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ADULTHOOD: DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF ADULT WOMEN

by

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled ADULTHOOD: DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF ADULT WOMEN submitted by ROSA SPRICER in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Educational Psychology.

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ABSTRACT

The systematic study of development through the adult years is a relatively recent and growing phenomenon. Among the researchers and theorists in the area, the two who have exacted the most attention, and whose works have been spread and popularized by journalists are Erik Erikson (1968) and Daniel Levinson (1978). Their stage theories, based on traditional, presumably objective, studies of males, conceptualize the development of adult human beings as orderly, predictable, sequential and linear. Furthermore, each stage is defined primarily by one crisis or crucial turning point. Feminist critics in psychology and the social sciences, however, maintain that the male population must no longer be the norm or the prototype for humanity. They insist that: A. the lives of women are worthy of investigation in their own right and B. that truly human norms must be based on both men and women. The present study was designed to assess whether current popular theories of adult development (their themes, conceptualizations and assumptions) fit the lives of women; that is, whether they are worthy of being called theories of human development.

Forty-two women, ranging in age from twenty-four to eighty-two, and with diverse life experiences, participated in this study. They were asked to draw a map

of their adult life, pinpointing change points, and then responded to a semi-structured interview which was taped. In the interview the women discussed their life map, and the progression and meaning of their life. The women then rated themselves on a Life Satisfaction Scale and answered a Task Questionnaire devised by the author. Their comments throughout were also taped.

The results of this study indicated that current models of development were not able to encompass the complexity and variety which was evident in the lives of these women. It was found that, in order to make sense of their adult years, much greater attention must be paid to the meaning systems of individuals, and to historical, social and economic forces, than is ordinarily the case in the majority of theories.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The past decade has witnessed the emergence of much interest by both social scientists and the media in the psychology of adulthood.

Although the reasons for this (which will be discussed further in Chapter II) are complex and numerous, the immediate causes are believed to be the instability of American/Canadian society, which makes predictability for the future an anxiety-provoking and difficult task (Lasch, 1979), and the arrival of the youth culture, which received so much attention in the 1960's, at the crossroads of middle-age (Time, 1975). The result, generally, was an increased desire to understand and predict the adult years, and attempts were consequently made to delineate the orderly and sequential changes which could be expected during adulthood. However, adulthood, its processes and problems, is inherently tied to biological, social, cultural, economic and political factors (Erikson, 1968; Levinson, 1978; Riegel, 1975), all of which are intricately interwoven in affecting both the course and the conceptualization of aging. Since the social-political reality has been such that women have not had much voice in public institutions, it is hardly surprising that theories of adulthood have been based on the male population (Holmes

and Jorgenson, 1971). Research on women in this area has been both limited (Lake and Lake, 1976, p. 31) and contradictory, and the findings interpreted according to predefined (male) frameworks. As a result, findings which point to significant differences between males and females tended to be either ignored in the results and in theory construction (Carlson and Carlson, 1960), or seen as deviations from the norm (Eichler, 1977). Not only has adulthood generally been equated with manhood (e.g. "the study that first demonstrated the existence of *adult* development - how *human beings* continue to change, throughout their lifetimes...." on the jacket cover of Daniel Levinson's 'Seasons of a Man's Life', 1978), but a discrepancy has been shown to exist between the concept of adulthood and womanhood (Broverman et al., 1970). Developmental theory has, thus far, not given adequate expression to the concerns and experiences of women (Gilligan, 1977, 1979). This absence of attention in scholarly journals to women's developmental issues and to the female experience of aging is in marked contrast to the articles which appear constantly in popular women's publications, an imbalance which has been noted by the coordinator of the Task Force on Older Women of the National Organization of Women (Sommers, 1974). This has given rise to statements, even by feminist psychologists, such as "given the values and attitudes toward aging and older women in our society, women must find in themselves the alternatives to the pain of feeling rejected and worthless"

(Williams, 1977, p. 381). Certainly the challenge of development is as great for women as it is for men and this requires acknowledgement and investigation. The point is that ultimately an adequate model of humankind cannot be based on the study of only half of the population. The purpose of this study, then, is to add the female perspective to the body of knowledge called adult development. Among the general questions to be addressed are: whether the development of women fits current, predominantly male-based, developmental theories; how and why women change and grow; how women themselves perceive and describe their own development. However, the emphasis is not on the study of sex differences, since this approach, as an end in itself, is currently being questioned (Vaughter, 1976, p. 122); it may only serve to reinforce sexual biases and stereotypic modes of thought (Eichler, 1980). Instead, the focus is on whether male-based theories are generalizable to women and worthy of being called models of human development.

In order for this to be a critical study, the theoretical conceptualizations, assumptions and interpretations on which these theories are based must be questioned (Eichler, 1980). To this end, a combination of the phenomenological and empirical approaches is used in the belief that this procedure enriches rather than limits the investigation of the broad expanse called adulthood:

simply stated, phenomenology attempts to discover what exists in the subjective lived experience while empiricism attempts to explore a reality that is external to oneself and thereby predefined (Shotter, 1975). Since human beings are considered to be unique among organisms in their experience of life as a task (Shotter, 1975, p. 129), developmental growth and change is examined from a task perspective (see Appendix C for examples of tasks). In addition, life satisfaction, since it is frequently included in studies of adult development (Campbell, 1976; Havighurst, 1953; Lowenthal et al., 1976; Riegel, 1976) and since it tends to be a controversial topic in the literature on women (Kline, 1975), is also investigated.

In this study, the methodology, the concepts, and the assumptions which have been operative in traditional developmental research and theory are brought into question. In general, it seems that the need to bring order, control and predictability into the human experience has served to produce conceptualizations which, in fact, limit, reduce and negate this very experience. In fact, the lack of attention to culture, to history, and to human consciousness, which this narrow vision has produced, has led to the necessity for projects such as this one.

Finally, although only one gender is studied here, the main intentions are: (a) to rectify an imbalance which prevents the full understanding of both genders; and (b) to promote, in psychology, a vision which is capable of encompassing the full range of humanity.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The term development has a wide variety of scientific and philosophical meanings. In psychology it is generally agreed that the major criterion by which to define developmental change is whether there exists a systematic age-functional relationship from birth to death, regardless of the shape of this relationship (Goulet and Baltes, 1970, p. 10). The psychology of adulthood, therefore, has been concerned with the orderly and sequential changes which occur with the passage of time as the individual moves from adolescence to adulthood and into old age. The fundamental issues in this movement are consistency and change in personality over relatively long periods of time, and antecedent - consequent relationships (Neugarten, 1975, p. 379).

The word adulthood has only recently found its way into the scientific literature of our time. In comparison to the terms "childhood" and "adolescence", the characteristics of adulthood are relatively vague and ill-defined. Until the last few years, the term has basically been used as a catch-all phrase for everything that happens to the individual human being after a specific chronological age, usually eighteen (Graubard, 1978, p. vii). However, it

must be remembered that the concepts of "childhood" and "adolescence" are themselves relatively recent inventions emerging out of and along with significant societal changes (Ariès, 1962). The current focus on the adult, then, is partially due to demographic changes: the post-World War II baby boom and subsequent decrease in the birth-rate - at least in technologically advanced societies - have resulted in a large "adult" population. Improved sanitary conditions and medical technology have also greatly increased the average life span so that the majority of the population in these societies lives to reach old age. Two further reasons have also been suggested (Jordan, 1978, p. 190) why the concept of adulthood as a psychological term did not appear in the West until the early 20th Century. According to Jordan, predestinarian belief systems such as Puritanism or low-church Protestantism could not allow for notions such as personal growth, maturing or becoming psychologically adult. He also states that ideas about maturity and immaturity, mastery and independence, originally had definite political overtones; the de-politicization of the family had to occur before these qualities could be emphasized in individuals. Concepts such as independence could only have meaning for the individual if the family could be viewed - at least in theory - as separate from the state. Indeed it is difficult to imagine any focus

on the state or the process of adulthood without a concomitant emphasis on individualism (Lasch, 1979; Ehrenreich and English, 1978). As Christopher Lasch in "The Culture of Narcissism" points out: "attitudes towards adulthood and aging are not accidental. They are the result of long-term social changes" (1979, p. 209). Jordan (1978, p. 198) believes that:

> ...technology, geographical and social mobility and social pluralism have worked to speed up life so that we not only expect our children to lead different lives from ouselves, but we expect our own lives to change, perhaps drastically, through time. In the more static world of our ancestors, it would scarcely have been possible to conceive of time in the way which permitted Henri Bergson to write, at about the turn of the century, 'To exist is to change; to change is to mature; to mature is to create oneself endlessly'. We have moved, over the years, from condition to process. In our culture adulthood as a condition used to be simply assumed; as a process, it now seems to demand explanation.

It is only within the last two decades that any serious attempt has been made to understand or explain adulthood. The number of pyschologists, however, who have committed themselves to an examination of this aspect of the developmental process are relatively few.

Among the first were Charlotte Buhler (1968) and an early student of hers Else Frenkel-Brunswik (1968). Their work is based primarily on a study they carried out together in Austria, in which they examined approximately 400 biographies and autobiographies, primarily of men. They also interviewed men and women of various

backgrounds, using direct questioning (Frenkel-Brunswik, 1968, p. 77); however, the examples used to illustrate the theory, since one of their fundamental concerns appears to be productivity, were a middle class male and a well-known male political figure (Buhler, 1968). Their stated goal for the research was to find general principles of human development and regularity in the phases of life.

Both Buhler (1968) and Frenkel-Brunswik (1968) propose theories of human development in which the biological processes of growth, stability and decline are believed to be reflected in the psychosocial processes of expansion, culmination and contraction. They suggest that the life course involves two general tendencies: growth expansion and contraction, with the turning point occurring in the middle of life (Kimmel, 1974, p. 19). According to Buhler (1968, p. 19) the activities of human beings are always goal-directed. Development, then, is defined in terms of "the succession of events that occurs in a recognizable order or pattern and conveys a certain direction and unity" (Buhler, 1968, p. 1). Consequently, the theory is described as five phases of self-determination which reflect the nature of an individual's goal-directedness. The two important developmental laws which direct these changes are

1. that duties replace needs as the dominant goals; i.e., needs, which are derived from the "biological nature

of man", recede in importance, and duties, based on values, conscience, necessity or authority, play a more important role;

2. that interests become increasingly specific (Frenkel-Brunswik, 1968, p. 83). The fundamental aim is self-fulfillment.

While Buhler and Frenkel-Brunswik drew their conclusions largely from autobiographical data, Carl Gustav Jung's reflections on aging led him in a number of similar directions. Jung's thoughts on adulthood, however, focused primarily on the second half of life. He saw youth - from puberty to approximately age forty - as the time to widen the horizons and to relinquish the dreams of childhood. Of greater significance to Jung is the latter part of life, when reflection and inner exploration are required in order to find the meaning and wholeness that make the thought of death acceptable. Jung believed that during this period there are significant but slow changes in character: the individual lets go of some qualities, hangs on more tightly to others, and tends to integrate certain characteristics of his or her opposite. Men, for example, may become more nurturant, women more agressive. Like Buhler and Frenkel-Brunswik, Jung also believed that aging involved "an inexorable inner process that enforces the contraction of life" (Kimmel, 1974, p. 21).

It was primarily Erik Erikson who called social scientists' attention to the possibilities of looking at human development and developmental tasks from the point of view of a life cycle (or life course, as some prefer to label it). He drew his material primarily from his wide and prolific reading in anthropology and historical biography, as well as from his clinical experiences. Erikson delineates eight stages in life, each stage defined by a psychosocial crisis rather than by any clear age parameter:

1. Trust vs. Mistrust; 2. Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt; 3. Initiative vs. Guilt; 4. Industry vs. Inferiority; 5. Identity vs. Identity Confusion; 6. Intimacy vs. Isolation; 7. Generativity vs. Stagnation; 8. Integrity vs. Despair. He uses the term 'versus' to emphasize that each stage is highlighted by a crucial turning point, which will be either progressive or regressive. The last three crises define the stages of adulthood. Each crisis, then, is resolved relatively successfully or unsuccessfully in a series of "critical steps" which affect adaptation in subsequent life stages (Erikson, 1968).

The current foremost proponent of the life stage approach is Daniel Levinson, who builds on the theories of Erikson, Frenkel-Brunswik and Jung. Levinson carried

out his research in the late 1960's and early 70's. He selected a sample of forty males between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five. They came from four occupational groups: novelists, university biologists, hourly workers in industry, and business executives. Eighty-five percent of these men came from "middle-class" or wealthy backgrounds and 70% of them had completed college. Levinson employed what he calls "a biographical interviewing" technique (Levinson, 1978, p. 14), and made use of the Thematic Apperception Test.

Levinson believes that the life cycle can be broken down into eras, periods, tasks, and the individual life structure. Childhood and adolescence, 0-22, early adulthood, 17-45, middle adulthood, 40-65, and late adulthood constitute the four eras, each one distinguished by an "overall character of living", which has biological, psychological and social aspects (Levinson, 1978, p. 317). The developmental work of an era is carried out in developmental periods. These periods are defined in terms of developmental tasks and not in terms of concrete events such as marriage and retirement (Levinson, 1978, p. 54). The concept 'task' is never defined explicitly but Levinson implies that they are crucial life issues involving choices, decisions, reevaluations and questions. The periods described by Levinson (1978, p. 54) are:

1. early adult transition - from pre to early adulthood;

2. first adult life structure - entering the adult world; 3. age thirty transition - changing the first life structure; 4. second life structure - settling down, at the end of which is the phase "Becoming One's Own Man"; 5. mid-life transition - from early to middle adulthood; 6. entering middle adulthood - building a new life structure; 7. age 50 transition; 8. culmination of middle adulthood; 9. late adult transition; 10. late adulthood. The cross-era transitions form the basis for living in the next era and they are the crucial turning points in the life cycle.

The concept of the individual life structure is given as the foundation of the theory of developmental periods. The life structure is viewed from three perspectives: 1. the individual's sociocultural world - class, religion, ethnic background, family, political system, occupation; 2. aspects of self - the complex pattern of wishes, conflicts, anxieties and corresponding modes of resolution or control; 3. participation in the world - relationships and roles (Levinson, 1978, p. 42). It evolves through a sequence of alternating periods: a relatively stable, structure-*building* period is followed by a transitional, structure-*changing* period (Levinson, 1978, p. 317).

Levinson claims that developmental periods are age-linked but that they are not solely a function of age. The timing of a period, and the kind of developmental work done

within it vary with the biological, psychological and social conditions of a person's life. Although Levinson (1978, p. 319) states that it is always the interaction of these three conditions that is the basis for the developmental sequence, nevertheless, he feels that life structures and therefore, to some extent, periods, *do* evolve according to an age-linked sequence. Furthermore, eras, periods, and their sequence are believed to be universal phenomena inherent in the nature of man and in the nature of society (Levinson, 1978, p. 322).

Unlike Levinson, Roger Gould's emphasis in "Transformations: Growth and Change in Adult Life" is largely intrapsychic. Based on his hunch that a predictable sequence of patterns and preoccupations occurs during adulthood, Gould first formed age-specific therapy groups and then constructed a questionnaire for male and female non-patients to test this thesis further (Gould, 1978, pp 13-14). He describes adulthood as the movement from childhood consciousness to adult consciousness. This entails gradually leaving behind childhood fears and challenging in a hierarchical fashion the interpretations and assumption of childhood. Gould outlines five stages in which this process occurs: 1. Leaving Our Parents World, age 16-22; 2. "I'm Nobody's Baby Now", age 22-28; 3. Opening up to What's Inside, age 28-34; 4. Mid-life decade, age 35-45; 5. Beyond mid-life: the life of inner

directedness.

Gould's theory, presented in the format of "pop" psychology and oriented towards the "self-help" approach, is in these respects not unlike Gail Sheehy's "Passages" (1976). Sheehy, a journalist, was predominantly responsible for popularizing the idea of "predictable life crises" in adulthood. Having researched the work of Frenkel-Brunswik, Jung, Erikson, Levinson and Gould, Sheehy also conducted her own interviews and came up with five adult life crises: 1. the trying 20's. This is the decade in which to: a. shape a dream, b. prepare for a lifework; c. find a mentor; d. form the capacity for intimacy; e. explore and experiment; f. make a commitment; 2. catch 30. Re-examination of direction occurs and new choices are made; 3. early 30's. This is the time for settling down, for "rooting and extending". 4. 35-45. This is the "Deadline Decade", when an identity crisis may emerge, along with the feeling that this is one's "last chance". 5. mid-40's. A decision is made which promotes either renewal or resignation.

As is obvious, the majority of current theorists - Levinson, Gould and Sheehy, for example - have focused on early and middle adulthood. This is not surprising in view of the fact that a good proportion of the American population is entering or in the midst of middle age. However, a number of theories have been proposed

which deal primarily - albeit separately - with late adulthood or old age (Atchley, 1972). The ones considered to be most influential are: the theory of disengagement, the activity theory, and the continuity theory (Atchley, 1972, p. 31), all of which have some empirical validation.

The theory of disengagement (in accordance with Jung, Buhler and Frenkel-Brunswik) which has received much attention (Neugarten, 1968) maintains that withdrawal or reduced frequency of interaction is an inevitable process in which the individual limits the number of interpersonal relationships and alters the quality of those that remain. This is essentially a functionalist position (which postulates a natural adaptive process in humans) based on the notion that the individual equilibrium of middle-age, which is oriented *toward* society, is replaced through the process of disengagement by a new equilibrium centered around the individual himself in old age (Atchley, 1972, p. 32). This theory is disputed by the activity theory whose basic tenet is that the norms for old age are the same as those for middle age: roles that have been relinquished must be replaced by new useful roles in order for aging to be judged successful. The theory suggests that older people attempt to deny the existence of old age as long as possible (Atchley, 1972 p. 34). Continuity theory, on the other hand, maintains that change is an adaptive process which involves the

complex interaction of biological, psychological and social forces. A person's life-long experiences, arising out of this interaction, will produce idiosyncratic predispositions that the person will attempt to maintain, but which will also inevitably evolve over the course of life (Atchley, 1972, p. 36).

Stage theories and their proponents, however, have been severely criticized for the assumptions, such as hierarchy and invariance, upon which they are based. Referring to these assumptions, Phillips and Kelly (1975, p. 374) state: "It may well be unfair to claim that developmental theories are part folklore and part science, but it is not unfair to point out that a good many of the assumptions that have crept into developmental psychology are dubious". An article in the APA Monitor (Freeman, M., Dec. 1979) criticized theoreticians such as Levinson (1978), Sheehy (1976) and Gould (1979) for presenting adulthood as a series of life stages which unfold according to an *inner* logic and necessity, without seriously questioning the relationship between adulthood and the environment. Freeman, for instance, admonishes them for not attempting to analyze the ways in which the economic system may favor one path of adulthood over another. In another instance, Nydegger (1976, p. 140) questions whether analogous life stages may occur at different ages for respondents having different social

characteristics and whether the number of stages may be as variable as the social characteristics and roles which are investigated. Phillips and Kelly (1975, p. 374) maintain that experience can be extremely variable from one person to another although cultural uniformities may be evident in the rate of presentation and overall patterning of the person's experience. They state that: "To hold that the stages of development must occur in a fixed order, it must also be held that the person could not be affected by a different pattern of experience. In that case some reasons would need to be forthcoming to account for this rigidity".

Two theories which are not based on the concept of stages are proposed by Glenwick and Whitbourne (1978) and Klaus Riegel (1976). These writers appear to be essentially theorists and do not cite research in support of their claims. Glenwick and Whitbourne (1978, p. 261) criticize several approaches (Erikson's theory, for example, as well as the theory of disengagement) for paying insufficient attention to the dynamics of interaction between developmental *and* social forces during the period of adulthood and old age. They describe a "dynamic transactional model" of development which has two components: "an environment which is plastic in character, and an organism that actively participates in its own growth" (Glenwick and Whitbourne, 1978, p. 264).

Internal and external changes occur simultaneously; therefore, it is the combination of several variables that co-determines a person's behavior at any one point in time. Moreover, they believe that the effect of these interactions is cumulative, so that those interactions which occurred earlier in the developmental process affect those which evolve later. Past and present behavioral and environmental events are both important. Glenwick and Whitbourne (1978, p. 265) maintain that whether stability or change is evident during adulthood depends upon two considerations: 1. the degree of diversity of social factors within the environment and 2. the cognitive, neurological and physical fluctuations - which are not uniform across people - within the individual.

In a similar vein, but delineated in greater detail, the dialectical theory of development espoused by Klaus Riegel describes adult development as a "continuing dialogue" between culture and the individual. This dialogue is enacted on two levels: 1. individual needs and capacities must be realized in conjunction with the alternatives made available by the culture; 2. past adjustment patterns must be adapted to present realities (Riegel, 1976, p. 136). In other words, development occurs always within a context which is changing. According to Arnold (1976, p. xxi), the key to a

dialectical theory of development is that development never occurs in the individual alone nor in the social or cultural group alone: no individual develops in isolation from changing developments in other individuals. As each individual changes, she** changes the outer world in which she lives and in turn is herself transformed by the world which she and others have created (Arnold, 1976, p. xxi). "Only by studying the successive interactions between the interactive events of change within the individual (inner dialectics) and the interactive events of change in the outer world (outer dialectics) can development be understood" (Riegel, 1976, p. 395). Riegel (1975, p. 126) insists that a study of historical progression has to be linked with any analysis of individual developmental patterns. A healthy individual progression can be described only if the historical progression within which it takes place is also depicted. According to Riegel (1975, p. 125), the failure to consider these progressions simultaneously will result in both a limited comprehension of human life and a fatalistic viewpoint.

Riegel (1976, p. 350) posits four interacting dimensions: 1. the inner-biological, such as illnesses or injuries; 2. the individual-psychological, such as cognitive skills or coping mechanisms; 3. the cultural-social, such as marriage or retirement, inflation or

**The individual will be discussed as "she" since this study concerns itself with women.

depression; 4. the outer-physical, such as earthquakes, fires or loss of loved ones. Proponents of a dialectical approach study the flow of these activities in their mutual interdependence throughout the life span. When the interactions among these events are uncoordinated, out of step or contradictory, a conflict or crisis tends to occur. According to developmental dialectics, the discordance and tension of these contradictory interactions becomes the source of new development, or leaps in development. Riegel (1975, p. 53) claims that these asynchronous conditions provide the impetus for change and movement by challenging the individual to search for new and creative solutions, thus inducing the developmental process. He criticizes both Buhler and Erikson for failing to explain *why* the organism grows from stage to stage as she develops and ages. "Neither the individualistic notions of achievement, power, creativity and self-actualization as implied in Buhler, nor Erikson's concept of critical steps, provide appropriate explanations" (Riegel, 1975, p. 105). The notions of equilibrium and stability are de-emphasized in the dialectial approach. Contradictions and questions play the central role in Riegel's theory since they create the discordance which provokes movement (Riegel, 1976, p. 398). Conflicts and frustrations, whether derived from individual change or

social change, lead to new problem-solving and learning and are therefore essentially developmental (Arnold, 1976, p. xix).

As is evident, the majority of theorists in the area of adult development are proponents of the stage approach. The assumptions inherent in such models include: regularity and order, hierarchical progression, linearity and invariance. The two alternate, and more recent, models presented here place greater emphasis on the complex and continuous transactions of individuals and their environments. However, they are not yet substantiated by much research, suggesting that the earlier models may still be easier to test.

From a Female Perspective

Levinson (1978, p. 8) states that he did not include women in his study because "the differences between women and men are sufficiently great so that they would have to become a major focus of analysis". This assumption of significant differences does not prevent Levinson from assuming that there must be parallel life phases

for women and he does not hesitate to call his theory, based on males, a theory of adulthood. It is also of interest to note that in his study of forty men, the woman's role is to share the dream of the man and to be a testimonial to what he has become (Lake and Lake, 1976, p. 31). In a similar vein, Ariès (1962) in his study of childhood, omits females as subjects; yet he consistently uses the words children and childhood as if he were speaking of both boys and girls. Both writers are guilty of excluding females from studies whose results are then interpreted as relevant for all human beings. The male (indeed the middle-class male) is assumed to be the norm, the prototype of humanity, a phenomenon which has exacted much criticism from feminist researchers and theoreticians (Carlson and Carlson, 1960; Eichler, 1977; Malmo, 1978; Smith, 1977; Williams, 1977). Eichler (1980, p. 118) outlines six characteristics of sexist science which are applicable to several developmental theorists (especially Jung, Erikson and Levinson) discussed earlier: "1. Women are largely ignored, yet conclusions and theories are phrased in such general terms that they purport to be applicable to all humanity. 2. If women are considered, they tend to be considered only in so far as they are important for and related to men, not by virtue of their own importance as human subjects.

3. Where both sexes are considered, the male is generally taken as the norm, the female as deviation from the norm. 4. Sexist content is mirrored in sexist language, as reflected, for instance, in the use of the generic 'he' and the generic 'man'. 5. Sexist science is full of preconceived notions concerning a masculine and feminine nature. Consequently, identical behaviors or situations involving women and men are described and analyzed differently according to sex. A consistent double standard exists within sexist science. 6. By using sexist notions of human nature and employing a double standard in interpreting findings, sexist science itself becomes one contributing factor in the maintenance of the sex structures from which it arose in the first place and in which it is grounded."

Similar problems exist in studies of sex differences: sexist bias is often inherent in the methodological and conceptual formulations of the problems; items and results which do not differentiate between the sexes are discarded, thereby distorting the data in the direction which amplifies differences rather than similarities; a double standard is applied in the interpretation of the data. According to Eichler (1980, p. 15), "a double standard implies that two things which are the same are measured or evaluated by different standards"; consequently, the results of these studies are often found to be

contradictory. In light of these problems, the following review of the literature on sex differences related to adulthood must be approached with Eichler's (1980, p. 53) warning in mind: "we must perceive all analyses concerning sex as a two-stage process. It is necessary to chart the presence of sex differences and similarities in all kinds of situations. Thus, in a *descriptive* manner, sex can and must be used as an explanatory variable. However, we must never use sex as a variable in a causal sense in order to explain social facts; i.e., we must not accept an equation of a description of sex differences with their explanation."

