantasies we impose upon life, but also a whole network of untested false assumptions" (1978, p. 39). Similarly, Vaillant surmises that a key task of midlife is to reformulate the beliefs spawned during adolescence which shaped the choices made during young adulthood. He notes: "As adolescence is a period for acknowledging parental flaws and discovering the truth about childhood, so the forties are a time for reassessing and reordering the truth about adolescence" (1977a, p. 220).

When Lily and I analyzed her life story for major themes, we were surprised to discover they all had their origins in belief systems spawned during childhood/adolescence. These beliefs had a major impact in shaping her adult life choices. Throughout Lily's early adult years, these beliefs underwent occasional reformulation but went largely unchallenged. By midlife, Lily found herself in crisis, and the belief system which had given shape to her early adult identity was being subjected to dramatic reformulation. Hence, reformulating the beliefs spawned during
childhood/adolescence and forging a new vision of adulthood emerged as the core theme which shaped her life story.

The following table juxtaposes Lily's early beliefs with their later reformulations. The categorical beliefs Lily identified in her analysis of the data appear in **bolded** plain print. The thematic components of the categorical beliefs Lily identified appear in plain print. The categorical beliefs I identified as I analyzed Lily's data appear in **bolded italicized** print. The thematic components of the categorical beliefs I identified appear in *plain italicized* print.
Table 8

Categorical Beliefs and Their Thematic Components

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categorical Beliefs and Their Thematic Components Spawned during Childhood/Adolescence</th>
<th>Categorical Beliefs and Their Thematic Components are Reformulated as a New Vision of Adulthood is Forged</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Familial relationships are all-important to my sense of well being  
--My only valid role is to be a wife and mother  
--I want to nurture a family of my own and feel needed  
--It is important to uphold and pass on family traditions  
--The woman's role is to please the man  
--Being a wife and mother is my only dream for the future  
--My family will be my only career  
--The role of wife and mother will always provide my life with its meaning | Maintaining a sense of connection with systems outside of the family unit is also important to my sense of well being  
--As a result of my crisis and Jim's illness, I understood that I had to start becoming more independent and instrumental  
--I discovered that dreams change as does all of life |
Table 8 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Separation is a painful loss</th>
<th>Separation is also a letting go and moving forward</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>--During separations, things get left behind</td>
<td>--Separations are inevitable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--Separations must be resisted</td>
<td>--Separations can present the opportunity for growth and renewal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--I experienced separation anxiety as a result of my self-initiated attempt to redefine myself and reformulate my identity</td>
<td>--During my identity crisis, I felt I had to move on; I couldn't turn my back on my own growth process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--A part of me resisted making changes and moving on after my crisis and Jim's illness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

--I had to find ways to balance my need to nurture my family with a recognition that I needed to take care of myself, too.

--It is important to make a career contribution outside of the family unit.

--Roles change over time as does their meaningfulness.
<p>| I am powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams | I am the master of my own wishes, desires and dreams. I alone am responsible for their actualization |
| --I must conform to parental expectations | --I had to reformulate the belief that I was powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams |
| --I must let others define me | --I am learning how to live up to my own expectations of what I am capable of achieving |
| --My parents don't believe in me, therefore I can't believe in myself | --My parents couldn't help me learn how to believe in myself because they lacked a core sense of belief in themselves |
| --I am not intelligent | --As a result of my crisis, I developed a strong need to actualize my full potential |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time goes on forever</th>
<th>Time runs out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>--I don't need to be concerned about my own mortality</td>
<td>I have an awareness of time ticking away</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

--I had to learn how to define myself from the inside instead of the outside.
--My identity crisis had to do with my need to redefine myself and reformulate my goals.
--During my time of crisis I discovered that I had a lot of energy, perseverance and strength that I never knew I had.
--I feel firmly grounded in believing in myself now.
--That "not intelligent" definition has been challenged and reformulated.
A Theory of Lily's Pattern of Life-span Development

Adolescence was the critical chapter wherein Lily developed her provisional adult identity and began the process of separating from her family of origin. This identity formation and separation process was facilitated by Lily internalizing a system of beliefs which would support her transition into the adult world.

It should be noted that Lily's adolescent belief system was shaped by multiple sources: biological (being born female); historical (maturing in a patriarchal post-war 1940's birth cohort which restricted women's developmental opportunities and stressed biological determinism by emphasizing the importance of a woman's maternal, nurturing role); familial (being born into a family which was not able to help her develop a core sense of belief in herself); and social (being raised in a society which encouraged women to establish their identity solely through their relationships).

Thus Lily's adolescent belief system had a major impact in shaping her early adult identity as well as her life choices. As she entered adulthood, Lily made choices congruent with the belief forged during childhood/adolescence that her identity and validity as a woman would be based on family centered roles. As Lily separated from her family of origin, her provisional adult identity had incorporated some negative beliefs which had been spawned through early familial and cultural interactions. Such negative beliefs included a feeling of powerlessness, lacking a core sense of belief in herself, and believing that she was not intelligent. Lily was
socialized to believe that her identity would be defined within the context of human relationships. Hence she came to define herself through her relationships with others and dreaded separation situations which would alter the bonds of connection she had established with them.

Throughout Lily's early adult years, these beliefs underwent occasional modification but went largely unchallenged. By midlife, Lily found herself in crisis, and the belief system which had given shape to her early adult identity was being subjected to dramatic reformulation. Lily's crisis was largely fueled by the growing recognition that her maternal role within the family was shifting. Lily found herself growing increasingly depressed by the dawning awareness that her maturing children no longer needed her in the same way; this circumstance was provoking her to seek out new meaningful roles. Because Lily had been defining herself through her attachments to others, her identity was dependent on her attachments' continuing need for her. As she approached midlife, Lily came to resent this type of dependency and was actively seeking ways to become more instrumental and connected with systems outside of her home. Lily's crisis was intensified by her growing awareness that time was finite. Midlife represented a turning point in Lily's life because she realized that "time was ticking away"—if she really wanted to begin actualizing her potential, she needed to take immediate action.

Lily began to resolve her identity crisis by returning to graduate school which served as her midlife proving ground.
Graduate school provided Lily with a supportive context in which she could reformulate the beliefs spawned during childhood/adolescence. These beliefs had become increasingly less serviceable with the passage of time and were in need of reappraisal. As these beliefs were reformulated, Lily gradually forged a more instrumental, masterful vision of her adult identity. She also made new commitments as to how she would develop her inner potential and then engage it within the context of her remaining years.

A Consideration of the Ways in which A Priori Theory and Lily's Grounded Theory Can Be Used to Inform Each Other

Levinson's theory of male development was only somewhat useful in illuminating Lily's pattern of life-span development. Levinson portrays a man in his twenties as being engaged in the task of developing a provisional life structure. It is a period during which the young man will scan the horizon of possibilities in order to seek those opportunities which will help him actualize his Dream—or vision of himself in the future. There is a tentativeness that whatever initial life structure he builds might only be temporary. This pattern of exploration and commitment continues throughout his thirties. He builds a life structure, reexamines it, and makes modifications which will allow him to either maintain his commitment to that life structure, modify it, or forge a new one.

During her twenties, Lily was scanning the horizon of possibilities in order to seek those opportunities which would help her actualize her Dream—to become a wife and mother. Lily's
dream for her future was exclusively relational in nature. The
dreams of the men in Levinson's sample also incorporated searching
for a love partner; but relationships were never the man's singular
dream for the future. Rather, love partners tended to be viewed as
adjunct companions who would serve as help mates in actualizing
the man's work-related dream. Further, Lily did not enter her
relationships in a provisional, tentative manner; she was always
fully ready to commit herself to each significant man who entered
her life. The fact that options were being held open—because the
relationships Lily forged during adolescence and her early twenties
ended up being provisional—was a source of anxiety rather than
comfort. At age twenty-nine, Lily felt she was marrying "just under
the finish line" in terms of social expectations. She also felt she was
up against a biological time clock in terms of begetting the children
who were the other component of her Dream.

While the men in Levinson's study periodically reassessed
their Dream and modified it throughout their twenties and thirties,
Lily remained fully committed to the Dream which she forged
during childhood. Lily did not attempt to reassess her Dream of
becoming a wife and mother until she approached midlife.

Levinson noted that as a man makes the transition from
young adulthood to midlife, he is likely to suffer a moderate to
severe crisis as he examines the life he built in young adulthood.
His task is to modify his life in such a manner that it will provide an
appropriate basis for pursuing his goals in his later adulthood years.
Lily did, in fact experience an identity crisis at age thirty-eight.
Lily's crisis was largely fueled by the growing recognition that her maternal role within the family was shifting. Lily found herself growing increasingly depressed by the dawning awareness that her maturing children no longer needed her in the same way; this circumstance was rendering her maternal role less demanding.

Levinson observes that if all has gone well, at age forty the man will have succeeded in "becoming his own man." This implies that he has assumed a place of seniority and authority within his work place and the community. At age forty, Lily was still attempting to resolve her midlife crisis. Far from feeling instrumentally in charge of her life, she was growing increasingly resentful of her dependency on her family centered role and identity. She had not previously forged a career commitment so it was impossible to assume a position of seniority in a work place setting outside of her home. Moreover, the role she had been filling was becoming increasingly less demanding.

Enrollment in graduate school provided Lily with the first context in which she could experiment with "becoming her own woman." By the time she graduated, at age forty-six, Lily had truly "become her own woman" in the sense that she had reestablished herself outside of the family unit and redefined her identity. As with the men in Levinson's study, midlife ultimately served as a period of reappraisal for Lily. She was able to reformulate her early beliefs in a way that allowed her to forge a new vision of her future in later adulthood.
Sheehy, Gould and Scarf focus upon the parent/child relationship as the source of the psychic pain which gets transported into adulthood. As with Elizabeth, a prominent theme which shaped Lily's life--feeling powerless--can be traced back to the psychic wounding that took place during her childhood/adolescent years. Leonard underscores Jung's point that, while we bear the influence of our familial and cultural systems, we are not fated to remain the mere products of such institutions. Jung purports that the psyche possesses a natural healing process which moves the individual toward wholeness and balance. The psyche can also access archetypal symbols which will serve as inner models, even when the outer models are absent or unsatisfactory. Hence, from Jung's theoretical viewpoint, Lily's psyche possessed a tremendous capacity to heal itself from the wounds sustained during childhood and adolescence which left her feeling powerless. Lily has, in fact, healed herself from this wound and takes pride in the fact that she now feels able to hand on a different legacy of empowerment to her own children.

A woman's child-free years typically begins to open up during the second half of the life-span--the period during which Erikson depicts the ascent of the "generativity" stage. For Lily, middle age has indeed created new opportunities for exploring her generative capacities in a cultural--rather than biological--sense. Her current dream is to do bereavement counseling and work with survivors of suicide. Thus, Lily's vision for legacy contribution has extended beyond her nuclear family. Within the field of social work she has
discovered more expansive ways to operationalize her need to be needed by making a societal contribution.

Jung's theory of individuation, as it relates to typology development, casts an interesting illumination upon the ease with which Lily conformed to the social norms of the time which encouraged women to base their identity on family centered roles. From Jung's perspective, the most essential developmental task facing the young female is to find an environment which will support the continued differentiation of her dominant function and second auxiliary. It is by engaging these two most consciously accessible functions that she will be able to gain her strongest foothold in the outside world as she separates from her family of origin. Lily's dominant function was sensation; her second auxiliary was feeling.

A feeling person will tend to form judgments based on a highly differentiated value system. Such a person will often get overextended trying to meet the needs of others. The feeling preference shows a marked sex difference; the proportion of the American population preferring the feeling function is substantially higher among women than men. It is interesting to note that women have traditionally been assumed to be more affiliating, tender-hearted, social, nurturant, and accommodating than men. All of these traits are feeling function qualities; feeling types of either sex will tend to have them; thinking types will not.

To recapitulate, from Jung's perspective, a woman's development during her young adulthood years is contingent on
being able to access environments which will support the continued development of her two most consciously differentiated functions. Lily was a member of a birth cohort and cultural milieu which encouraged women to forge their identity within the context of the family centered roles of wife and mother. The family centered relational environment Lily was being socially encouraged to enter would have provided her with a good opportunity to make a successful transition into adulthood via her feeling function.

Vaillant depicts adolescence as a time of painful individuation and separation. He notes, "Identity formation in adolescence is fostered by a curious fact of human nature; as we lose or separate from the people we love, we internalize them" (cited in Scarf, 1980). Building on this idea, Scarf conjectures that what enables us to separate from our parents in an external sense during adolescence and young adulthood is that we concomitantly internalize their presence. After this external separation process has been completed, they remain our "internal instructors"--the authority within--who guide our way through early adulthood. Scarf posits, "Just as their voices once came from the outside, directing us and telling us what to do--how to behave in such and such a situation, we now experience them from the inside" (1980, p. 32).

A portion of Sheehy's (1974) theory of adult development closely parallels the work of Vaillant (1977a) and Scarf (1980)--she also speculates that we carry the internalized imprint of our parental custodians into our adult lives. Sheehy specifies that a pivotal developmental task facing adults is to separate and
differentiate themselves from this internalized parental force she names the inner custodian. The inner custodian serves to safeguard development during childhood by providing dictums regarding the "should" and "should not" parameters of life. But the inner custodian's utility begins to wane as the child matures. During adulthood, its influence takes on restrictive and prohibitive dimensions which cramp rather than facilitate adult development. From Sheehy's perspective, a key developmental task confronting adults is to internally separate from their inner custodian in the same manner that they externally individuated from their parents. She theorizes that to become an adult, we must become our own authority in both an internal and external sense.

