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AUTONOMY AND CONNECTION: IDENTITY, MORAL REASONING AND COPING AMONG NEW MOTHERS

by

Serena Joan Patterson

B.A., M.A.

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of Psychology

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

DECEMBER, 1991

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APPROVAL

Name: Serena Joan Patterson

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

Title of Thesis: Autonomy and Connection: Identity, Moral Reasoning and Role Conflict Among New Mothers

Examining Committee:

Chair: Dr. Marilyn Bowman

Dr. James E. Marcia
Senior Supervisor

Dr. Meredith Kimball

Dr. Raymond Koopman

Dr Patricia Hindley

Dr. Ruthellen Josselson
External Examiner

Date Approved: 10 January 1992

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Author:

(signature)

Serena Joan Patterson

(name)

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ABSTRACT

Women's sense of self develops through the interplay of autonomy (experienced through self definition and power) and connection with others (experienced as love, responsibility, and dependency). Changes in autonomy bring about a redefinition of terms in close relationships, and vica-versa. James Marcia's Identity Status model of ego identity and Carol Gilligan's care-based model of moral reasoning are partial and compatible descriptions of the development of the self in relation to others in young adulthood. In both models, persons at lower levels of development are seen as reactive to others and as having a diffuse sense of self definition. Those at a conventional level experience self and others through reciprocal roles prescribed by internalized authority figures. At the highest levels of development, persons undergo periods of self-exploration, and define themselves and their relationships in unique terms. An integrative model of women's ego development is needed to account for the reciprocal nature of autonomy and connection in women's lives. In the context of new motherhood, where role expectations are ambiguous and conflicting, a woman's integration of autonomy and connection should guide the degree to which she reacts according to the expectations of others (reactive coping) vs. to her own expectations and needs (role redefinition). It was hypothesized that women's scores on Identity Status,

Care-based Moral Reasoning and coping strategy (reactive coping vs. role redefinition) would be associated with one another, since each was seen as reflecting a single developmental process. Interviews and questionnaires from 79 mothers with first children ages 6-18 months were scored for Identity Status, Care-based Moral Reasoning and coping strategy. Identity was significantly associated with Moral Reasoning and marginally associated with coping strategy. Moral Reasoning was not associated with coping strategy. Women's ratings on Identity Status and Moral Reasoning were related to level of education, employment status and family income. An integrated model of women's development of the self in relation to others is described, using illustrative material from the interview.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my husband, Ian Robbins, and to my daughter, Laura Ellyn Robbins, because I love them dearly and because it is also about our lives together.

This is also dedicated to my grandmother, Gladys Fitts, who I always felt understood me, and to my mother, Joan Patterson, who has nurtured and taught me and modelled for me the value of good, honest ambivalence, and to my sister, Susan Efting, who shared my room for so many years that I still wish to say "Are you awake?" to her in the dark.

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This work is indebted to a great number of people, whose time, effort, advice, practical and moral support have made possible its completion. Their support and input transformed the project from work to, most of the time, a pleasure. Certainly they made the process as valuable to me as the product.

Dr. James Marcia, as my faculty supervisor, has been an invaluable source of knowledge, encouragement and, when it was needed, clout and advice to help me get the resources I needed. My committee members, Ray Koopman and Merideth Kimball, were valuable sources of advice, challenges and clarity.

I had an outstanding team of research assistants, who contributed not only to data collection, but also to my own understanding of the interviews and what they meant. I am indebted especially to Monica Grunberg and to Sharon Peachy, who maintained their interest in the project and their willingness to listen and contribute ideas over the three year period from the beginning of the interview process through the writing stage. These women, over the course of many informal discussions, contributed greatly to my understanding of contextual issues in women's lives, and to my respect for the strenths of women in different situations. In addition, Sharon Peachy's ability to find and persuade mothers to participate in the research reached legendary status over the course of the project, as she went where none of us dared (health clubs, tanning salons, malls, and baby swim classes) in search of subjects. Also, many thanks to Joanne MacKinnon and Barbara Beach, who donated their time to listen to and code interview tapes, and who contributed many useful comments.