In their well-known review of the literature on sex differences, Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) found, for the most part, a resounding "lack of differences" between boys and girls. They also found that differences which were "fairly well-established by research" did tend to emerge by junior high school age and that there did appear to be evidence testifying to the variability of behavior by the two sexes in different circumstances (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). Maccoby and Jacklin have been criticized by feminists, however, for being rather traditional and narrow both in their conceptual approach (they do not question the underlying assumptions and procedures of traditional researchers) and in the range of literature they consider relevant (Parlee, M.B.,

1975, p. 123). Fransella and Frost (1977, p. 94) state: "there are reasons for being cautious about how we interpret the evidence reviewed by Maccoby and Jacklin. One is that most studies of adult men and women have looked at a particular social group - college students. Another is that they tell us little about what qualities are seen as important by the two sexes. Two people, for example, can have equally high or low opinions of themselves, but for very different reasons. And their behavior in any particular situation may depend on the particular kinds of qualities they think they possess." Both Carlson (1970) and Fransella and Frost (1977), for example, make claims based on research that differences are evident when the concern is with how girls and women come to perceive themselves and their lives. Hochchild (1973, p. 253), in a review of the psychological literature, suggests that the sexes differ in the way they think, perceive, aspire, experience anxiety, daydream, and play competitive games. Other differences in motivation, personality and developmental paths have also been mentioned (Kimmel, 1974, pp. 161, 163; Lowenthal, 1975). Lowenthal, Thurnher and Chiriboga (1975, p. xiii), in their empirical study of adult life stages found that differences between the sexes were far greater than those between life stages within each sex group, except in self-concept where variations

according to life stage were nearly as impressive as sex differences. Lowenthal (1975, p. 73) found, in fact, that the self-concept of middle-aged women contrasted sharply with the generally positive self-evaluation of middle-aged men. She infers that unlike men, whose self-image becomes increasingly "crystallized" as they move through life, women fluctuate and their self-concept or identity remains "diffuse" (Lowenthal, 1975, p. 80). Research by Carlson (1970) on self-esteem suggests also that women describe themselves differently from men and that the bases of self-evaluation are dramatically different for the sexes. If psychological issues arise from societal values, norms and roles, and if men and women may inhabit considerably different social worlds in a society - as Berger and Luckmann (1967) maintain - then it is hardly surprising that adult men and women may differ in various areas. Neugarten and Moore (1968, p. 12) point to the increasing differentiation of the sexes in our society with regard to social age. They suggest that women often reach social maturity (or adulthood) earlier than men by taking on both family and economic responsibilities simultaneously. There are indications that social aging is experienced differently again in middle age when lightened family responsibilities and the biological changes of the

climacterium; i.e, menopause, make this a significant transition period for women. Nydegger (1976, pp. 138,139) lends support to the view that middle age is not a uniform experience across individuals and refers to data which show that men and women follow different paths to arrive at their peak competency. She interprets sex differences, as do Neugarten and Moore (1968), as resulting from the different role-stage demands that are made upon men and women at differing times. Similarly, Lowenthal (1975, p. xv) suggests that both different *types* of developmental change as well as different schedules may contribute to the frequent criss-crossing paths of men and women.

Considering these differences, it is possible that developmental models based on men may not be generalizable to the majority of adult women. It has, for instance, been noted that the critical stages for men are defined primarily by their career or work, as in Levinson's study, whereas the critical stages for women tend to revolve around the bearing and raising of children. Two additional reasons why models developed on males may not be applicable to women are: 1. that they assume that important life events such as marriage and occupational commitment occur in a linear progression, and 2. they assume that these life events occur at approximately the same age (Dibner, 1976, p. 14). In a

study by Sangiuliano (1978), using interviews and the life map technique, she concluded that women's lives rarely proceed in a straight line. Sangiuliano (1978, p. 43) claims that the development of personhood is not the same for women as it is for men and maintains that no simple orderly sequence, nor specific events, nor age can be used as a gauge for women's development. As an increasing number of women combine careers with motherhood, the linear progression through major life phases becomes more variable and complex. Not only is marital status no longer a reliable predictor or determiner of the sorts of activities or roles a woman may adopt (Van Dusen and Sheldon, 1976, p. iii), but career patterns for women are not simple or unidimensional (Bernard, 1973, p. 132). Bernard (1973, p. 123) has outlined four variables which influence women's career patterning: 1. age at marriage; 2. age at childbearing; 3. age at professional or job preparation; 4. age of assumption or resumption of work. These may result in eight different kinds of career patterns. It seems then, that theories such as Levinson's, which hinge primarily on occupational development, do not sufficiently allow for the "varying social calendars and clocks" by which adult women run their lives (Dibner, 1976, p. 14). Women also, have not often had, or often been, mentors -

a developmental role which both Erikson and Levinson consider to be extremely important. The term mentor is used to mean teacher, advisor, sponsor, even counselor or guru, and is thought to be one of the most complex and developmentally significant relationships a man can have in early adulthood (Levinson, 1978, p. 97). Nor are women - even those with lifelong career patterns - often in positions to reassess their commitments by age forty. Similarly, theories such as those of Buhler and Jung, which postulate that narrowing of horizons occurs at middle-age, are not applicable to women for whom an "empty nest" (i.e., the post-parental period) may allow for expansion and exploration.

Erikson's model has been notably criticized as an inappropriate description of the developmental course of women. Gilligan (1977, p. 509) observes that: "When the sole precursor to the intimacy of adult relationships is the trust established in infancy and all intervening experience is marked only as steps toward greater independence, then separation itself becomes the model and the measure of growth. The observation that for women, identity has as much to do with connection as with separation led Erikson into trouble largely because of his failure to integrate this insight into the mainstream of his theory of development." Gilligan also implies that a conception of adulthood which emphasizes separateness rather than connection with others and

which upholds an autonomous life of work instead of the importance of love, care and responsibility is itself questionable and imbalanced (Gilligan, 1977, p. 482). She challenges, for instance, Levinson's particular view of adult development which portrays relationships, such as the "mentor" and the "special woman" as means to an end of *individual* achievement and success (Gilligan, 1979, p. 440).

The different developmental courses for males and females in terms of separation and connection is also mentioned in the anthropological literature. According to Chodorow (1971, p. 286), a man must separate from mother and prove himself in order to achieve an identity, while the identity of a woman is ascribed to her without requiring separation. Masculinity, then, is defined through separation while femininity is defined through attachment. Gilligan's (1979, p. 434) interpretation of Chodorow's analysis is that, as a result, "male gender identity will be threatened by intimacy while female gender identity will be threatened by individuation. Thus, males will tend to have difficulty with relationships while females will tend to have problems with separation." Consequently, the issue of independence has different meanings for men and women.

Identity as a developmental issue has raised other questions as well. In spite of observed sex differences,

Erikson's life chart is again determined by the male pattern in that identity precedes intimacy and its resolution is associated with adolescence and early adulthood. It has been suggested, however, that women resolve this "crisis", as well as the problem of intimacy, only after they have chosen a mate. Sangiuliano found that women tend to be "late bloomers". She states: "In a woman's life journey, the striving for union precedes and postpones the labors of a personal identity, and sometimes sends it underground" (Sangiuliano, 1978, p. 43). She contradicts Erikson and maintains that for most women, marriage does not solve the issue of identity, but rather postpones or submerges it. Not until the desire for connection has been somehow resolved does the need for a "single solitary self" emerge (Sangiuliano, 1978, p. 44). According to Barnett and Baruch (1976, p. 7) this tie between connection and identity has two implications for women: 1. not marrying implies not resolving one's identity; 2. women are seen as deviants from the male, i.e., "normal" pattern of development. In fact, women's failure to separate becomes, by definition a failure to develop (Gilligan, 1979, p. 434). According to Gilligan (1979), p. 431), when life cycle theorists base their conception of maturity on the lives of men, not only are autonomy and achievement given priority over attachment and intimacy but the latter

become developmental impediments in the lives of women.

Other differences in the developmental paths of men and women have been pointed out. Neugarten (1968, p. 28) has found that young women tend to perceive greater restrictions regarding age-appropriate behavior than do young men. This thesis is carried further in Susan Sontag's critical article "The Double Standard of Aging" (1972) in which she maintains that age-appropriate behavior is more restrictive for females than males throughout the life cycle. The double standard of physical attractiveness noted by Sontag is also believed to create anxiety in women decades before it is an issue for men. There are implications, also, that young men are much more likely to feel in control of, and plan for their future than young women. In fact, Lowenthal (1975, p. 234) found that at all stages, planning for the future was minimal and almost non-existant among women, a phenomenon which she attributed to women not feeling in control of their lives. In addition, it has been suggested (Neugarten, 1968, p. 95) that women, both married and unmarried, tend to define age status in terms of the timing of events within the family cycle rather than the career cycle; that is, their self-definition in relation to the type or timing of life events is still primarily a function of the personal or private sphere. Sex differences have also been found

in orientation and attitudes toward death (Kastenbaum, 1975, p. 43). Clinical observations suggest that the sexes differ with respect to the type of discomfort, impairment and limitations of function that are of greatest concern. Not only are the stresses undergone by others a significant source of stress for women (Lowenthal, 1975, p. xiv) but women also appear to be more distressed by the impact of their illness and death upon others, while men appear to focus on pain, dependency and loss of occupational role (Kastenbaum, 1976, p. 43).

In general, it seems safe to assume that women's development has sequences of highs and lows and periods of equilibrium and disequilibrium - similar processes as found for men. Women and men also share several experiences such as marriage, children, work, awareness of age and general physiological changes, as well as numerous other issues and events. However, the meanings attached to these experiences, their timing, the consequences which follow, and the contexts within which they occur may be quite different. For instance, in conjunction with the often complicated career patterns of women which were discussed earlier, the pattern of women's role involvement during adulthood may be quite complex. It has been suggested that it is this complexity and variability which makes the development of women distinct from men (Bernard, 1973). Role discontinuities,

especially, seem more common for women than for men in the adult years and women's psychological states during the various life stages are believed to be related to the roles they hold or do not hold at those periods (Sales, 1978, p. 166).

Sales (1978, p. 167) has taken Levinson's model of development and attempted to re-interpret it from the female point of view. She describes eight stages (which do not yet appear to be substantiated by research): 1. Young adulthood (18-21). Although for men the central issue is independence, for women this period is frequently a limbo stage between dependence on parents and later dependence on spouse. Most young women reach the end of this period without having moved as far as men in clarifying future life objectives or developing a sense of themselves as autonomous individuals. 2. Choosing life roles (22-24). The issues here are intimacy and marriage. 3. Role Completion (25-29). This is a critical stage for women because their decisions regarding childbearing lead them in many different directions. 4. Readjustment (30-34). The crucial choices here involve dependence vs. independence, passivity vs. activity, compliance vs. assertion. This is a time of identity crisis, exploration of life paths, and self-definition. Sales (1978, p. 174) claims that "women who do not develop independence from parents, husbands and children during this time will probably never develop

an independent identity and will remain immature for the rest of their lives." 5. Becoming one's own person (35-43) through commitment and the establishment of a personal lifestyle. 6. Mid-life crisis (44-47). The occurrence of menopause and the "empty-nest" syndrome may mean a sense of "role loss" or increased freedom and involvement with outside activities. 7. Mellowing (48-60). Increased contemplation and internal exploration tend to occur. 8. Old age (after 60). This is a period of reminiscence. The central issues are acceptance of death and coming to terms with one's life.

A study by Livson (1976) looked at patterns of development of middle-aged women. She described different characterological or personality styles based either on interpersonal skills or intellect which differentiated between "traditional" and "independent" women. She concluded: a. that these styles evolved over the life span and b. that although each group followed a different course with different timing, they were, nevertheless, "roughly" similar to Erikson's stages. According to Livson, traditionals achieve ego identity in late adolescence, intimacy in their forties, and generativity in their fifties. On the other hand, independents deal with ego identity in late adolescence but appear to regress in their forties. By age fifty, however, "independents seem to revive the identities they were developing in

adolescence. Having settled the earlier issue of ego identity, these women by fifty move into the stage of intimacy achieved by age forty in the traditional group" (Livson, 1976, p. 111). Lowenthal (1975, p. 231) substantiates the differences between the two types of women. In her study, familial roles, familial affect and a highly "feminine" self-concept served as important buffers against stress for "traditional" women, whereas the pyschological strength of "independent" women (often the better educated and the more intelligent) rested on interpersonal factors such as a sense of competence and a positive and more "masculine" self-image.

The literature on women in late adulthood (60 plus) is often contradictory. Lowenthal (1975, p. 225) found that among older cohorts, women were more involved in the outside world than men. She suggests that the lives of women who are released from the parenting stages expand and increase in complexity. In her study, women in the pre-retirement stage seemed finally to "hit their stride" as problems with competence, independence and interpersonal relations were resolved (Lowenthal, 1975, p. 74). Kline (1975, p. 489) believes that the socialization process of American women involves role discontinuities and repeated adjustments to changes in life situations which facilitates the adjustment of women to old age. On the other hand, Kutner et al. (1970) and Dulude (1978) point

out that, according to their findings, women constitute the majority of the disadvantaged and the maladjusted in the aged population. They claim that for many women adjustment to old age is affected by the problems of widowhood, a drastic decline in income, as well as the loss of peers, health and important life functions. The prevalence of negativity in late adulthood is further supported by the research of Atchley and Morris. Atchley (1972, p. 34; 1976, p. 210) found that older women have poor self-concept, do not accept the reality of aging, and do not attempt to defend themselves by continued activity. In addition, Morris (1974, 6934) suggests that older women suffer more feelings of doubt and self-reproach than men.

The literature on women suggests that social scientists cannot presume that the lives of women are similar to the lives of men. If the timing, patterning and meaning of events may be different for women, these areas require further exploration so that they can be integrated into the bodies of knowledge concerned with human beings.

Developmental Tasks

The review of the literature also demonstrates that adulthood can no longer be considered "a vast monotonous plateau of invariable behavior" (Clark, 1968, p. 433). If,

as Riegel (1976) maintains, adult development involves a continuing dialogue between culture and the individual, it is possible that developmental paths may be significantly different, and also that the transition to adulthood may occur at different times for different individuals. Albrecht and Gift (1975) equate the entrance into adulthood with the choice of life role and note that this does not begin at the same age for each person. Moreover, since the individual is a "changing being in a changing world" (Riegel, 1976, p. xix), it seems likely that developmental tasks will be faced throughout the life course. The problem, according to Riegel, is that the individual adult must continually attempt to apply acquired personal values and habits to a constantly changing set of problems and interpersonal and group relationships. He insists that an adequate theory of human development must be capable of encompassing these complexities and changes.

The term developmental task was first coined in the 1930's by people prominent in the Progressive Education Association and was adopted and popularized by Havighurst in the 1940's and 1950's (Thomas, 1979, p. 127). According to Havighurst, the developmental tasks of life are pursuits that "constitute a healthy and satisfactory growth in our society. They are those things a person must learn if he is to be judged and to judge himself to be a reasonably happy and successful person" (1953, p. 12).

Developmental tasks have also been defined as: crises or critical steps (Erikson); turning points and problematic issues (Levinson); confrontations, contradictions, questions and challenges (Riegel).

Havighurst's developmental task theory (1953, p. 2) proposes that the process of living consists of an individual's working her way from one stage of development to the next by solving problems that are met at each stage. Tasks arise from three sources: 1. the biological structure and function of the individual. These tasks will be found in all societies; 2. the particular society or culture in which the individual lives, and 3. personal values and aspirations. Havighurst also differentiated between two general types of tasks: ones that arise only at a particular time and must be completed at that time, and ones that are continuing, which must be worked on over a period of many years. Havighurst delineated the tasks of early, middle and late adulthood. The developmental tasks of early adulthood are: 1. choosing a mate; 2. learning to live with the chosen partner; 3. starting a family, 4. raising children; 5. managing a home; 6. choosing an occupation; 7. taking on civic responsibilities; 8. establishing a satisfying social group. The tasks of middle adulthood include: 1. accepting adult civic and social responsibility; 2. maintaining a certain standard of living; 3. assisting children to become responsible; 4. pursuing adult leisure-time

activity; 5. maintaining the relationship with one's spouse; 6. adjusting to physiological changes and 7. adjusting to aging parents. The tasks of late adulthood involve: 1. adjusting to decreased physical strength and health; 2. adjusting to retirement and reduced income; 3. adjusting to the death of one's spouse; 4. affiliating with one's age group; 5. meeting social and civic responsibilities and 6. establishing a satisfying living arrangement (Havighurst, 1953).

In Erikson's theory of psychosocial development, which was discussed earlier, each stage is defined by a developmental crisis or task which emerges out of the encounter between a person and her environment. Erikson maintains that he uses the term "crisis" in a developmental sense to connote not a threat or catastrophe but a turning point, a crucial period of increased vulnerability and heightened potential" (Erikson, 1968, p. 96).

Similarly, Levinson views developmental tasks as crucial problematic issues arising out of polarities and contradictions between the self and the external world. In periods of stability, these tasks involve major life choices which build and enrich a life structure for the individual and allow her to pursue her goals within it.

In transitional periods the developmental tasks involve questioning and reappraising the present life structure, exploring possibilities - both internal and

external - for change, and moving towards commitments that will form the basis for a new life structure. The past is reviewed and evaluated, aspects of one's life may be terminated and the ensuing losses dealt with (Levinson, 1978, p. 317).

Three sets of tasks are proposed as the developmental work of early and middle adulthood. They entail: 1. building and modifying the life structure; 2. working on single components of the life structure. These include: forming and modifying a "dream"; forming and modifying an occupation; love-marriage-family; forming mentoring relationships; forming mutual relationships; 3. becoming more individuated. These tasks are concerned with the fundamental polarities of young/old (problems such as nurturing and aging), creation/destruction (the question of generativity or production and the reality of death), masculine/feminine, and attachment/separation. They are the contradictions that call out for resolution as the individual follows her life course (Levinson, 1978, p. 331).

Other life tasks have also been proposed. Bailyn (1976), Gould (1975) and Jacques (1965) suggest that there are universal life tasks:. general needs such as reevaluating the child's image of adult life in the light of reality and coming to terms with death.

Bernice L. Neugarten, one of the foremost researchers in the area of adulthood, sees the salient issues as: those that relate to the individual's use of past experience.

She especially emphasizes the "executive" aspects of personality - self-awareness, mastery, competence, cognitive strategies (Neugarten, 1975, p. 382); structuring the social world in which one lives; adjusting one's perspective on time; dealing with the major themes of work, love, death; changes in self-concept and changes in identity as one faces the successive contingencies of marriage, parenthood, career advancement and decline, retirement, widowhood, illness and personal death (Neugarten, 1968, p. 139).

Peck (1968, p. 88) lists four tasks to be faced in middle age: 1. valuing wisdom vs. valuing physical power; 2. socializing vs "sexualizing" in human relationships; 3. emotional flexibility vs impoverishment; 4. mental flexibility vs mental rigidity. He describes the tasks of late adulthood as: ego differentiation vs work-role preoccupation. This entails a crucial shift in the value system by which one establishes one's worth; 2. body transcendance vs body preoccupation; 3. ego transcendence vs ego preoccupation. Involved here is a reappraisal of those achievements which have meaning for the individual.

Proponents of the stage approach (Havighurst, Erikson, Levinson, Peck) generally believe that the individual works primarily on the tasks of a given period although some work may also be done on the tasks of other periods. If the tasks of previous periods have not been resolved and have left conflicts and deficits, the individual's current development

may be hindered or even prevented.

In contrast, however, to these theorists' focus on a sequence of tasks for successive life stages, Lowenthal and Weiss (1976), as well as other longitudinal studies (Britton and Britton, 1972), strongly suggest that one must simultaneously examine several tasks and how they periodically surface and recede. Lowenthal and Weiss (1976, p. 14) claim to have found indications in their research that the salience of intimacy waxes and wanes and waxes again across the life course and that the rhythms vary between the sexes, often with disruptive consequences.

Riegel appears to concur with the latter view by claiming that the major events affecting individuals (providing the context for developmental tasks) are arbitrarily induced upon them by social and legal regulations (departure from school, recruitment into military, job appointments and dismissals and retirement) or by cultural-social or outer-physical catastrophes (economic depressions, inflations, revolutions, wars, droughts, floods, fires, earthquakes). According to Riegel (1975, p. 125), only the inner-biological determinants seem to follow any predictable order, revealing first the individual's maturation, then the ability to bear children, and later the increasing tendency to incapacitation, illness and death. These events reflect the lack of

synchronization between biological, psychological, cultural and physical event sequences, and consequently often appear as crises to the individual.

Such events, and others such as marriage, divorce, the birth or death of loved ones, which have a notable impact on a person's life, are termed "marker events" by Levinson (1978, p. 54). "Maker events" are considered in terms of the age or period in the life course at which they occur, and in terms of the adaptation - such as changes in relationships, roles and personality - which they require.

The distinction between "marker events" and developmental tasks is not always clear in the psychological literature. Although for Erikson and Levinson "marker events" appear to provide the setting or the circumstances within which developmental tasks are confronted, others (Neugarten, Kimmel, Riegel) seem to use tasks and events as interchangeable or synonymous terms. Similarly, the term crisis is often associated with the term developmental task. Levinson (1978, p. 51) believes that tasks frequently involve crises or profound inner conflicts. Lowenthal's study of adult stages (1975, p. 223), whose findings suggest that *any* change - whether it produces a positive emotional effect or a negative one - may be stressful for the individual, supports Levinson's assumption. However, it must be noted that the concept of crisis is itself unclear. Darbonne (1967),

and Eastham, Coates and Allodi (1970) have outlined four current uses of the term: 1. in the organismic approach, crises relate to the theory of homeostasis and describe the disruption of equilibrium; 2. in the ego-integrative approach, such as Erikson's, crises are turning points whose resolutions are either relatively adaptive or maladaptive; 3. the developmental approach views crises as the fundamental elements in personality growth; i.e., crises produce periods of increased vulnerability which provide opportunities for development. Riegel (1978, p. 172) for example, defines crises as "the knots that tie together structural transformations on the biological, psychological, cultural and physical levels". They are constructive in that they provide both opportunities for change and meaning to change; 4. the sociological approach emphasizes the importance of cultural values in the definition of and reaction to crises. They point to differences in attitudes towards death, toleration of grief, and rites of passage as examples of culture-bound reactions. In line with this approach, Albrecht and Gift (1975, p. 242) point out that since crises have both objective and subjective dimensions, what appears catastrophic to one person may seem manageable to another. While events such as birth, marriage, departure of children, divorce, illness, moving and retirement require adjustment, the reaction of the individual is a function

of her interpretation of the situation, her preparation for the event, and her skill in problem-solving. According to Albrecht and Gift (1975, p. 239), "if expectations associated with an event are clear and the individual possesses sufficient resources to meet the expectations, there usually is no adult life crisis in the ordinary sense of the term." In support of this claim, Nydegger (1976, p. 137), having reviewed the literature, came to the conclusion that there was little evidence for a crisis interpretation of midlife as the typical developmental pattern. Rosenberg and Farrell (1976, p. 157) question whether the term crisis, as it has been used in clinical and popular literature, is a useful or accurate construct for understanding life changes and their associated problems. They suggest that more general social and psychological variables such as social class and individual defense mechanisms are responsible for a crisis interpretation of middle adulthood.

In addition to developmental tasks and crises, adult development has recently been conceptualized in terms of transitional experiences. Adams, Hayes and Hopson (1976, p. 5) define a transition as a discontinuity in a person's life space. This discontinuity is sometimes defined culturally by social consensus, and sometimes by the person's own perceptions. These two may not always coincide. Transitions may range from

macro-transitions like war, natural disasters and technological change, to microtransitions at a very personal idiosyncratic level. Adams, Hayes and Hopson delineate four types of transitional events: 1. predictable-voluntary (e.g., marriage); 2. predictable-involuntary (e.g., national service); 3. unpredictable-voluntary (e.g., computer dating); 4. unpredictable-involuntary (e.g., earthquake). An experience is considered to be transitional if there is personal awareness of a discontinuity in one's life or if new behavioral responses are required (Adams, Hayes, Hopson, 1976, p. 6).

The psychology of adulthood, especially in the research on women, has frequently been discussed in terms of the concept of role. Role is defined by Lipman-Blumen (1976, p. 106) as "a position in a social structure which involves a pattern of specific expectations, privileges and responsibilities, including attitudes and behaviors, and which is codified to some degree by norms, values and sanctions". Sales (1978, pp. 159-160), for example, suggests that adult crises or tasks be defined from a role perspective on women's lives; that is, role conflict, role overload, and role discontinuity. Kline (1975, p. 487), however, states: "the problem of analysing roles at any stage of the life cycle is complicated by the fact that the person has a number of intersecting and overlapping roles, simultaneously or sequentially,

according to the expectations of the situation. This problem is further accentuated for the female, who is under greater pressure to assume a number of conflicting roles throughout the life cycle than is the male. For most females, the various roles of worker, housewife and mother occupy different priority positions at different points in the life cycle, whereas for most males, the role of worker consistently occupies the greatest area of "role space". Francella and Frost (1977, p. 122) point out that roles are lived; they are not like a pair of shoes, worn one at a time and easily taken on or off. Beeson (1975, p. 56) believes that a role perspective in the research on women implies a one-sided causation "in what is actually a dialectical process between actors and their social world". She feels that the conceptualization of development in terms of roles produces an inherent bias: the very structuring of the problem prevents definitions of reality other than those anticipated by the researcher. Roles can be developmental tasks, but to define adulthood solely in terms of roles negates the complexity of reality and is therefore reductionistic.

The term "developmental task", then, appears to be a useful conceptualization for the following reasons: 1. it is either used by or is applicable to all the major developmental theorists; 2. it is fundamental to the developmental process - the path, so to speak, along

which development proceeds; 3. it is relatively value-free, unlike the term 'crisis'; 4. it is not inherently tied to a stage approach; 5, it allows for complexity and 6. it lends itself easily to issues in psychology, education and counselling.

Implicit in the concept task is the idea that it may be carried out well or poorly. Levinson (1978, p. 53) claims that evidence for either case would be seen in the quality of the individual's life structure. He defines a satisfactory life structure as one that is viable in society and suitable for the self; one in which the individual is able to adapt, to maintain her various roles, *and* to receive sufficient rewards. He wisely points out, however, that a structure may be externally viable and yet not internally suitable if it does not allow the individual to live out crucially important aspects of herself. At the same time, a structure may be acceptable in terms of inner dreams and values, yet not workable in the world. In a similar vein, Riegel believes that synchronization between inner dialectics and outer dialectics is the goal of a successful life. He points to the life span progression of a traditional marriage where coordination of the marriage partners is often achieved at the expense of the wife's individual development. The failure of women to synchronize their own progression with the world is further commented on

by Riegel:

> Women's development is more closely connected with that of her children; thus, she might suffer more severely under the "crisis" of their departure, reflecting once more her difficulties with society to coordinate her development with other individuals, especially members of the family. If other interpersonal tasks were required from her, or if other developmental tasks were more readily available to her, such as career, no serious crises would be generated by the departure of children. (Riegel, 1975, p. 54).