Gould's theory of psychosocial development also closely approximates the work of Vaillant, Scarf, and Sheehy. He proposes that adults are continually confronted by two realities: present adult reality and demonic reality—comprised of painful, childhood states which provide an open door through which unresolved parental conflicts can intrude into adult life. Growth and change in adulthood is evidenced by the individual taking steps away from demonic reality through dismantling the false assumptions and belief systems of childhood.

Lily's data supports the notion put forth by Sheehy, Vaillant, Scarf, and Gould that her parents maintained an internalized foothold which guided her life choices long after she had physically separated from them. During young adulthood, Lily had successfully disconnected from her parents externally by separating
from them. Yet she concomitantly internalized their dream for her future—that she become a wife and mother. Thus her adulthood choices were being shaped by an internalized system of parental values and beliefs. At midlife, Lily was examining many of these beliefs and attempting to reformulate those which had become less serviceable with the passage of time.

Lily's data supported Gould's theory in the respect that most of the categories and themes she identified as being particularly significant had to do with belief systems spawned during childhood. The origins of these belief systems could inevitably be traced back to early parental/cultural interactions. However, none of the childhood beliefs Gould mentions was relevant to Lily's life story. Further, reformulating childhood beliefs—rather than dismantling childhood beliefs—provided the metaphor of choice for describing the core theme pervading Lily's life story. Lily's data led us to theorize that her own development in later adulthood was tied to balancing inner dichotomies through a complex process of reflective reformulation; she was not attempting to completely dismantle her belief system.

To summarize Lily's childhood/adolescent belief system had a major impact in shaping her early adult identity as well as her life choices. Three of these beliefs were not evidenced in those studies which focused on male development; they included: the centrality of family relationships to personal identity, a fear of separation situations which threatened to rupture relational bonds, and a sense of personal powerlessness. It is important to underscore that Lily's
childhood/adolescent belief system was shaped by multiple sources: biological (being born female); historical (maturing in a patriarchal post-war 1940's birth cohort which restricted women's developmental opportunities and stressed biological determinism by emphasizing the importance of a woman's maternal, nurturing role); familial (being born into a family which was not able to help her develop a core sense of belief in herself); and social (being raised in a society which encouraged women to establish their identity solely through their relationships). Once again, this finding lends support to the viewpoint put forward by Neugarten (1976), Baltes et al. (1980) and Farrell & Rosenberg (1981) that human development is shaped by multicausal, interactive internal and external events rather than epigenetically predetermined stages and developmental crises (Erikson, 1953; Sheehy, 1974; Vaillant, 1977a; Levinson, 1978; Gould, 1978). It also underscores the difficulty researchers face in trying to fruitfully ground positivistic methods and methodologies within the complexity of the life-span.

The intent of this section was to explore the ways in which a mutually informing dialogue could be set in motion between Lily's grounded theory and a priori psychosocial theories. In the process of engaging this dialogue, I found that there were many instances in which the priori theories proved to be useful in illuminating Lily's life. Yet, there were other times when the a priori theories distorted or oversimplified her lived experiences. In such instances, her grounded theory proved extremely useful in critiquing such disjunctions.
A Comparison of Lily's and Elizabeth's Grounded Theories

When comparing the informants' grounded theories, I found both uniformity as well as uniqueness relative to their respective patterns of life-span development. In terms of uniformity, both informant's entered their young adulthood years with a sense that the roles and choices open to them were limited. Both women viewed marriage as the way to complete the separation process from their parents and establish their own adult identity. They both married in their twenties and bore two children. Both women bonded intensely with their children and viewed themselves as the family's primary caregiver. Both women had a tendency to focus on the needs of family members and neglect attending to their own needs.

For both informants, the agendas spawned during childhood and adolescence were transported into their adult lives and proved to be a powerful force in shaping it. Attempts to maintain a sense of adulthood which would be congruent with early belief systems and adaptation mechanisms became increasingly burdensome for them at midlife. Each informant experienced a midlife crisis which served as a moratorium or "time out" period for reexamining their lives in relationship to their choices, belief systems, and adult adaptation strategies.

Lily's crisis surfaced at age thirty-eight. It was precipitated by the shifting family matrix which was disrupting her sense of identity which incorporated an intense need to be needed. Elizabeth's crisis was triggered at age forty-six. It was linked with
unresolved bereavement issues which left Elizabeth feeling vulnerable and unable to cope with a series of unexpected, tragic life events. For Lily, recovering from her crisis involved reformulating beliefs spawned during childhood and adolescence so that they could be better aligned with her new vision of adulthood. Elizabeth’s recovery involved healing her childhood wounds by becoming conscious of the intrusion of childhood pain into her adult life.

I reached a conclusion which was similar to that drawn by Farrell & Rosenberg; I believe the commonalities in the informant’s life patterns tended to be reflective of the cultural norms of their time. These cultural norms were influenced by historical as well as social forces. For instance, both women matured in a post-war birth cohort which presented them with a restricted range of career options. This social milieu also emphasized the notion of biological determinism by emphasizing the importance of a woman’s maternal, relational role in establishing her sense of identity.

Besides uniqueness in the content of their crises, and the way they sought a resolution to their crisis, and the age at which the crisis ascended in their lives, there were many other differences in the informants’ patterns of life-span development. The dreams each woman transported into adulthood were quite disparate; Lily’s dream was relationally focused and Elizabeth’s dream was career-oriented. There was little similarity between the informants in terms of the age ranges they attached to significant chapters of their life. Turning points which provided the demarcation zone
signaling the end of one chapter and the beginning another were highly idiosyncratic. At midlife; graduate school serve a different purpose for each informant. For Elizabeth, it was a place to "hide out" and find sanctuary during the turbulent throws of her midlife crisis; for Lily it was a place to reformulate early beliefs in order to pave the way for expanding and redefining her identity.

Indeed, even the details of their lives were highly variegated. Elizabeth started her family in her early twenties and married a man she did not love. Lily had several provisional relationships before she married a man she loved deeply during her late twenties. Because Elizabeth started her family earlier than Lily, she is now child free and looking forward in being able to invest her energies in actualizing new dreams she has generated for her future. Lily is still struggling to balance new dreams with maternal and familial responsibilities.

By way of summation, I believe the data from the informant's lives could be used to marshall support for either a behavioristic or organismic theoretical perspective. It would be easy to cull the data to support evidence that the informants lives were either "very different" or "very similar" depending on the theoretical predisposition of the researcher. My own sense is that the informants lives were highly idiosyncratic; yet, pervasive socialization forces predisposed them to share a cultural "truth space" around which many commonalities are evidenced.
Discussion of the Methodology

This section presents the results of the methodological framework undergirding the study. The methodological questions put forward in Chapter One provide the framework for organizing this discussion.

_can praxis-oriented poststructural research help overcome some of the structural inequalities that typically exist between the researcher and the researched?_

In addressing the issue of informant/researcher power asymmetries, Mishler cites a few studies in which the researcher attempted to include the informant's views within the purview of the research report. He notes, "Nonetheless the nature of collaboration in these studies is quite limited. Respondents' views may be presented, usually as a postscript, but the research aims and methods, as well as lines of analysis and interpretation remain very much under the control of the investigator" (1986, p. 127). Mishler's observation has been voiced in the work of other scholars (Lather, 1986; Van Maanen, 1988; Richardson 1988, Patai, 1988a).

It was my intent to mobilize the research process as a forum from which the informants could tell their life stories "without the undue interference and wanton translation of the fieldworker" (Van Maanen, 1988, p. 136). I wanted to avoid the pitfall where I used my role as researcher to colonize the project (Richardson, 1988). To this end, I designed the study in such a way that the informants had the final editorial say as to how their lives were depicted within the public forum of my dissertation.
This strategy did serve as a displacement technique whereby I was effectively decentered from a position of power and authority over how the informants presented their life stories within my project—the dissertation. Thus, it appears to me that the praxis-oriented poststructural philosophy undergirding the study did overcome some of the structural inequalities which Mishler and others have noted typically exist between the researcher and researched. Yet, in attempting to address one set of power-related concerns, I generated a new set of concerns which are discussed in the next section.

What problems did my informants and I encounter as we attempted to use a praxis-oriented poststructural approach to collaboratively analyze the data and theorize about their lives? What were the benefits of such an approach?

I had attempted to build a research context in which the informants felt safe to share their life stories and collaboratively analyze them. Yet, I had no way of divining in advance, how much of the data the informants would choose to either change or withhold as we transferred it from the safety of our privatized research space to the public sphere symbolized by the dissertation.

Many things could have potentially gone wrong with this research design. The informant's might have gotten caught up in wanting to endlessly revise their stories and never been able to bring them to closure. Or, the informants might have wanted to delete data which supported key themes I perceived as being critical to analysis. I was aware of these types of limitations
throughout the study; and, at times, they proved anxiety provoking. I found that by speaking of these anxieties openly with the informants, they could always be diffused.

I do believe that by giving the informants the final say over what data they would share with the public was as much a strength of the methodology as it was a potential limitation. The informants did not have to feel guarded about what they said during the interviews. This created a lot of room for self-exploration, expression, and growth. Some data which Lily willingly shared in this context did get retracted from being used in the dissertation. But what was withheld ended up not being what I considered core, vital themes; rather they were isolated, tangential bits of personal information. Elizabeth chose to withhold only a small portion of data pertaining to a lawsuit in which she had recently been involved. Thus nothing of consequence was lost, and I felt that the data that got reported was extremely rich.

As previously mentioned, a central purpose of this project was to create a context which would move the informants from telling their life stories to collaboratively analyzing and theorizing about them (Lather, 1986). It was my hope that we could utilize the research process as a forum which would support joint analytical collaboration in order to extend the range of interpretations of the body of data. I was especially interested in keeping an eye to both the limits and possibilities of such collaboration.

In terms of the possibilities for collaborating within this research context, I discovered that the informants were very eager
to share their life stories. They were also adept at identifying themes and categories within their raw data. I found it especially interesting that, Elizabeth immediately targeted categories on her audiotape and then backed them up with a narrative explication of their subsidiary themes.

I believe the process gradually became less collaborative once the informants and I had generated the themes and categories. I generated the core category and the grounded theory for both informants' life stories. I did offer them both the opportunity to amend or extend the core category and grounded theory I had identified, but this invitation felt more like a member check of my work rather than collaboration.

Hence, I believe this study is evidence of an initial push to explore the continuum of possibilities for collaboration between researcher and informant. It is easy to envision ways to expand and extend this preliminary push along that collaborative continuum. The informants could have been formally taught the principles I was following in building grounded theory. They could have been given the same a priori theoretical resources to read to which I had access. Structured experiences could have been devised to help them reflect and articulate the ways in which a priori theory illuminated and was illuminated by their lives. The possibilities for future collaborative research designs appear quite endless.
What type of reporting forms effectively support the expression of joint interpretive perspectives?

Richardson has observed that how the researcher chooses to report findings "...raises two meta-writing issues: guiding metaphor and narrative voice. Our choices are simultaneously political, poetic, methodological, and theoretical" (1988, p. 202).

Richardson notes that a guiding metaphor shapes narrative accounts. She mentions, "We have an implicit 'story which we tell about the people we study,' a story which is itself historically rooted" (Brunner's study cited in Richardson, 1988, p. 202). Within the context of this project, I conceptualized the guiding metaphor as the core category which generated many connections to the individual themes and categories the informants and I had collaboratively identified in the process of analyzing their life stories. This core category also served as the basis for generating a grounded theory relative to the informant's pattern of lifespan development.

The second meta-writing issue Richardson mentions is that of narrative voice. Simply put, this means, "Who is telling the story? The researcher? The researched? Both?" (Richardson, 1988, p. 203). In response to this query, Van Maanen stipulates that the most prominent form of ethnographic writing is the "realist tradition" of reporting findings. He notes that the most striking characteristic of this reporting style is "the almost complete absence of the author from most segments of the finished text" (1988, p. 46). Van Maanen surmises that a good faith assumption pervades the
realist style of reporting findings. That assumption is that the researcher is both neutral and objective, and any other well trained observer would see and report similar findings. Van Maanen notes, "Ironically, by taking the 'I' (the observer) out of the ethnographic report, the narrator's authority is apparently enhanced, and audience worries over personal subjectivity become moot" (Ibid., p. 46). Richardson concurs with Van Mannen's point:

In scientific writing, authority has been accomplished through the 'effacement of the speaking and experiencing' scientists' (Pratt, 1986: 32). Neither 'I' nor 'we' are used. With no apparent narrator, an illusion of objectivity is created. The implied narrator is godlike, an all-knowing voice from afar and above, stripped of all human subjectivity and fallibility. But, in fact, science does have a human narrator, the 'camouflaged first person,' hiding in the bramble of the passive voice. The scientist is not all-knowing. Omniscience is imaginary, possible only in fiction." (Richardson, 1988, p. 203)

The voicing of such concerns, led to my decision to report the informant's stories in a non-traditional manner. I wanted to experiment with ways the informant's and I could engage in collaboratively telling their stories using our own first person voices. Richardson's scholarship provided me with this inspiration. She notes: "Experimental writing includes the use of multiple voices, split pages with the storyteller's account filling one column and the analyst's another, and the writing of 'true fiction'" (Ibid., pg. 203).
I also wanted to find ways of presenting the informant's stories which would maximize on the strengths of the data. During the interviewing phase, Lily found the structured questions to be extremely provocative as a stimulus for examining the fabric of her own lived experience. The majority of the data contained in her life story was generated from the structured questions. Lily also expended a tremendous amount of effort and time analyzing her life story document. Her ability to stand back and analyze her life story patterns seemed to flow quite naturally and effortlessly. She felt completely comfortable with the process of recording these life story themes in the margin of her notebook.

Lily and I both felt that the split page analytical reporting format was a good way of informing the reader of the movement we were making between data and interpretation (Polkinghorne, 1988). It was my hope that the reader might join us as an analytical partner and begin to generate her/his own themes in the visual spaces we had created amid our own collaborative analysis of the Lily's life story. I felt that such participation on the part of the reader would maximize on the interpretations of the data thereby helping to keep it from congealing as a fixed or "found" social science reality.