Thanks are in order to the Burnaby Public Health Department for allowing pamphlets at immunization clinics, and for providing intial feedback on the prototype for our pamplet. Thank you also to Dr. Eleanor Ames, for providing access to her 'baby files' of volunteer research participants.

I wish to especially thank the women who volunteered to be interviewed for the project, inviting us into their homes and generously giving us time out of their very busy schedules. It was not unusual to discover that a participant had scheduled the interview on her day off, or arranged extra babysitting so that she could give us her full attention. Without exception, the women we interviewed were interesting, and the stories which they told were a privilege to share. I have wondered how to do justice to the richness of the interviews, and concluded sadly that I cannot in this document. Nonetheless, they provide a rich

bank of experience and perspective which I am certain will continue to yeild insight in future projects.

Finally, I wish to thank my husband, Ian Robbins, who provided a great deal of assistance in preparing my manuscript and in holding the fort when deadlines threatened. Along with my daughter, who five years ago began providing inspiration for this project, he has been a source of challanges, and of balance and stability in the inherently destabilizing process of writing. They enrich my life, and, unavoidably, my work.

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PREFACE: ON THE STUDY OF MOTHERS

This work focuses on how new mothers experience themselves in the context of their roles in the family and community. I began the project nearly four years ago, when the realities of continuing graduate school with my own new baby in tow seemed at times just short of overwhelming. Being a scholar by habit and temperament, I turned a personal dilemma into research. Maybe if I read enough, talked to enough women, or wrote enough, I would come to master this new relationship and its attendant responsibilities.

I started by looking at the context of motherhood. How did other women cope with mixed messages from the popular media, child care experts, and loved ones about what constituted a good mother or a good woman? How did they resolve the dichotomy between career and home? How did they make decisions on child care, and how did they feel in the absence of practical or affordable options? Did they find it difficult trusting their partner's income, their children's good health, their substitute caregiver's good intentions, or their employer's understanding? In talking with other mothers whom I met or knew, it became clear to me that we were not all alike in what we worried about or how we experienced motherhood. Gradually, each of us was working out for ourselves a way of parenting and of being in

our families that made sense to us. At this particular moment in history there is a plethora of advice which does not add up to a single, workable definition of what a good mother does. In the vacuum, women define for themselves how they are going to write the mother script.

Once the obvious became clear: that individual women were writing highly original and differing scripts for motherhood, my research question changed from common concerns to individual differences. The life phase of new motherhood offered an opportunity to look at how women came to define themselves as well-meaning, upstanding human beings. Like a projective test, motherhood was ambiguous enough to bring out what was important to each of us. Unlike a projective test or hypothetical dilemma, motherhood was also important enough that I knew the answers I received would be well thought out and perhaps poignant expressions of the women they came from.

It was exciting to write about mothers in their own right, seen not through the filter of a child's needs or a culture's romanticized images of Motherhood, but as themselves. Mothers often commented after interviews that it was rare to be asked what they thought about things other than child care. As one put it, "It's strange to talk about these things. It's always 'where's the sock' or 'does he need a change?'. Nobody talks to me like this anymore..."

These reactions to the interviews echoed a profound silence in research and psychodynamic literature, where mothers were generally written about in relation to their children's needs, as objects of attachment and caregivers.1

I turned to other new mothers, like myself, in order to study how women perceived and experienced themselves as individuals in relation to other people. I have lately begun to consider more closely the benefits and limitations of this exclusive focus on married Canadian women who were mothers. When I say that the women I interviewed were ordinary, with ordinary problems, what I mean of course is ordinary by Canadian standards. Some of them worked very hard for food and rent, some of them lived in basement suites or cheap apartments, some of them had relatively little education. I was, in fact, pleased with the diversity of women whom we interviewed. But the majority were Caucasian, relatively comfortable in the economic sense, and secure enough in their skills not to be too daunted by the idea of volunteering for a two-hour interview by some graduate students in psychology. Importantly, all of them were living with male partners, and all of them were over 20 years old. I have since been questioned as to why single mothers, very young mothers, and lesbian mothers were