This contention is further supported by Lowenthal (1975), and Kline (1975), whose findings indicate that women who displayed the least degree of life satisfaction were characterized by a single continuous role of either homemaker or worker over the adult life span, whereas women who had faced more developmental tasks, had a greater degree of life satisfaction. Satisfaction, however, is itself a complex notion. Events such as marriage or the arrival of a baby may have a multitude of consequences and infinite personal meanings. According to Havighurst (1963) life satisfaction implies that a person has aged successfully if she feels happy and satisfied with her present and past life. Success, then, is defined subjectively in terms of inner satisfaction rather than external adjustment.

The present study then, attempts to explore the course of development of adult women in our society. The lives of women, rather than men, are examined in

an endeavor to rectify a situation wherein: "in relation to men (of the ruling class) women's consciousness did not, and most probably generally still does not, appear as an autonomous source of knowledge, experience, relevance and imagination. Women's experience did not appear as the source of an authoritative general expression of the world. Women did not appear to men as men do to one another, as persons who might share in the common construction of a social reality..." (Smith, 1979, p. 137). According to Smith (1979, p. 159), women have learned to dismiss their "experienced worlds as a source of concerns, information and understandings of the actualities of the social world." She insists that women now begin from their own center, their own experience, and make themselves as women the subjects of the act of knowing (Smith, 1979, p. 154).

Pilot Study

An initial attempt to study the development of the lives of women was made in the pilot study for the current investigation carried out in 1979. The project was designed as a preliminary inquiry into the developmental tasks of adult women. Thirty tasks gleaned from a review of the literature on adulthood were proposed as having relevance for the lives of women. Participants in the study were twenty-five women of various ages enrolled in the Department of Extension, University of Alberta, "Second Look" program. In the form of questionnaires, they were asked to help the investigator (a) to clarify the definitional meanings of the proposed developmental tasks. In the current study, therefore, the tasks used were defined by the women themselves; (b) to determine whether these tasks were in fact salient issues during the life course, and at what periods and (c) to assess the possibility of a correlation between life tasks and life satisfaction. In brief, it was concluded that the term developmental task appeared to be a useful and productive conceptualization for an examination of the developmental paths of adult women; i.e., the tasks (twenty-eight of them) made sense and were perceived as relevant by the women. The data also suggested that male-based and stage theories of adult development did not appear to adequately

describe the female experience. Moreover, it was felt that future research must have more of a phenomenological orientation than was included in the design of the pilot study and should therefore include an interview format in order to obtain indispensible qualitative data. In accordance with Ma[redacted]47, p. 196), the results indicated that it i[redacted]al to look first at the world of "things-as-th[redacted] its entirety before deciding which aspects of the world are important for theory. He claims, a position with which feminist researchers tend to concur (Smith, 1977, 1979; Fransella and Frost, 1978; Malmo, 1978) that the question "what" must precede why, whence and wherefore. According to Smith (1979, p. 175) it is the "everyday" world which constitutes the "problematic" or place from which questions such as "what" must originate. She defines the everyday world as "the various and differentiated matrices of experience - the place from within which the consciousness of the knower begins" (Smith, 1979, p. 173). The everyday world is the world directly experienced; the world in which individuals are located physically and socially. It is, therefore, necessarily local and historical. Smith cautions, however, against confining the inquiry to the everyday world: the everyday world must also be seen as "organized by social relations not observable within it" (Smith, 1979, p. 174).

The purpose of this study, therefore, is two-fold: it begins from the standpoint of women and permits them to be the source of knowledge. It does this by asking women to describe their own development (defined as changes) and life satisfaction during adulthood as they are experienced in their everyday world; it attempts, also, to investigate some of the conceptualizations by which developmental psychology attempts to organize and make sense of the "everyday" world. It does this by examining the developmental tasks of women.

Questions

The review of the literature on adult development suggests a number of biases, limitations, and areas which require further examination, clarification and description. The questions posed in this study address themselves to some of these basic theoretical and methodological issues. They are presented below in the sequence in which they occurred or were implicit during the data-gathering interview.

In order to withhold the imposition of a predefined reality, the following four questions attempt to examine the "everyday" world of women's development by drawing on women as the source of knowledge:

I. How do women themselves view and describe the progression of their lives? That is, how is the reality of adulthood actually experienced by them in their everyday lives?

II. How do women, generally, perceive their life satisfaction during the adult years?

III. To what do women attribute the high and low points of their life?

IV. Are there significant differences in life satisfaction between different groups of women?

The remaining questions attempt to investigate some of the ways in which developmental research and

theory tends to describe, organize and explain adult development. The term "developmental task" was the conceptual tool employed for this purpose.

Women were asked:

V. What they perceive as the most important developmental tasks of their adult years?

VI. Which tasks they view as least salient

To test for biases, such as age, economics or education, two questions were posed:

VII. Are there significant differences among women in terms of the *number* of tasks chosen as important?

VIII. Are there significant differences among women in terms of the *kinds* of tasks selected as important?

In order to establish whether there is support for a stage or linear approach to adult development, or whether a dialectical, transactional or non-linear model appears more accurate, the following questions on timing were asked:

IX. Are individual tasks confronted at distinct ages? In other words, is there evidence for a systematic age-functional relationship between task and age?

X. Are there important task times; that is, ages when tasks are encountered more frequently than others - such as suggested "transition" periods.

XI. Are there differences in the timing of tasks according to different groups of women?

The suggestion in the literature of a relationship between life "roles" or tasks and life satisfaction was challenged by the question:

XII. Do high or low points in life satisfaction correspond to the number or timing of tasks?

Finally, it was hoped that the information acquired in this study would advance possible answers to the following questions:

XIII. Does there appear to be a characteristic or normative structure or pattern to adult life?

XIV. What appears to be the best way to conceptualize adulthood and developmental tasks?

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN

Subjects

A large proportion of the current research on women has involved university and middle class females as its subjects. In accordance with the belief that an adequate theory of human development ought to be able to account for a large segment of the population, it was felt that an examination of developmental life tasks required a broader perspective. In order to find women with a wide range of experience, especially with respect to economic, educational and cultural backgrounds, thirteen women's organizations in Edmonton were approached. They were selected because the investigator felt they would be most representative of diverse life experiences. These organizations were:

1. The Junior League of Edmonton. It tends to consist of fairly wealthy married women - primarily, but not exclusively, homemakers.
2. University Women's Club. These women are associated with the university and are generally financially comfortable and well-educated. They frequently work both within and outside the home.
3. International Toastmistress Club. The Toastmistress Club consists primarily of women who have completed

highschool and may have had some college training. Those who contributed to this study were working mothers with administra secretarial jobs in large organizations.

4. Non-academic Staff Association, University of Alberta. The members of N.A.S.A. are secretaries and administrative assistants, single and married, and ranging in age from late adolescence to pre-retirement.
5. Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women. The constituents of this organization come from a wide range of business and professional domains: included are doctors, lawyers, teachers, women in management, etc. Regardless of their field, they take their careers seriously.
6. The Soroptomist Club. The club represents women in the business world, both employees and the self-employed. Their incomes vary.
7. Women of Unifarm. This is the women's division of Unifarm, a fairly political farmers organization.
8. Alberta Women's Institute. Its members are farm women. It has, in the past, had a reputation as a group which does not deal with large political issues. However, it now appears to be in a state of transition and is beginning to address itself to broader social concerns.
9. Strathcona Community Centre. This is a centre for senior citizens in Edmonton.

10. Women of the Moose. This is the women's division of the Loyal Order of the Moose, a lodge whose members tend to come from the lower income bracket. The women are either homemakers, or unskilled workers and may not have completed highschool.
11. Boyle Street Community Centre. The centre is situated in an ethnic, transient and lower socio-economic area in Edmonton. It serves those requiring either legal, financial or emotional assistance. Its work tends to evolve out of the political consciousness of those in charge of the centre.
12. The Bissell Centre. This centre also serves the "disadvantaged", especially uneducated women on welfare with emotional and/or physical problems. However, it provides primarily recreational and emotional assistance.
13. Voice of Alberta Native Women's Society. The organization represents Native or Métis women, from both urban and rural backgrounds. Native women were asked to participate in the study because they constitute a large but frequently ignored group in Alberta.

The pilot study indicated that religious denomination was not a significant variable. Consequently, women belonging to church or religious groups were not contacted for this investigation.

Volunteering rather than random selection was employed due to the nature of the research method: the participants had to be willing, not only to donate approximately two hours of their time but also to reveal potentially intimate details of their lives. Accordingly, three volunteers were requested from each organization. On three occasions an additional volunteer came forth who was also interviewed in the belief that diversity would benefit the study. Whenever possible, the volunteers were asked to represent distinct age groups, primarily young, middle, and late adulthood. According to the literature (Buhler, 1968; Levinson, 1978, etc.) the approximate age ranges for these periods are: young = 20-35; middle = 35-60; old = 60 plus. When this was not possible, women of different decades were requested. In total, forty-two women, spanning six decades of adult life, participated in the study. Finally, the women were also grouped (and the data later analyzed) according to five variables: 1. stage of life: young, middle, or late; 2. income: above or below $10,000 per year. This figure is the approximate dividing line between lower and middle income groups (Campbell, 1976); 3. education; 4. marital status; 5. number of children. Both the literature review (Campbell, 1976; Elder, 1974; Lowenthal *et al.*, 1976; Neugarten, 1968) and the pilot study (1979) pointed to

these variables as possible determinants of developmental progression in adulthood in our society. (For a more detailed breakdown of the characteristics of the women, see Appendix G.)

METHOD

Definitions

1. Development: a psychological construct defined in this project as change or growth (Goulet and Bates, 1970).
2. Developmental Tasks: significant issues or concerns which promote change or growth (Havighurst, 1953; Levinson, 1978).
3. The "Task Questionnaire" (Appendix C): the twenty-eight tasks on the questionnaire were each defined by the women in the pilot study (1979). The modal definition for each task was used (see Appendix C).

Instrumentation

1. The Life Map: life maps, graphs and lines have been used as a research tool in life-planning workshops (Johnson, 1977), in studies on adult development (Back and Bourque, 1970, 1977; Sanguiliano, 1978) and on life satisfaction (Lowenthal, Thurner and Chiriboga, 1976). The technique is a projective test in the sense that it asks the person to describe her life as she sees it. It also allows for the presentation of information

concerning the past, present and future in one format.

2. The Life Satisfaction Scale (Appendix B): the graph was employed in the study by Lowenthal, Thurner and Chiriboga (1976). It permits the individual to locate her subjective feelings of life satisfaction in the past and present as well as her expectations for the future. Life satisfaction is measured on a scale from one to nine, in two-year intervals. By stipulating '5' as the average life satisfaction for an average individual, comparative measures can also be made.

3. The Task Questionnaire (Appendix C); as was mentioned earlier, the questionnaire was devised by the author based on the review of the literature on adult development. The task definitions were derived from the pilot study (1979). Two of the original thirty tasks in the pilot project were eliminated from the final questionnaire as they were found to be redundant. A four-point Likert-type scale was used to allow for differentiation: A = tasks considered to be very significant; B = somewhat significant; C = slightly significant; D = never significant. For the final analyses, primarily "A" and "D" tasks were employed.

Procedure

1. The interviewee was asked to fill out a personal data sheet (Appendix A) which requested the information

considered relevant for this study.

2. Each participant was asked to draw a map of her life, commencing at the age *she* felt she had entered adulthood. On this map the person was asked to indicate the change points (or turning points) in her life, as well as other details which she considered to be significant. A probing interview followed which was taped. The interviewee was asked to explain the map according to how *she* viewed the progression of her life. She was also asked how and why she had changed (*if* she felt she had) and the significance of these changes. The Life Map preceded the other instruments in order to minimize the effect of external influences and to allow the women to "tell the story" of their development in their own terms.

3. After the map, the participant was requested to plot her life satisfaction on the Life Satisfaction Scale. She rated her degree of satisfaction during adulthood from one to nine, in two-year intervals. She was also asked to project into the future. For comparative purposes she was told to consider '5' as being the average life satisfaction for an average individual. The interview then continued with a view towards understanding the context within which high and low points occurred, and their meanings for the individual.

4. Each woman was presented with the 'Task Questionnaire'. Upon completion of the questionnaire, in order to assess the timing of tasks, she was asked to plot on the Life Satisfaction Scale the age or ages at which significant tasks were salient. The participant was also encouraged to discuss the tasks in order to elicit personal meanings and the impact of the tasks on the structure or progression of her life.

Instructions to Participants

1. Could you draw me a map of your life, however you see it, putting in all the turning points or change points (where you or your life changed in some way) and anything that you think was important to you. Also, if you could project into the future, what do you expect to happen? Begin where you think you started to become an adult.

2. This is a scale that looks at life satisfaction. Let's say '5' is the average life satisfaction for an average person. Starting where adulthood began for you, would you place dots all along to show me how satisfied with life you were, are and expect to be.

3. See Appendix C for the instructions on the questionnaire.

4. I would like you to go along the time line (of the Life Satisfaction Scale) and put a mark to show when

each of the tasks you chose as 'A' were especially important to you. You can note one time, several times, or indicate always if this was the case. List the tasks on the right hand side and place a mark or marks on the corresponding horizontal line.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

The results obtained in this study are various and multifaceted. Both qualitative and quantitative data are presented. The qualitative data issued from the interview, and from instruments such as the life map and the L.S.S.* which are projective in nature. Quantitative data were obtained via the Task Questionnaire, in conjunction with the L.S.S. Sherif (1979, p. 102) cautions, however, that the division between qualitative and quantitative methods within psychology obscures the real issues, which concern the ways in which to extend scientific methods to the study of human beings by other human beings. She maintains that the formation of an unbiased psychology requires broadening "the framework within which knowledge is sought", then persisting "in the difficult tasks

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*L.S.S. will now be used to refer to the Life Satisfaction Scale.

of relating events within that broadened framework through a variety of methods and research techniques" (Sherif, 1979, p. 109). The procedural techniques used in this study; i.e., qualitative data which acknowledge human consciousness and quantitative data which aim at statistical validation, are an attempt to apply the kind of scientific methodology necessary for the unique and complex subject of human development.

Just as the questions outlined in Chapter III follow the procedural sequence employed in the interview, in order to maintain internal and logical consistency throughout this paper, the results will be presented in the identical order.

I. The life map and probing interview were used to see how women themselves describe, view and experience their adult lives. Six major issues emerged:

A. Entrance into adulthood. Each woman was first asked at what age adulthood began for her. The answers ranged from age eleven to age twenty-two. Thirteen women (31%) claimed that they had entered adulthood before the age of fifteen. When the women were asked to explain their chosen age, the major criterion for defining themselves as adults was the assumption of responsibilities:

"I feel I was an adult my whole life because I was the oldest kid and had to bring in the wood, haul the water and do the jobs that needed to be done."

"When you're brought up in a family of nine children you're an adult at a young age."

"I got pregnant at eighteen and got married. All of a sudden you're responsible."

"I think family crises have a big bearing on your development. It focuses on decisions in your life. I had to think of others, had to take on responsibility."

Whether becoming an adult was facilitated by a family crisis, marriage or parenthood, entrance into adulthood was generally associated with the taking on of responsibilities.

The second most important defining variable linked to adulthood was independence, which was closely associated with being responsible. Frequently this took the form of leaving home, or of being left, and was considered a significant turning point in the journey from childhood to adulthood.

Also mentioned as introductions into adulthood were: changes of residence, which required adaptation and adjustment, unexpected confrontations with reality such as the death of a husband, a miscarriage, a mother's suicide, or a physical injury; and exposure to new experiences.

B. The Defining Characteristics of Adulthood. The major recurring theme in the life map/interview was the

connection between adulthood and increased responsibilities. "Responsibilities make a person develop" was the statement that reflected the predominant response.

Adulthood was also very often described in terms of increased independence and self-reliance, which again was associated with being responsible.

Other important characteristics included: learning to cope; having to make decisions; making commitments, increasing self-confidence; and broadening one's viewpoint.

C. Change *vs.* Growth. In examining the progression of the lives of these women, it is important to note that some women saw their lives in terms of significant changes while others - especially, but not exclusively, the older women - did not. The latter viewpoint is reflected in the following statements;

-"I don't think anyone changes that much over their lifetime."

-"Things just seemed to come along."

-"Almost everything I've done I've fallen into."

-"There were lots of significant things, but I don't think they've changed me."

-"I'm inclined to think your life is mapped out for you. There's a master plan. You just adjust to the times and the money you have."

-"I don't know if anything has changed me very much except growing up and growing older and adapting to it. There were no great big changes, I just coasted along, learned how to make do and cope."

-"I'm not aware of any major changes except when I got married and then I had a totally different lifestyle. I never saw having babies as a turning point - it was just a natural inclination."

-"I don't think I've changed within myself really. I think I've always been basically the same. I just lived day to day. Things just happened and I took them on."

-"Life is just a regular process of learning and acquiring material things and doing what I've wanted to do. I don't think I've changed very much. I'm basically the same person I've always been."

-"I just did things without being concerned about them. They promoted changes but I didn't think or worry about them."

-"I think through all these experiences I remain basically the same. I learned new things and just strengthened my original direction. It just added more understanding to my basic gut feeling ever since I was a kid about what life was about."

This last statement was said by a woman who also claimed: "I've got to be moving and growing." It seems, therefore, that for some women the concepts of changing and growing are not synonymous: growth, or a sense of maturing, may be perceived without a concomitant sense of change.

Other women, however, did describe their lives in terms of significant changes. Experimentation, exploration, challenges and added responsibilities were actively chosen by them. They could not tolerate feelings of stagnation:

-"I need challenges in my life or I get bored."

-"I'm the kind of person who needs change, for incentive. I wanted to grow."

D. Continuity/Discontinuity. For the most part, the women described the process of development as a gradual progression which tended to take the form of a series of small steps. In this sense they were inclined to perceive their growth and development as fairly continuous. Discontinuities, or momentous turning points, did occur for some women in the form of crises. Crises, however, were usually the result of an *unexpected* occurrence, such as a sudden death, an unplanned pregnancy, or the discovery of an extramarital affair, which then served as incentive for internal change or changed the outward direction of the individual's life. Yet it must be noted that what was considered a crisis for one person was not necessarily interpreted as a crisis by someone else. For instance, one woman, when asked about the unexpected death of her husband, stated: "Nothing too much changed. I had been alone anyways. Now I had complete responsibility."

E. The Complexity of Change. Just as a sense of growing and/or changing was experienced differently across individuals, what facilitates these processes in one individual may promote no movement in another.

Women's perceptions and definitions of their change processes were infinitely variable:

-"Everytime I did something different it was a change point. With new experiences I changed every time."

-"Learning to play the ukelele changed me. I started to gain self-confidence."

-"Learning to drive gave me a sense of accomplishment. It did a lot for me. I have a lot of independence and freedom."

-"It's amazing how many adult years are spent breaking away from parents. The parent thing may never be completely resolved for me." (age thirty-seven).

-"It's a process of becoming who I wanted to be."

-"I had to make strong commitments (at age thirty-nine) to someone other than myself. I stopped hiding things, refusing to address things, to confront things openly and within myself. I started to do some self-analysis. If you can face things honestly, that's a sign you're starting to grow up."

-"You learn from these things (referring to the Depression, World War II, prairie droughts and the women's movement). You have to cope with them and change inside yourself when you encounter these difficulties."

-"I wanted to make some changes, and I was working with other people who talked about ideas and things."

-"Things happened and I took them on."

-"I looked in the mirror and asked 'What have you done with your life?'."

-"When that happened (father's heart attack at age 44), I had to take a good look at myself. I didn't like what I saw and changed it. It's hard but I did it. They say you can't teach an old dog new tricks but you can."

As the foregoing statements illustrate, the catalysts for change were countlessly diverse and idiosyncratic, ranging from seemingly mundane activities such as driving a car to profound moments of self-reflection. Many women attributed their changes to external causes, either directly (for example: "things happened"; "*it* changed *me*) or indirectly ("I *had* to..."). Some - primarily, again, those who thought in terms of self-development - attributed their changes to their own volition. A close examination of the statements, however, reveals an inherent, constant interaction between the external (aspects of the environment) and the internal (individual consciousness): external and/or internal events required external and/or internal solutions; dilemmas were handled according to the possibilities which existed for the individual in her particular environment with her particular knowledge and experience. A dialectic was always involved, in which the internal and external dimensions of life mutually effected and created each other. Development was inextricably bound to a context which was complex and multidimensional. In addition, the sense of complexity was augmented by the variety of *meanings* which different women attached to different events and experiences. This phenomenon was evident throughout the interviews.

F. Adulthood as Progress or Regression. The majority of women expressed their changes in predominantly positive terms; that is, in terms of increments. Changes, however, could also be negative and regressive:

-"[illegible] made me hard. I didn't want to get close to anyone."

-"I was becoming very jaded. I started to build a shell around myself."

One individual described her changes in adulthood in terms of increasing bitterness and isolation; one woman's life was defined by her growing dependence on alcohol. The women in this study who expressed these views were the 'disadvantaged': they were single parents on welfare; two of them had been prostitutes.

Summary of Question I: The predominant themes which emanated from the life map and interview were:

1. the association of adulthood with responsibility
2. the diversity of the developmental experience, based on the context within which development occurred and on the subjective meaning the experience had for each individual.

II. General Pattern of Life Satisfaction

Question 2 examined the general pattern of life satisfaction during the adult years. Figure 1 illustrates the mean life satisfaction and range of responses for the

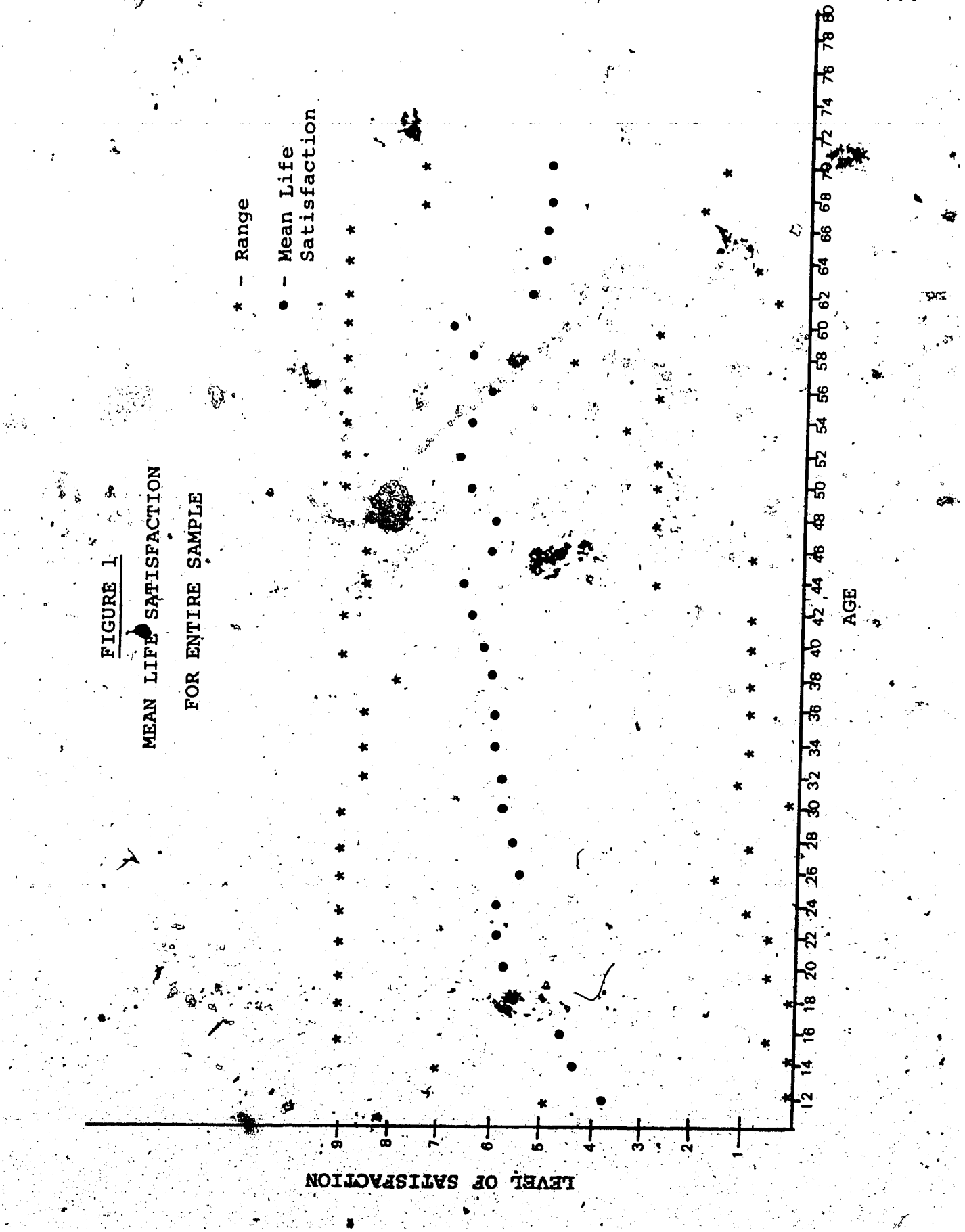

FIGURE 1

MEAN LIFE SATISFACTION

FOR ENTIRE SAMPLE

entire sample from age twelve to age seventy (for precise means see Appendix H). For the participants in this study, the most satisfying period of life tended to be the middle years, from age forty to age sixty. The time of least satisfaction occurred in adolescence, and a downward trend appeared again in late adulthood. It is important to emphasize, however, that the mean life satisfaction does not demonstrate the wide variety of individual differences which were found in life satisfaction: the s plotted by some women were fairly stable and even-eled; others had occasional highs and lows; and extreme swings in life satisfaction were also noted.

When asked to project into the future the majority of women were optimistic, expecting either a gradual upward progression or a levelling off at a comfortable level. Only a few hinted at a possible decrease in satisfaction in old age.

III.- Life Satisfaction: High and Low Points.