The majority of Elizabeth's data was generated by the unstructured interview questions. The structured questions seemed to serve as a distraction which interrupted her main objective which was to simply tell her life story in her own way. Elizabeth's answers to the structured questions were usually short and cursory.
The richness and depth of her data came from talking about what stood out for her as she thought back about each chapter of her life. A very moving component of her data was the weaving of poetry—which she had written throughout her life—into the story she was sharing with me.

When Elizabeth analyzed her life story, she once again fell back on her narrative mode of expression. Writing down themes in the margin of a notebook seem foreign and unnatural to her. Instead, she laboriously spent many hours making an audiotape in which she discussed the major categories she discerned as she read through her data. She then illustrated each of these categories with the themes she had identified. Elizabeth confided that she had to redo the tape many times before it "sounded" right to her.

We both felt like a play was a good medium for reporting Elizabeth's life story. It afforded her plenty of space to do without interruption what she did so well--narrate a story. We used chapter six to present our analysis of Elizabeth's story to the reader.

The advantage of reporting Lily's data in the manner that we did is that we were able to simultaneously interweave interpretation and analysis as we presented the data. It was easy for the reader to follow our collaborative movement back and forth from data to interpretation within the context of Lily's life story document. Thus we were spared from having to completely retell Lily's story from an analytically interpretive perspective in Chapter Six as Elizabeth's story was retold.
In summation, the way the informants and I chose to report the data did raise the issues Richardson mentions: politics, poetics, methodology and the generation of theory. Foremost in my mind was to seek reporting formats which would provoke the reader to consider "whether there might be yet another, equally useful way to study, characterize, display, read, or otherwise understand the accumulated field materials" (Van Maanen, 1988, p. 51).

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, I have to underscore the obvious; this dissertation ended up being a lengthy document. The purposes undergirding this project were multi-faceted. I was attempting to use the research process as a forum in which the informants could tell their life stories and then collaboratively analyze and theorize about them. In terms of reporting the data, I was trying to include enough material so that the reader could have a vicarious experience of the case and also follow our collaborative movement from data to interpretation. Additionally, I wanted to explore the ways in which the informants' grounded theories and a priori theories could be used to inform each other. To this end, I decided to include two informants for comparative purposes. I felt that such a comparison would be useful in terms of informing the debate currently transpiring between the organismic and behaviorist psychosocial theorists. Pursing these multi-dimensional agendas with two informants generated an enormous amount of data. In retrospect, I believe I overextended myself by trying to do too much within a dissertation context.
Nevertheless, I feel this dissertation produced some worthy accomplishments. It demonstrated to me that praxis-oriented research can provide the context through which informant's change their lives. However, I also believe that it is the reader of the data who must substantiate this claim. Additionally, I feel the need to mention that there was another life that was changed through participation in this study and that life was my own. It is another story I hope to tell in a different forum at some point in the future.

Further, I think the results of this study provided evidence that the possibilities of collaboration, within this particular research context, far outweighed the potential limitations of such an approach. The results also provided evidence that it was possible to stimulate a mutually informing dialogue between a priori and grounded theories. There were many instances in which a priori proved to be useful in illuminating the informants' lives. There were other times when a priori theory distorted the informants' lived experiences; in such cases, the informants lives were extremely useful in illuminating and critiquing such disjunctions.
APPENDICES
Appendix A
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW

Unstructured Life History Question

1. If we were to begin the process of tentatively organizing your complete life story into chapters within a book, what would they be? How would you title these chapters and what age ranges would you affix to them? Let's review these chapters starting with Chapter One: What events stand out for you in this chapter?

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

Structured Life History Questions (Drawn from Psychosocial Literature Base)

2. What key choices on your part entered into the shaping of this chapter?

3. Looking back over this chapter, with whom did you have the most influential relationships? How would you describe these relationships and their impact upon you? How do you think the other person would describe their relationship with you?
4. Did these influential relationships change during the course of this chapter? If yes, in what ways?

5. Could you discuss any dependency issues you experienced during this chapter?

6. Did you experience any major separation anxieties during this chapter?

7. Were there any particularly significant episodes during this chapter when you felt yourself being driven to seek protection from another person?

8. What were your expectations about marriage and family life during this chapter?

9. What were your expectations relative to pursuing a career during this chapter?

10. Were there any ways in which you found yourself being particularly autonomous, masterful or behaving instrumentally during this chapter?

11. Did you attempt to progress along a timetable in terms of actualizing specific achievements during this chapter? If so, please elaborate.

12. Did you have any particular fantasy or dream about what you would like to achieve during this chapter? Did this dream or fantasy serve as a yardstick against which you later (at any point in life) took stock of yourself? If so, please elaborate.

13. Did you ever assess yourself against a prescriptive time-table of socialized expectations regarding age appropriate behavior? If so, what were these time tables and to which age appropriate
behaviors did they point? For which of these time tables were you on-time, early or late?

14. Have you noticed any of these prescriptive, socialized time-tables changing over time as you aged? If so, what effect has the change had upon you?

15. As this chapter unfolded, did you tend to seek stability or were you more drawn toward making changes (or some of both)? If some of both, which was more accentuated during this chapter, seeking out change or stability?

16. To what extent did you feel compelled to keep your options open by avoiding making strong commitments?

17. To what extent did you feel compelled to make early commitments and foreclose on keeping options open?

18. Did you make any major reappraisals during this chapter in terms of either forging, altering or deepening commitments?

19. Looking back, what factors contributed the most to your sense of well being during this chapter? What factors were most upsetting to your sense of well being?

20. How did relationships (or their lack) affect your sense of well being during this chapter?

21. How did instrumental achievements (or their lack) affect your sense of well being during this chapter?

22. Did you experience any sense of personal crisis during this chapter? If so, please elaborate. In retrospect, would you analyze this crisis in terms of whether it contributed to your overall personal growth or deterioration? What factors do you
think influenced your crisis resulting in personal deterioration or growth?

23. During this chapter did you discover that you had been operating under any false assumptions? If so, can you trace the origins of these false assumptions? How did you come to question these false assumptions?

24. Did you find yourself either challenging or conforming to your parent's world view during this chapter? Please elaborate.

25. Were you much preoccupied with health issues during this chapter?

26. Did any internal biological or psychological events have much significance in shaping your life during this chapter? If yes, please describe them.

27. Did any historical events have much significance in shaping your life during this chapter? If yes, please describe them.

28. Did events you anticipated (because of the prevailing social norms of the day) have much significance in shaping your life during this chapter? If yes, please describe them.

29. Did unexpected events have much significance in shaping your life during this chapter? If yes, which ones?

30. Which of the following had the most significance in shaping your life history during this chapter: biological events, psychological events, historical events, expected events which were tied to prevailing social norms, unexpected events? Would you classify these influential events you have just mentioned as
being more internal or external in origin? Please elaborate on this.

31. Did you experience any shift in your perspective or relationship to the concept of time during this chapter? (For instance, during this chapter, did you ever have a sense that time was running out; were you ever very much aware of your own mortality?)

32. What future did you envision for yourself as this chapter came to a close? Was there anything you particularly looked forward to? Dreaded?

33. Could you briefly summarize the major tasks and events you encountered during this chapter of your life? Could you assess how successful you feel you were in addressing these tasks and events? To what do you attribute your success or lack of success in addressing these tasks and events?

34. What questions have I failed to ask you that would help a reader of your life story better understand this chapter?

REPEAT THE ABOVE SERIES OF QUESTIONS FOR EACH CHAPTER

35. Now that we have ended the process of tentatively reviewing your complete life story as chapters in a book, would you want to revise the way you originally titled these chapters or the age ranges you affixed to them?

UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW

Unstructured Graduate School Question
36. When you think back about your experiences as a graduate student at Ohio State University what stands out?

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

Structured Graduate School Question

37. Looking back on your life story, what are the key themes which explain your decision to enter graduate school at midlife?
Appendix B
THE CHAPTERS OF ELIZABETH'S LIFE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>CHAPTER NAME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Meadows of My Childhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-21</td>
<td>Forced Choices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-39</td>
<td>Shades of Gray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39-42</td>
<td>Cruel Winds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Eye of the Storm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42-47</td>
<td>Soaring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47-Present</td>
<td>Wings of Promise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Appendix C

## THE CHAPTERS OF LILY'S LIFE

<table>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-18</td>
<td>High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>Growing Up Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29-39</td>
<td>Settling Down &amp; Family Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39-43</td>
<td>Preparation to Leaps and Bounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43+</td>
<td>Leaps and Bounds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

550
Appendix D
SUMMARY OF COLLABORATIVE DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

STEP 1: The informant is presented with her transcribed copy of the raw data (See Appendix E for example of Elizabeth's raw data). The informant is requested to:

a) make editorial changes
b) add new data she thinks pertinent to her life story
c) delete data which she does not want included in dissertation

STEP 2: The informant returns her revisions to me. I make the revisions. I set up wide right hand text margins (3.5 inches--See Appendix F for an example). I return the data to the informant and ask her to make the following notations in the margins:

a) identify anything which seems significant in the data because it stand outs in some particular way
b) record analytical comments (key thoughts, ideas, observations)

I explain to the informant that she is free to follow any method that works for her in analyzing her data. In Elizabeth's case, she preferred to analyze her data using audiotape rather than marking in the margins of her notebook (See appendices G and V for the lists of themes/categories the informants generated).

STEP 3: I analyze the same data the informant is analyzing which is identically formatted with wide right margins (See
Appendix H, and W for the lists of themes/categories I generated relative to the respective informants' lives). I make the same type of notations within my notebook that I've asked the informants to make relative to:

   a) significant data which tends to stand out in some particular way
   b) analytical comments, general ideas or observations

I follow a standard set of procedures to complete my analysis which is an adaptation of Lincoln and Guba's (1985) and Strauss' (1987) method of building grounded theory (See Chapter 3, Data Analysis section of this document).

STEP FOUR: I make the initial selection of raw data to be included in the informant's life story (See Appendix I for an example). I base my decisions of what data to include using the following criteria:

   a) anecdotes which support the story-line dimension of the informant's life history
   b) anecdotes which illustrate the key themes, ideas, and analytical constructs the informant and I collaboratively generated

STEP FIVE: I submit the resulting document to the informant and ask for her revisions. I provide editing suggestions which the informant may or may not utilize (See Appendix J for example of suggestions).

STEP SIX: The revisions the informant makes completes the process of generating her life story document. These revisions are fully incorporated into the document I pulled together in Step Four.
STEP SEVEN: I ask each informant to devise and sign a release form (See Appendix K and L). This was a gesture aimed at formalizing an acknowledgement that we had reached closure on the life story document and would not reopen it to further revision. The informant's life story documents each appear as a separate chapter within the dissertation.

STEP EIGHT: I explore the following question: "What category in the informant's life story ties a lot of the separate categories we identified together?" By exploring this question, I generate the informants core category(s). I then present the core category to each informant and ask her to amend or extend it (See Appendix Z for an example).

STEP NINE: Using the core category(s) we have collaboratively delineated, I build a grounded theory of the informants pattern of life cycle development. I submit this theory to the informant and ask her to amend or extend it. I incorporate these revisions into her grounded theory.

STEP TEN: I then explore the ways in which the informant's grounded theories and the a priori theories presented in Chapter Two can be used to inform each other.
Appendix E

EXAMPLE OF ELIZABETH’S RAW DATA

I am a fifth generation educator. I rebelled against that at the beginning. Looking at that first chapter, the family life was very warm very caring. I have a brother that is two and one half years older who is a genius. He was always building bridges and dams and I was always getting in trouble because I was helping him and getting all wet and dirty. He did teach me how to read, had I not learned to read from him, I don’t think I would have learned under conventional terms. But he taught me to read before I went to school. He just thought it was something that I ought to do. But it was a very warm and caring family life. Up until the time I was about four--I was born about thirteen days before Pearl Harbor. And I can remember people complaining about having to use different kinds of soap. Looking at where I grew up--western Pennsylvania--it was twenty miles to the nearest town. Gas was rationed. We had gasoline. Unfortunately or fortunately my grandmother’s brothers were all IRA--Irish of descent. And they had this commitment which was basically guns and smuggling and support in the way of funds. Most of them are dead, my father is the only one that would be alive--that this would hurt. And this is not going to touch him. So I can talk about it now. But you learn--I can remember sitting at the table time and time again. We were
permitted to argue, we were permitted to debate—which was outside the community's standards for children. And encouraged to hold our own debates. I could argue with my father or grandfather about anything. I was encouraged to be strong, to speak out, to be independent. But then my father would go around the table and say, "this is family business, do you understand that this does not go outside the family?" And he'd go around the table and say, "Do you understand? Do you understand? Do you understand?" Because we were allowed to talk about anything within the family circle. But not if there were strangers. Because a lot of the things that were going on were very illegal.