---

1 Valuable exceptions to this silence are Sarah Ruddick's Maternal Thinking (1989), Sue Llewelyn and Kate Osborne's Women's Lives (1990) and Mary Belenky and her colleagues' Women's Ways of Knowing (1986). For a cultural and historical analysis of Motherhood, Adrienne Rich's Of Woman Born (1976,1986) remains an invaluable resource.

not included in the study. The reason for this exclusion was to highlight differences in personalities by minimizing the effects of vastly different contexts. Also, I had to think about the limited time and resources which I had to invest in the interviews. In order to do justice to women in very different contexts, I would need more than a token glance in their direction; I would need sufficient numbers of these women that their individuality, along with their commonalities could emerge. Still, as the line between context and personality becomes finer, I wonder about the exclusion. Like many feminists, I have become sensitized to the dangers of assuming universality when one is really writing about a specific group of people under specific (and generally privileged) circumstances. If the women who took part in the study are able to read it and recognize something familiar, I shall be delighted. After all, mothers' voices are still vastly underrepresented in psychological literature. But at certain points I wish to make general statements which may or may not be generalizable to groups of women not represented in the study. In doing so, I acknowledge the shaky ground I walk upon, and I invite discussion and research which would add clarity to both the unity and the disparity of women's experience.

Because I write not only as a researcher but also as a mother myself, and as one who has struggled with the very

issues I ask the study participants to address, I expect the question of objectivity to be raised. Can I be trusted to represent the material in an objective manner, free from personal biases? If I cannot offer a claim of objectivity, then with what authority do I join this or any other discourse which calls for empirical facts? This question, more broadly put, has been lately challenging the philosophical foundations of the social sciences, as feminists and other minority voices have asked, "who should own the authority to create knowledge?"

Since the ninteenth century psychology has modelled itself after the physical sciences. Thus, psychology has traditionally operated upon the assumptions of empiricism: that the researcher is a neutral observer of independent phenomena, that there is a firm distinction between the observer and the subject of observation, that there exist universal 'truths', or rules of behavior, which the researcher 'discovers' through planned experimentation, observation and measurement, and that these 'truths', along with the process of research itself, are value free. Biases are treated as methodological rather than personal issues. An emphasis on reliability, replication of results, and validity measured against a hypothetical 'true' state of affairs reflects the empiricists notions that truth is independent of the observer and that detachment from one's subject is the proper scientific attitude.

Mary Gergen (1988) points out that empiricism as a philosophical base for psychology is flawed in two ways. First, the scientist is not independent of the subject matter. Any kind of relationship, close, distant or detached, between the scientist and her or his subject constitutes a case of relatedness. We may vary the flavor of the relationship betweeen the researcher and the "subject" (or participant), but not whether or not a relationship exists. Second, empiricism has resulted in a situation where the phenomena to be studied are removed from their usual context, or the where context is considered irrelevent. In psychology, this means that there is a tendency to overfocus on traits and actions of individuals while neglecting the social, economic and political contexts in which they exist.

Doyle and Paludi (1991) point out the logical fallacy in assuming that psychology can be "value-free". Since the act of declaring oneself or one's enterprise to be "value free" is to state a value position in itself, empiricism must be seen not as some neutral position above the fray of political discourse. Rather, empiricism is a position and a tool in that most political discourse of what it means to be human, and to claim to be empirical is not to escape the burden of social and political accountability.