During the interviews the women were asked to explain the high and low points on the L.S.S. The major source of dissatisfaction stemmed from problems with a partner of the opposite sex. These included: adjustment to marriage; marital difficulties; separation; and divorce. Problems related to children were also mentioned frequently. In general, the family was a primary concern: "When the family has a problem, I have a problem."

Death - of a husband, child, or a friend - was also a significant determinant of low life satisfaction, as was moving from one community to another. Other reasons for dissatisfaction with life included: 1. stress related to historical events, such as the Depression Years and the social upheaval in the United states in the late 1960's; 2. internal confusion and a sense of meaninglessness. The college years and staying home with young children were cited as examples; 3. feelings of stagnation in the work domain; 4. stresses related to life decision-making; 5. serious physical injury and 6. the stress ensuing from responsibility overload, i.e., job plus family responsibilities.

The high points on the life satisfaction were generally described by the women in terms of an increased sense of accomplishment, of self-expansion and of "becoming their own person." The source of this sense of esteem was frequently the combination of a good homelife (being a good mother and/or having a good marriage) and rewarding work.

> "I feel pretty satisfied with myself because I basically do the things that please me though I have to compromise and be responsible for my family."
>
> "I think I've solved all the major things: a marriage that's reasonably satisfying, children, and I really like teaching."

"I'm satisfied with myself knowing I can cope."

For some women, of course, success in one area was sufficient. One individual also claimed:

> "Satisfaction is not an aspiration, its an accepting of what is."

Retirement, too, was mentioned as a factor contributing to high life satisfaction. In addition, it was observed that high and low satisfaction could be present at the same time in different domains of life; for example, an increase in self-esteem occurred as a marriage terminated. Similarly, a crisis could be viewed both negatively and positively:

> "The low point was so terrible yet I know it was so important for personal and marital growth."

Again, as with the issue of growth or change, the determinants of life satisfaction were not simple: they varied with individual life circumstances and the subjective interpretations of individuals. It is noteworthy, also, that although intimate relationships were given the most serious consideration in relation to *dissatisfaction* with life, satisfaction with life was described in broader, more general terms, and not as the *sole* consequence of intimacy.

To determine whether there were significant differences in life satisfaction between different groups of women, analysis of variance was performed on the life satisfaction data. When analyzing the data, primarily two areas gave rise to significant differences: income and marital status.

The largest number of significant differences occurred between the women of high and low income, with higher income women tending to report greater satisfaction. Figure 2 provides the different patterns of life satisfaction for the two groups of women. At almost every age the level of satisfaction was lower for lower income women. The periods when these differences were especially great were: adolescence; the thirties; mid-fifties to mid-sixties.

A few significant differences in life satisfaction were also reported between married and single women in their early to mid-thirties: married women were more satisfied than single women. The means, standard deviations and F ratios are detailed in Table 1.

V. The Task Questionnaire was employed to investigate current research in adult development. A frequency count was taken to determine which tasks women selected as most important in their adult lives. Table 2 lists the 'A' (very important) tasks in order of significance.

A number of details in Table 2 are noteworthy. Independence, commitment and becoming your own person

FIGURE 2

LIFE SATISFACTION

ACCORDING TO INCOME

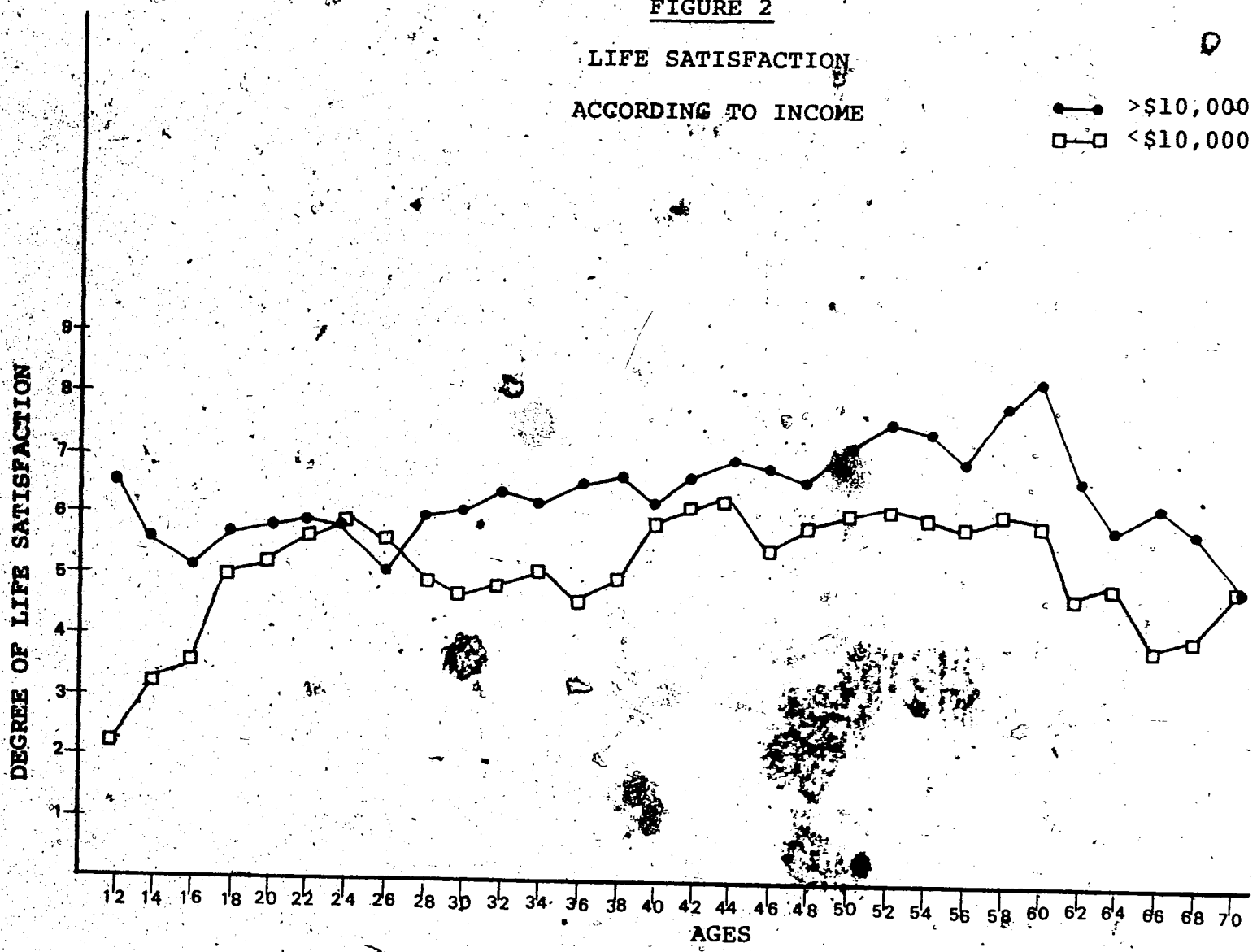

TABLE 1

Means, Standard Deviations and F Ratios for Life Satisfaction of Married and Single Women ages 32-36.

Age	M.S./b.	M.S./w.	d.f.	F	p
32	16.61	2.61	1,31	6.36	.0170
34	17.21	2.11	1,31	8.15	.0076
36	17.89	3.53	1,30	5.06	.0319

	Age 32		Age 34		Age 36	
	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	$\bar{X}$	S.D.
Married	6.18	1.52	6.21	1.32	6.26	1.85
Single	4.2	2.17	4.2	2.17	4.2	2.05

TABLE 2

Developmental Tasks Selected As "Very Important"

Task	No. of Women	Percent Women
Independence	32	76.2
Commitment	31	73.8
Becoming Own Person	28	66.7
Intimacy	27	64.3
Parenthood	27	64.3
Work	26	61.9
Competence	25	59.5
Fulfillment	25	59.5
Pregnancy	23	54.8
Marriage	22	52.4
Self-Acceptance	22	52.4
Time	22	52.4
Purpose in Life	21	50.0
Self-Esteem	21	50.0
Identity	20	47.6
Health	20	47.6
Grandparent Figure	18	42.9
Death	18	42.9
Body Image	15	35.7
Aloneness	13	31.0
Departure of Children	12	28.6
Sexuality	10	23.8
Widowhood	10	23.8
Retirement	10	23.8
Divorce	8	19.0
Menopause	8	19.0
Old Age	5	11.9
Aging	2	4.8

precede intimacy and parenthood; similarly, work, competence and fulfillment precede pregnancy and marriage. This is contrary in some ways to the priorities generally attributed to the development of women in the psychological literature (Erikson, 1968; Sangiuliano, 1978). Moreover, the issue of identity, which is given much attention in the literature on women, is considered 'very important' by less than half (47.6%) of this sample.

In addition, women added moving (changing communities), which was not on the questionnaire as an important task which provoked growth during adulthood. They also, on occasion, mentioned that they differentiated friendship from intimacy.

VI. The tasks which were chosen as unimportant ('D' Tasks) are listed in Table 3 in order of *least* significance.

According to Table 3, issues such as menopause and departure of children, which receive a great deal of emphasis in the research on women, are among the least significant concerns for the participants in this study. Intimacy, however, was not *unimportant* to any woman. Furthermore, several tasks were at least slightly important to the majority of women. For instance, it is interesting to observe that body image, while not one of the most salient issues, nevertheless had some

TABLE 3

Developmental Tasks Considered To Be "Unimportant"

Task	No. of Women	Percent Women
Divorce	23	54.8
Menopause	20	47.6
Widowhood	13	31.0
Old Age	13	31.0
Departure of Children	10	23.8
Aging	9	21.4
Retirement	9	21.4
Identity	8	19.0
Grandparent Figure	8	19.0
Sexuality	7	16.7
Time	7	16.7
Aloneness	7	16.7
Death	7	16.7
Self-Acceptance	6	14.3
Health	6	14.3
Self-Esteem	5	11.9
Pregnancy	4	9.5
Purpose in Life	4	9.5
Marriage	3	7.1
Parenthood	3	7.1
Work	3	7.1
Becoming Own Person	3	7.1
Fulfillment	3	7.1
Competence	2	4.8
Independence	1	2.4
Commitment	1	2.4
Body Image	1	2.4
Intimacy	0	0

significance for almost all the interviewees.

A comparative glance at Tables 2 and 3 suggests, also, a wide range of individual differences. A developmental task that may have been extremely meaningful in one person's life may have been entirely insignificant for another individual. Just as the developmental process described in question I took numerous forms and had a variety of meanings, individual life tasks, too, were differentially interpreted and handled. The following quotations illustrate the idiosyncratic responses given during the interview to the developmental tasks:

1. Independence

A. "It meant different things at different times. Independence became competence and commitment. It just takes different forms as you change and grow."

B. "I had no desire to be independent but I wanted to feel like I was holding up my end of the world."

C. "It only became important after my husband's death." (At age 73)

D. "Divorce made me a lot more independent."

E. "A car made me a lot more independent. I don't know what I would have done without a car."

F. "Before my twenties I never knew wives could be independent of husbands or daughters of families."

G. "There are different kinds of independence. I've had to be independent: the kids depended on me. And I've always been pretty independent but didn't have the time to do anything 'cause of all the home responsibilities."

H. "I was brought up independent."

I. "You change from a dependent to an independent person but it just happens. I like to be my own boss."

J. "I feel I have it now more than ever (at age 60), at least before marriage. At thirty, it really bothered me that I had lost it. I had to look at it realistically and say 'you can't have everything'. I've been *mentally* independent. No matter what you do you're curbed. Independence may even be more important to my way of thinking than marriage."

2. Intimacy

A. "It was very important, then lost importance when I realized I no longer needed it. It means different things at different times."

B. "Intimacy and a close sharing relationship have different meanings for me. I think of intimacy as a relationship with the opposite sex. I have a close sharing relationship with my daughter so I never felt I needed one with a man."

C. "I never had much intimacy except with my mother; I have several good friends but I'm not that intimate."

D. "It went from mother to husband. I'm always wanting it."

E. "I don't see how anyone can go through life without intimacy and not be stunted."

F. "I don't like to be hurt so I don't like to get too close to people."

G. "— with the kids, yes."

H. "It peaks after marriage, then other things become important like children and you don't have time."

3. Marriage

A. "Your whole lifestyle changes."

B. "I'm really glad I'm not married now because there are so many opportunities I can take advantage of (age 30)."

C. "Getting married and being married are two different things."

D. "Coming from a convent and a Catholic upbringing, entering my husband's life was like being in a candystore, wanting to taste everything."

E. "Marriage was giving up of *self* to become part of another person's whole life - *his* friends, *his* activities."

F. "Marriage meant kids."

G. "It was the last thing on my mind."

H. "It was the most important thing in my life."

I. "I think it has a lot to do with family. Lots of people in our family *haven't* married so it wasn't unusual."

4. Pregnancy

A. "I must have a deeply embedded inferiority complex because being pregnant made me feel important."

B. "It's a feeling like the world goes on with you."

C. "There's a kind of fulfillment there."

D. "The first one was a trauma; now it's no longer important."

E. "I can't differentiate between parenthood and pregnancy."

F. "*Not* being able to have children again was important."

G. "It's important because during pregnancy I learned to listen to my body and to the kid."

H. "I wasn't a bit interested in having children. I don't feel like I've been cheated."

5. Parenthood

A. "I have 26 neices and nephews and 9 brothers and sisters that I helped raise... I have no real need to be a parent." (age 36)

B. "I'm more interested in what happens to me than in looking after a child. I'm a priority. But I found the mothering role interesting and being home with little kids a terrible eye opener. I have a lot more empathy with other women now."

C. "It's had a lot to do with my changing. It's been the biggest thing in my life. The first two children were a real awakening. Now it's a really rich thing I can hang on to."

D. "The kids kept me going."

E. "I'd be quite happy to look after children if they weren't my own."

6. Work

A. "I don't need the money. It hasn't fitted in with bringing up my kids and I know I *can* when I want to."

B. "I don't expect to be a career person. I look forward to being home and not working." (age 27).

C. "Work was family life and I don't downgrade it - it has value."

D. "Work is all the significant activities I'm involved with."

E. "...gave me a chance to feel independent and gave me a sense of confidence."

F. "I felt my career was my family. After that, when I had time, it (work) was very important."

G. "I liked my job. I would never miss work. It gave me security, independence and pride."

H. "I think in terms of work, not career. I had to keep myself so I had to work."

7. Identity

A. "I never worried about who I was, I just was. But I did want to be the kind of person the kids would like."

B. "There was no identity crisis in my life. I know who I am. You take me or leave me (age 40)."

C. "I wish I *had* realized my identity, but I never gave it much thought." (age 76)

D. "Identity was not a problem except for being separate and independent from my parents. I knew who I was, it was *being* it."

E. "I never felt the need for 'identity'."

F. "I have no sympathy with identity crisis. You just do what you have to do."

8. Becoming Your Own Person

A. "I always knew or had a sense of self."

B. "I decided to become the person I wanted to be after my son's death," (when she was sixty-three).

C. "After the divorce, I wanted to know who I was, what I could get away with, what I could do."

D. "It's a life-long goal. Every day brings changes."

E. "I don't understand 'becoming your own person' or people 'finding themselves'. People used to have to go out and find something to eat."

F. "I didn't have enough education to give me the self-assurance I would sometimes like (age 70)."

G. "I just did things without being concerned about them. I am my own person."

9. Commitment

A. "I think I do it unconsciously."

B. "Whatever I undertook I always saw through."

C. "I always follow through. But now (age 82) I have learned to say no. I can no longer do long-term commitments."

D. "Setting goals is one thing. Completing them is another. I find it difficult sometimes to get to the goals I have set for *myself* 'cause of family commitments. The family takes first priority over any personal goals... but that's changing a bit as responsibilities lessen."

12. Menopause

A. "I'm just so delighted *not* to be able to have more kids. I wouldn't have thought menopause was such a neat deal if I hadn't had that last kid (age 41)."

B. "I never even knew I went through it."

C. "It was a low period. But I had to go out and work and cope and that kept me going."

D. "Not being able to have more children is really scary for me. My body then becomes a different tool, a barren feeling. It's horrible to think that if I fell in love the most precious thing a person can share with another person I'll never share with him. That would be a loss for me."

E. "I have no intention of letting it be a big concern."

F. "I wanted to get rid of it so badly. I was happy when it came; I felt better physically. It gave me a lot of relief. It's given me a different outlook on life."

G. "That's when you start living."

H. "It's a good experience. Childbearing is important but when it's time to be over, it's time."

I. "I was always afraid I'd go 'mental', and I didn't. I know it's an old wives' tale but it scared me. But it was a difficult time for me."

13. Departure of Children

A. "It's traumatic for me. I try not to hang on but it's hard."

B. "It's really trying times, really hard. We relived all the things we should have done."

C. "I enjoy life more now since the kids have been on their own. There's more time for yourself."

14. Self-Acceptance

A. "I've never been completely satisfied with who I was but I never worried about it."

B. "I think I know very well who I am now. It's taken a whole lifetime."

C. "It's an ongoing thing. I always struggle with it and it's always changing."

D. "It came to me in my 50's."

15. Aging

A. "It's part of life." (age 76)

B. "I'm not going to get old."

C. "It's inevitable."

D. "I never feel old; it never bothers me." (age 63)

E. "I'm quite happy to grow old if I can do it gracefully." (age 70)

F. "*Years* don't concern me. I don't think I'll rust out; I'll wear out. I like physical work as well as mental work. I feel I have to extend my mind and my body." (age 62)

G. "I accommodate to it. I now stop and think about the consequences of what I do. It's a change in lifestyle." (age 52)

16. Old Age

A. "I'll model myself after my parents and then old age is great."

B. "When the time comes you cope with it, like being forty."

C. "I don't want to be a horrible miserable old woman."

D. "It's just a question of what you make of it."

E. "I don't want to think about it."

F. "I'm preparing for it by watching my money, keeping my house. But you need your health."

G. "I never had time to think about being old. Also, you never think you're old when you have parents and grandparents."

17. Aloneness

A. "Learning to live with feeling alone is probably the most important thing you can do."

B. "I make jolly sure I'm not alone."

C. "I've spent about 65% of my married life alone and I can cope with it."

D. "I have learned to live with myself." (age 82)

E. "I don't want to grow old alone. I want a companion. It's my reason for staying in the marriage."

F. "Being alone is a big thing. You have to make your own decisions."

G. "I don't like it. I need to be around people."

H. "I like it."

18. Retirement

A. "*His* (husband's) retirement would be a problem. Women never retire."

B. "My heart went down when I got the letter I had to retire."

C. "I enjoy the fact that I'm free now from a nine to five job. It's surprising how many interesting things there are to do."

D. "I'll do things."

E. "I don't see myself retiring."

F. "I'm busy, I enjoy life, good health - I'm on even keel. Retirement gave me freedom. For the first time I could be who I wanted to be."

G. "I'd like to start living for myself, but can I? I'm not sure how I'd make out without being responsible for many things."

19. Competence

A. "I always wanted to feel competent and always have."

B. "In my small world I want to do everything well."

C. "Competence and commitment - you can't have one without the other."

D. "We were just brought up to do things properly."

20. Grandparent

A. "It was a shock because I myself was still a 'mummy'. All of a sudden it seemed to me that I didn't have enough years between being a mother and being a grandmother." (age 49)

B. "It's a new chance with a new person." (age 39)

C. "I'm not ready yet." (age 36)

D. "It's a fulfillment, a free giving of yourself. Those little kids give you love for nothing."

E. "I see it as contributing to the future, but politically, not as a grandparent."

21. Death

A. "I didn't want to get close to anyone again."

B. "I'm frightened how I'm going to face it."

C. "I work hard at living because I know it could be gone at anytime."

D. "It brought me closer to my family."

E. "I don't know if I can deal with my own dying yet."

F. "It's part of my culture." (Métis)

G. "I believe in an afterlife."

H. "Well, it comes to all of us. The death of my mother didn't have the same effect on me as if I was younger. My husband's death had a great effect because I centered my life on him."

I. "I've come to the point a few times when I could just chuck'er but if you're going to raise a family you can't do that. You've got to keep going."

22. Fulfillment

A. "My biggest thing was at the T.V. station, when I took a man's job. I'm not a perfectionist. I like to do a lot of little things and that to me is fulfillment."

B. "I don't think anyone ever feels satisfied or content. Fulfillment to me means complacency or boredom."

C. "I feel I've led a rich life but there's always more to do. I struggle with it." (age 60)

D. "I think I'll wait for that to come. I've got enough to keep me busy. It's only in the last few years that the feeling of fulfillment has started to come. Before that there were too many involvements, I was overloaded." (age 37)

E. "I feel satisfied and content now." (age 57)

VII. To determine whether there were significant differences between groups of women in terms of the number of tasks they had chosen as important ('A' Tasks), one way analysis of variance was performed (see Appendix D). The five variables which were examined were: stage of adulthood, level of education, marital status, number of children, and amount of income. They were differentiated as follows:

A. stage: 1. young (18-34)
2. middle (35-59)
3. old (60 plus)

B. education: 1. technical college or less
2. university

C. marital status: 1. never married
2. married

D. children: 1. none

2. one or more

E. income: 1. greater than $10,000

2. less than $10,000

There were no significant differences between women when they were compared by education level, marital status, number of children, or income. However, as Table 4 indicates, women in different stages of adulthood differed significantly in the mean number of tasks they chose.

The Scheffé method was applied to test the differences between the pairs of groups. The test indicated that young adults differed significantly from old adults at the .05 level with respect to the number of tasks chosen.

Cochran's and Bartlett's test for homogeneity of variance between the groups yielded non-significant results:

$$\begin{pmatrix} \text{Cochran } C = .4354,\ p = .50 \\ \text{Bartlett-Box } F = 9.55,\ p = .385 \end{pmatrix}$$

It must be noted, however, that *individual* women differed radically in the number of tasks they reported as important to them. The number of tasks identified ranged from four to twenty-eight.

TABLE 4

Analysis of Variance: Number of 'A' tasks selected according to stage of adulthood

Group	Count	Mean	S.D.
Young	10	15.4	3.75
Middle-aged	22	12.5	5.72
Old	10	9.2	5.33

Source	S.S.	d.f.	M.S.	F
Between	192.62	2	96.31	3.51*
Within	1069.50	39	27.42	
Total	1262.12	41		

*F ratio $p < .04$ significant at .05 level.

VIII. Chi-square analysis was used to determine whether there were significant differences between women in terms of the kinds of tasks they had chosen as important (see Appendix E for raw data). The importance of the various tasks (very, somewhat, slightly, never) was cross tabulated with the group variables (stage, education level, marital status, number of children, income level), and chi-square calculated. Table 5 presents those tasks whose selection was significantly different according to different groups of women.

A. Identity was viewed as a very important developmental task by 80% of the young adults, 50% of the middle-aged adults, and only 10% of the old adults. It is interesting to observe that no one in young adulthood said that identity was unimportant, while 30% of those in late adulthood claimed that identity had never been important to them.

B. Divorce was at least 'somewhat' of an issue for 60% of the young adults, and for 36% of the middle-aged adults.

TABLE

Summary Table of Significant X^2 Results: Differences Between Groups of Women and Selected Tasks

Task	Group	X^2	d.f.	p.
A. Identity	stage	13.2	6	.04
B. Divorce	stage	16.32	6	.0121
C. Departure of Children	income	10.13	3	.0175
D. Aging	stage	17.63	6	.0072
E. Widowhood	income	8.58	3	.0354
F. Self-esteem	stage	15.64	6	.0158
G. Fulfillment	stage	12.56	6	.05

However, it was never an issue for anyone in late adulthood.

C. For the low income (less than $10,000) group of women, the departure of children was either very significant (37.5% of the women) or never significant (43.8% of the women). An examination of the other data on the lives of these low income women revealed details which likely have bearing on these results. Three of the women in the low-income sample had never had children; therefore, departure of children had no relevance for them. Another three were in late adulthood and their children had already departed. On the other hand, the majority of the low-income women were single parents (either unmarried, divorced or widowed) for whom the departure of children might be viewed with significance. The majority (65.4%) of the higher income (greater than $10,000) women viewed the departure of children as only slightly or somewhat important.

D. Fifty percent of the old adults claimed that aging was not nor had ever been a concern for them. This was true of only 10% of the young adults and 13.6% of the middle-aged adults.

E. Women with incomes above $10,000 consistently saw widowhood as a more important developmental task than women with lower incomes. Whereas 56.3% of the lower

income women claimed that widowhood was unimportant, only 15.4% of the higher income women felt that it was not a concern for them. As was previously mentioned, however, the majority of lower income women in this sample were either single, divorced or widowed and were already accustomed to being on their own; since they did not have husbands, widowhood was not an issue.

F. There was a great difference in the importance of self-esteem as a developmental task between young adults and old adults. Almost all young adults (90%) felt that self-esteem was very important, as did 45.5% of the middle-aged adults. However, only 20% of the old adults felt that it was very significant, and 30% claimed that it was unimportant.

G. In a similar fashion, fulfillment was viewed as very important by *all* the young adults, 50% of the middle-aged adults, and 40% of the old adults.

IX. Question IX is concerned with the timing of individual life tasks in order to determine whether there is evidence for a systematic age-functional relationship between task and age. The age or ages at which each "very important" or "A" task was encountered was plotted on the L.S.S. Women also had the option of answering 'ALWAYS'.

A task, therefore, could be confronted at one age, at a number of ages, or could be a constant theme in an individual's life. Table 6 lists the *modal* responses given for each task in order of progression across the life span. A number of points must be emphasized which are obscured by Table 6: some life tasks may not have been developmental issues at all for certain individuals; some tasks were confronted only once, some several times; some were consistently important throughout a person's life. As Table 6 demonstrates, independence, commitment, body image, purpose in life, health, competence, and fulfillment - when they *were* concerns - tended to be issues throughout the lifespan. Furthermore, regardless of modal responses, individuals also differed radically from each other in the timing of tasks. For example, the timing of independence ranged from age sixteen to age sixty-four and the timing of pregnancy from age fifteen to age forty-one; similarly, the responses given for the timing of confrontation with death were entirely random and idiosyncratic.