Shortly right after World War II, it was about 1952, was when the support stopped—or at least using our property to smuggle. We lived right near the lake which separated the state from Canada. And it was easier to get guns and funds out of Canada then it was out of the U.S. And yes, some people did die. Things were not traditionally law abiding, and yet, I grew up in a very very strict home. One did not steal, one's word was one's bond, it was very much that way, but this Irish support which came through my grandmother McDonald, which was my mother's mother was kind of outside that. That had been going on probably since they had come to this country. Especially her brothers were heavily into IRA. And there were sometimes people staying at my grandmother's place and my father's place, and there was a cabin in the woods—which was a place that you just didn't go. The cabin is still there.
Appendix F
EXAMPLE OF ELIZABETH'S REVISED RAW DATA

I am a fifth generation educator. I rebelled against that at the beginning. Looking at that first chapter, the family life was very warm very caring. I have a brother that is two and one half years older who is a genius. He was always building bridges and dams and I was always getting in trouble because I was helping him and getting all wet and dirty. He did teach me how to read, had I not learned to read from him, I don't think I would have learned under conventional terms. But he taught me to read before I went to school. He just thought it was something that I ought to do. But it was a very warm and caring family life. Up until the time I was about four--I was born about thirteen days before Pearl Harbor. And I can remember people complaining about
having to use different kinds of soap. Looking at where I grew up—western Pennsylvania—it was twenty miles to the nearest town. Gas was rationed. We had gasoline. Unfortunately or fortunately my grandmother's brothers were all IRA--Irish of descent. And they had this commitment which was basically guns and smuggling and support in the way of funds. Most of them are dead, my father is the only one that would be alive—that this would hurt. And this is not going to touch him. So I can talk about it now. But you learn—I can remember sitting at the table time and time again. We were permitted to argue, we were permitted to debate—which was outside the community's standards for children. And encouraged to hold our own debates. I could argue with my father or grandfather about anything. I was encouraged to be strong, to speak out, to be independent. But then my father would go around the table and say, "this is family business, do you understand
that this does not go outside the family?" And he'd go around the table and say, "Do you understand? Do you understand? Do you understand?" Because we were allowed to talk about anything within the family circle. But not if there were strangers. Because a lot of the things that were going on were very illegal.

Shortly right after World War II, it was about 1952, was when the support stopped—or at least using our property to smuggle. We lived right near the lake which separated the state from Canada. And it was easier to get guns and funds out of Canada then it was out of the U.S. And yes, some people did die. Things were not traditionally law abiding, and yet, I grew up in a very very strict home. One did not steal, one's word was one's bond, it was very much that way, but this Irish support which came through my grandmother McClelland, which was my mother's mother was kind of outside that. That had been going on probably
since they had come to this country. Especially her brothers were heavily into IRA. And there were sometimes people staying at my grandmother's place and my father's place, and there was a cabin in the woods—which was a place that you just didn't go. The cabin is still there.
Appendix G

LIST OF CATEGORIES ELIZABETH GENERATED DURING DATA ANALYSIS PHASE

Family Secrets
Guilt/Responsibility Mentality
Secret Lives
Quid Pro Quo: Or the Price of a Male Protector
Escape into Education
My Secret Dragon
A Woman of a Certain Age
Appendix H

LIST OF CATEGORIES I GENERATED WHEN ANALYZING ELIZABETH'S DATA

The Necessity of a Male Protector
Childhood Omnipotence
Breaking Away
Childhood Omnipotence Shrinks Into Forced Choices
No Exit (from marital commitment)
Eric Makes Three/No Exit (from maternal responsibility)
What About ME?
And Peter Makes Three/No Exit (from maternal responsibility)
The Betrayal
More Betrayal
Out of the Meadows of my Childhood (Nick's return)
Expanding Horizons
Shattered Dreams (Nick's death)
Behind the Glass Door/Secret Lives
Full Flight/Guilt Responsibility Mentality
Full Flight/My Secret Dragon
Second Chances
Appendix I

SELECTION OF RAW DATA TO BE INCLUDED IN
ELIZABETH'S LIFE STORY DOCUMENT

(Bolded Data indicates data to be included)

I am a fifth generation educator. I rebelled against that at the beginning. Looking at that first chapter, the family life was very warm very caring. I have a brother that is two and one half years older who is a genius. He was always building bridges and dams and I was always getting in trouble because I was helping him and getting all wet and dirty. He did teach me how to read, had I not learned to read from him, I don't think I would have learned under conventional terms. But he taught me to read before I went to school. He just thought it was something that I ought to do.
But it was a very warm and caring family life. Up until the time I was about four--I was born about thirteen days before Pearl Harbor. And I can remember people complaining about having to use different kinds of soap. Looking at where I grew up--western Pennsylvania--it was twenty miles to the nearest town. Gas was rationed. We had gasoline. Unfortunately or fortunately my grandmother's brothers were all IRA--Irish of descent. And they had this commitment which was basically guns and smuggling and support in the way of funds. Most of them are dead, my father is the only one that would be alive--that this would hurt. And this is not going to touch him. So I can talk about it now. But you learn--
I can remember sitting at the table time and time again. We were permitted to argue, we were permitted to debate—which was outside the community's standards for children. And encouraged to hold our own debates. I could argue with my father or grandfather about anything. I was encouraged to be strong, to speak out, to be independent. But then my father would go around the table and say, "this is family business, do you understand that this does not go outside the family?" And he'd go around the table and say, "Do you understand? Do you understand? Do you understand?" Because we were allowed to talk about anything within the family circle. But not if there were strangers. Because a lot of the things that were going on were very illegal.
Appendix J

SUGGESTIONS FOR EDITING AND REVISIONING
LIFE STORY DOCUMENT

The life story document will present your life history data within the context of the dissertation. It will appear in the dissertation as its own separate chapter. Your life story document serves two purposes within the context of the dissertation. It provides:

a) a forum for telling your life story; it therefore has a story line dimension;

b) a forum for providing the reader with anecdotes drawn from the raw data we collected which are illustrative of the themes and categories we collaboratively generated.

I have pulled this draft of your life story document together by adhering to the two purposes (a & b) mentioned above. I now need to incorporate any revisions you wish to make. Your revisions are vital because the document you return will be what gets reproduced as a chapter within my dissertation.

I have prepared some suggestions to assist you in the final editing the attached draft of your life history documents. You may or may not wish to use to them.
STEP 1: Feel Free To:

a) rephrase your data in order to improve reader friendliness or to make the text resonate more in keeping with your own voice

b) pull in more raw data (from your raw data notebook) which you feel needs to be included to better illustrate and describe the themes we have identified, or pull in data which you think enhances the story line dimension; this would be an important component of restoring meaning I have diluted out by my selection of the raw data I would like to see included in your life story document

c) pull in any themes you generated which I overlooked

STEP 2: Try Not To:

a) generate new themes

b) generate new data

c) edit the themes I've generated

A critical consideration here is that our present task is to focus what we have thus far generated so we can bring it to closure. The path we are following could be best described this way:

We opened up the inquiry by casting a wide net as we collected your life story. We are now in the phase of focusing the inquiry and bringing it to closure. Your life story will never really be closed. But for the purposes of this project, there does needs to be an end point. That is where we are now at the end point--and we are fine tuning the end product which is comprised of raw data and themes that we generated over a specific period of time. It would, therefore, be inappropriate at this point to generate new
data, themes, categories, or analytical comments which have subsequently emerged for you.

STEP 3: Try not to:

a) delete data

b) delete themes, categories or analytical comments

We have already deleted the data you did not wish to appear in the dissertation. If, at this point, you are still feeling the need to delete themes, categories or data we have generated, please ask yourself the following question, "Will this data, theme, etc. injure me (or someone else) if I share it?" If the answer is yes, feel free to delete.

I would like to take a minute to briefly summarize why I believe it is important not to delete material from your life story document at this point. As you know, this document is a distillate of the raw data we gathered. The final, revised document represents our collaborative attempt to organize the data we think is most important--the highlights. If the highlights I perceive get stripped out at this point, so will some of the richness and meaning of your story--at least in the way I have heard it.
Appendix K-1

EXECERPTS FORM ELIZABETH'S RELEASE LETTER

January 19, 1990

Dear Cindy:

The impact of this study on my life has been multi-faceted. First, the review of my life and identification of repeating patterns enabled me to locate and slay the dragon. Second, defining and acknowledging these patterns freed me to make changes for the future and take advantage of my second chance in life. Third, as a "woman of a certain age" I feel I am able to go forward and realize my dreams.

Thank you for giving me the opportunity to participate in this study.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth McGuire
Appendix K-2

MUTUAL RELEASE FORM

(Devised by Steve, Elizabeth & Cindy)

I ________________________________, hereby authorize Cindy Snyder to utilize my life story document-(as presented to her as my final revision of my contribution to Chapter IV on February 20, 1990)–which we have collaboratively generated—for use in her dissertation titled: A Praxis-Oriented Poststructural Exploration of the Ways in which Grounded and A Priori Psychosocial Theories Can be Used to Inform Each Other. The undersigned also agree that Cindy Snyder is authorized to utilize only agreed-upon excerpts from my data within the dissertation’s Appendices (Appendices: B, E, F, G, I, K-1, K-2, N, P, Q, & Y). The undersigned also agree that Cindy Snyder will not use any of the data pertaining to my life story, excepting only above-described dissertation at any point in the future without my prior express written consent.

______________________________
(Signature)

______________________________
Date

______________________________
(Signature)

______________________________
Date
Appendix L

MUTUAL RELEASE FORM

(Devised by Lily)

I hereby authorize Cindy Snyder to utilize my life story document—(as presented to her as my final revision of my contribution to Chapter V on February 5, 1990)—which we have collaboratively generated—for use in her dissertation. I also authorize her to utilize agreed-upon excerpts from my triangulated data within the dissertation's Appendices: S, T, and U. It is my understanding that Cindy will not use any of the data which pertains to my life story in any form other than the dissertation (such as a book, article, etc) at any point in the future without my written consent.

__________________________________________
Signature

__________________________________________
Date

__________________________________________
Signature

__________________________________________
Date

570
Appendix M

STEVE’S TRIANGULATION INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What events stand out for you when you think back about your relationship with Elizabeth?

2. Has your relationship with Elizabeth changed over the course of the time that you have known her. If yes, in what ways?

3. Is there anything you would like to add to what we have talked about today which would help a reader of Elizabeth’s life story better understand her?
EXCERPTS FROM TRIANGULATION SESSION WITH STEVE
8/19/89

File Note: Steve is Elizabeth's friend; she sometimes refers to him as her adopted son. He is in his middle/late thirties.

C: Let's start with the first question: What events stand out for you when you think back about your relationship with Elizabeth?

S: I think whether Elizabeth would give credit for this or not, I'm not sure; but at one point in time, my mother and I had really not seen eye to eye in our relationship. In fact our relationship was--until just before she passed away--very strained. And Elizabeth had always been a good friend of my mother's. And to a certain extent there were times when Elizabeth stepped in and filled a void between my mother and myself. She made herself available to listen and do things like that. And she always did this in a non-judgmental way which was nice--as compared with my mother who was very opinionated concerning what I was doing.

And there was a point in time I had left the Marine Corps, and left the highway patrol, I had gotten a divorce, and I was going to school. I was going to transfer to Ohio University; I was basically living on the G.I. bill. Elizabeth offered me the
opportunity to stay with her at her house and to do things like cut the grass and do various chores around the house--finishing off the basement, hanging dry wall--that kind of stuff--in exchange for room and board. That really helped me in the fact that I was able to finish my bachelor's degree in two and a half years.

And there were long periods of time when I wouldn't see Elizabeth or talk with her for six or seven months. And for one reason or another, that was appropriate. And now our relationship is much stronger and closer. When I come to Columbus--which is usually once or twice a month--I try to come down and talk to her. And she stops by and sees me when she's going up North. She has relatives in Pennsylvania.

Elizabeth is very....secretive isn't really the word. But she's not open with a lot of the things that have happened in her life. Even though I would consider myself to be a good friend of hers, there are things that have happened that I had no knowledge of or understanding of. Because she just doesn't say anything to anybody about them. For one reason or another, not long ago she told me that she had married Nick. Now when I was living with her, completing my undergraduate degree, I think that took place.

C: And you had no knowledge of it?
S: I did but I didn't. Elizabeth had mentioned his name. And for one reason or another, when she told me that she had been married to him, I said, "I know." Because I think something
had come up in a conversation at one point in time, and I put two and two together and assumed that they had gotten married; but I didn't pry.

C: And Elizabeth never brought it up?

S: No. Which is consistent with a lot of the other things she didn't...I mean, she can be a very closed book if she wants to be.

C: I don't know a lot about the business venture you and Elizabeth are going into, but I'm sure your legal background has been helpful. And it sure has been helpful to us to have you in the background as we've been working on Elizabeth's life history. I worry at times about confidentiality issues.

S: Oh yeah. Not to worry. Elizabeth came up one time and handed me a portion of what had been written. And when I read that, it was the first time that I knew half of the material that was in it. I didn't know very much about any of it.

C: Well this has been so interesting to hear how your friendship with Elizabeth evolved. It has unusual origins in that it really began through your mother's friendship with Elizabeth.

S: It was very interesting the way that worked. Because I think there was a point and time when she was more of a mother to me than my mother. Whether she wanted to be or not--I don't know if she had a choice. But she was. And while we were talking together today, we were noting how our personalities seem to complement each other in some respects. There are some things that I do very well. I like to fight--verbal fights-the
litigation battle—which is what I do for a living. I think that can be fun. But in my personal relationships, I would rather not.

Elizabeth has told me in the past, and I think it's true--looking back on the times that she's had--she had discussed with me a lot of her problems with the school system in the past. And I told her, "It sounds like you have an excellent case if you want to litigate." But she was not, at that time, willing to do so. I know that I have been in situations not as confrontational as hers, and I've gladly gone into battle. Because when someone attacks me personally or professionally, it really bothers me. And I may never get a resolution of it directly, but I will want to if I can do so. So in that respect I would say that I am the fighter and she is not.

I would agree that our relationship has evolved in a most interesting way.

C: Well the last question is, "Is there anything else that you'd like to say that might help us analyze Elizabeth's life over the past seven years?

S: I think it's fascinating that she's opened up to you in this regard.

C: I know, I feel very privileged in that sense.

S: I had always considered myself to be relatively closed to people--and whether this is a voluntary trait I'm not sure--but when I read the section of the book Elizabeth gave me, I was just amazed and shocked at what had occurred that I never
knew anything about; and I always thought I was one of Elizabeth's closest friends; and she never told me any of it.