Going one step further toward debunking the special mystique of empiricism, Kenneth Gergen (1988) suggests that psychology abandon the premise that there are neutral and universal truths to be discovered, and embrace instead its value as social discourse. Gergen abandons the concept of validity as it is traditionally construed (i.e., as reflecting how closely findings resemble an absolute truth). He sees research findings not as facts but as descriptions of events, and argues that they provide not objective but rather rhetorical support for a theoretical position. This argument leads Gergen to two fairly surprising propositions. First, since scientific research reflects a social rather that a physical phenomena, it should be examined according to the rules and assumptions pertaining to social discourse. Thus it becomes important to ask who gains access to scientific discourse, and what are the implications of the particular gates and gatekeepers which have been set up to screen the participants. Gergen's second point is that the validity of a theoretical proposition, or even of a research "finding", is not to be evaluated or constrained by the presence of "factual" evidence or by its approximation to some objective "truth", since "true" facts either do not exist or cannot be accessed independent of the filter of human observation. The value of research, in the absence of traditional notions of validity, rests solely upon its contribution to discourse.

As Rhoda Unger (1988) put it, "Facts aren't just out there. Every fact has a factor, a maker" (p. 1). To return to my question, "By what authority do I ...join the discourse (of psychology)?", it seems to me that the issue is one of accountability. An empirisist would claim that I am accountable to truth. Yet a science which proceeds on the assumption that empirical research can be value free and objective in its search for truth is dishonest, in that it does not acknowledge the lens through which observations are made and presented. Being accountable to "truth" assumes that one objective truth exists, that we have access to it, and that we can trust ourselves as its media. Each of these points is a matter of faith.

On the other hand, if the scientist constructs rather than observes truth, then accountability is to one's own experience and/or to the theoretical, practical and ultimately the political usefulness of one's work. I am not comfortable with the idea of research as a solely personal and/or political exercise.

I am caught between two visions of social science. Even assuming good intentions, the empiricist path appears to lead toward self-deception and ill-founded confidence in amoral "facts" which may be exploited by those who wear their political aims more prominently than do the researchers. I do not believe that science ever rests on

neutral ground, and I do believe that we are accountable to more than our glimpses of "truth". Yet empiricism does offer the test of falsifiability, and, although that is not a perfect safeguard against poor theories, it does manage to weed out those which are too divorced from realities outside of the researchers experience or imagination. That is, it is still possible in empirical science to destroy lovely theories with annoying facts, and this is a good reality check to have. The constructivist path, on the other hand, holds the researcher responsible for the moral and social implications of her ideas. But when facts are judged only as rhetorical tools of discourse, that discourse risks dissolving into irrelevant and endless debate as it loses its accountability to multiple realities outside of the ivory tower.

In my case, a consistant philosophical position leads to a somewhat inconsistant use of empirical and constructivist voices. By wearing a feminist constructivist hat and an empiricist hat sequentially, I have answered in my own mind the question of authority by replacing it with accountability. Because I am accountable, as a constructor of knowledge, to the participants in the study, I attempt to represent thier experiences both faithfully and with respect. Because I am accountable to my own experience and to my own values, I have attempted to be open with the reader about the lense through which I write. Because I am

accountable to the multiple realities outside of my experience, and to the scholarly community in which I write, I have adopted empirical methodology. I have stated hypotheses which can be put to the test of falsifiability, and am prepared to modify my theories if my data do not behave as I have planned. Finally, because I am conscious of the special responsibilites of writing about women's experiences in a time when we are far from secure in our access to full societal participation and freedom, and when the task of defining womanhood and femininity in our own terms is far from complete, I am accountable to that fine line between looking for common experience and assuming that we speak with one voice. The use of traditional methods of data coding and statistical analysis allowed me to summarize some of the commonalities and differences in a way that subjective analysis did not. Conversely, the use of women's own words and experiences allowed me to represent their lives in context in a way that the numbers did not. Using numbers and words, I submit my work to the discourse on women's sense of self in connection with other.