X. Question X addresses itself to important task times in order to determine whether there are marked developmental periods in adulthood. As in question IX, this was answered by examining where on the L.S.S. the women had marked the age or ages at which they had dealt with salient tasks. In order of importance, the times at which the most tasks were recorded are: 1. the twenties; 2. the thirties; 3. the

TABLE 6

Modal Responses for The Timing of Developmental Tasks

Age Period	Task
16-20	Independence
	Sexuality
16-25	Marriage
21-25	Pregnancy
	Self-Acceptance
26-30	Intimacy
	Parenthood
	Work
	Identity
	Becoming Your Own Person
	Aloneness
	Self-Esteem
31-40	Aging
36-40	Divorce
	Departure of Children
	Time
41-50	Menopause
46-50	Grandparent Figure
51-55	Old Age
	Widowhood
61-65	Retirement
Always	Independence
	Commitment
	Body Image
	Purpose in Life
	Health
	Competence
	Fulfillment
	Death*

*Individual random responses.

forties; 4. late adolescence. The least significant decade appeared to be the fifties - only two responses were given. More specifically, important task times for this sample of women were: 1. ages 22-26 (16 responses); 2. 30-32 (10 responses); 3. 40-43 (6 responses). However, it must be noted that from late adolescence until the fifties, almost every age was mentioned as significant by at least one individual; in fact, the ages reported for life tasks ranged from fifteen to sixty-four. Consequently, although it appears that there are notable developmental periods, especially during young adulthood, the timing of tasks is also an individual and idiosyncratic matter.

XI. To ascertain whether the timing of tasks was dependent or independent of group membership, the timing of tasks, expressed in five-year intervals, was cross-tabulated with group membership. Since the timing was divided into five-year intervals, there were as many as fourteen categories. Chi-squares between timing and different groups for various tasks were calculated. Significant differences are shown in Table 7 (see Appendix F for raw data). Since some tasks did not appear for some individuals, and since the same person could indicate that different tasks were important at different times, the actual number of time categories that were used differed for the different tasks. Thus, the degrees of freedom vary from task to task for different groups.

TABLE 7

Summary of X^2 Analysis

Differences in Timing of Tasks

Task	Group	X^2	d.f.	p
1. Becoming Your Own Person	stage	25.87	12	.01
2. Commitment	income	13.49	6	.04
3. Divorce	stage	8.0	3	.05
4. Competence	stage	24.98	10	.005
5. Grandparent Figure	marital status	14.99	7	.04

The actual differences in the timing of the tasks in terms of age periods are presented in Table 8.

The data in Questions IX, X and XI present modal responses, group responses and individual responses. An examination of modal responses could be interpreted as evidence in support of a relationship - albeit broad and general - between task and age. A glance at Table 6, for example, suggests *some* regularity and order in the developmental process. However, the relationships between task and age documented in this study differ somewhat from those posited by previous developmental theorists and researchers (Erikson, 1968; Sales, 1977). Moreover, group differences and individual responses, indicating that women encounter both different kinds of tasks, and different tasks at different times, suggest that the timing and nature of development are richly diverse, and that there exists a wide range of developmental possibilities.

XII. The L.S.S. was again examined to see whether the confrontation of life tasks corresponded in any way to the level of life satisfaction. For 74% of the women, there appeared to be no distinctive or consistent correlation between either the number or the timing of tasks and life satisfaction. Nine percent (4) of the women reported task encounters at times of high life satisfaction while seventeen percent (7) of the women were experiencing low satisfaction at task times. For the latter group, the level of

TABLE 8

Differences in Timing of Tasks by Group

Task	Group	Modal Response Age
1. Becoming Your Own Person	Young Adults	26-30
	Middle-Aged Adults	36-40
	Old Adults	always*
2. Commitment	Low Income	16-20
	High Income	always
3. Divorce	Young Adults	26-30
	Middle-Aged Adults	36-40
	Old Adults	never
4. Competence	Young Adults	16-20
	Middle-Aged Adults	26-30
	Old Adults	always
5. Grandparent Figure	married	46-50
	single	21-30

*Only 3 responses from older adults.

life satisfaction and the tasks confronted generally revolved around a crisis, such as a death or a separation.

XIII. Did there, then, appear to be a characteristic structure or pattern to the lives of these women? At best, the data in this study hinted at a very general normative model having the following characteristics: to love and to work, as Freud so aptly stated, appeared to be the central themes around which life was organized. Developmental tasks were viewed as the social/psychological/physical/biological challenges related to these themes. Those to which greatest importance were ascribed included: independence, commitment, competence, becoming one's own person, intimacy, parenthood, work and fulfillment. The notion of responsibility, however, was given as the most frequent description/explanation of the developmental process. As well as emphasizing responsibility, the progression of women's adult years was fundamentally tied to three variables:

1. the biological laws which affect fertility and the aging process; 2. the socio-cultural/historical context within which such issues as marriage, divorce, departure of children, retirement, and external events are created and occur; 3. and the unique psychological meaning system of each individual. An examination of the interaction of all three variables was essential to understand the nature, rate, and process of development.

Although some similarities to conventional models of

development based on males were found - such as the themes of love and work, and some periods of equilibrium and disequilibrium - there were also crucial differences. The concept of responsibility, for instance, is rarely discussed in mainstream developmental literature. In addition:
1. tasks were not found to be inevitable and universal;
2. the meaning which tasks were given varied from person to person, and for the same person at different times; 3. the priorities assigned to various tasks differed. In fact, issues such as independence, taking care of others (nurturance), intimacy, or body image, are seldom emphasized to the same extent or in the same way in traditional models of development; 4. the timing of tasks was not invariant. Along with the focus on responsibility, the most striking feature of this study was the evidence of non-linearity, which is contrary to most developmental theories. Consequently, there was little confirmation for fixed and systematic turning points or structure-building and structure-changing periods. Instead, it was found that the social/psychological issues which are purported to define adult development *may* be handled without conflict; they may be denied or avoided; or they may not be issues at all. Development, in fact, was found to be complex and multidimensional. The question which arises, however, is whether similar developmental phenomena would be found in adult males if they were examined from a phenomenological perspective. This, as yet, remains to be seen.

XIV. Since the results of this investigation do not advance a clear, normative profile of women's development in the traditional linear model, what conceptualization of adulthood *is* implied by the data? The three outstanding characteristics which emerged from the interviews are:

1. the variability and complexity of adult life;
2. the importance of the context within which each life is lived;
3. the variability and uniqueness of each individual's meaning system.

The developmental process may take a multitude of forms and can never be fully understood without taking into consideration the context, both internal and external. The internal context includes past and present experiences as well as past and present interpretations - the individual consciousness, in other words. The external context includes the individual's social, cultural and economic situation in which she lives. While examples of personal interpretations have been given in Section V of the Results the following quotations illustrate the importance of the social/cultural/historical context:

1. "L.", who was seventy-six years of age, had combined a successful teaching career with marriage, motherhood

and church work. She stated: "I had maids. That was very important, otherwise I could not have done it." She also credited an aunt for being an important role model for her.

2. "M.", who was sixty-five, single, and had been raised on a farm, said: "if things had been different (referring to the Depression, W.W. II, and other hardships) I would have done my own thing and been a professional." She mentioned that she had changed jobs "every five years for a new challenge. Today people change jobs easily. Back then it was an unusual thing to do. Then I stuck with the same job for 22 years - I had to think of retirement benefits."
3. "K.", (age thirty-five) in discussing her divorce, said: "We've been raised to be married women. Your whole set of values has to change and you're lost for years and years about who you are."
4. One eighty-two year old woman described the last eight years of her life as the most satisfying: "For the first time in my life I could do my own thing," (like write and paint). However, it is important to note that she had an independent income and was in relatively good health.
5. "C." (age 36), attributed her personal inner growth to two sources: a. "*I* wanted to grow. As the kids grew I had time to think about myself." b. "I worked

with a lot of great people who opened me up, made me more aware of the world around me."

6. "B." who was a forty-five year old Black American, attributed her determination to a strong mother as model and said "I don't want to see myself sitting in a rocking chair and knitting. It's scarey. Sometimes we women cut our lives short at a certain age. I want more. But by the time I'd complete my upgrading and school I'd be fifty. The workforce isn't so happy about fifty year old women coming in. So I don't know if I should just accept where I'm at."
7. "E.", age fifty-four, discussed an unexpected pregnancy in her mid-thirties: "Abortion wasn't considered in that small Montana, Catholic town. If these things had happened in the late sixties or seventies I would have done different things."

As these examples demonstrate, development is inextricably bound to the social world (e.g., role model), to economics, to historical time and to cultural milieu. It appears that an adequate conceptualization of development must give equal consideration to the individual and to her environment and must see the relationship between the two as necessarily and inherently dialectical or transactional; that is, both are active entities that create and transform each other. The plurality and

complexity observed in this study necessitate a model of development which by *definition* acknowledges the dynamics of interrelationships on which movement through life is based.

Summary of Results of External Rater

For the purpose of increased reliability, an external rater was employed to comment on a sample of the taped interviews. The rater was a doctoral student in the Department of Educational Psychology, who was familiar with the literature on both women's issues and human development. One tape from each age group (young, middle and old) was randomly selected. The rater was asked to note the predominant themes or issues concerning development and developmental tasks which emerged during the interviews. The following is a summary of her comments:

A. Rater's overall assessment:

> "I'm struck by how different these three women are, how much the course of their lives depends on circumstances external to them, how different were the developmental tasks or turning points that produce change and growth."

B. Themes and topics that the rater observed:

1. Adulthood: associated with taking on responsibilities and leaving home; done for different reasons and at different ages.

2. Progression through life: not the same for these women; faced different experiences at different times which had different meanings for them - examples include education and community work, having a child and facing death.

It was found that:

*A. Different events have different meanings for different women.

*B. What is perceived as a turning point is not the same for each individual.

Examples: Tape #1. Turning points were defined by change or adjustment due to the unexpected, and involved taking responsibility. Growth also occurred from the expected, but this does not stand out.

Tape #2. Turning points were viewed as changes resulting from actions such as leaving home, moving to a city or leaving a job. Growth, however, occurred from things one could not change, such as the Depression, employment

possibilities for women, etc.

Tape #3. Changes resulted from being greatly affected by people; encouraged and challenged by them. Growth occurred also because she made things happen for herself.

*C. There is a great difference in the number of tasks that produce change; this is not a function of age, but of experience and circumstance in life.

*D. Individual differences are also evident in the extent to which and the manner in which people and events influence an individual.

Examples: Tape #3. The participant makes sure that changes occur by making use of people and external events.

Tape #2. The interviewee describes her life as placid, with few highs and lows, and in terms of a willingness to "take what comes."

Summations: 1. What is crucial for one woman is not necessarily crucial for another:

A. goals are different; B. questions are different C. choices are different; D. What is challenging is different; E. meanings are different. This

seems due to: A. life circumstances and experiences: the environment; B. individual interpretation; for example, is the task expected or unexpected; C. personality/history of the individual: how stress is handled; whether or not change or growth is desired.

2. It is also evident in these tapes that women do not see themselves only in relation to men or to the sexual/maternal functions.

As is readily discernible, the rater's analyses of these tapes is congruent with those of the present writer.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

The results obtained in this investigation raise many issues. They will be addressed according to the sequence in which they emerged, following the format of the interview questions.

I. Entrance into Adulthood

The age range found for entrance into adulthood was eleven to twenty-two, a span of eleven years. The normative age range given for this initiation period into adulthood is sixteen to nineteen (Levinson, 1978; Gould, 1978); furthermore, Levinson (1978) insists that the timing of periods does not vary more than two years in either direction. How, then, to explain the data obtained here? Since some women appear to begin to mature much earlier than the normative age postulated for men while others tend to attain maturity later than this, it is possible to postulate that greater developmental variability is inherent to females. Historically, this has already occurred and been disputed (Shields, 1975). However, if we do not look to nature but to the social environment, an alternate explanation presents itself. As the women interviewed suggest, the great variation in age may be a function of the timing of the assumption of responsibilities. Since many females

are more closely allied to the family and the parenting/caring role, when familial or sexual crises arise, they may be encountered by females more readily and, therefore, earlier than by males. On the other hand, those women who have not had to face these challenges may be either encouraged or allowed to avoid adult responsibilities until much later, again because of the social expectations for female development. It seems, then, that entrance into adulthood is a function of the events which occur to an individual, the expectations for that individual, and the meaning which these events have. It may well be that had Levinson and Gould interviewed a more diverse sample of men (and women) - from different economic and cultural backgrounds and experiences - they too might have found greater variability in the timing of entrance into adulthood. At this point, it is important to recall that the present segmentation of the life cycle into infancy, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, middle age and old age, is itself an arbitrary and recent phenomenon in Western culture. Skolnick (1976, p. 4) points to cross-cultural research in other societies in which the social sphere of adult and child is observed to be unitary and undivided. Children "are actively and *responsibly* part of the social structure, the economic system, the ritual and ideological system." Children begin to work as soon as they are able, their duties gradually increasing. Ruth Benedict (1955), an

anthropologist, argues that our culture is distinctive in the sharp discontinuities in behavior which are expected at different ages. In those societies in which responsibilities accrue gradually and continuously, the distinctions between life cycle stages are minimal. It is interesting to note, therefore, that the unifying characteristic which underlies the assorted entrances into adulthood described by the interviewees in this study is precisely this sense of discontinuity from childhood or adolescent experiences: significant increases in responsibilities and independence, or new adjustments and experiences, are, in fact, the forms which represent discontinuity.

The research suggests, then, that both the events which signify the beginning of adulthood, and the meaning and impact of these events - i.e., the experience of discontinuity - are a function of social, psychological, cultural and historical conditions.

II. Defining Characteristic of Adulthood

One of the most noteworthy findings in this study was the emphasis placed on the concept of responsibility as the foremost characteristic of adulthood. Responsibility was defined by the women in terms of: 1. taking care of others; 2. duty and obligation, 3. facing the consequences of one's actions. Bardwick (1979, p. 122)

discusses the first definition in a way which accurately reflects the responses of the interviewees: "Taking on responsibility is a behavioral statement that we have made a commitment to the relationships and to the people within it. By what we do, we signify that we care." Taking on responsibility, then, involves a *decision* to commit. Bardwick's statement is important because it implies that women at some level are always *active* participants in their development. This contradicts statements found frequently in the literature on women which claim that "in general, women's... organization of their daily lives do not conform to the 'voluntaristic' model or the agentic approach (i.e., the actor as a maker of choices). Women have little opportunity for the exercise of mastery and control" (Smith, 1979, p. 151). Even when confronted with situations beyond one's control, or with limited options, to behave responsibly and to commit oneself is still a choice. Denying the existence of mastery and control, when, in fact, women frequently choose to be responsible serves only to reduce and negate their power, strength and worth.

Gilligan (1977), in her study on the moral development of women, found that women talk "the language of responsibility" and view moral dilemmas in terms of conflicting responsibilities. She comments: "The discovery now being celebrated by men in mid-life of the

importance of intimacy, relationships and care is something that women have known from the beginning. However, because that knowledge has been considered 'intuitive' or 'instinctive', a function of anatomy coupled with destiny, psychologists have neglected to describe its development."

Loevinger and Blasi (1976) address the issue of responsibility in their discussion of the fifth "autonomous" stage of ego development. They define responsibility according to definitions #2 and #3 (above) given by the women: "Responsiblity is that relation of necessity that an individual establishes or recognizes between himself and his own action, before the action takes place as well as after it has been performed. The relation between the person and the action before it is performed corresponds to the notion of obligation and is an answer to the question: 'Do I have to act in such and such a way?' The relation between the person and the action already performed involves ownership and corresponds to the notion of accountability. The question is: 'Is this action necessarily mine?'" (Loevinger and Blasi, 1976, p. 446). Loevinger and Blasi (1976, p. 446) explain the connection between ego development and the development of responsibility in terms of a dimension of internality-externality.

Individuals at different ego stages tend to approach responsibility differently: at the preconformist stages responsibility is either externalized or denied; at the conformist stage it is accepted but focused rigidly on rules and authority; at the conscientious stage and above it is oriented toward the self. In particular, at the autonomous stage, moral dichotomies are relinquished and a feeling for the complexity and multifaceted character of real people and real situations emerges (Gilligan, 1979, p. 444). Of special interest is the relationship emphasized by Loevinger and Blasi between responsibility and self-definition: "Since responsibility, by definition, consists in establishing relations of consistency between self and actions, the structure of responsiblity must be related logically to the basic rules presiding over the definition of oneself as a person and determining the meaning that one has for himself and that the world has for him. Because a person understands himself to be essentially and unequivocally thus and so - his self-definition - he also understands the actions that are related to his essential characteristics to be necessarily his: his responsibility. The obligation to act may come from different sources, such as authority, social pressure, his conscience, or the person himself: responsiblity,

nonetheless, is ultimately always a response of the ego (or of the person) that defines him as necessarily related to that source of obligation" (Loevinger and Blasi, 1976, p. 447). In short, the kinds of responsibilities an individual takes on are a function of the person's self-definition or identity. A glance at the responsibilities assumed by the women in this study, then, does not suggest a lack of identity, nor an image of women *solely* as nurturers and care-givers (although this is indeed very important), but a more complex definition, based also on work, social/political activities, and commitments to competence and fulfillment. Loevinger and Blasi's (1976) theory also suggests that it is confusion about what responsiblities to assume and where responsibilities lie (as in times of social and personal change) that leads to diffusion or confusion of identity. This provides a political and social, as well as personal, explanation for the "problems" encountered with women's identity.

III. Change vs. Growth; Continuity vs. Discontinuity

The distinction between change and growth, the corresponding sense of discontinuity or continuity in an individual's life and the ultimately complex view of development which emerges from this study, are three

closely-related themes which will, therefore, be discussed as a unit.

As the quotations in Chapter Four demonstrated, many women viewed their changes not as an inner necessity but as a consequence of occurrences external to them. There was little evidence, from their own description of the aging process, of *inherent* transition or critical periods, or crises. Moreover, contrary to Buhler (1968), few women perceived their lives to be defined by direction and unity. Smith (1979, p. 151) states: "characteristically for women, the organization of daily experience... and the structuring of our lives through time has been, and to a large extent still is, determined and ordered by processes external to and beyond our everyday world. I think I would be by no means alone in seeing my past not so much a career as a series of contingencies, of accidents, so that I seem to have become who I am almost by chance." Smith, obviously, is not alone in attributing growth to events outside of herself. The frequent descriptions of encounters with the unexpected and influences of external circumstances lends support to theories such as Riegel's that emphasize disequilibrium, conflict and confrontation. However, these situations were not always perceived as provoking "leaps in development" (Riegel, 1976, p. 398) or as

creating *profound* discontinuities; they were, instead, often presented as small, irregular, externally-induced steps, and life was, generally, seen as a fairly continuous process.

Since many women did not experience their lives as an orderly sequence of crises or even changes, the basic principles of adult stage theories seem open to question. While Riegel's (1976, p. 394) statement that "the individual is in a continuous process of change brought about through successive interactions" more closely captures the essence of development as it ordinarily occurs, the word 'change', with its implication of discontinuity, does not appear for many women to be an accurate representation of the actuality of development as it is lived. The terms growth, maturation and adaptation, implying both stability and flux, seem to describe the developmental process more concisely. When development *was* described as significant change, it was generally perceived as an internal struggle: a decision to make changes had taken place. Although this decision may or may not have been precipitated by an external event, a crisis such as death or divorce, asynchronous conditions (conflicts or contradictions) existed at either the psychological, social or cultural levels. It is of special interest to recall that more women in

early adulthood than late adulthood, and those women involved with and receptive to cultural change, viewed their lives in terms of changes. As one older woman stated, referring to what are often called "normative developmental crises": "I didn't think or worry about it." The inference is that how a person sees and experiences her life - as continuous or discontinuous, as controlled from without or from within - is a function not merely of individual personality but of the culture and the time in which she lives. The past decade, especially, has prescribed changes and crises (Sheehy, 1976) and demanded major reorientations (Gould, 1978) throughout life (Clark, 1968, pp. 436-437). This time period, defined by its emphasis on the "self" (self-development, self-fulfillment, self-actualization) has been called the "me" decade, and the beginning of the "Age of Narcissism" (Lasch, 1979). In fact Lasch (1979, p. 213) claims that the current "problem" of middle-age and aging originates in the severance of a sense of historical continuity which has occurred within our culture. This exemplifies Smith's (1979, p. 178) belief that events which create changes in peoples' lives do not always arise "out of a logic of organization which is part of the local setting in which they occur": they may be a function of the broader social/historical

context. Riegel (1975, p. 126) insists that the study of historical progression has to be linked with any analysis of individual developmental patterns. Daniel Ellsberg (1979) reflects the same theme in a discussion of the psychiatric profile developed on him by the C.I.A. The C.I.A. explained his behavior concerning the 'Pentagon Papers' according to his age (thirty-eight), claiming that men at that age are going through their mid-life transition. No mention was made of Viet Nam. Ellsberg applies the same criticism to Levinson's book 'The Season's of a Man's Life', observing that the data was gathered during the escalation of the Viet Nam War, when American society and values were being questioned. Ellsberg suggests that psychologists examine such areas as the nature of the work performed by adults in their late thirties and early forties, rather than attribute feelings of stagnation to age-specific life crises. In a similar vein, Richard Lichtman (1979) proposes that even old age is not a discontinuous life stage but an externally imposed social category. Indeed, he maintains that the meaning of biological change is a social matter. This claim is substantiated in research by Neugarten (1975, p. 390) who found that the timing of middle age and old age occurs earlier to working class than to middle-class men and women. She cautions psychologists

not to assume the same intimate relationships between biological and psychological phenomena in adulthood that are evident in childhood (Neugarten, 1975, p. 387). Sullerot (1971, p. 55) points to demographic changes such as the lowering of the age of female puberty and recession of the age of menopause as further evidence of the profound influence of socio-economic and socio-cultural factors even on human physiology. According to Sullerot (1971, pp. 62, 58) these same factors influence other developmental issues: maternal love, she claims, is a modern invention inseparable from mastery over survival. When one child in two died, excessive maternal feelings would have been useless; similarly, the nature of marriage changes when, instead of eighteen years of married life - which was the norm in the 18th Century - couples of today, because of increased longevity, have an average of forty years to spend together. The point is that individuals are inextricably bound to their environment and cannot be understood apart from it. In adulthood, the human being already possesses a personality which has been influenced by both biological and psychological factors. As she ages, the individual is subject to the effects of the environment, both persons and settings, immediate and distant. The modifications which occur will be a

product of the people and settings themselves and the manner in which the individual (with a unique consciousness) acts upon and is acted upon by her environment (Glenwick and Whitbourne, 1978, p. 265). All the women who participated in this research were aware of themselves aging or maturing. However, whether they experienced stability or change or both over the life span was a function of the interdependent action of diverse social factors within the environment, and of psychological/biological factors within themselves. Development encompasses both slow growth (continuity) and radical change (discontinuity), and the occurrence of either or both can only be understood in relation to a context.

IV. The Complexity of Change; Progress or Regression

The complexity of adult development discussed above is further evident in the fact that some women experience their lives as a negative or downward process. The years, evidently, "do not weigh with the same burden upon all shoulders" (de Beavoir, 1970, p. 36). de Beauvoir (1970, p. 43), too, consistently argues the point that a person's aging always takes place inside some given society and is intimately related to the character of that society and to the place that the individual

occupies within it. As was mentioned in Chapter Four, the women who experienced the destructive aspects of aging were primarily single parents, with little income and little education. However, de Beavoir (1970, p. 43) reminds her reader that the economic factor is only part of a broader social, political and ideological superstructure. As an example of this, it is worth noting that the woman in this study whose life journey was most marked by negativity and despair was a Native Indian woman who had grown up on a reserve in Northern Saskatchewan. Her increasing use of alcohol coincided with increasing abdication of responsiblities (four children) and commitments (work).

In this study, abandonment of responsibility and commitment was a significant feature of downward progression. Kimmel (1974, p. 88) wisely points out, however, that for some people survival may be the sole developmental task. He suggests that the task of developing a sense of self which is synchronized with society can only be fully achieved if one's education, background and environment provide possible avenues. Havighurst (1975, p. 632), who equates successful aging with successful adaptation, believes that this synchronization occurs only when: 1. the personality is strong and flexible; 2. the social environment is supportive and 3. the body is vigorous.

He considers the essential variables to be: 1. personality 2. social interaction; 3. norms and expectations of the subculture in which the person lives; 4. economic security; 5. health and vigor, and; 6. societal assistance to adaptation. "Successful" development, then, is hardly an automatic process. It is dependent upon the bio-social-historical matrix within which the individual matures. Some matrices may promote and stimulate positive experiences, while some developmental matrices may retard, slow, stop, or change the direction of development. Keniston (1976, p. 196) states:

> "We have traditionally seen the human life cycle as an escalator onto which the infant steps at birth and along which he is carried until his death. The view I am proposing here is that human development is instead a very rough road, pitted with obstructions, interspersed with blind alleys, and dotted with seductive stopping places. It can be traversed only with the greatest of support and under the most optimal conditions."

If development may take many roads, as the data here indicate, to conceive of development as a directional process and to accentuate primarily the positive steps is to reduce and negate the complexity of life. Also, as de Beauvoir (1970, p. 17) states: "We should have to know what the aim of human life was before we could tell what changes lead it nearer to the goal or further from it."

V. Life Satisfaction

The normative life satisfaction profile which issued from this sample of women corresponds to the results of several other research investigations on life satisfaction. For instance, the data in this study point to early adolescence as the time of least satisfaction. In Lowenthal's study (1975) of the four stages of life, two-thirds of the women chose adolescence as the worst age (whereas over half of her male sample chose old age). The most satisfying time of life noted by the women in this project was the period between the ages of forty and sixty (bringing into question the crisis interpretation of midlife.) This trend was also evident in Lowenthal's (1975) and Campbells' (1976) research. They found that whereas young parenthood tended to be a time of many dissatisfactions and psychological stresses, positive changes occurred with the departure of children and the end of the child-bearing years. Because of these findings, Lowenthal (1975, p. 75) proposes that social stage of life (except for early childhood and very old age) is a more helpful indicator than chronological age in explaining life course differences. Similarly, Campbell (1976) claims that gender, age, level of education, marital status, number of children, and age of children are the important determinants of a

person's degree of satisfaction. He (1976, pp. 156, 157) also looks to historical currents as a possible explanation for the increase in life satisfaction with age. Campbell questions whether younger adults, partially because of higher education, may be far more critical and discontented than cohorts of earlier periods. The statistical results of this study, however, suggest that neither stage of life (cohort group) nor education level are significant variables by themselves in life satisfaction.