C: I think most people probably have secret aspects. It takes tremendous courage to go through a process like this, where those secret doors get opened.

S: Right. It's like going into recesses and not just peeking in, but really looking around inside yourself to see what's going on.

C: I really appreciate you being so open; I know how hard it is to do that with someone you don't know very well. Do you have any final thoughts?

S: No, I think that's all.

TAPE OFF
Appendix O

MARK'S TRIANGULATION INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. I'd like you to think back on your childhood years, before you started grammar school and tell me about some of your most vivid memories.

2. What stands out for you when you think back about the rest of your childhood years--from age 6-12?

3. What events stand out for you when you think back about your teenage years?

4. How would you describe your relationship with your mother? Has it changed over the course of time? If so, in what ways?

5. How would you describe your relationship with your father? Has it changed over the course of time? If so, in what ways?

6. Is there any other person who has impacted upon your life significantly?
7. Do you have any particular dream or fantasy about the future?

8. I know you spent some time at the end of this summer in Pennsylvania. Could you tell me a little about the kinds of things you did and what the town and farm life is like?
File Note: Mark is Elizabeth's seventeen year old son.

C: The first question I was going to ask you was if you could think back about your real early childhood memories, up to the age of about five, and tell me about any particularly vivid memories you might have.

M: I remember my parents fighting a lot. That's all.

C: Let's move the time frame forward and think about the time span from when you started school, let's say kindergarten until age twelve, before you hit your teens. What events stand out for you during these years?

M: My dad moved out of the house when I was in first grade. I do remember that night when he left. He was trying to tell me out in the car. He was driving around and trying to tell me that he was leaving; but he didn't really know how to tell it. And at the time, I didn't understand what it was he was trying to tell me. And then he left. I didn't understand it, but I knew my mom was really upset, and I couldn't understand why.
I remember we didn't have very much money after dad left. And every week-end, mom would plan one thing, like we'd get a pizza, we'd go to a movie, go to the ice cream shop. We'd do one special thing a week. I remember that.

When my parents, separated, I really didn't understand what was happening, it wasn't until third grade that I could really see what happened. At the time it happened I didn't think about it a lot.

C: Well what about your teenage years? What stands out about the years from when you turned a teenager, until now? I know you're going to be eighteen in just a few months.

M: The biggest change was in the way I came to look at myself. There's a huge difference between the way I looked at myself when I was thirteen and the way I look at myself now; it's just totally different.

C: How so?

M: When I moved in with my dad, I had to go to a different school—Union School. And everybody there thought I was an idiot. Everybody thought that, and they said it, and I started to believe it.

C: Is this when you were thirteen?

M: Right. Dad didn't really care what people thought about me. I tried to talk about it with him a couple of times. I was always getting into trouble—for really no reason a lot of times. The thing I think triggered it off was when I went to Pennsylvania. I had never been around girls much. And I met JoEllen, who is my girl friend right now. And when I came back home, I had a lot of
self confidence; this was when I was still thirteen. And my dad didn't like me being self-confident. Every chance he had to cut me back down he took; he'd say, you can't do this, I'm the one in power who decides what you're going to do. And a lot of times I'd get mad and say, "No, I'm not going to do it!" And that would just make him that much angrier.

And the other problem is, my step-mother blows stuff out of proportion. Once she said that I was being an unruly child because I didn't take out the trash. My dad took all my tapes--my music--away as punishment. That was what was most important to me. He knows I like my music more than anything else. That's why he picked that as my punishment; he took away the thing that meant the most to me. He tries to figure out what's important and take that thing away.

One day I went down into his study and took all my tapes back and hid them in my room. That infuriated him, and he said we were going to move out--just me and him. I got to wondering what he was talking about. I said, "Dad your crazy. And I left." That's when I moved back with my mom. That whole incident about moving out of the house didn't make any sense to me.

C: How old were you when this happened?
M: I was fifteen.
C: And you lived with your mom until just recently.
M: Right. Up until a few months ago.
C: So how was that period when you were living with your mom?
M: It was better in some ways and worse in others. My mom and I get in so many fights and arguments. I'm closer to her than I am my dad, but we're real different. I do stuff, and I don't mean to make her mad, but she gets angry. She gets mad about little things—that is things which seem little to me—and I get mad about things that seem little to her.

C: Now how did this came to pass that you moved back with your dad a few months ago?

M: Well my mom was going to school. And she'd come home a lot of the times and be angry. I began to think she really didn't want me there. And I knew it wasn't because she hated me or anything like that. So I decided to go live with my dad to give her a break. I'll be eighteen soon, and I want to leave my dad's when I'm eighteen. I want to be out on my own then.

I didn't start really caring about myself until I was about fourteen.

C: How did this change come about?

M: That was around the time that I first realized, "You're a person darn it! Dad tries to rule you, but you rule you. Nobody but you. And he can't make your decisions for you."

My dad only does things that benefit him. For instance, with this car I just got, he said he'd help me make minor repairs, and he hasn't done one thing yet. When I wrecked it in Pennsylvania, JoEllen's mother lent me two hundred dollars to fix it. Dad didn't even tell her thank you. She got so mad about that; she said she was going to call him and tell him off on the phone. It was just the
fact he didn’t say thank you for that. I thanked them; and I'm paying them back. My dad knows that; he knows everything that happened and I still can't believe he wouldn't say thank you. To me it seems selfish. I consider myself to be an adult already.

C: You impress me as being very mature.

M: It's just that I've had to make so many decisions. Decisions that could have had serious consequences. Like the time I rode my bike to Pennsylvania--that was a big thing because I did it all on my own.

C: You rode your bike all the way to Pennsylvania from here? How old were you when you did that?

M: I was sixteen, I had just gotten my driver's license.

C: Was this a motorcycle?

M: No just a regular bicycle.

C: And your parents knew about it?

M: Right. Nobody could believe it. To me, after I had done it, it was nothing. I thought, "no big deal." But the people in Pennsylvania thought that my parents were irresponsible for letting me do that. They said, "You're just giving him an excuse to go out and get killed. It's just asking for trouble letting him do that."

C: It probably ended up helping you to build a lot of self confidence.

M: Yes it did. It showed me I could do things on my own and not get hurt.

C: Now you've mentioned age fourteen as being a kind of turning point in thinking differently about yourself and beginning
to move in the direction of becoming more independent. What was it like before you turned fourteen?

M: Well, the message I got from my dad was, "You're no good." That was the basic message. And I didn't think I could do the things I wanted to do. He gave me the idea that I wasn't getting good grades because I couldn't. He'd tell me I was going to end up shoveling garbage.

C: Has your relationship changed much with your mom over time?

M: Yes. I think a lot more of her now than I did when I was younger.

C: Like how?

M: When I was little, I thought of my parents just as parents. They weren't much else. Later on, I came to think of my mom as more of a friend. I think my mom is a lot smarter than my dad. She takes more risks. My dad is always preoccupied with finances. That's all he really cares about is his money. At least it seems that way; the majority of the time, his concerns are money related. My mom really doesn't care about things like that; it doesn't matter. Because you can have all of the money in the world, but if people don't care about you, what good is it going to do you? When you die, you're not going to be able to take your money with you.

Basically, my mom and I are good friends now.

C: I could sure pick up on that as we were driving over here in the car.
I was going to ask you if you had any particular fantasy or dream about what you'd like to achieve in life. You've already mentioned this a bit—about pursuing a career in electronics and your music. Is there anything else?

M: Just basically being happy. I see my dad in his situation; and he isn't happy with what he's got.

C: What would you do different so you didn't end up that way?

M: I'd be myself. My dad can't be himself because I don't think he even knows who he is. He's always worried about his financial condition; he could have a million dollars and he'd still be worried about it. To me, I don't worry about things like that--I just expect to be happy with myself.

C: I wanted to ask you about this past summer when you went to Pennsylvania. I wanted to ask about what you did there.

M: I spent most of my time there fixing the car.

C: When did you get the car?

M: I got it in late June.

C: Drove it up?

M: Yes, I drove it up to Pennsylvania, and the second day I was there I flipped it. It didn't do much damage to the car; and people helped me fix it. At my grandfather's, we vaccinated cows.

C: Can you tell me just a little bit about what the farm's like and what the town is like, and people's life style there?
M: It's really pretty. Everybody knows everybody else's business; it's really gossipy. Just because I go up there everybody thinks JoEllen is supposed to feel privileged.

C: Why?

M: Because I'm from so far away. And because I'm so different. When I go up there, people see things I do as being strange; like I shouldn't be driving all the way up there. And when I go up there, I don't want to hang around all day. I want to go to Erie or to Pittsburgh, or somewhere. They think it's great to hang out at home and just sit around. And I'm not like that, I get tired of it, and I want to go do something.

C: Is this a little like the town your dad lives in.

M: A little bit. But it's worse. Because it's all closed up. And it's not really a very prosperous place. It's like a place you kind of get stuck in. I really don't like it that much; there's a lot of nasty things about it.

C: Like what?

M: Like the cops give favoritism to people. If you know people around there, you're considered all right, and if you don't your not. That's the way it's always been, and that's the way it's always going to be.

C: So there's no one there you're particularly close to other than your uncle and JoEllen?

M: Right. I don't hang out with my uncles much that live right in that general area, because they're always arguing about
things. I don't think that relatives should live that close together in the first place.

C: It sounds like your glad your mother got out of there.

M: I sure am. I don't think she liked it either, because she doesn't like going up there. I like being around my grandfather sometimes, he doesn't care what other people thing and he does what he wants to.

C: Well that was the last of my questions. Did you have anything else you wanted to add?

M: Not really.

TAPE OFF
Appendix Q

ELIZABETH'S TRIANGULATION PHOTO SESSION

7/13/89

E: I don't have many pictures of the family, but I do have some which I brought today. I organized them into groups so it would be easier to talk about them. It looks like I brought way too many, but I think if we just focus in on what the grouping represents it will be easier. So as I sorted through these pictures, it started to regenerate me thinking about life strands or themes.

C: Well let's look at them right now.

E: All right. I really would like to show them to you. I want to find the right group of pictures to start here. This is family. That's a picture of my mother.

C: Did she grow up in this county?

E: Yes, within a mile of the house. This is mother on her horse; and here she is with all her children. Now it is a strange situation because she was a woman who had all of these things ahead of her, and when she married, it just destroyed her life.

C: How so?

E: Well she was presented with so many opportunities early on. She was well educated. She had been to a private school; she had been to boarding school since she was in seventh grade.

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She had had summers at Chataquea, which was another place we often vacationed.

I want to show you the IRA background.

C: This picture just kind of says it all (man with gun).

E: Oh, there's another one here too, that says it all. Now these men would be well known on FBI lists. This was a cousin of my father's who was heavily involved in the IRA, and he has two sons. Only one of them is living now, but he was a very vibrant man when I was growing up. This is my grandmother's brother. He also was heavily involved in the IRA. And remember they smuggled whiskey and guns during the 1920's and 30's. This is another one, and this boy also grew up to be in the IRA. This is my grandfather on my father's side; and he had IRA connections and criminal ties as well. And this is my father's sister. This is a great uncle or my grandfather's brother on my father's side. And he was very much on the wanted list. He didn't dare venture into upstate New York or Pennsylvania. See, they went into Cuba and South America and trafficked all kinds of things; guns, whiskey, revolution. This was a doctor who was my grandfather's cousin. And he is really well known; he was a very talented doctor--but he transported revolution into two or three South American countries.

This is my mother with my grandfather and grandmother--they're going somewhere.

C: Look at those beautiful horses. Those were Percherons?

E: No, they were a draft cross.

C: They're a perfectly matched pair of dappled greys.
E: It says on the back when it was taken; 1916. It also says the horses names--Major and Colonel.

My grandmother was one of seven children; and all of those children were involved with the IRA.

C: What are the implications of us talking about this in our research?

E: There are no problems; because all of these people are dead. This is a picture of my protector.

C: Your grandfather?

E: No. His name was Hiram. He was Esther Anne's husband. And he was extremely strong in the IRA.

This is my father. That's out back; there was this tall bank and then it went down into the fields. We lived on this side of the valley; and that's where they're shooting.

This is me when I was little. That was with Hiram.

C: What are you wearing there?

E: I had a little tiny robe--it was a special little robe Esther Anne had made for me.

C: It's beautiful.

E: Now this is me. This is my cousin Emily from New York. They were very, very wealthy. They were my father's family. There was a lot of money in his family.

C: This picture is taken in such an idyllic setting.

E: Oh, it's beautiful there. Now this is Floyd and I. I thought you might get a chuckle out of it.

C: You look like you could have been a real little witch to him.
E: Thanks very much. I was definitely in control of that situation.

C: Don't you just look like you have him in line there?

E: Oh, of course.

C: Is this you? (gasping)

E: Yes this is me.

C: Did they dress you like that when you were a child?

E: No, we were playing dress up. I love clothes; and I did as a child. There were all of these old 1920 bead dresses we dressed up in. That was a girl that was visiting in the summer--a distant cousin. We had relatives visiting all summer long.

C: But not any little girls your age.

E: This is my senior picture.

C: Oh you're beautiful!

E: This is my wedding picture. It was taken about three years after the graduation picture. So this is the beginning of the transition period (leaving high school) and this is at the end.

C: You didn't know what you were getting into did you?

E: No way.

C: You look so innocent in these pictures.

E: I was. I was very innocent.

C: And so, so beautiful. This could be a cover girl advertisement.

E: But I never knew I was attractive. I mean, I knew I was attractive, but I never really knew--looking back now.
Now this is a picture of husband number one on my wedding day.

C: Did you have a small wedding? It looks small.

E: Yes it was very private. I didn't think any of my family would be there.

C: That's what it looks like; there's just a bride and groom.