CHAPTER 1: AUTONOMY AND CONNECTION: DUAL THEMES IN WOMEN'S LIVES

A woman's experience of her unique self emerges from the intricate interplay of autonomy and connection with others. It is in part contextual, embedded in relationships, community and culture. Visualized as a web-like creation, it connects with others yet is unique in the identity and the quality of those connections. Autonomy, which is experienced as the power to construct one's own self-image and to exert influence upon one's surroundings, is considered here to be in counterpoint (rather than in competition) with connection, which is experienced as relationships, care, roles and duties.

The interplay of autonomy and connection is obvious when one reflects upon how it feels to see oneself as a competent mother, or to enjoy an evening of gossip with old friends. Possibly it is because of our traditional roles as the caregivers of others and of relationships that our self-affirming moments are rarely the outcome of solitary achievement, but more generally involve loved ones as appreciative recipients of our labor. On the other hand, it may be that all achievement involves others, present or imagined, and that women's socialization and position in society prepares them to be advantaged, not in their experience of connection, but in their ability to openly acknowledge its central importance to the human experience.

Despite the seemingly obvious relationship between autonomy and connection as intertwined/tangled dimensions of the experience of self, traditional personality and developmental theories have tended to equate only autonomy with maturity, and have often confused autonomy with disconnection and the repudiation of the early bonds of dependency. In Western personality theory, as in film and fiction, the process of identity formation has often been portrayed as a noble and solitary quest, culminating in a dramatic moment of discovery or recognition. This bias toward individualism has historical roots in modern British and Western European history. In the materialist context of industrial patriarchy, a young man's coming of age has been articulated primarily in terms compatible with mastery over that which was "other"; his ability to shape matter (and perhaps his employees, slaves or wives) according to his will in the factory and on the frontier. The relational aspects of human life, including but not limited to the work of child rearing, were assigned to women in the separate sphere of hearth and home, where the inconvenience of children and of tender emotions would not likely interfere with the work of empire building. In this context, which colors so much of psychological theory, it is small wonder that the relational aspects of mature human development have been given short shrift. Like the public and the private spheres of life, autonomy (work) and connection (love) have

been dichotomized, and the latter has been assigned to women, hidden from view, and devalued.2

Feminist personality theorists have sought to reaffirm the value and centrality of interpersonal connection in women's lives3. At the same time, they have generally been nonexplicit about the relationship between connection and autonomy, allowing the implied dichotomization between the two to remain largely unchallenged.

Ruthellen Josselson (1988a) comes close to resolving the dichotomy between autonomy and connection, stating that "Psychological separation-individuation does not require that relationships be obliterated in the interest of gaining autonomy; rather, separation modifies relationship....When we turn the matrix over to view its other side, we see the separating individual revising, and thus preserving the relationship" (p. 94, italics mine). However, Josselson is not entirely consistent. At times she presents separation and individuation as opposing points on a quantitative continuum, where too little or too much of either is unhealthy. Her agenda appears to be more revolutionary than integrative, as she writes that "To turn this [emphasis on autonomy and personal achievement] around and place

2 This historical analysis draws from several sources, including Starhawk (1982,1988), Rich (1986), and Miller (1976,1984).
3 For example, see Nancy Chodorow, (1978), Jean Baker Miller (1976,1984), Alexandra Kaplan, (1984) and Carol Gilligan, 1982).

relatedness at the center of developmental psychology is so radical that we can barely begin to conceptualize it" (p.100). Still, Josselson's analysis hints a resolution of autonomy and connection which would recognize qualitative changes in relationships which accompany increased autonomy.

The recognition of qualitative changes in development, which preserve and perhaps strengthen the relational context accommodating the differentiating individual, suggests a stage-like or hierarchical progression in interpersonal development. Perhaps this explains why feminist personality theorists have hesitated to be more explicit about the process of "the course of the growth of the self (which) lies in eternal tension between needs for inclusion and needs for autonomy" (Josselson, 1988, p. 104). Critical of the dominant values in developmental theory, and uncomfortable with the element of judgement which is implicit in stage theory, feminists have been hesitant to mirror the limitations of their forefathers by creating new hierarchies of maturity, even when the dimensions of maturity include interpersonal connection and respect. For example Carol Gilligan, whose work <u>In a Different Voice</u> (1982) answered Lawrence Kohlberg's model of the development of moral reasoning with a parallel model grounded in the ethics of care and responsibility, has since retreated from the developmental implications of her own work. Possibly because of feminist concern over the hierarchical