Instead, as has already been suggested (Lowenthal, 1975; Campbell, 1976) a variety of factors appears to contribute to the high level of satisfaction in midlife not by several women: parenting and nurturing obligations may decrease; income may increase; the experience of having been able to cope may facilitate a stronger sense of self.

After sixty, a significant decrease in life satisfaction was noted. This, too, may be a social rather than chronological or physiological problem; Lichtman (1979, p. 8) maintains that the emphasis on productivity, and the planned obsolescence of products in our culture, has served to equate old age with devaluation and uselessness, thereby promoting dissatisfaction and unhappiness. Old age is also the time for confrontation with death -

mates, friends and family: the way in which Western culture approaches and deals with death may, again, facilitate dissatisfaction in later life. In addition, as Kutner, Fanshel, Togo and Langner (1970, p. 587) have observed, for many older women life satisfaction is now affected by a *cumulation* of problems: widowhood, declining living standards and health, loss of friends and family and the intimacy and activities which they provided. It is noteworthy that this aspect of reality contradicts the positive vision of the future reported by the majority of the women, and seems to substantiate the claims made by Atchley (1972), Dulude (1978) and Lowenthal (1975) that women are ill-prepared to face the realities of later life However, well-being is a function of many factors such as health, income, relationships and living situations (Larson, 1978, p. 109). A number of women, for whom these areas were satisfactory, pinpointed old age as the best period of their lives. Similarly, retirement may be either a liberating or saddening experience based on the conditions of employment, the meaning of work to the individual, and her present life circumstances. Contrary to the literature (albeit conflicting) which claims that it is easier for women to retire because of the many life roles they hold, the issue is not simple and clear-cut: three single

career women had looked forward to and enjoyed their retirement; three married women with children had regretted the termination of their employment. Again, generalizations seem to cloud the complexity of the issue. Life satisfaction, like change, is a subjective matter dependent on biological, psychological, economic, social, cultural and historical conditions which are interdependent. For example, the major contributors to dissatisfaction or low points were problems with intimate relationships and problems within the family. The fact that for many women these are the primary (but not exclusive) concerns, to which they are therefore most susceptible, is a function of the interrelationship of all the dimensions outlined above. In the same way, the variables that account for high life satisfaction come out of the interplay of past experiences, present experiences and expectations for self: the unique self-definition which has emerged for each individual determines what interplay of factors will make *her* particular life seem satisfying. To make matters more complicated, as Campbell (1976, p. 12) found in his study of the quality of life, it appears that "people evaluate their lives in general terms and... this overall evaluation may not be a simple derivative of domain evaluations."

In this study the two conditions which had a major bearing on life satisfaction were marital status and income. The importance of marital status, however, featured only in the early to mid-thirties: single women were less satisfied with their lives at this time than married women. In Campbell's study (1976, p. 402), unmarried women *under* thirty evaluated their lives less positively. Since all of the younger unmarried women in this study expressed an expectation of marriage in the future, it is possible that by the early thirties an unmarried woman is confronting the possibility that this expectation may not be met. If marriage was desired, she may see her life as less satisfying than she had hoped, and a reevaluation of self may be required.

The one variable which was consistently shown to significantly effect overall life satisfaction was level of income. Adolescence, the thirties and the sixties were especially noted by lower-income women as less satisfying periods of life than for higher-income women. It is likely that the restrictions which are imposed by limited economic resources at these times are especially impactful: lack of money may mean fewer options and greater responsibilities in adolescence; the pressures of family life and young children and satisfaction with work are especially linked to finances during the

thirties. Again, the responsibilities are likely great and the options few; and old age, it is well known, is not made easier by financial difficulties. The influence of income on other areas of life must also be recalled: health, education, housing, leisure activities/opportunities, are all influenced by economics. As usual, however the relationship is complex: income both affects and is affected by these variables. Nonetheless, since there is a strong relationship between rewarding life situations and personal satisfaction (Nydegger, 1976, p. 138) it is not surprising that level of income affects level of satisfaction.

VI. Developmental Tasks

Betty Friedan, in 1974, wrote: "In our culture the development of women has been blocked at the physiological level with, in many cases, no need recognized higher than the need for love or sexual satisfaction" (Friedan, 1974, p. 303). "Theorists of the self, who are men, have usually evaded the question of self-realization for a woman. But the need for self-fulfillment, autonomy, self-realization, independence, individuality, self-actualization - the human need to grow - is there for a woman" (Friedan, 1974, p. 314). The tasks which were chosen as salient by the participants in this project

support her assertion.

Certainly the traditional female tasks of intimacy, parenthood, pregnancy and marriage were cited as important. However, equal if not greater importance was ascribed to what Neugarten (1968, p. 147) calls (using a masculine metaphor) "the executive" functions of personality. These involve cognitive competence, the conscious use of past experience and purposeful interaction with the environment: that is, behavior which can be called "instrumental" (Parsons, 1980, p.29,39) or active in nature. For example, the tasks exemplifying these characteristics, such as independence, commitment and "becoming one's own person" preceded intimacy and parenthood, and work, competence and fulfillment preceded pregnancy and marriage.

As Gilligan (1979, p.434) hinted in her study, independence also appears here as the foremost developmental issue in adulthood. This is not surprising in view of the strong emphasis placed on commitment and responsibility, especially when defined as being responsible for and taking care of *others*. It is likely that strong commitments to others (the second most important task) inevitably place restrictions on freedom and tend to make independence an on-going concern. The dilemma, as both Gilligan (1977, 1979)

and Loevinger (1976) have observed, is between responsibility for others (commitments) and responsibility for self (independence). The two contradictory desires appear to create a developmental dynamic - a problem to be wrestled with in various forms throughout the life span. Although this struggle is not unique to women, it has special relevance for those persons (primarily women) who concern themselves with childraising and who place special importance on the familial and affiliative domains of life. The fact that intimacy was among the most important tasks and that no one in this sample stated that it was unimportant demonstrates this emphasis on relationships and connection.

Bardwick (1979, p. 22) defines commitments as "existential anchors that tie us to reality and force us to act on problems and tasks which are real." For many women, commitments tie them to people and force them, then, to grapple with the problem of independence.

The most important commitment, generally, was to the family - the most frequent source of intimacy - and especially to children. Even single women signified a concern for generativity; a desire to contribute to future generations. For them, this was expressed either through their work (teaching) or through community involvement and extracurricular activities. All of

those who had committed themselves to children seemed to view it, in Bardwick's (1979) terms, as a "central existential anchor." Bardwick (1979, p. 79) reflects the overall consensus when she states: "Parenthood is a crucial existential anchor which makes people cope with real problems, make decisions and adapt as the relationship changes. Being a parent defines a huge area of responsibility, and forces us to grow up, and to set priorities... it's a source of identity and of good feelings about oneself... and also a source of terror and fears and ambivalence and resentments." However, not all women regarded maternity as a significant task. Bardwick (1979, p. 69) recalls that "whether one enjoys the role of maternity or resents it, grows within it or survives despite it, self-actualizes or self-destructs, depends on such reality factors as money and fatigue and depends on what one wants to do and what maternity makes one give up. And how a woman defines herself in terms of modernity or traditionalism significantly influences how she feels about the role."

Bardwick's caution concerning context and meaning can also be applied to the public world of work, an area in which an increasing number of women are seriously participating (Toronto Globe and Mail, July 29, 1980): in fact, sixty-seven percent of the women in this study,

worked outside the home and all except one individual had done paid-work at some time. The point is that whether a woman committed herself primarily to the home and to child-raising or to employment outside the home, or to both, her goal was always to perform the tasks well and to feel competent. Bernard (1973, p. 127), who criticizes male models of career development may herself be guilty of sexism when she defines achievement solely in terms of a paid work role in the public or "masculine" sphere. For the majority of the women in this study, competence was a significant issue: they not only strived for it, they also derived a sense of accomplishment and success - a feeling of competence - from whatever commitments they undertook. White (1975, pp. 409, 410) defines competence as "the process whereby the individual learns to interact effectively with his environment... the experience produced is a feeling of efficacy." Kimmel (1972, p. 298) gives a definition of competence as "the desire of the person to involve himself in effective interaction with the environment... The manifestation... is likely to differ at different points in adult life."

These definitions describe the intention of the women in this study to be competent; i.e., they approached their commitments, whether to intimacy and/or children,

and/or work, and/or self, with the intention of doing well. This would seem to contradict the literature on women which claims, for example, that: "women rarely see themselves as competent people who can generally expect to be successful. If competence is not part of your gender definition or acknowledged as a part of your roles, it is very difficult to learn to see yourself as competent. Most women see each success as specific and limited; they do not develop a generalized sense of their own competence. Women have to be literally taught that they are competent. To accomplish significantly women will have to learn that they can cope, make decisions, set priorities, etc." (Bardwick, 1979, p. 43). These women learned, by taking on responsibilities, that they could cope, could make decisions, could manage their affairs, and were, in fact, competent. It is more likely that feeling incompetent is an individual matter and/or a function of the situation: any individual - man or woman - may feel inadequate when confronting a new state of affairs. This has indeed occurred for many women over the last ten years. Nevertheless, to ascribe generalized feelings of incompetence as a characteristic of women many not only be inaccurate but may also, as Eichler (1980) suggests, reinforce the very problem one is attempting

to overcome.

The same criticism may be applied when the issue of identity is discussed in relation to women. Contrary to much of the literature (Lowenthal, 1975; Sangiuliano, 1978), only 47.6% of the women felt that identity was an important developmental task. As one woman stated: "I know who I am, it's *becoming* it that's the issue." If identity is secured by grappling with responsibilities and coping with commitments - the major routes toward achieving adulthood (Bardwick, 1979, p. 22) - then it is not surprising that most of the women interviewed have felt that they had a sense of identity. To generalize that women have uncertain identities (Lowenthal, 1976, p. x) without considering the context may be misleading. It is more likely, as Bardwick (1979) points out, that unstable and tenuous identities are experienced by those individuals whose existential anchors (responsibilities and commitments) are impermanent and whose values are in the process of being questioned.

The tasks which the women viewed as least salient are noteworthy: divorce, menopause, widowhood, old age, departure of children, aging and retirement. What is interesting is that much of the focus on women, by both social scientists and the media, has been devoted to the issues or "crises" of menopause, "empty-nest",

divorce and aging. It is possible that this emphasis on pathology not only imposes on women a reality which is narrow and simplistic - their lives, according to the data here, are concerned with more than these tasks - but also serves, again, to define women in a limited and stereotypic fashion.

A second possibility also exists. The findings in Lowenthal's (1975) study indicate that planning for the future was minimal and almost non-existent among women in spite of the fact that the maladjustments of aging appear to effect more women than men in each more advanced age category (Kutner, Fanshel, Togo and Langner, 1970, p. 587). Lowenthal states (1975, p. 234): "Since few of them felt in control, it was clear that they were leaving eventualities to fate or to a muddling through process." It may be that women do not feel in control of these issues and, therefore, do not concern themselves with them. However, it is also conceivable that many women do not think ahead and plan for the future, especially a future alone, and consequently do not make provisions for the contingencies of later life. This hypothesis is strongly supported by Dulude's (1978) cross-Canada survey which found that two-thirds of single, widowed or divorced women over the age of fifty-five live below the poverty line.

Indeed, the majority of women in this study in the lower income category were found to be women who do not live with men. This lack of foresight may be due to the fact that most women expect to share their lives and to be taken care of to some extent. This occurs in spite of the fact that "in contemporary times women almost always end their lives alone, not only because they have a greater longevity, but also because most marry men older than themselves" (Sullerot, 1971, p. 50). The problem of survival in later life, however, as Dulude (1978) emphatically points out, is compounded by several factors. Among them is the fact that pension and social security systems are based on male patterns of (i.e., full-time and uninterrupted) employment. Furthermore, the lower wages earned by most women result in smaller pension funds for them in later life. The changes required here, then, are in the public spheres (business and government), areas over which women experience and, in fact, have little control.

The importance of the socio-cultural context within which development occurs is again reflected in the concern with body image. Although only 35.7% of the women claimed that it was very important, only 2.4% said that it was unimportant. It appears that few women escape altogether society's emphasis on appearance

and attractiveness: body image was at least slightly important to almost all the women, whereas it is rarely mentioned in the developmental literature based on men.

The essential significance of context - past and present, internal and external - is especially apparent in the variety of statements and meanings given by individuals concerning the tasks. Not only did the meaning of tasks differ from person to person depending on each unique life history, but the meaning and importance of tasks frequently changed for individuals as they grew and changed. Sangiuliano (1978, p. 22) believes that this is the fundamental psychological process which occurs in adulthood. It is precisely this complexity of meaning, however, that makes a definition of developmental life task problematic. The trend (Erikson, Levinson, Riegel) has been toward the use of the term crisis. Kite (1977, pp. 3614, 3615), for instance, conceptualizes pregnancy as a "normative developmental crisis which poses a maturational challenge." The responses of the women in this study, however, in accordance with Rosenberg and Farrell (1976, p. 157), suggest that the term crisis, with its implication of catastrophe and monumentous change, is not an accurate construct for understanding life changes. Another definition of developmental tasks is "salient contradictions" (Riegel,

1976). A glance at the quotations concerning the tasks in Chapter Four seems to suggest that contradictions and conflict are generally evident, although not always explicit, when a task is developmental (i.e, when it induces change or growth) for an individual. Also the problem-solving which contradictions require does appear to be an essential component of growth. On the other hand, it seems that growth may also be perceived without a sense of conflict. The term "challenge", therefore, seems to be a more accurate representation of the actual perceived experience of the growth process. It is a fairly neutral term and hence able to encompass a wider variety of experiences, from the small and mundane (though nonetheless meaningful) to the immense and profound. A developmental task, then, is anything which challenges an individual. It is necessarily a function of all the unique interlocking dimensions of a person's life: the various aspects of the individual, her culture, and the historical time in which she lives.

VII. Differences in Number and Kinds of Tasks

The significance of historical time and culture is eminently brought home in the differences which were found in the number and kinds of tasks between young and old adults. Older women reported significantly

fewer tasks as very salient than did younger women. Since the task questionnaire requested responses for the past, present and future, it is conceivable that the older participants had forgotten the importance of their tasks or of their changes. However, it seems equally possible that older women simply did not think in terms of changes or "turning points" and did not therefore note or ascribe significance to such events. Since the terms "self-development", "self-actualization" and "developmental crises" were not part of their everyday vocabulary, they may not have *expected* to experience these phenomena unlike numerous individuals in some sectors of society today. Nevertheless, these older women took on responsiblities, made commitments, coped with their lives and matured, as the younger women do. The meanings assigned to issues and events, however, as well as a number of issues, themselves (such as divorce or abortion) have changed as Canadian society has changed. Elder (1974, p. 222) remarks: "there is little resemblance between the social world of women in the deprived households of the thirties and that of middle class women in the seventies, except in ideology concerning feminine roles. Now, as then, American women assign overwhelming priority to the family roles of mother, wife and homemaker, despite increasing higher

education, civic participation and employment among women and a decline in the labor requirements of homemaking." He ascribes these changes and contradictions to the development of a cultural lag in which unequal rates of change have produced strain on the interconnected social, economic and cu[redacted]nits of the society. In his study, as in th[redacted]der found that: "we have come to see that [redacted]phies of men and women, the kinds of individuals they have become, cannot be understood without reference to the historical structures in which the milieux of their everyday life are organized." He concurs with Mills (1959, p. 158) that: "Historical transformations carry meanings not only for individual ways of life, but for the very character - the limits and possibilities of the human being". Poster (1978, p. xii) gives a further example of this by pointing out that changes in the economic structure of society have changed the family structure which has lead to changes in emotional structure: by separating the workplace from the home, the home has become a private world, thereby initiating new forms of intimacy, and new emotional expectations. In support of the postulations of Elder, Mills, and Poster, in this research, older women were significantly less concerned with identity, divorce, aging, self-esteem and fulfillment; in addition, economic status

affected the responses of women to the tasks of widowhood and departure of children. According to Berger and Luckmann (1967, pp. 174, 167, 164) identity is a phenomenon that emerges from the dialectic between the individual and society. The question 'Who am I' becomes possible only when conflicting answers are socially available. It is unlikely to arise in consciousness when there is a socially predefined answer, and when objective and subjective realities confirm each other. If younger women demonstrate a greater concern with identity, this is not surprising given the social changes which have occurred over the last two decades, especially regarding gender roles, and the recent emphasis which has been given to this issue (as well as to self-esteem and fulfillment) by the media and popular psychology. Bardwick (1979, pp. 22,23) states: "when there is extraordinary value change, the security that people gain from conforming to the expectations of their culture is endangered and identity crises are predictable - in a period of profound social change people lose their existential anchors... At least some existential anchors must be permanent to ensure that people have some sources of a stable identity." She claims that a stable identity comes from knowing what one's responsibilities are. It is probable that many younger

women, facing a time of changing expectations, may be less clear about where their responsibilities lie, and identity, instead of being a "given", becomes a challenge.

The idea that developmental tasks are also social phenomena is further apparent in the issue of divorce. For older women, divorce was socially unacceptable, an unusual occurrence and rarely considered. When, today, one out of four marriages ends in divorce, divorce becomes another normative challenge.

In a similar fashion, aging tends to become a developmental concern when: a. people live long enough to experience the process; b. society is organized around and pays tribute to youth, aging is equated with uselessness and therefore becomes problematic. Younger women may have experienced these two trends to a greater degree and consequently manifest a greater concern with aging. Rubin (1979, p. 8) reiterates the point that "life stage issues are not specifically the working through of intrapsychic problems. Rather they are directly connected to trends and events in society." In fact, a concern with identity, divorce, aging, and especially self-esteem and fulfillment is only likely to develop in an affluent society which has time and money for leisure. As one woman stated (and Maslow's (1970) 'Hierarchy of Needs' seems applicable here):

"when you're worried about how you're going to eat, you don't have time to think about who you are, or self-esteem, or fulfillment." In primitive economics, for instance, developmental tasks were likely derived from the constant effort to survive - to eat, to be warm, to cope with the unpredictable and often violent elements (Bardwick, 1979, p. 22).

The effect of economics on developmental tasks in this study is specifically manifested in the divergent responses to widowhood and the departure of children. However, the issue is complicated by the fact that the majority of the lower-income women were unmarried; widowhood, therefore, would automatically not be an issue for them. The responses of lower-income women to the departure of children were in the extremes (either very important or unimportant) while higher income women tended to view this task as only slightly or somewhat important. It is possible that higher-income women have more options and greater opportunity for other commitments, making the departure of children a fairly balanced event. On the other hand, the emotion invested in children may be more extreme for lower income women. The present data, however, does not allow further conjecture.

The important point which emerges from these results is that developmental tasks, and therefore developmental

paths, are not necessarily universal: they change with a changing social reality, which results in different forms, criteria and expectations for development.

VIII. Timing of Tasks

The findings obtained on the timing of the developmental tasks will be discussed from two perspectives: modal trends and individual responses. The modal timing responses which occurred in this study demonstrate both similarities and differences when compared to the findings of other developmental researchers, although they, too, frequently contradict each other. For instance: Erikson (1968) maintains that identity is the crucial challenge for adolescents, intimacy for young adults and generativity for middle-aged adults; Levinson (1978) postulates that identity is confronted in early adulthood (age nineteen), and intimacy in the early twenties; Sales (1978), who (it will be recalled) adapted Levinson's stages to women's lives, also proposes that intimacy occurs in the early twenties; however, in her model, identity is the central concern for the early thirties, "becoming one's own person" for the late thirties, and increased involvement with the world for the late forties; Livson (1976), on the other hand, found that, depending on the type of woman, identity was encountered

either in late adolescence *or* in the forties, and intimacy in the forties *or* the fifties; Gould's (1978) stages for women focus on independence as the primary issue for the twenties, intimacy for the thirties, and commitment for mid-life; lastly, one of Sheehy's (1976) claims is that the task of aloneness is faced between thirty-five and forty-five.

The findings in this study were contrary to the foregoing stages in the following ways: 1. the question of independence arose in late adolescence but continued consistently throughout the life course; 2. commitment, as well as several other issues, were life-long concerns and not primary manifestations of mid-life; 3. generativity, defined as involvement or concern with future generations, arose earlier and was a recurring phenomenon for many women; 4. the challenge of identity was highlighted not in adolescence, nor in the thirties, but in the late twenties; 5. this was also the period in which intimacy, "becoming one's own person" and aloneness tended to be confronted; 6. horizons and commitments appeared to expand in the late thirties rather than the late forties, when the question of time became a matter of importance. In addition, the encounter with aging tended to occur in the early thirties instead of mid-life, lending support both to

Sontag's (1972) thesis that this challenge is faced earlier by females than by males and to Neugarten's (1975) belief that in adulthood psychological development may not parallel biological development.

Not only do these results directly contradict the sequence of stages posited by Erikson, Levinson, Sales, Sheehy and Gould, but the only orderly age-related changes which were evident were those on which limits are placed by biology - such as menopause, or culture - such as retirement. However, the issue does not appear to be *which* stage theory accurately describes the process of adult development, but whether the notion of stages is itself an adequate conceptualization of adulthood. An examination of the individual responses demonstrates this point even further: a. individuals encountered tasks at widely diverse times; b. tasks could be confronted as many as six times or could be problematic throughout one's life; c. the order in which tasks occurred for individuals varied greatly; d. several tasks might be prominent at the same time. These results suggest, as do Lowenthal and Weiss (1976), that developmental tasks are by no means as stage linked as might be anticipated. This is again corroborated by the statistical differences which were found on timing. Firstly, women at different periods in their lives gave different modal responses

for the tasks of 'becoming one's own person', divorce and competence. For 'becoming one's own person' and competence, an identical phenomenon occurred: a decade divided the young and middle-aged, while older adults responded 'always'. It is possible that these tasks recur periodically and that older adults realize that, in fact, the tasks have been on-going challenges. However, since only three older adults felt they had faced 'becoming one's own person', it is equally possible that this task has only significantly surfaced in our culture in the past decade. It is likely, that this also accounts for the differences in the timing of divorce - a task which older adults rarely encountered but which younger adults are facing increasingly sooner. Secondly, economic status appeared to effect the timing of commitment: lower income women tended to view late adolescence as the crucial time for this task while higher income women seemed to confront commitment continually. It may well be that lower income women have fewer options and choices as they age and therefore fewer opportunities for other commitments later on. Thirdly, marital status seemed to influence the time at which the women were concerned with being grandparent figures. Married women faced this task at the "appropriate" time. One can only guess whether single women concern

themselves with this task when they have to deal with the possibility that they may not be grandparent figures, at least in traditional terms.

The data suggest, then, not only that tasks may wax and wane at different times for different individuals, which Lowenthal and Weiss (1976) also found, but that the timing of tasks may vary according to income, marital status or cohort group. This substantiates Nydegger's (1976, p. 139) proposal that "stages" may show considerable variability by social characteristics, such as sex and class, and by historical epoch.

In a similar vein, little support was found for a view of development as an inherent process of transitional and stable periods. As in Lowenthal's (1975, p. 134) study, older individuals reported fewer changes in their lives. The twenties was the decade in which the greatest number of tasks were noted. From the standpoint of common sense, this information is hardly surprising: in our society the twenties is the period when the majority of individuals face the tasks and assume the responsiblities of adulthood. This may be especially true for those women who have primary responsibility for children while working outside the home at the same time. By late adulthood, although tasks continue to be dealt with, one's sense of competence and one's ability to cope have already been fairly well established.

Although the early thirties and early forties were marked as important task times, they were not necessarily times of questioning and reappraisal, and there was little evidence, again, for a crisis interpretation of these times. There was little support for a statement such as Jackson's (1975, p. 6074): "there is something in the internal dynamics of the individual which is age related that tends to promote disequilibrium." The reasons that numerous tasks were encountered at these periods were either arbitrary and idiosyncratic (such as a husband's death) or were based on socio-economic factors which tend to prescribe certain changes at these times (such as children's entrance into school). Furthermore, as the number of responses indicate, not all women faced their tasks at the prescribed times, and several women experienced no points in their lives which could be labelled "critical periods". In other words, times of transition and crisis do not appear to be *inevitably* programmed into the developmental progression of adults. In fact, generally, the data on timing does not tend to support a view of adult development in which changes or tasks are necessarily orderly, sequential and invariant.

IX. Tasks and Life Satisfaction

A number of theorists and researchers have postulated determinants of life satisfaction for women: Kline (1975) infers that the role discontinuities which women experience as they age facilitate satisfaction; Bardwick (1979) also implies that women who are more complex - i.e., involved in more than one set of significant commitments - lead more satisfactory lives; while Lowenthal (1975) suggests that women who are psychologically *simplistic* are likely to age more comfortably in our culture.

The results of this study suggest that these claims are simplistic: no simple relationship between either the number or the timing of tasks was apparent. Instead, life satisfaction, like adult development, appears to be a complicated phenomenon: a subjective experience which is dependent upon the nature of the relationship the individual has to her environment. According to these data the level of life satisfaction for an individual cannot be determined by knowing either when or how many commitments, responsibilities or life roles have been handled.

X. Structure or Pattern To Adult Life

This piece of research suggests that the development of all human beings does not fit the patterns of adult development espoused by the major stage theorists who employed traditional 'objective' methods (Giorgi, 1970; Shotter, 1975) to study primarily Western men.

Adulthood, from the perspective of these women, does not appear as a series of orderly, predictable, linear progressions, with steps that are age specific. Given the numerous influences which shape a person's life, such as social/cultural climates and expectations, which are not static, personal psychological responses to these expectations, and values and meanings which also change, a significant shortcoming of the stage approach - as Sangiuliano (1978, p. 20) points out - is its emphasis on predictability. Although certain women undertook similar challenges at approximately similar times and a few appeared to follow linear paths - this occurrence was not predictable: there appeared to be as many exceptions as there were so-called "norms" - a phenomenon which Angrist (1966) also found when attempting to predict the attitudes that women had towards their roles. In Smith's (1979, p. 152) words, many women's lives tended to show a "loose, episodic structure, taking paths and turns they would not have expected, and

holding together the threads and shreds of many lines of action and the projects of more than one individual" (Smith, 1979, p. 151). The outstanding features which characterize the patterns which emerge are variability and complexity: independence, individuation (becoming one's own person), work and competence appear to be as important to women as they are to men, but the timing, nature, and meaning of the challenges may be different; in addition, intimacy, parenthood, commitment and responsibility *to others* are themes which consistently receive much greater emphasis. As Gilligan (1979, p. 444) also discovered, the psychology of women is distinctive in that women talk the language of relationships and interdependence, a tendency which *necessitates* a more contextual conceptualization of development.