E: Oh, this is a picture of me on the first pony I ever trained. Remember I told you the incident about the guy stopping me on the bus?

E: Isn't that awful? Talk about fat. That was just before we got divorced. This was about as fat as I ever got. This is my last picture with my teachers.

Here I am in Albion. This is the first class I ever taught. I'm not nineteen yet—not until that November. The teacher left before the first six weeks were up and these were my first kids.

C: They're mentally retarded?

E: Right.

C: Look at the age range in these kids.

E: Oh yeah. That was unbelievable. Now these were the other teachers I taught with at the same time.

C: You must have had so much to manage with these kids; different ages and I'll bet real different abilities.

E: It was a handful. This is in Laurelville--this is where I did the thing with chickens.

C: Who are they?
E: This is me with some students. We did an egg drop off the top of a building.

C: What's an egg drop?

E: They had to package their egg so that it would fall from a five story building and not break. That was a science experiment.

C: The kids look like they were having a ball.

E: Oh, they did. We did outdoor education and I did all kinds of stuff with them.

Now these are other professional kinds of pictures. This is me as a principal. These are the kinds of activities that were going on in my building.

C: Oh look at this!

E: This is the birthday cake. We built playground equipment. And this is the final thing on the school's birthday--where people made the sign "Riverview High" and the plane flew over and took a picture of us. This is us singing the school song.

C: These pictures just say it all don't they?

E: Yes, this is the way it was. It's helpful for me to look back on all this. The attitude of some of my colleagues was "let's tear down her achievements by trivializing them."

This is a picture of Williamsburg at Christmas when we did the whole palace. This is a picture of the arts festival I put on. We had six thousand pieces of art. These are the kinds of things that went on in my building. This is a breakfast at Christmas for teachers, staff and parents. There was never a month when there
wasn't a student play. This is part of the arts festival that went on every year.

C: Everybody looks so happy in these pictures.

E: We had three thousand people attending this arts festival. I organized it. When I was a supervisor, I had twenty people that I trained. Here they are making geo-boards. We had to collect thousands of egg cartons.

C: What are geo-boards?

E: People donated wire, teachers pounded nails; I wrote grants to help pay for it.

C: What do these geo-boards do?

E: They are used to teach space and mapping skills in science.

This is a picture of me working with the Chamber of Commerce. We started out building a nature trail. These are the kinds of things you do as a principal. You get kids organized, you build a community. We computerized the library and we had a school-wide luau to celebrate it. I fed the ninety parents who had participated.

This is hat day. Everybody came in a hat they made. Something was going on all of the time.

And these were articles that appeared in the paper--talking about my science program. This is a picture of Dr. Crane. These illustrate the kinds of things you do as a building principal.

C: You know it just occurred to me; we could you use this process of looking at photos for triangulating data. It's so easy to
say, "I really had parents involved with the school" and to think it and believe it. But here are the pictures.

E: Besides pictures, I had a lot of statistics that showed I had the largest parent/community involvement; I had the most money--I wrote about twenty-five grants. And yet, to have talked to Brown, after he went down to interview some of my colleagues at Riverview, the perception was that I had done nothing.

TAPE OFF
Appendix R

JOHN & EMILY'S TRIANGULATION

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Why do you think your mother decided to go to graduate school?

2. Do you remember when your mom first started talking about wanting to go to graduate school?

3. How did you feel about your mom going to graduate school?

4. Has anything changed for you since your mom's been back in school?

5. Has your relationship with your mom changed since she's been back in school?

6. Has your mom's role within the family changed much since she's been back in school?

7. What's the hardest adjustment you've had to make since your mom's been back in school?

8. What do you think is the hardest adjustment your father has had to make since your mom's been back in school?
9. What do you think the hardest adjustment is your mom's had to make since she's been back in school?

10. Do you think your mom has changed at all since she's been back in school? (If yes, in what ways?).
Appendix S

EXCERPTS FROM TRIANGULATION SESSION WITH JOHN

6/29/88

File Note: John is Lily's twelve year old son.

C: The first question I wanted to ask you is why you think your mom decided to go back to school last year.

J: Because she was staying at home for a very long time and then she was going to get a job but she didn't really like it because she wasn't going to get paid very much. It was like working at a McDonalds or something like that. So she wanted to go back to school so that she could get a better job, one that she liked.

C: So when do you first remember her talking about it?

J: I don't really remember her talking about it. I do remember her all of a sudden going to school and stuff like that, I don't remember her her talking about it.

C: How has the family been affected by your mom going back to school; let's just focus on this last year.

J: My mom has been kind of cranky. She has a lot of stress. And the money's been real tight because she has to pay for her school. And like all of the money would come from my dad because all of her money goes for school. And then my dad would help out. And they'd always be talking about the money and how much it

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costs to go, and where they're going to get the money and who is going to help pay for it. Stuff like that.

C: What kinds of things does your mom get cranky about?

J: Just little things like leaving wet rags on the sink or things like that. She isn't home very much and when she comes home and the whole place is all messed up, she feels bad because she went back to school and the house is a mess because she's not home to clean it up. She feels bad because the house is such a mess.

C: How have things changed around the house since your mom's been back in school?

J: Well, my mom tells my dad what to do sometimes, instead of my dad telling my mom. And she's started saying stuff about male chauvinism...stuff like that.

C: What's male chauvinism?

J: It's like a male who believes and acts like the men are better than the women. And like the women should just sit at home and make babies and do housecleaning while he's given his freedom; the woman's kind of like a waitress.

So, now, if my dad asks her to get out the milk she goes, "you get it out yourself."

C: You've kind of touched on this already, maybe you could think about it a little more, how has your mom's role within the family changed?

J: She's a bigger person now. And she owns more of the house. She's like equal to my dad.

C: In terms of like who gets the milk out of the refrigerator?
J: Yeah. And like she's more happy too. Because her studying usually takes her bad thoughts off her mind.

C: Like what kind of bad thoughts?

J: Little things like the wet rag.

C: You mean the studying keeps her mind focused on more important ideas?

J: Yeah. And then her only problems are like study problems...and they're not like house problems--like the wet rag--they're study problems and after awhile she doesn't even care about the wet rag. She just gets very involved with study problems.

C: What's a study problem?

J: She'll say, "I haven't had very much time to work on this and it's due tomorrow, and I have twelve pages to work on, you guys have to be quiet." Stuff like that. And you know she'll just bounce over the wet rag business. And she can be nice sometimes when she wants us to be quiet. But she'll also get upset real easily if we play music too loud or something.

C: So you know when your mom's studying? She goes in her own study room?

J: Yeah. She has a downstairs study room.

C: And when she goes into that room you're not to bother her?

J: Yeah we just go off and play.

C: How does that make you feel? Does that feel bad to know she's studying?
J: No it makes me feel good. Because she's not around complaining about the wet rag and other stuff like that. It makes her feel good too--just to be studying. Like I can go downstairs and bring her a glass of ice water, and she'll be real nice and stuff.

C: Oh, do you do that? Take her glasses of ice water?

J: Yes. She likes it a lot.

C: What's been the hardest adjustment you've had to make with your mom back in school?

J: Just the money. Like we can't go out to eat. You'll be in the store and you'll want something and you can't get it.

C: What do you think the hardest adjustment is your dad has had to make?

J: Both the money and my mom not being home. And her independence.

C: Has he talked to you about that?

J: No. He never talks to me about anything like that. He kind of keeps it to himself. But you can tell that he doesn't like it that much, I don't think...

C: He doesn't like her being in school?

J: He doesn't like her being so independent. I don't know, my mom just feels real independent away from my dad and that makes him upset.

C: I wonder why?

J: Because he used to have her just where he wanted her. He'd come home and there's his wife, and after she went back to
school she was never home. And when she was home, she was studying or thinking about something else...not him.

C: Do you feel differently about your mom since she's been in school?

J: I talk back to her more now. She takes it easier now. Before she'd ground me and do stuff like that.

C: Why do you talk back more now? Is it it where you are now?

J: I think it does have more to do with where I am.

C: You're twelve years old?

J: Yeah.

C: So you go through your own problems when you're twelve?

J: Yeah. It also made me mad when she fussed about the wet rag. And I'm trying to do my stuff. And she's making me do even more of her stuff.

C: Yeah we've talked about a lot of the adjustments your dad has had to make; what about your sister? What kind of adjustments has she had to make?

J: Well she feels a whole lot more independent. And she's turned more masculine. Because my mom isn't around. She's turned into a jock track runner. That's after school when my mom isn't home. She doesn't want to come home either, because she always has a problem with coming home when my parents are gone.

So she turned more masculine because she's with my dad more than my mom and mom doesn't tell her to wear barrettes or
stuff like that so she just lets her hair hang down and doesn't care very much.

And she doesn't wear dresses anymore, she just wears jeans. And she doesn't wear socks sometimes. For her that isn't very good because she's just a kid. She wears gym shoes instead of dressier shoes. But her playing the cello, that's helped her turn a little bit more feminine because she has to wear dresses and that's something that more girls do. It makes her feel more like a girl, playing the cello and wearing dresses and being with the other girls. But the track kind of took away from that.

C: Are there any other reasons it's more important for her to be in school?

M. Yeah. Because it makes her feel better about herself. And it makes her learn more about outside life. She can take more.

C: Take more?

J: Like say my sister came home and she was pregnant.

C: Oh, she could cope with things better?

J: Yeah.

C: Did we talk about how you've benefited by your mom going back to school?

J: Yeah. But I can say a little more about that. It helped me to feel better because my mom feels better. And it helped me to feel more independent. Like before I was super shy and I didn't deal with friends very well.

Last year I was in more trouble in school. And I didn't like that.
C: What kind of trouble?

J: I talked back to the teachers at the beginning of the year, I didn't do any work in health, no work at all and there were like twenty assignments and I didn't do any of it. I just kept thinking I would do all the assignments just before they were due. But that never happened. It was just the same old story, not doing the work, putting it off, then at the end of the year I thought I was going to be in trouble because I didn't do hardly any work the whole last nine weeks.

C: Well do you think this trouble you've been in had anything to do with your mom being in school or does it get back to being twelve years old?

J: I think it's a little of both. I just started getting interested in girls during the second part of the year and I did more talking than working in school. But at home, they'd start fighting just on the day I planned to start working on my homework. Or they'd be making me do stuff with the wet rag or something. Or clean up the dog poop or something. Or yell at me for not doing the dishes.

C: Do you plan to go to college some day?

J: Yeah, definitely.

C: When did you start thinking about that?

J: When my mom started to go. She's really inspired me to try to better in school, which I didn't really do, but I wanted to. Because she was doing well and it made me want to go to college and I've already decided I want to be a psychiatrist. I want to be one because of what my mom's doing and doing something like that
would really help people. My mom will read me chapters out of her books and that definitely made me want to be a psychiatrist.

My mom told me that if I get just one bad grade next year, that will make it harder to go.

C: Well how does that affect you plans for next year?
J: I plan to do really well.
C: Well I don't really have anything else to ask you...
J: O.K.
TAPE OFF
Appendix T

EXCERPTS FROM TRIANGULATION SESSION WITH EMILY

6/29/88

File Note: Emily is Lily's fourteen year old daughter.

C: The first question I wanted to ask you was why you thought your mom decided to come back to school.

E: I think that she went back to school because she thought that she needed to do something that would make her feel that she could provide for us. And she also needed to do something that would make her feel good about herself; when she was at home, she really wanted to go back to school. And social work is something that she's been interested in for a long time. She likes to help people. She likes to talk with people about their problems.

C: When do you first remember your mom talking about wanting to go back to school?

E: She tried to get into school a couple of years ago; maybe five or six years ago and she couldn't get in. And a little bit before that, I'd say about six months before that she started to talk about going back to school.

C: How did you feel about it at the time?

E: Well I was only about nine years old then, and at that point I didn't really want her to go back, because I was young and I still
needed her at home. But as I got older, I realized that she needed
to do it, and that she wanted to do it, and I was old enough to take
care of myself. I began to understand why she needed to go to
school. See, she had depended on dad, and she needed an outlet so
she wouldn't have to depend on him so much. So it was kind of an
independence thing.

She's feeling more confident about herself now. Especially
with her grades. She has a higher self concept since she's been in
school. She feels that she's really accomplished something and that
makes everybody feel better.

C: Everybody in the family?
E: Yes.

C: How have things changed around the house since your
mom's been in school?
E: Well I used to be able to do things after school, but since
she wouldn't be home, I have to come home and take the dog
out...well I didn't have to but I wanted to....to help mom out. And I
couldn't go anywhere after school, I had to stay home until my
brother came home, and I had to just keep over things.

C: Has your relationship with your mom changed?
E: It depends on what kind of a mood she's in because she's
under a lot of stress. When she comes home from her school field
placement, she needs to settle down. She gets mad easier, but not
all of the time. When we bother her when she's studying, she really
gets mad. So it's just when she first gets home from a hard day or
when she's studying that things are different, otherwise, they are just the same.

C: I know that mothers who go back to school and have to study have different ways of working it out with their children. How have you guys worked that out? When your mom needs to study?

E: Well when she studies, she goes into her room downstairs. And the door is usually shut and you can hear little tapes and stuff. You know, tape recorders.

C: Does that make you feel shut out?

E: It used to, but now I realize that she really has to do it to get through school, and I'm glad she's back in school. Because now she feels better about herself, and she likes to talk about what happened in school. When she was at home, she usually didn't have anything to say. I'd say, "How was your day mom?" and she didn't have anything to say because she'd just been at home and hadn't really done anything she wanted to talk about. But now, when I ask her how her day was, she goes on and on about how great it was or how bad it was. She has lots to talk about. And I get really happy about it.

My grades are all over the place so mom's good grades have made me set more goals for myself. Because I know she's already set her goals, and she's going really far with them. So I decided that if she could go that far, then I could probably go as far as she could. And it just made me open up and realize that I need to get good grades to get into college...and just get good grades all around.
C: Has your mom's role within the family changed much since she's been in school?

E: My dad has to play mom sometime.

C: Like in what ways?

E: Well, in getting things ready. And he likes to get things done for my mom so she can relax. He sets the table. Or I do that. He makes dinner when she's not home on time. We help out. And things that she used to do for us, we do for ourselves now. She's still a good mother. But she just doesn't spend as much time at home.

C: What's the hardest adjustment you think you've had to make since your mom's been back in school?

E: Getting used to her time schedule has been hard. And also getting used to her being so tired when she gets home from her field placement has been hard.

C: What do you think is the hardest adjustment your mom has had to make since she's been back in school?

E: The money situation is pretty rough. Because school nowadays really costs a lot. She's had to get a job while she's been in school, she's really had to work hard to get money to pay for school. Also the stress has been a hard adjustment. But I think the money has been the hardest adjustment.

C: What do you think has been the hardest adjustment for your dad?

E: Well he's had to have two jobs since my mom's been in school. So he has to provide for my mom and pay for us. But it's
not like my mom doesn't have any money of her own and is totally dependent.

I think I've matured a lot more than if she'd just stayed home. I wouldn't have had the chance to be challenged. And she's taught me how to handle a job, she sits me down in her room and says, here's how to write a resume. She's taught me how to manage my money, and she told me how to get a bank account--I got one last week. She tells me, "Don't spend all of your money when you get it, take half and save it." And now that were having problems with the money, I have to save all I can--keep it in the bank so it's not tempting to spend it. I'm going to buy school supplies and clothes to help. So you can see how she teaches us a whole lot.

C: So you feel she's teaching you more now than before she went back to school?

E: Yeah. She's teaching us a lot more about the outside world.

C: You've already mentioned that you plan to go to college someday, and I was wondering if seeing your mom go through the school experience she's been going through has influenced you're college plans in any way.

E: In the past year I decided that I want to be a veterinarian. Even though my mom's in a totally different profession than I want to be in, she has taught me how to broaden my horizons and she really taught me how to manage myself. Looking at her, she has really accomplished a lot and I really want to be like her. Doing so well. I really want to show her that I want to be like her. I really want to be like her because she can handle about everything. She
inspired me because if she hadn't gone back to school, I probably wouldn't be interested in going to college right now.

So she taught me how to open up. And although she hasn't said this directly, she comes across that I shouldn't be so generous that I'm missing out on the world.

C: Generous in terms of starting a family of your own?

E: Yes. She wouldn't want me to rush off and start a family before I'd had my chance with school.

C: The last question I want to ask you is, what might you have done differently if you were in your mother's place with her life to live over again.

E: It's like take the place of mom and see what I would have done differently?

C: Yeah.

E: I wouldn't have done anything differently from what I've seen. I would have done something about going back to school and finishing my education and trying to feel good about myself. So I would not have changed a thing. I would not.

C: That's great. It sounds like your mom has been your role model.

E: Yes. She has. She's really inspired me and I really look up to her. I'm proud of her.

C: Well that's all the questions I had. Can you think of any last things you might want to talk about?

E: Well, I think I've already answered this point a lot already, but if mom hadn't gone back to school, then I probably wouldn't be
as mature as I am now—I don't mean that in a conceited way. But it's true. Mom has taught me how to go out and be somebody. That's just about it.

C: You really do strike me as being very mature.

TAPE OFF
Appendix U

LILY'S TRIANGULATION PHOTO SESSION

5/17/88

L: That's my sister and me when we were kids. I'm about seven or eight there. Mother made those dresses. See? Mother the domestic one? (Laughter). She made us some really pretty dresses as a matter of fact. Those weren't my favorite--they were black velveteen. This is a picture of the house where I grew up.

C. It's extraordinarily beautiful; and the neighborhood appears to be very affluent.

L. It was a nice house. Daddy drew up the plans for that house. He wasn't an architect, but he told the architect exactly what he wanted. This is a picture of Daddy and me building our first brick walk. He did a lot of stuff like that, he was very handy.

Oh that's Niagara Falls. And here's another picture of one of our trips to Annapolis. See, living in this lovely house, going on vacations, having nicely dressed kids...it was my mother's dream.

C. Yes, to have gone from being disadvantaged during the depression to all this.

L. Mother felt that she had to have all this after growing up during The Great Depression. The Depression really affected her psychologically in the sense that she felt humiliated by her family's disadvantaged position; and she had a tremendous amount of pride.
I don't mean to imply that she became extremely materialistic--because she didn't. But she did want to make sure she never ended up disadvantaged again. And she didn't want her kids to be disadvantaged either.

C. Your clothes in all of these pictures are so stylish and pretty.

L. Yes. Storybook. Do you get a sense of that?

C. Absolutely.

L. So this is what I was supposed to replicate. This is what mother was modeling for me.

C. This looks like another Easter shot.

L. No that picture was taken in Annapolis and the other one's Columbus. But it's the same look. Always. This is how the little kids are going to look.

That's Dad the year after mother died at Christmas. It looks like he's sitting there having a happy Christmas, but he's not. See the depression had set in. Can you pick up on that?

C: Yes. Christmas is a hard time anyway for lots of people to get through.

L: Right. That was rough because we all tried to act like we're having fun, and we weren't.

L: This is a picture of John when he was in the hospital--the day he was born. He only weighed four pounds. We both almost died that day. He was two months early, and the reason it was so hard on me medically was I had toxemia and diabetes.

TAPE OFF
Appendix V

LIST OF THEMES AND CATEGORIES LILY
GENERATED DURING DATA ANALYSIS PHASE

1. Feeling intimidated by men
2. Separation anxiety
3. I had a close relationship with my mother
4. The happy memories of childhood
5. The importance of familial relationships and sense of connectedness with family
6. My mother was my role model
7. The importance of family traditions to my sense of well being
8. Sense of limited options—during childhood, I didn't get validation from Mother for any role other than wife and mother.
9. Mother invalidated my dream about becoming a doctor
10. Belief spawned in childhood: I am powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams
11. During the childhood chapter, I came to believe the woman's role was to please the man
12. I wanted to nurture a family of my own and feel needed
13. No communication in family of origin

615
14. Separation from first romantic love

15. High expectations but no exposure to the means of actualizing them

16. Separating from mother

17. The kid has to separate and the mother has to let go

18. Letting others define me

19. Lack of belief in myself

20. During the childhood and high school chapters, I developed a need to please others

21. Separating from the jerk by going off to college

22. Rebelling against a negative identity that I wasn't intelligent (began at the end of my high school chapter)

23. Parents letting outsiders define me when the outsiders didn't even know me; this left me vulnerable to allowing myself to be defined by external sources

24. Maintaining belief spawned in adolescence: I am powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams

25. During high school, I was in the process of forming an adult identity and part of the identity I assumed was that I was not intelligent.

26. Anxiety over typing mistakes

27. The black hole

28. I hadn't managed to develop a sense of instrumentality during the high school chapter

29. My only dream for the future during the high school chapter was to be a wife and mother
30. I got stuck in my separation process from Dad

31. Role confusion; I felt responsible for Dad after Mother died

32. The identity I assumed during the growing up chapter was shaped by parental expectations

33. During the growing up chapter, I began to address the issue of how to set my own boundaries; how to define myself in relation to others

34. Separating from Dad

35. I gave myself permission to grow and move on by separating from Dad

36. Not owning my achievements

37. In adulthood, I operationalized from the underachiever identity I assumed in high school

38. Awareness of time ticking away (begins in growing up chapter)

39. I've always been commitment oriented

40. Meaningfulness of mother/wife role

41. During my settling down chapter, I considered my family to be my only career

42. Increased financial and physical dependency on Jim after the kids are born; this increased dependency on Jim was accompanied by a decrease in my own sense of instrumentality--this was deleterious to my sense of self-esteem

43. Coming out of the black cave. This refers to the process of getting re-engaged in and reconnected with systems outside of the home

44. Being needed by my family was satisfying; it gave me the sense of meaningfulness in my life
45. The need to be needed created somewhat of a dilemma for me. I eventually had to find a way to balance my need to nurture my family with a recognition that I needed to take care of myself too.

46. I discovered that dreams change as does all of life.

47. Identity crisis; my mother role changed as the kids went to school. They no longer needed me in the same way. I was losing part of myself through the loss of that role.

48. Black hole. Mother never modeled how to resolve this identity crisis.

49. I needed to include myself in the list of people who needed to be nurtured.

50. Giving myself permission to grow.

51. The inevitability of role change; Mother never modeled how to reformulate her identity when the kids start to separate.

52. My identity crisis had to do with my need to redefine myself by reformulating my goals.

53. During my crisis, I felt I had to move on; I couldn't turn my back on my own growth process.

54. Sorrow caused by my self-initiated attempt to begin the process of redefining myself generating new goals which would contribute to humanity.

55. Theme: Separation anxiety over a reformulating identity.

56. As a result of my crisis, I developed a strong need to actualize my full potential.

57. When I was rejected from graduate school, I didn't feel I had choices or options.

58. As a result of my crisis and Jim's illness, I understood that I had to start becoming more independent and instrumental.
59. Uncertainty of the future after Jim got sick

60. A part of me resisted making changes and moving on after my crisis and Jim's illness

61. As I reached midlife, I felt whatever potential I had, I better get on the ball and develop it

62. Reformulating belief spawned in adolescence: I am powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams

63. Finding out, during a time of crisis, that I had a whole lot of energy, perseverance and strength that I never before knew I had

64. The kids have to separate, and I have to let go

65. The importance of owning my accomplishments

66. I had to learn to define myself from the inside instead of the outside.

67. Dad never gave up on me

68. Owning and celebrating my achievements
Appendix W

LIST OF THEMES AND CATEGORIES I

GENERATED WHEN ANALYZING LILY'S DATA

SPAWNING BELIEFS

Familial relationships are all-important
--It is important to uphold and pass along family traditions
--My only valid role is to be a wife and mother
--The woman's role is to please the man and nurture the children
--Being a wife and mother is my only dream for the future
--My family will be my only career
--The role of wife and mother will always provide my life with its meaning

Separation is a painful loss
--During separations, things get left behind
--I must resist separations

I am powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams
--I must conform to parental expectations
--I must let others define me

I am not intelligent
--My parents don't believe in me, therefore, I can't believe in myself
--I will always operationalize my identity from the "not intelligent" definition of myself I assembled in high school

Time goes on forever; I don't need to be concerned about my own mortality
MAINTAINING BELIEFS

Familial relationships are all-important
-- It is important to uphold and pass along family traditions
-- My only valid role is to be a wife and mother
-- The woman's role is to please the man and nurture the children
-- Being a wife and mother is my only dream for the future
-- My family will be my only career
-- The role of wife and mother will always provide my life with its meaning

Separation is a painful loss
-- During separations, things get left behind
-- I must resist separations

I am powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams
-- I must conform to parental expectations
-- I must let others define me

I am not intelligent
-- My parents don't believe in me, therefore, I can't believe in myself
-- I will always operationalize my identity from the "not intelligent" definition of myself I assembled in high school

Time goes on forever; I don't need to be concerned about my own mortality
REFORMULATING BELIEFS

Familial relationships are all-important
--It is important to uphold and pass along family traditions
--My only valid role is to be a wife and mother
--The woman's role is to please the man and nurture the children
--Being a wife and mother is my only dream for the future
--My family will be my only career
--The role of wife and mother will always provide my life with its meaning

Maintaining a sense of connection with systems outside of the family unit is also important
--Family traditions which prove to be dysfunctional need to be examined and discarded from the legacy that gets passed on
--I must incorporate other meaningful roles into my life which provide a sense of connection with and contribution to systems outside of the family unit
--The woman's role is to be independent and instrumental
--I need to include myself in the list of people in the family who need to be nurtured
As with all of life, the dream changes
--It is important to make a career contribution outside of my family unit
--Roles change over time as does their meaningfulness
Separation is also a letting go and moving forward
--Separations are inevitable
--Separations can present the opportunity for growth and renewal

I am powerless in relationship to my own wishes, desires and dreams
--I must conform to parental expectations
--I must let others define me

I am the master of my own wishes dreams and desires--I alone am responsible for their actualization
--I must strive to live up to my own expectations of what I am capable of achieving
--I must define myself

Separation is a painful loss
--During separations, things get left behind
--I must resist separations
I am not intelligent
--My parents don't believe in me, therefore, I can't believe in myself
--I will always operationalize my identity from the "not intelligent" definition of myself I assembled in high school

Time goes on forever
--I don't need to be concerned about my own mortality

I am intelligent
--My parents couldn't teach me how to believe in myself because they lacked belief in themselves. I can and do believe in myself. I can break the family legacy of disbelief by passing on a different tradition to my own children
--That "not intelligent definition has been challenged and reformulated
Time runs out
--There is a finality to death
Appendix X

INFORMANT MYERS-BRIGGS TYPE INDICATOR SCORES

Lily: ISFJ

I/15
S/17
F/15
J/33

Elizabeth: INTJ

I
N
T
J
Appendix Y

EXCERPTS FROM ELIZABETH'S ANALYSIS
8/15/89
UNSTRUCTURED TAPE OF HER LIFE STRANDS

ESCAPE INTO EDUCATION

E: I would like to start with the life strand of always returning to school or some form of education when things got bad. My first two and a half years of school were delightful in the one room school. And grade seven through twelve, while the education might not have been so great, were a very positive experience for me; it allowed me to develop in a number of ways. And maybe this enabled me to form some kind of basis or feeling that education was a safe haven; that going to school was a way of escaping or someplace to go when things got difficult or when I needed a change—or when I simply needed a time out of time. Looking at that, when horse training venture didn't turn out after six months, I ran to school. I went to business college; it was a wonderful experience—I found something I was in tune with and it enabled me to develop. I had a semester there that I was able to pick up thirty hours and achieve excellent grades.