XI. Conceptualization of Adult Development

When one begins from the subjective perspective of women, different developmental constructs are stressed than in mainstream psychology and an expanded conception of development emerges. Women bring to the life cycle different points of view - such as the continuing importance of responsibility and attachment in the human life span - and they tend to order human experience in terms of different priorities (Gilligan, 1979, p. 445). Bardwick (1979,

p. 175) exemplifies this perspective when she states: "Growth of individuals is achieved through responsibility and commitment; meaning is provided by working towards an objective that is worth accomplishing." Again, the focus is on interdependency. She implies that the emphasis on *individual* happiness, autonomy and self-actualization (concepts proposed and defined primarily by men) has played a part in the present confusion about what being an adult requires (Bardwick, 1979, p. 121). She maintains that people who are liberated are not free of real responsiblities and commitments; instead, they develop and affirm themselves only through meeting obligations and managing adult responsiblities.

It is ironic to find that those theorists who give serious consideration to the concepts of responsibility and commitment that were underlined in this study are primarily women: Bardwick, Gilligan, Loevinger and Lowenthal. For Bardwick (1979), as for the women in this study, responsibilities and commitments define the very process of development. Lowenthal's (1979) research led her to believe that a commitment framework for examining psychological change in adulthood was most productive: "it transcends oft-used dichotomies which are convenient for researchers but result in considerable over-simplification of the issues being

studied. Much research and academic thought and much of our everyday thinking, too, divides human activity and life into pairs of neatly separated compartments: for example, mastery vs interpersonal concerns; instrumental vs expressive; or work vs. leisure. But if we study the meanings individuals invest in these areas, we find that these two areas of activities often bear a dialectic or supplementary relationship to each other" (Rowenthal, 1979, p. 85). Loevinger (1976) and Gilligan (1979) discuss the concept of responsibility in similar terms, stressing the resolution of dichotomies and the intricacy and multifariousness of reality. As in this study, the notion of responsibility has lead these psychologists to emphasize complexity. The essential point here however, is not that women have different concerns and develop along different lines than men - there are both similarities and differences - but that developmental and psychological theories must acknowledge and make room for the breadth and diversity of human life. Gilligan (1979, p. 445) argues that: "only when life cycle theorists equally divide their attention and begin to live with women as they have lived with men will their vision encompass the experiences of both sexes, and their theories become correspondingly more fertile." It is also possible, however, that psychologists have not yet truly "lived with" men; i.e., not yet approached *them* as unique human beings. A theory of development is required which

is able to include negative and positive experiences, gains and losses, stability and change, and the existence of opposites, paradoxes, ambiguities and contradictions. It must also allow for the varied ways in which individuals adapt to the present in terms of the past, and the past in terms of the present (Havighurst, 1975, p. 634). In accordance with Butler (1968, p. 25), this study suggests a conception of development as "a process of change involving all aspects of the organism, but not necessarily occurring in an interrelated or synchronous manner."

To understand these changes, the context within which a person develops must not be viewed as an impediment to scientific analysis (Datan and Ginsberg, 1975), nor be given mere lip service, but be made an *integral* part of the theory. The individual cannot be understood apart from her setting. Present behavioral and environmental events must be given as much consideration as past ones; the social influences to be recognized may be as specific as an elderly woman's closest relative and as general as the political, cultural and economic forces at work in the society at large (Glenwick and Whitbourne, 1978, p. 265). The results obtained here demonstrate that it is not only "what one makes of the world that is important" (Havighurst, 1975, p. 630) but also what the world makes of the individual. Riegel

(1975, p. 125) warns that the failure to consider the many dimensions of a person's life results in a fatalistic view of human development. It may also result, as the findings of this study suggest, in an overly optimistic view of development. The women in this research project developed in many different and opposing ways, according to the possibilities available to them in their environments. To propose only one form of development as a universal norm is to deny the reality of the lives of many people and to reduce the complexity of human life.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The lives depicted by the women interviewed for this study - their life maps, their tasks, and the life satisfaction scales - suggest that development cannot be viewed as a ladder upon which people move to ever higher levels. Frequently, developmental movement appears to be horizontal in nature: the individual perceives herself as growing and maturing, but in ways that feel familiar and are based on what she has been and on what she expects. Movement may also be vertical, for the better, *or* for the worse. It may be *both* horizontal and vertical, either at different periods in a person's life, or for different dimensions of her life at the same time. Not only are the patterns of development varied, but the tasks around which these patterns are formed may vary as well. In order to understand the diverse forms of development, a knowledge of the context - both internal/psychological-biological and external/cultural-historical - is vital. The only two theoretical approaches which at present come close to encompassing the complex vision of human life found in this research are the transactional and dialectical theories of Glenwick and Whitbourne (1978) and

Klaus Riegel (1975, 1978). Both theories minimize orderliness and predictability, and strongly and consistently emphasize the connection between internal movement and the setting of the individual in social, historical and economic relations (Hefner, Rebecca and Oleshansky, 1975). Since the focus of these theories is on interdependent, mutually-effecting relationships, they are in this respect congruent with the present findings. The notion of dialectics - of contradictions and conflicts - which the transactional/dialectical models stress, by encouraging analyses of how these contradictions occur, allows for a broader, more complicated vision of human development.

There appear to be problems, however, with these two theories when applied to the present findings. Glenwick and Whitbourne's model is only an initial attempt and not yet well developed; they, too, refer to Riegel. Riegel's conceptualization, on the other hand, is not entirely consistent with some of the results obtained here. The present data suggest that he may be overemphasizing the notions of achievement, disequilibrium and crises in the developmental process. He states that changes and transitions are the essential elements of growth and that crises and conflicts are *fundamentally* constructive occurrences leading to

ever-greater achievements. Many women did not experience their lives in these terms, and from their reports there is nothing *inherently* constructive about the experience of crises and changes. The problem-solving required, although essential, could be developmentally insignificant or negative, as well as positive. To suggest that disequilibrium is more important than equilibrium and to stress the positive aspects of the former seems somewhat romantic: again, this is a teleological view of development. To imply that achievement which is based on the resolution of contradiction is the goal of life, as Riegel does, requires that a. the concept of achievement be defined, and b. a necessary relationship be shown to exist between conflict and achievement. The data in this study suggest that these would be difficult tasks.

Marris (1975), supported by much clinical data, believes that the impulse to defend the predictability of life is a fundamental and universal principle of human psychology. He sees this impulse as being constantly threatened by changing events and processes as varied as bereavement, slum clearance, colonization, revolution, the accelerating advances of science and the erection of barriers against middle-aged and older people in certain social arenas. He insists that in

order for individuals to have a sense of continuity a balance between equilibrium and disequilibrium must be attained. This perspective seems to be a more accurate representation of the developmental paths described in this study. Riegel's (1975, p. 51) theory, since it is based firmly on interdependent, mutually influencing interactions among four dimensions, is able to encompass the very personal, sometimes erratic and even unpredictable progressions of the lives of those interviewed here. However, the evidence suggests that stability and security are as important as challenges and conflicts, and human development may just as easily take the form of maintenance, losses, sheer survival or achievement.

The stage theories outlined in Chapter Two fare less well in their capacity to explain or describe the developmental possibilities of human life as exemplified by the relatively small and culturally similar sample studied here.

Buhler's (1968) and Frenkel-Brunswik's (1968) notion of self-determination is essentially individualistic and liberal and, therefore, appears to be culturally and economically biased. The role of history, society, culture and economics is not taken into sufficient account; instead, because their theories are based primarily on the autobiographies of successful men, there are

underlying assumptions that: a) goals and commitments become increasingly clear for all individuals; b) and that these goals (self-fulfillment and self-actualization) are universal and possible for all human beings. An examination of the lives of relatively ordinary women (not to mention underprivileged people or people of other cultures) might have led them in different directions. Although self-determination and fulfillment appear to be important, these tasks may take a variety of forms. For many women (and perhaps for many societies) they cannot be considered in isolation from the need to survive or from the responsibility to help others survive. Buhler also postulates that the process of self-determination proceeds from needs to duties. Needs are inherent in the individual whereas duties are based on values and beliefs. There was some evidence in this study, however, that the reverse may also occur. Those individuals who have a strong sense of duty and of obligation to and responsibility for others may allow their own needs to remain secondary. For instance, one elderly woman in this study, after fifty years of duty to her family, finally allowed her own needs to be met when she was in her seventies. Development, for her and for many other women, appeared to involve movement from duties to needs. There also appears to be

no evidence to suggest that in either case the process is inherently unidirectional: duties and needs may each fluctuate in importance across the lifespan.

Buhler, it will be recalled, maintains that the contraction of life inevitably begins to occur in middle age. In this study, although the number of tasks which were confronted (i.e., perceived as challenges) tended to decrease by middle age, involvement with life activities did not necessarily decrease. Instead, the increasing concern with time for many women was a function of greater participation in society.

The same criticism applies to Jung, who also described the aging process after forty in terms of increased inner orientation and disengagement. This may certainly occur to some people; however, there are indications (Lowenthal, 1979; Kastenbaum, 1979) that this occurrence is most often found in individuals who have tended to be reflective throughout their lives - as was Jung. Jung's developmental description may also be accused of a more serious fault. According to Eichler's definition of sexist science (Chapter Two), Jung's assumptions concerning masculinity and femininity are profoundly sexist: the double standard is fundamental to his vision. For example: "man's values and even his body, do tend to change into their opposites...we

might compare masculinity and femininity and their psychic components to a definite store of substances of which, in the first half of life, unequal use is made. A man consumes his large supply of masculine substance and has left over only the smaller amount of feminine substance, which must now be put to use. Conversely, the woman allows her hitherto unused supply of masculinity to become active" (Jung in *The Portable Jung*, Campbell ed., 1971, p. 16). Rather than emphasizing the diverse possibilities which exist for human beings, Jung's interpretations consistently reinforce stereotypic and dichotomized thinking.

Erikson has already received many criticisms (Gilligan, 1977; Poster, 1978; Roazen, 1976; Williams, 1977) which are further supported by the present data: neither the proposed stages nor their sequence sufficiently fit the lives of the women interviewed here. The timing and meaning of independence, identity, intimacy and generativity varied and differed both from the theory and among the women. In addition, Erikson offers a "philosophical teleology highly colored by personal values" (Bortner, 1966, p. 159). Although Erikson gives credence to the importance of culture in human development, he assumes that what is evident in the culture -- focusing primarily on what he considers

the positive aspects - must or ought to be. He is, essentially, an idealist, and implies that all social orders provide adequate opportunities for every individual. A glance at the lives of the Native women interviewed contradicts this vision soundly. For Erikson, problems are not found in the social system but only in the psychological development of the individual. He never questions whether certain internalized identities (such as the stereotypically feminine one) can be self-destructive or can serve ideological and political purposes (Foster, 1978). For instance, he does not discuss the possibility that the attainment of ego-integrity may be extremely difficult in a society which does not support its aged, and that a focus on the past may in fact serve to prevent older people from controlling their present. Nor does he allow for an explanation of how individuals deal with the physical, psychological and social losses that may occur (Glenwick and Whitbourne, 1978).

Like Erikson, Levinson pays lip service to the importance of culture and society, yet maintains that structure-building and transition periods and their sequences are predetermined and universal (contradicting the findings of anthropologists such as Benedict), and that every era has a natural "overall character of living".

This was not found to be the case in this study, where transitions, if they occurred, were frequently random, unexpected and idiosyncratic. Furthermore, the tenor of some women's lives remained basically the same across eras, while others changed unpredictably. In all cases, conditions external to the individuals played an integral role in their changes, and this is not given sufficient emphasis in Levinson's theory. If his theory is not able to encompass the lives of the women interviewed here, it is questionable whether it can call itself a universal description of human development.

Buhler, Erikson and Levinson, it will be recalled, based their models on the lives of fairly privileged (socially, educationally and economically) predominantly Western males. The result is that a certain experience of reality is outlined, which then has to be adjusted to accommodate not only women but all exceptions. The consequences are two-fold: 1. their theories are sexually, historically, culturally and economically biased, and are therefore limited models of human development; 2. by making women and all exceptions anomalies and deviants, such theories serve to legitimate an existing social structure. The implications of this will be discussed later.

Gould's (1978) theory is faulted along similar lines, although he includes women in his research. He concerns himself with the study of the development of "adult" consciousness but he, too, does so without paying ample attention to the context and the dialectic manner in which this occurs. He (1972, p. 521) suggests, instead, that psychological changes are sequential and a function of time. The role of society in this development is inadequately examined; consequently, the possibility that various meanings and forms of adult consciousness may evolve is insufficiently considered. When, as with Erikson and Levinson, the assumption is that all individuals face a similar reality, the result is a description which is simplistic and reductive. Sales' (1979) attempt to make Levinson's theory applicable to women suffers from the same mistake. Although her intent is commendable, the result is yet another limited and biased version of life. For example, contrary to both Gould's and Sales' stages, one thirty-six year old woman in this study expressed the belief that "leaving her parents world" would likely be a life-long struggle for her; one woman described "opening up what's inside" in her mid-twenties, one in her mid-forties, and another in her seventies; and inner-directedness and mellowing did not appear to be necessarily

correlated with the later years.

Sheehy's (1976) popularization of the life cycle theorists just discussed is subject, of course, to the same criticisms which have been applied to them. Lasch (1979, p. 49) has been especially critical of her theorizing, calling her "predictable crises of adult life" a superficial optimistic hymn to growth, development and self-actualization. Instead of questioning an ideology based on crises and obsolescence, he feels that Sheehy "tries to convince people that old age is not necessarily a disaster, without, however, challenging the social conditions that cause so many people to experience it as such. Reassurance of this kind easily defeats its own object. As reviewers have pointed out, Sheehy does for adulthood what Spock did for childhood. Both assure the anxious reader that conduct he finds puzzling or disturbing can be seen as merely a normal phase of development" (Lasch, 1979, p. 212).

This social/political short-sightedness and lack of awareness of the feasibility of "successful" aging for which Lasch criticizes Sheehy is also manifested in the stages and corresponding tasks outlined by both Havighurst and Peck. For instance, Havighurst's emphasis on civic-social responsibility and leisure-time activity assumes both a certain social structure and

economic position within that structure. The limitations of Peck's tasks are even more blatant. Certain fundamental issues are not addressed; for example: a. how, if a society does not value wisdom, or if one's economic survival is based on one's physical assets, an individual is supposed, in middle age, to relinquish dependence on physicality and to value wisdom; b. similarly, how, if, encouraged by society, an individual has defined herself according to her work-role and/or sexual relationship, she is to surrender these habits and acquire new ones; c. and how, if health, finances and physical and emotional support is lacking, a person can transcend body preoccupation.

The purpose of this study, it must be noted, was to see whether current theories of adult development, were capable of encompassing the lives of a diverse sample of women. Although Bortner (1966, p. 162) maintains that the postulation of stages provides a clearer conceptualization of the processes of aging, the results of this study suggest that such a conceptualization is simplistic, therefore reductive, and in fact negates the everyday experience of reality by implying that there is essentially one purpose and one path in life. Consequently, as was mentioned earlier, all those

whose lives do not fit this version remain outside the mainstream of psychological theory. In fact, it is interesting to note that those who are primarily (and long-term) *researchers* into adulthood rather than theorists - such as Neugarten, Lowenthal, and Kastenbaum - tend not to give their whole-hearted support to any one stage theory. They tend to stress, instead, the complexity and individuality of adult behavior. The present notion of stages contradicts the very process it is meant to describe: in its attempt to make development neat and simple according to classical forms of analysis, (Shotter, 1975) the movement of life becomes a series of static, mechanical units. The consequences of this are significant. The concept of stages, since it implies that development unfolds according to an inner logic and necessity, reduces the role of the individual as an active agent in her or his own growth. Baltes and Goulet (1970, p. 10) postulate that, instead, if living organisms would be conceived of as "open systems (not determined as are machines) which are engaged in continuous interchange with the environment, it would also be justifiable to hypothesize that the operating mechanisms involved may be subject to change as well." The possibilities for change in this case are greatly

expanded. According to Angrist (1975, p. 178) the belief that human nature is less rigid and fixed is especially important in a feminist (and I would add humanist) perspective. She claims that "the emphasis on rigidity has led to stereotypes about women as nurterers, people-oriented, moody, verbal, in need of affiliation, etc. However, the view that people are flexible leads to conceptions of women as changeable, independent, and adaptable to the life-cycle, to work, husband, children, as well as competency..." (Angrist, 1975, p. 178). The view which she supports might also lend itself more easily to the formation of different definitions of competency, work, and responsibility and to an acknowledgement of different forms of commitments, intimacies, etc. - as varied as those found in this research.

As well as reducing both the complexity and the power of the individual, it has also been suggested (Keniston, 1976; Phillips and Kelly, 1975) that stage approaches, by their very nature, prevent full recognition of the diverse and mutable historical, cultural, economic and social influences on human development. As a result, how, when, why and to what extent human beings develop and change can never be entirely understood. Keniston (1976, p. 192) states: "Every epoch tends to freeze its own unique experience into an ahistorical

vision of Life-in-General. Modern developmental psychology witnesses this universal trend. Despite recent advances in our understanding of human development our psychological concepts have generally suffered from a historical parochialism that takes the patterns, timetables and sequences of development prevalent among the middle class in contemporary Western societies as the norm of human development." Consequently, those stages that are recognized and institutionalized in Western society are credited as the "natural" divisions of human life. Phillips and Kelly (1975, p. 374), in their critique of hierarchical theories of development, caution: "it is a serious mistake to regard the *apparent* certainty of a theory as a sign of scientific strength." Keniston, and Phillips and Kelly, concern themselves with cultural, historical and class biases in developmental psychology, but do not address themselves to the male bias in both research and theory. The effect of sexism, however, is the same: the limitation and denial of the possibilities of human experience. Eichler's term "feminist science" (1980, p. 119) is only apparently an oxymoron; she points out that its aim is, in fact, the aim of good science: to create a science that accounts for the behavior of all human beings. Just as Keniston and Phillips and Kelly caution against the blind

acceptance of Western contemporary norms, Eichler warns that any theory that claims to be universal must be capable of explaining female as well as male behavior, i.e., male behavior must not be the norm against which female behavior is evaluated. These writers urge that the only way to create a psychology which adequately explains and describes human behavior is to identify norms which are truly human norms. The notion of norms, however, is itself limiting. It appears necessary to first examine, describe and understand the wide range of human possibilities - the many ways in which human beings may give form to the act of living (Shotter, 1975). The findings in this study suggest that, in order to do this, the unique, iterrelated and complex processes of human consciousness must be acknowledged and dealt with: the importance of meanings and values; past and present experiences and hopes and fears for the future; and past and present social/historical/cultural conditions - all mutually influencing each other.

CHAPTER SEVEN

IMPLICATIONS

FOR PSYCHOLOGY: Contrary to the beliefs of those social scientists (Bortner, 1966, p. 16?; Neugarten, 1968, p. 137) who stress the need for a psychology of adulthood in which orderly and sequential changes are "discovered" and delineated, the findings of this study suggest that an alternate conception of psychology is required in order to understand the development not only of women, but of all human beings. Despite the fact that historians, anthropologists and some psychologists point out that current attempts to segment the life cycle bear little if any relationship to the definitions of adult life in other eras or cultures (Keniston, 1976, p. 192), traditional psychology's preoccupation with prediction and control, rather than understanding, has resulted (Shotter, 1975, p. 16), in an image of human beings "as demeaning as it is simplistic." Shotter (1975, p. 16) feels that this lack of attention to history, culture and personal experience has lead to the "simplification of sensibility, the homogenization of experience and the attenuation of the capacity for experience." The results of this study, which could not be encompassed by any one theory of adult development,

support his assertion. Furthermore, Poster (1978, p. xix) claims that theories which are ahistorical (i.e., which present the human condition as natural, inevitable, unchangeable or universal) are ideological. "Any theory that tells us that what we have is what we must have is ideological. It serves to legitimize and reinforce a given system, regardless of that system's deficiencies. I contend also that there is no basis epistemologically for ideological theories, since human beings have no ground for saying that a given social arrangement cannot be changed" (Poster, 1978, p. xix). This statement is especially relevant from the perspective of women since so many of the assumptions concerning their development must be questioned. However, as Keniston (1976, p. 192) notes, to attend to the facts of history, culture and the intuitive experience requires a reexamination of the assumptions and procedures of traditional psychology. Datan and Ginsberg (1975, p. 4) warn that unless a new philosophy is generated for the study of human beings, lifespan developmental psychology specifically is doomed to failure. The present findings suggest directions which this philosophy might take.

Baltes and Goulet (1970, p. 10) maintain that what passes for theory construction in developmental psychology is often the discovery of a rule, relationship

or classification which *seems* to bring order into otherwise disorderly data and permits certain inferences to be made.

The question which arises out of this study is asked by Shotter (1975, p. 107): "What if we are unable to predict the future in principle; not because we are ignorant, not because we have not yet done enough research, but because the future has not really been determined yet... What if we live in a world in which irreversible and qualitative changes take place as well as reversible and quantitative ones?" In Shotter's (1975, p. 68) radical revamping of psychology he advocates setting out a new perspective - an indeterministic, temporal one to replace the timeless, deterministic one of the traditional approach. Indeterminism, he says (Shotter, 1975, p. 109), implies that: "the parts have a certain amount of loose play on one another, so that the laying down of one of them does not necessarily determine what the others shall be. It admits that things not yet determined may really in themselves be ambiguous. Indeterminism thus denies the world to be one unbending unit of fact. It says that there is a certain ultimate pluralism in it; and, so saying, it corroborates our ordinary unsophisticated view of things" (Shotter, 1975, p. 109). Certainly, it is this sense of

pluralism and indeterminism which emerged out of the "everyday" lives of those interviewed here. Indeterminism, for Shotter (1975, p. 109) also means that any sort of action involves selection or choice, and, therefore, responsibility. "In an indeterminate world, man's central task becomes that of giving form to the act of living itself" (Shotter, 1975, p. 111). Consequently, he criticizes traditional psychologists for attempting to discover the nature of things objectively, independent of any responsibility they might have for their behavior. "When we turn this endeavor round upon ourselves, when we attempt to discover our own nature independently of any responsibility that we might have here for our own behavior, the result is absurd" (Shotter, 1975, p. 68). Shotter, reflecting the theme of many of the women in this study, believes that responsible action, rather than principles of behavior, should be the focus of psychology.

The next question which exists, then, is why the actual experience of development as perceived by the women in this study is not described by existing theories. Part of the reason for the inadequate and inappropriate generalizations which are proposed lies in the use of limited and biased (e.g., middle class male) norms (Eichler, 1980, p. 119). Also, Shotter (1975) and

Sherif (1979) contend that it is because traditional psychology has pursued the path of natural science, and in so doing has defined knowledge as being of objective things. Shotter (1975, p. 45) claims, instead, (as do Francella and Frost, 1977) that psychology should be the disciplined study of our intuitive sense ~~of~~ ourselves as persons and that it should be concerned with a different kind of knowledge: "the kind of knowledge which informs action - knowledge of values and meanings" (Shotter, 1975, p. 51). He insists, as does Smith (1979), that the everyday "common-sense" world in which people live and acquire knowledge as they interact with one another is not only valid but irreplaceable for science: it alone must be the starting point for understanding human behavior.

Smith (1979, p. 183), believes that the establishment of the everyday world as central achieves something like a Copernican shift: "The significance of Copernican innovations was less that the sun rather than the earth was declared to be the center of the solar system than that the position of the observer was no longer fixed and could no longer be disattended in interpreting observations. She had no longer a fixed, central position but had to be seen as located in a position itself in motion in relation to what she observed. Hence, the

observed movements of the planets could no longer be seen simply as their movements, but had to be understood as movements seen from a moving position" (Smith, 1979, p. 183). Smith and Shotter maintain, and again this has special relevance for women, that it is only by listening to our subjective, directly-felt experiences that we can question the conceptual organizations of society. In fact, Shotter (1975, p. 35) states that psychology must begin, not by doing experiments to establish 'facts', but by clarifying the ordinary everyday concepts of ourselves and others as persons. He views conceptual analysis as an essential endeavor - "since it has to do with clarifying what counts for us as our world at this particular moment in history" (Shotter, 1975, p. 37) - without which the direction and nature of our investigations remain confused.

In this study, the importance of conceptual analysis was demonstrated repeatedly: clarification of meaning was found to be essential in understanding life tasks and developmental progression. Moreover, Eichler (1980) and Sherif (1979) emphasize that conceptual analysis is absolutely necessary for the formation of non-sexist science. It is only by re-examining and redefining notions such as success, achievement, work, competence, self-actualization, etc.

that a science which accounts for both male and female behavior can be created.

However, Radnitzky (1970, pp. 129, 32) points out that since science is interwoven with the practice of life, there is no neutral standpoint outside of history upon which the scientist can base herself/himself. Because being a "man", a "woman", a "scientist", is always defined by the historical and cultural context, adequate psychological theory has to begin with the definition of that context (Sherif, 1979, p. 176). Datan and Ginsberg (1975, p. 8) criticize traditonal studies of human development for not giving adequate recognition to the diversity of effects which the social, cultural and economic aspects of the context have on individual development. Rather than being viewed as obstacles to the study of development, these elements must be seen as essential components of it.

Bronfenbrenner (1976, p. 122) discusses the importance of context in terms of ecological changes, which he claims is a crucial area of study for psychology if it is to understand human development. He points out (as was suggested by the women in this project) that environmental variance in human capacities, motivations and behavior derives not only from the influences of the family and peer groups but also from

institutions in society such as the world of work, public transportation and the structure of neighborhoods. Psychology, then, must include the study of society and of history if it intends to be meaningful and to have any socio-historical applicability (Berger and Luckmann, 1967, p. 207). According to Keniston (1976, p. 203), unless developmental psychology includes historical and social inquiry, psychology will continue to impose culturally ethnocentric and historically parochial world-views and mind-sets upon the experiences of those in other cultures and historical eras. Shotter (1975, p. 103), too, states: "besides being trained in finding within themselves and in the exchanges of others immediate reason for action, students of psychology must also undertake cultural and historical studies in their attempt to discover deeper reasons for these immediate reasons." He believes that this is crucial because human beings are never found in a state of nature, but always in a culture in nature. It is this acknowledgement of culture which psychology, in its attempt to be scientific, has ignored, but which is the key to the development of the human sciences (Shotter, 1975, p. 136).

"Everywhere and at every time he is only to be found in a state of culture, living ways of life that

he must have devised for himself in some way - ways of life that his young inherit, not genetically but in a process of communication which takes place after birth... There is very little that we find ourselves doing, without it having been thought about and planned, no matter how dimly, if not by ourselves then by others, now or at some time in the past... Unlike the trees and the stars, the birds and the bees, we do not have a species-specific way of going on; it is up to us to maintain ourselves in existence as best we can. We have to be agents in the process of our own survival; it does not happen automatically" (Shotter, 1975, p. 130).

Consequently, Shotter (1975, p. 134) sees the nature of human beings - men and women - as intrinsically and eternally problematic: "we must make and continually remake our own nature, we must constantly be in search of ourselves." Indeed, this is the task with which feminists actively concern themselves. It is also the task of those sciences such as psychology which are historical and developmental by nature: "all those disciplines which are faced with a continuous stream of new issues associated with eternal cultural change" (Weber, in Baltes *et al.*, 1977, p. 11) - and which therefore, must continually question, criticize and redefine themselves (Radnitzky, 1970, p. 35). This,

also, is essentially what is occurring in the current attempt to make developmental adult psychology a non-sexist discipline.

FOR WOMEN: If, as this study demonstrated, individual women may be as different from each other in their interpretations of life tasks and in their developmental paths as they are purported to be from men, the question which arises, as Eichler (1980) has wisely noted, is to what extent sex is a relevant variable in adult development. This is not to say that existing attitudes and behaviors that are differentiated by sex should not be documented. Indeed, at present, in the social sciences, they must be examined in order to rectify an imbalance wherein male norms have been accepted as human norms while the situations of females have been dismissed, disregarded or viewed as anomalies. However, Eichler (1980, p. 53) cautions that if we continue to simply chart sex differences, "what could have been a starting point for change will become a factor in retarding social change. After having made some inventory of sex roles within a society, we need to proceed to analyze the behaviors of women and men by variables other than sex... by their work conditions (for example), which is a variable equally applicable to women and men. Only when focusing on non-sexual variables will we be

able to identify factors that can, potentially be changed." She also criticizes the use of statistical procedures which, by definition, label those people who find themselves at the extreme endpoints of the distribution (such as female loggers and male homemakers) as abnormal and deviant, whereas they themselves may find their situation quite acceptable. Eichler (1980, p. 53) maintains that such procedures serve to rigidify sex roles as they are studied and in the process, projected onto society. Consequently, she insists that methodologies which distort data and amplify differences - such as masculinity-femininity scales - should not be used (Eichler, 1980, p. 120). As was mentioned in Chapter II, Eichler (1980, p. 54) advocates substituting the concept of the double standard instead of the notion of sex roles: "we are fundamentally questioning the appropriateness of using sex as a discriminatory factor, since the basic notion of the double standard is that in identical situations identical consequences should accrue to both sexes and that differences should only be there when sex does make a difference, when in other words, the situations are not identical." In relation to adult development, this might mean that except for pregnancy and childbirth, contextual and subjective/interpretive differences rather than sexual ones must be given

consideration as possible explanations in developmental differences. As Eichler suggests, this would expand the possibilities for change for both men and women.

FOR RESEARCH: Research in the area of lifespan development has been viewed as problematic by numerous psychologists (Achenbach, 1978; Baltes and Goulet, 1970; Datan and Ginsberg, 1975; Nydegger, 1976). Datan and Ginsberg (1975, p. 7) suggest that part of the problem is: "in the long run we are all short term, trying to formulate a model of human development that expresses the universal components of the life cycle, from birth to death, while none of us live long enough to verify our own models." Attempts to rectify the research problems of developmental psychology have taken two forms: suggestions which aim to reform traditional psychology by maintaining and building on present methodologies; and suggestions for radical change which require new perspectives and new emphases.

Glenwick and Whitbourne (1978, p. 265) admit that research in the area is difficult and challenging, since the past, the present, and a multitude of social, biological and psychological influences must all be considered. They suggest focusing on individual differences rather than groups, and increasing the use of multivariate analysis. Achenbach (1978, p. 226), too,

feels that the issues raised by the life span approach demand far more complex and sophisticated research designs than are typically employed. He proposes: "not only must general effects due to age changes, cohort characteristics and time of measurement be separated, but new varieties of demand characteristics, the increasing effects of illness with age, and the variations in living conditions between and within age groups must be considered in constructing a lifespan perspective" (Achenbach, 1978, p. 226). In a similar vein, Nydegger (1976, p. 140) stresses the importance of assessing the effects of varying situations and demands, their interactions with each other, with social groups and with individual qualities before arriving at hypotheses about the role, if any, played by age itself. In a slightly more radical tone, but still reformist in nature, Riegel (1978, p. 149) notes that since human beings are changing all the time, they cannot be appropriately described by instruments that are supposed to reflect universal and stable properties. Like Datan and Ginsberg, Glenwick and Whitbourne, and Nydegger, he suggests that changes in human beings can be apprehended only by studing psychological operations in their *interactions* with inner-biological, cultural-sociological and outer-physical events.

While these psychologists urge the necessity for improvements in research methods and designs, such that the importance of the context and interaction effects will be considered, others, such as Shotter (1975), Giorgi (1970) and Radnitzky (1970) propose that more sweeping changes are required for an adequate study of human behavior. Giorgi (1970) and Shotter (1975) suggest that rather than attempting to discover "principles of behavior" external to ourselves, psychology must return to the study of our everyday experience of ourselves.

According to Shotter (1975, p. 135), this would mean not just a change of content, but a radical new form of thought and mode of investigatory activity. The aim would not be disinterested observation of behavior, publicly shared objective knowledge, or the discovery of "inner workings". Instead, Shotter feels that psychology must concern itself with producing "intersubjectively shared understandings" and with discovering the reasons for peoples' actions (Shotter, 1975, pp. 68, 135). To do this, Shotter (1975) and Radnitzky (1970) insist that exchange and dialogue between people is essential. On one level this means asking people what they know, and how they know what they know. At another level, this means recognizing that "the problems of the practice of life are a

burden" (Radnitzky, 1970, p. 35) which psychology cannot bear alone. It must work with all the social sciences, as well as with philosophy. Finally, since these disciplines are bound by time and culture, the process of dialogue, like the developmental process, must always allow for criticism and questioning in order to grow.

FOR COUNSELLING: Bortner (1966, p. 162) states: "the advantages afforded by the postulation of adult stages of development lie in a clearer understanding of clinical problems, concomitant increases in the efficiency of therapeutic measures and preventative techniques, and a clearer conceptualization of the processes of aging."

The information gained from this study suggests that there may be disadvantages which outweigh the advantages: the formulation of adult "stages" may serve to prescribe or accept crises or dilemmas where these need not exist; it may oversimplify the process of aging to the extent where it limits rather than broadens our understanding; it may negate the uniqueness and complexity of an individual's reality, thereby clouding rather than throwing light on clinical issues.

The major themes which emerged here suggest a distinct route for counselling both men and women:

A. It was found that it is essential to identify and understand each individual's unique meaning system: i.e., how she interprets the world to herself. Unless these meanings are clarified, the clinician will be unable to comprehend the choices, decisions, reactions and developments which occur.

B. At the same time, these meanings and assumptions can only be grasped by having knowledge of the social, cultural, historical and economic circumstances within which the person has developed.

C. Reality, then, for each individual, has many dimensions, all of which must be acknowledged. Since each aspect influences every other, the dialectical nature of an individual's involvement with the world should be recognized.

D. The women in this study were found to be makers of choices and decisions, and I will suggest that this is true of all human beings. However, the range and kinds of options may vary greatly and, again, in order to make sense of these choices and decisions, the contexts within which they are made must be known.

There are two important implications here for counselling:

1. Change requires questioning and challenging the assumptions, definitions, choices and decisions.

both of individuals and of the society and culture in which they live. For women who desire change at this point in time, this is an especially important requisite.

2. Since adults interpret and decide, they are always, however limited the extent, active agents (and not merely helpless victims) in their development. It is this fundamental strength upon which counselling must build, especially when counselling women.

E. The capacity to ascribe meaning, and to choose, is also basic to the notion of responsibility. The women in this study, as well as Bardwick (1979), Gilligan (1977, 1979) and Shotter (1975), maintain that growth is achieved through responsibility. The dilemma which occurs for many women, both within and outside of the counselling situation, is the conflict between being responsible for the welfare of others and taking care of themselves. The struggle, as Bardwick (1979, p. 175) describes it, entails: "being able to take seriously the involvements which are important to us and to be committed while still retaining a sense of our individual selves." Resolving the problem means examining how these responsibilities have arisen and where, in

fact, they are rooted. As Bardwick (1979, p. 175) notes: "people who are liberated are not free of real responsibilities and commitments, but are free of the psychological coercion of having to conform to or rebel against responsibilities and relationships." In addition, since some of the responsibilities which many women take on are less valued by the society in which they live, truly critical and non-sexist counselling must also question the values of that society. Again, the relationship between the individual and society must be confronted.

Finally, the keynote of this chapter is the theme of interrelationships: the individual in relation to herself; the individual in relation to the world; the relationship of the investigator to her/his discipline; and the relationships among scholarly disciplines. This study suggests that it is connections such as these that require on-going critical examination.

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APPENDIX A

Data Sheet

Name

Age

Place of Birth

Nationality

Ethnic Background

Educational History

Marital Status: Single ( ) Separated ( ) Married ( )
Divorced ( ) Remarried ( ) Widowed ( )

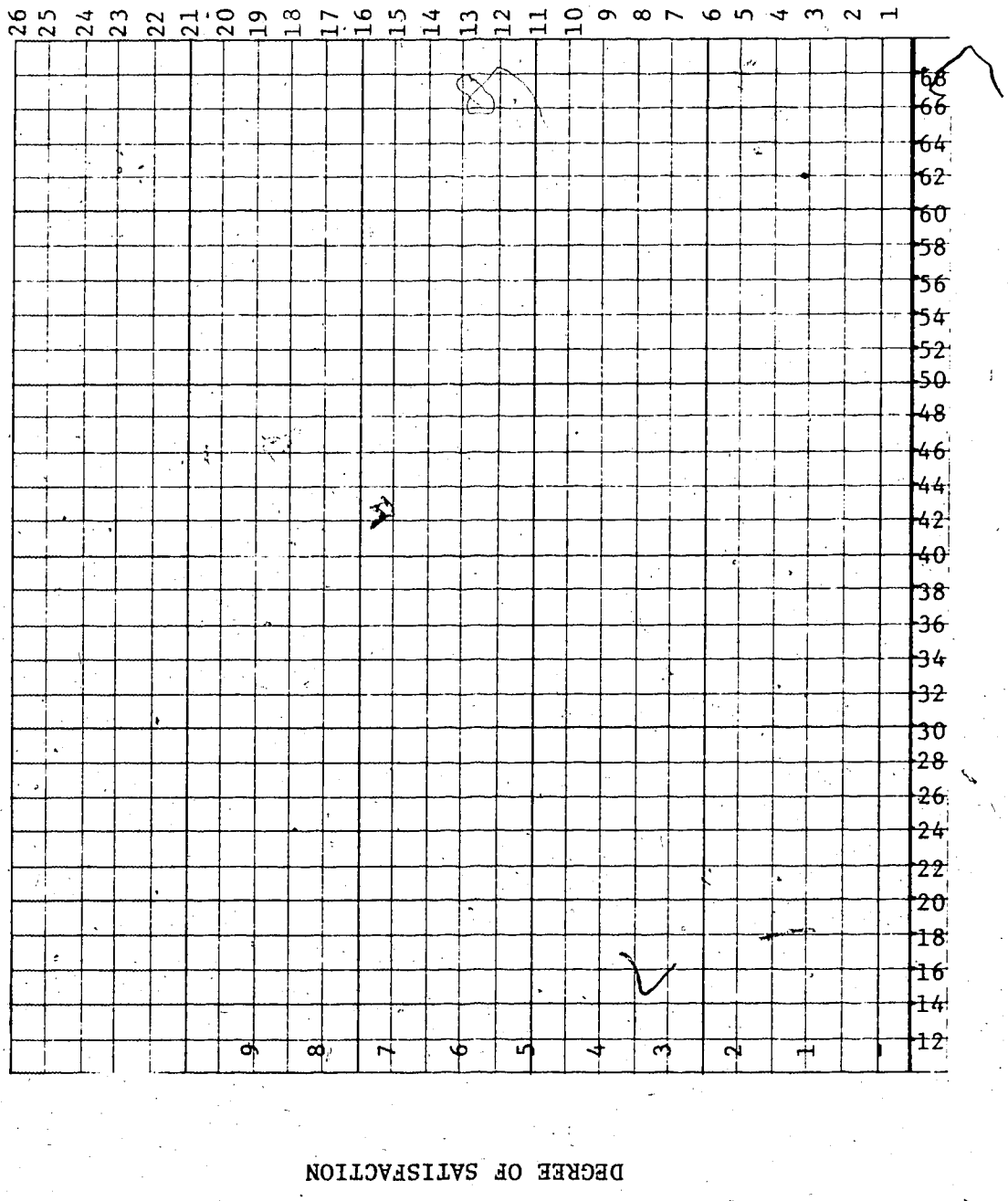
Husband(s): Age, Occupation, Nationality, Ethnic Background

Occupational History

Children: Ages and Domicile

Income: Above $10,000 ( )
Below $10,000 ( )

APPENDIX B


TASKS
26 25 24 23 22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
68 66 64 62 60 58 56 54 52 50 48 46 44 42 40 38 36 34 32 30 28 26 24 22 20 18 16 14 12
9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
DEGREE OF SATISFACTION
AGE

APPENDIX C

These are considered to be the tasks that women face in their adult life. Were they, are they or do you expect them to be significant concerns for you in your life?

A. Very much so B. Somewhat

C. Slightly D. Never

1. Independence: being able to do things on your own.
2. Intimacy: having a close sharing relationship.
3. Marriage: getting married.
4. Pregnancy: bearing a child.
5. Parenthood: looking after a child or children.
6. Work: having a job or career.
7. Identity: figuring out/knowing who you are.
8. Becoming your own person: deciding to become the person you want to be.
9. Commitment: setting and completing goals.
10. Body image: how you feel about your body, your appearance.
11. Divorce: leaving the marriage.
12. Menopause: end of child-bearing years.
13. Departure of children: children leaving home.
14. Sexuality: relating to your sex life/sexual behavior.
15. Purpose in life: thinking about the meaning of life.
16. Self-acceptance: coming to terms with who you are.

17. Aging: getting old.
18. Health: mental and physical well-being.
19. Old age: the last period of your life.
20. Time: the period to do the things you want to do.
21. Aloneness: being on your own.
22. Widowhood: death of your husband.
23. Retirement: change of role.
24. Self-esteem: how good you feel about yourself.
25. Competence: feeling capable of doing things well.
26. Being a grandparent figure: contributing to future generations.
27. Death: dealing with your own and others' dying.
28. Fulfillment: feeling satisfied and content.

APPENDIX D

ANOVA Summary Data for Differences Between Groups on Number of Tasks Selected

Group	SS	df	MS	F
STAGE				
Between	192.62	2	96.31	3.51*
Within	1069.50	39	27.42	
EDUCATION				
Between	22.53	1	22.53	.73
Within	1239.59	40	30.99	
MARITAL STATUS				
Between	.55	1	.55	.02
Within	1261.57	40	31.54	
CHILDREN				
Between	13.46	1	13.46	.43
Within	1248.66	40	31.22	
INCOME				
Between	.24	1	.24	.007
Within	1261.88	40	31.55	

*$p < .05$

INDEX TO APPENDIX E

COLUMNS 1 & 2: Subject's identification number (1-42)

COLUMN 3: Subject's card number (1)

COLUMNS 4 & 5: Subject's age

COLUMN 6: Subject's stage in adulthood:

1 = young

2 = middle-aged

3 = old

COLUMN 7: Subject's education:

1 = university

2 = non-university

COLUMN 8: Marital status:

1 = married

2 = single

COLUMN 9: Children: 1 = yes

2 = no

COLUMN 10: Income: 1 = greater than $10,000

2 = less than $10,000

COLUMNS 11-38: Developmental Tasks 1-28:

1 = Very Important

2 = Somewhat Important

3 = Slightly Important

4 = Never Important

APPENDIX E

Raw Data on Importance of Tasks

01169311111113122111441114412122121111
02124111112221121113241113241431111111
03141211111333313312413333333233233313
04145211111111111111414324444431442234 3
05176311111112213112443211314131111211
06128112211112211111233111211112211311
07130112211111211113432131222123211121
08165322221322211112434211112124111111
09136211211114411113144121214412111414
10127111212111123221441233222233222211
11149221111112222211432111213122222232
12135221111232111112141331424134311441
13139221121131111112311111331424111131
14182322221244444113434322432244422332
15138211111222111112332213131134114 31
16136221111133111112233211333133321321
17137211111121113333933223322213234411 3
18160311121213122223411323333233442332
19137221112113344242442444314241432211
20152221221131111111114111344444311141
21133121111111123222342212212121212111
22163321122111114323442324434331241111
23129122121241111113431312432314111421
24143221111211221134232224131432111 41
25170321122311122323421323312311122132
26157221122322144221414142144442321 12
27128121121111211121222213334344113 21
28140211121131131111414311313144311312
29144221121131112111313311322113321131
30147221111111111111244231131223322 1121
31144221212122333313433413322123332222
32128122121132111111241221213112111111
33136222123231124121444313222114312143
34167321121211124423444441444222442243
35171312212233112211443321323324222423
36162322211244413112444422412224221422
37128112211134211111243211314111211221
38156211111311311111413411314121311411
39152211111111111412232124234111122221 4
40146211114111144413444424344443444424
41129121121111111111144111212112411141
42154211111111111111111111111111111111

INDEX TO APPENDIX F

COLUMNS 1 & 2: Subject's identification number (1-42)

COLUMN 3: bject's card number (3)

COLUMNS 4 & 5: Subject's age

COLUMN 6: Subject's stage in adulthood:

1 = young

2 = middle-aged

3 = old

COLUMN 7: Subject's education:

1 = university

2 = non-university

COLUMN 8: Marital status:

1 = married

2 = single

COLUMN 9: Children: 1 = yes

2 = no

COLUMN 10: Income: 1 = greater than $10,000

2 = less than $10,000

COLUMNS 11-14: TASK 1: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 15-18: TASK 2: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 19-22: TASK 3: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 23-26: TASK 4: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 27-30: TASK 5: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 31-34: TASK 6: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 35-38: TASK 7: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 39-42: TASK 8: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 43-46: TASK 9: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 47-50: TASK 10: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 51-54: TASK 11: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 55-58: TASK 12: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 59-62: TASK 13: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 63-66: TASK 14: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 67-70: TASK 15: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 71-74: TASK 16: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 75-78: TASK 17: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 79-82: TASK 18: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 83-86: TASK 19: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 87-90: TASK 20: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 91-94: TASK 21: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 95-98: TASK 22: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 99-102: TASK 23: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 103-106: TASK 24: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 107-110: TASK 25: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 111-114: TASK 26: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 115-118: TASK 27: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

COLUMNS 119-122: TASK 28: AGE and TIME(s) encountered

**the number 99 signifies 'ALWAYS'.

APPENDIX F

Raw Data on Timing of Tasks

```
013693111199      2801    2901        99  99                  2801             99  6801           6401    99  5801     2801

0232411111                        1804  99                    1603                                         19031504     99
0232411111                        2004                        2203                                         22031604
0232411111                        2204                        2403                                         24032204
0232411111                        2404                                                                         2404

03341211111602        3301    2201        1604                            3302
03341211112202                            2204                            4002
0334121111                                2804
0334121111                                4004

0434521111380145012001220122014001                3801                                    3604
0434521111                                                                                3804
0434521111                                                                                4004
0434521111                                                                                4204

05376311116401    2401        2601        99                      23036401                        6701640199      1902
0537631111                                                        2503                                            6402
0537631111                                                        2703

06328112211801 2202               250126012701                180324012801                                          2701
0632811221     2702                                           2203
0632811221                                                    2703

07330112211801300130013001    30013001300199                  3001    99                3001            99  99  3001    99

08365322222201                2401                                99  2003        2201                 18023601         4001
0836532222                                                            4003                             3202
0836532222                                                            5003

093362112122043401            340226023001 2601    2201       3202    2202        2601        2205     22062606     2601
09336211212404                36022802                        3402    2402                    2405     24062806
09336211212604                                                                                2605     26063006
09336211212804                                                                                2805     28063206
0933621121                                                                                    3005     30063406
0933621121                                                                                             32063606
1032711121     220122012601                                                                                         99
```

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11349221112001160120O1          440199         200199  1601    99    4001

123352211199          230623062406320235O1   2301   4001     3202         3501          26052605     303
1233522111            2606260626063502                       3502                       28052805     323
1233522111            280628062806                                                      30053005     353
1233522111            300630063006                                                      32053205
1233522111            320632063206                                                      35053505
1233522111            340635063506
13339221128929O1    15041504260125O199   1205     380135013501330133O1        3401         2401230199  99    99
1333922112          22041804             1605
1333922112          24042004             1805
1333922112          28042204             2005
1333922112                               2205

143823222299                          99  99

153382111199  1804         99  3201320199  3601              99      3201   300199           99        3001
1533821111    2104
1533821111    3004
1533821111    3304

16336221112OO13401      24013001300130013601            30013001        3201             2601       3201

173372111122012303  240424042801                                        3501              31013501
1733721111   2603   26042604                                            3701
1733721111   2803   28042804
1733721111          31043104

18360311123002   2401  2703            50014402
18360311126002         2803                5202
1836031112             6003

1933722111   99  1701                                                                            3501

20352221221601 2002   18011801180118024801160116013801 4801   2001480148O1           220199  5001   5201
2035222122   5202                 5202
```

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2133312111180299  99  24012401                      2001   2403  3302        1701        2401
21333121113202                                             2803  5002
2133312111                                                 3203

2236332112   260126012703270                                                  5601        57015601
2236332112          32033203
2236332112          35033503

233291221299        18032001260228012801 2201              1602              1502   26022602     99
2332912212          2203    2902                           2902              1802   29022902
2332912212          2703

24343221114001   99  99  99      400199                           99     4201        99  99  4301  4001

2537032112       18012001205                        3901          99     99  66016501       4701
2537032112                245
2537032112                285
2537032112                305
2537032112                345

2635722112                  99             4001        5001       5701                          490199

273281211299  150116011701170 1   260124012601   2801        2201                 1901160'    2401

28340211124001 2901   22032201   40014001280199     99  4001   99     4001        30054001  2401
2834021112            2403                                                        [illegible]
2834021112            2603                                                        [illegible]
2834021112                                                                        [illegible]
2834021112                                                                        [illegible]

293442211218022203    220522053802   330299  99        42012301          400199        3004    3702
293442211242023803    240526053902   3402                                              3304    3802
2934422112  3903      25053005                                                         3604
2934422112            28053405                                                         4004
2934422112            36053605

303472211199  360123012201250120013701 99  3501     99  3101   4401                 15014201  3301
```

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3134422121      3601                      3202                    1801                4201
3134422121                                3402

323281221299  2801        23012501170118012701 99     2801       2801     2601   99 3601    280199  21012501160199

3333622212          20012003       1502     1502                  3601                36012003      1502    2003
3333622212              2403       1802     1802                                          2403      1802    2403
3333622212              2803                                                              2803              2803

34367321121801   290130023101                                        5102
3436732112           3402                                            5302

3537131221              99   99           99   99                    99

36362322211601              99       99   99                                   2201                           99

37328112211601 1601             21012501280116012501           25012101            28012801      16011801      2501

383562111199      22012502    2303430122 0199  5501     4501       99   5501   2303    99       5501    99   99   23034301
3835621111            4102    2803                                             2703                                3903
3835621111                    5503                                             4303                                5503

3935221111230440012402230224044001    3901                4202                     52012803490 15001                 5001
39352211112604    390228022804                            4802                         3203
39352211113704            3204                                                         3703
39352211115604            3804

4034621111    2405240126022601               99
4034621111    2805     2902
4034621111    3205
4034621111    4205
4034621111    4605
```

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4132912112260199   18012301230127012001200120012002 2601     160220021501   2701   29012602      270189     2601
4132912112                                       2302        270226022601           2902

4235421111199   2001200120042001490199   490199   99   48014301400199   99   99 4001   99   5401500148015401540148 0199   480154014901
4235421111              2404
4235421111              2804
4235421111              3404
```

APPENDIX G

Demographic Characteristics of the Interviewees

	Young Women (Ages 24-33)	Middle-aged Women (Ages 35-56)	Older Women (Ages 60-82)
Income	>$10,000 = 6 <$10,000 = 4	>$10,000 = 16 <$10,000 = 6	>$10,000 = 4 <$10,000 = 6
Education	Highschool = 5 College = 2 University = 3	Elementary School = 3 Highschool = 9 College = 2 University = 8	Elementary School = 2 Highschool = 4 University = 4
Marital Status	Single = 5 Married = 3 Divorced = 2	Single = 1 Married = 13 Divorced = 7 Widowed = 1	Single = 4 Married = 3 Widowed = 3
Number of Children	None = 4 1-3 = 6	None = 3 1-6 = 19	None = 4 1-5 = 6

APPENDIX H

Mean Life Satisfaction and Standard Deviations for Entire Sample.

Age	Number of Respondents	Mean	Standard Deviation
12	8	3.38	2.72
14	15	4.2	2.31
16	32	4.44	2.40
18	38	5.40	2.14
20	39	5.54	2.06
22	42	5.88	2.07
24	42	5.83	2.16
26	41	5.49	2.05
28	41	5.59	2.10
30	35	5.69	1.97
32	33	5.88	1.75
34	33	5.91	1.61
36	32	5.94	1.99
38	27	6.04	2.14
40	24	6.29	1.94
42	22	6.50	1.90
44	22	6.77	1.60
46	18	6.22	2.02
48	17	6.24	2.05
50	15	6.67	1.84
52	15	6.87	2.03
54	13	6.77	1.92
56	12	6.33	1.92
58	11	6.73	1.62
60	10	6.90	1.66
62	9	5.67	2.87
64	8	5.38	2.92
66	6	5.17	2.99
68	6	5.17	2.56
70	5	5.0	2.12