When the family situation just simply got out of hand, we were trying desperately to salvage anything from Channing's bankruptcy which resulted in dissipating the family's money—I
again, retreated into education. And I took as many classes as I could. While I had to go to a different college, I did find some kind of salvation. At the end of the transition period, I was working my way slowly toward something—I hoped it was back to business college. But it didn't work out that way. When I married, in the second era, Shades of Grey, I had to face the fact that I was trapped in a marriage, and that marriage was forever. For me, once again, I escaped into education. I went two years full-time and was able to complete my undergraduate degree. Again, school enabled me to endure an intolerable situation. It gave me the tools to develop my inner resources and somehow survive.

After the birth of my second child, when I was suffering from a severe post partum depression, I enrolled in a class. This marked the point when I started to work toward my master's degree. And I really speeded up the process when I knew that the divorce was on the horizon. But, again, each time I have gone back to school, I have been able to survive a traumatic event. School has been a safe haven for me.

Nick was killed in January, and by March, I was again taking classes. This time it was a small business classes. I was working my way slowly through this whole grieving process, and a whole change in my life strand. When the job complication blew up in my face a year and a half later, I knew I had to leave. I quit my job, and then when it turned out that my money wasn't going to come through and I couldn't start a business, and Mark moved back in with me, I went back to school. Because I was, again, entrapped in
an intolerable situation, and I looked to education as a time out of time, a way to renew, and as something that would somehow, eventually lead me back into the world.

As of May, the trial was over, and I'm still going to school. But I have returned to the world with a renewed passion for living, additional skills, a new insight on myself and on life, and the ability to deal better with the real world. I think that this is a pattern that is going to continue. I plan on finishing the Ph.D. as well as the MBA; but I don't think I'll stop there. I will always return; you may see this little old lady of ninety with her cane. Because I intend to live a long time now. Going back to school; for me, it is a way to take a time out of time. And a way to then return to the world with better skills than I had before.

**QUID PRO QUO: OR THE PRICE OF A MALE PROTECTOR**

When I look back, I knew without ever acknowledging it, to get my grandfather's attention, I had to be extremely courageous. I have to be honest, I'm not even sure I like horses. But I knew that if I ever exhibited cowardice or had been afraid of horses, grandfather would have dropped me in an instant. And my grandfather was my protection.

**FAMILY SECRETS**

The next strand is that of family secrets. My early training in the metaphysical realm was important to me, but after my grandmother, there was really no one else to share it with. So, I kept it very, very secret. I never shared it at all until the last three
or four years with anyone. And I had rejected it during my first marriage.

Looking back, the need to always keep everything quiet, not to talk about family, to regard strangers almost as the enemy—never to speak before them—I think this circumstance planted the seeds for having secret lives.

SECRET LIVES

And probably the catalyst was the murder that my brother Channing and I witnessed. And we both led secret lives. Looking at both our lives now, I think we've both always led secret lives.

In the first chapter, when I was eight years old, my secret lives outside the household first began. But even prior to that, I knew it was very important to keep my mouth shut, not to share anything, not to reveal anything, not to leave anything open which I could be attacked on. And then as soon as I had the freedom of movement, it was not two weeks after I got my horse, that I was down the pole and out of the house and simply gone. That was the beginning of my habit of simply spending time away.

As soon as Nick and I became friends and made contact—we went to the same elementary school for awhile—he would call our house, let the phone ring twice, hang up, and I would be with him within an hour. And Channing lived the same form of secret life. He would cross into my room, and be down the pole and he rarely took a horse. He usually took his bicycle. Where he went, I have absolutely no idea. We had this unspoken pact during those first seventeen years that we would cover for each other. I would say
that he was out bringing in the cows or he had left early in the morning if we were out all night. But we were rarely in the house, and we were rarely at home. Later on, Channing got a car and could travel. He'd park it at a place where no one would hear the engine starting, and he was gone—probably in a wider range than I was able to roam.

When the transition period came, going to business college was six months of a secret life. I could be with Nick, I could have my own friends, I only had to go home on week-ends; and I tried to avoid as many of those week-ends as possible.

When the family business went under, and I needed to return back home, and when Nick and I parted ways, I still continued to keep myself to myself. After my marriage, I had the car in the evening, because Chet went to school during the day and then worked second shift five days a week. And I worked during the day. So I could be gone at night. It was a bone of contention between us that I would go and I would not explain where I had been, and I never considered that I should explain—especially since I wasn't doing anything that I considered wrong.

After the birth of my first son Eric, Chet was in the coast guard, and having secret lives became easier—because he was gone at least one week-end a month. And for several weeks in the summer he would be with the coast guard. Also, Chet liked to go and play cards all night. So it was easy to arrange an exit. Most of my secret lives during my marriage either revolved around simply disappearing and having somewhere to go--anywhere to go. Or
meeting Nick—after we touched base when he interceded in my going to jail in 1969. Then we spent a great deal of time together after the birth of my second son, Mark. My mother took care of the children, my husband was gone all summer; I might go off for three weeks or a month— but Chet was gone for three months. Chet had extremely regular habits, so it made it easy to disappear. Mother covered for me.

Not telling anyone about my marriage to Nick, and keeping that a secret made it very difficult when he died. Because I suddenly found I had no one to share it with—no one to talk about it with. This was a very difficult time for me. The need to be secretive about what I do, where I am, has always been important to me.

During my life now, I have never mixed my professional life and my personal life, I have always tried to keep them very secret, and very separate. And I don't like to see the people in the different spheres cross lines, unless it's someone I greatly trust. And I think all of these things have seeds in the murder we witnessed and in the kind of life circumstance we grew up under with the IRA activities.

GUilt/Responsibility Mentality

A third strand is a guilt/responsibility strand. Both my older brother and I seem to have this. We tried to be responsible for our parents because they were both extremely disorganized people. I can remember as early as age four trying to organize my mother's house. And later on Channing and I both tried to get them to pay
the bills on time, to keep the house clean, and to do things on a regular, organized basis. It never really worked, but we tried endlessly. And I think that, because of us, the family was able to salvage the farm when things got so bad financially. We were able to somehow put things back together on several occasions.

Looking beyond the first seventeen years, through the transition, as a child I felt very responsible for my mother's strange behavior. I developed a protectiveness towards her and a guilt/responsibility mentality. I felt very, very responsible for the nefarious activities of the family. And it left me, I think, with a deep sense of guilt. In the transition period, this was a family that had kept everything very quiet; and because of all the problems, our family affairs became very public. And I think this circumstance did leave some scars.

When I refused to marry good old Floyd, and married someone else in Shades of Grey, I carried an enormous guilt, because I had married man I didn't love. I married him for a way out. And I, therefore, assumed responsibility for him--for making something out of him, for keeping him sexually satisfied, and for him as a person. All of my time and energies were poured into either getting an education so I could then help Chet advance, or forcing him ahead. He would not have completed his doctorate; toward the end, he had completely given up on it. I virtually led him by the nose and forced the issue, or he would never have completed it. I don't think he would have even applied to his Master's program without the kind of pushing that he got.
In the hierarchy of time and attention, Chet came first, then the children. And that was the way the marriage went. The guilt of abandoning him—when he was such a dip sometimes—and the responsibility factor for the children—I felt like I was caught in a marriage I couldn't get out of. At that time, you didn't get divorced; or at least, I didn't consider divorce to be an option. So, therefore, I remained faithful to Chet. I was not sexually unfaithful with Nick. However, looking back, I think that I never gave myself or my own needs enough consideration. I never put myself first in any area. I simply assumed responsibility for other people, and I never even considered the fact that Chet should also assume responsibility for the children.

*MY SECRET DRAGON*

This led to a later scenario where all people had to do was push the right buttons that would render me vulnerable to my secret dragon; when Chet wanted to be controlling, his method was to push my button of my fear of insanity. I think this was pushed also as a child with messages like, "You're not behaving, you're not under control; what you say, feel or know is not fact." This same kind of horror grew throughout the marriage because Chet had a very, very deep anger towards my mother.

When the job and all the witchcraft persecution began, I think I assumed guilt and didn't defend myself for all kinds of things I couldn't possibly have been responsible for. And the fear of insanity, that kind of horror of the dragon that lived in the closet—that was something I wasn't even aware that I was afraid of. It
surfaced leaving me vulnerable when people pushed the right buttons; I reacted, but I wasn't aware of why I was reacting this way.

I don't think that anyone in the whole school system ever anticipated that I would run; in fact, I never anticipated that I would run. But I did. And I have been running for six years. It was not until I went through this cathartic research process that I came to terms with what it was that was making me run.

**GUilt/RESPONSIBILITY MENTALITY**

I felt responsible for Chet when he shared his little revolutionary sexual behaviors. Somehow I assumed the responsibility for this, and the guilt for it, even thought I hadn't been involved in his secret side life. And yet, I did assume that responsibility. I felt, always, the total responsibility for the children.

Looking at that same guilt/responsibility strand, I was not able to grieve for Nick; not until the enormous calamities piled up in 1988. Yet even though I began to deal with my grief, eventually, I just simply gave up the will to live. I was very willing to be a scapegoat in the trial. And I may find that my white knight attorney was really a black knight--that my defender really led me very willingly into a scapegoat role. I am currently reading the trial brief. And I can't see anywhere in there, no matter how many attorneys got involved, that anyone tried to get my name taken off the law suit. And yet, I was not responsible for hiring the resident...
artist; I did not make the decision to either hire or release him. Looking back I feel I was used as the scapegoat.

Yet somewhere halfway through the trial, my agenda changed and I started looking for things for me. This whole self-examination process has allowed me to look at that aspect, look at it critically, and start—maybe for the first time—putting Elizabeth first. I'm coming to terms with the idea that I do have rights to happiness and a number of other positive things. Perhaps, never again will the button be pushed that makes me retreat in horror and assume responsibility for something I never did or participated in.

The not defending myself, especially over the job, when I should have walked in there with an attorney, is part of this pattern of never defending myself, never putting myself first, accepting the guilt for things I was not responsible for. Since the trial, I have been throwing people out of my life. This is probably one of the most positive things I'm doing for myself right now. At the same time, I'm still feeling some guilt over it.

Throughout my life, I was constantly investing my time and energy in others, and not giving to myself—putting myself last in the hierarchy of the family; and not considering my own needs. Even now, I'm finding it difficult to put me first, to take action for me. I don't know if this comes from a loss of self-esteem. But, to me, it's more than that. It's a loss of self. It came from this horrible sense of responsibility I had for everyone else. If there was a problem, somehow I was supposed to solve it.
As a child, I took care of my two younger brothers, and I was a child taking care of children. I was always assuming responsibility for other people and then not doing for me. And not advertising my strong qualities— not pushing to get my name on my achievements when I was in curriculum development; that was really a mistake, because when I left— particularly under the circumstances that I did leave—I had nothing to take with me.

*A Woman of a Certain Age*

The fact that I am finally standing up for myself, taking not just responsibility, because I think I've always taken responsibility for myself, but saying, "I have rights, I can do what I chose, I don't owe every instant to someone else." Part of this cathartic process has enabled me to say that: I do have rights. I'm not going to waste my life on solving everyone else's problems.

It's strange, today is Wednesday. I'll meet with Cindy on Friday, and I guess my concern with this whole research process is that she will not be as cold and as hard and as analytical as I need her to be in order to gain out of this what I need. For the last six years, I have been running. And I don't ever want to run again. And in order to do that, I have to look hard, cold, and critically at the patterns that I see. Then I have to go on.

Yes, I want to go on, I do want to develop my own business, I do want the Ph.D. and the MBA; and I do not wish to give these goals up. I've allowed things to go too long with this running and hiding out bit that has taken place since Nick's death; it's gone on
for six years now. It has left me with huge, hollow parts that I have to go back revisit, look at—and then I will need to go on form there.

It's almost August 15. And I have come to terms with the fact that I'm not going to be blowing my brains out. I'm not going to allow myself to be defeated by a petty little school system that really doesn't count at this point in time; or a lawsuit that wasn't really all that significant in the long run. I don't hurt anymore. I am free. I enjoy being alive. I am more appreciative of who I am. If I gain any more out of this, I hope I learn to look at other people's motives, to stand in their shoes, to look at where they're coming from; to still continue to care, but not to care to the devaluation of me. To give and to walk away as I have always done; but not to carry their responsibility for them— to do what I can do, and then to leave it. This is about the best way I can say what it is I feel I need to do in the future.

Cindy, this is the end of my analysis.

TAPE OFF
Appendix Z

EXAMPLE OF PROCESS USED TO COLLABORATIVELY IDENTIFY THE INFORMANT'S CORE CATEGORY
(USING LILY'S DATA)

ANALYTICAL QUESTION

Do you see any one category in your life story that seems core, key, critical in the sense of being linked to a lot of the other categories?

CORE CATEGORY I SEE IN LILY'S DATA:

Reformulating the Beliefs Spawned during Childhood/Adolescence and Forging a New Vision of Adulthood

QUESTIONS FOR STIMULATING REVISION OR EXPANSION OF CORE CATEGORY:

1. Does this core category (a concept which provides a lot of connections with the individual themes we identified) ring true for you?

2. Do you see any ways to amend or extend this core category so it might ring truer?
3. Do you see another category in your life story that seems core, key, critical in the sense of being linked to a lot of the other categories?

PURPOSE OF CORE CATEGORY:

1. It appears frequently in the data.

2. It will serve as the basis for building a grounded theory of your pattern of lifespan development. As the details of the core category are worked out by exploring its relationships with the other categories we identified; the theory begins to emerge and take shape.