organization which would underlie a developmental model, Gilligan's stages of moral reasoning appear to have been largely ignored in her more recent work and the work of her students (Gilligan, Ward, Taylor and Bardige, 1988). They have been conspicuously absent in the debate over her work, and only recently has a measure of Gilligan's stages of moral reasoning been published (Skoe and Marcia, 1991). Ruthellen Josselson, whose interviews with women illustrated the theme of interpersonal connection in James Marcia's (1966) model of Identity formation, stated in her work Finding Herself: Women's Pathways to Identity (1988a) that a hierarchical organization of the statuses seemed to her to lose sight of the unique strengths of each Idenity Status as an orientation for self-definition.

It is true that the implied and explicit values which guide developmental theory can serve as blinders to virtues and strengths not represented in one's particular paradigm. This much is obvious from the (mis)representation of women which we have observed in androcentric models of personality and development. At the same time, there is a need for developmental models incorporating values which challenge or balance the 'rugged individualist' ethic of Western patriarchal culture. Without a developmental dimension to feminist personality theory, it is not possible to assess what elements favor or cripple a woman's claim to the full experience of personhood. Furthermore, until feminists

offer developmental models defined in their own terms, women's maturity will be judged on the basis of androcentric models which tend to ignore or devalue the realms of experience with which we have traditionally been most familiar, and in which we have been most skilled.

Ideally, feminist personality theory describes women's development within its context of social and economic subordination and oppression. It recognizes the traditional values which women have historically embraced, developed, and handed down to new generations. It also recognizes women's needs and efforts to embrace the full range of human emotion and experience, including such "nontraditional" feminine virtues as competence, power, and autonomous achievement.

What follows is an attempt to integrate several strands of theory concerning women's personality into a single, developmentally organized portrait. The connecting themes at each level of development are autonomy (experienced as self-direction, self-definition, and competence) and connection (experienced as relationships, roles, care and duty). The model provides a theoretical framework for understanding the empirical association between measures of Gilligan's Care-based Moral Reasoning and Marcia's Identity Status (Skoe and Marcia, 1991). In addition to Identity and Moral Reasoning, the model addresses the mundane and

practical responses of women to multiple and conflicting role demands, which often involve meeting the needs of others for support and nurturance.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL ROOTS

The model of women's development which I am presenting here borrows heavily from several theorists, including James Marcia, Carol Gilligan, Donald Hall, and the Women's Ways of Knowing Collective (consisting of Mary Belenky and her colleagues). Each of the theorists from whom the model borrows has described types or levels of reasoning used for conceptualizing a specific theme or problem. The theme or problem addressed by each theorist has distinct implications for what constitutes a "good woman". For James Marcia (1966), the issue is ego identity: how will the person choose the guiding values, goals and roles which will define and provide continuity to her self-image through adulthood? For Carol Gilligan (1979), the problem is that of thinking about moral principles: what will guide the woman in matters of conscience, where the interests of the self must be weighed against the interests and well-being of others? Donald T. Hall (1972) addresses the problem of role fulfillment: whose expectations or needs must be sacrificed when conflicts arise among the many duties and responsibilities prescribed by women's cultural and familial roles? For Mary Belenky and her colleagues, whose work

will not be described in detail but whose influence is reflected not only in what is being have written but in how this research has been conducted, the question is women's relationship to knowledge: How do they understand their power to know and to understand the world?

The First Strand: Marcia's Model of Identity Development

The concept of identity as it is used here comes to us largely from the work of the ego psychoanalyst Erik Erikson, who saw the formation of a personal sense of identity (vs. identity diffusion) as one of the cornerstones of ego development (Erikson, 1982). Defined as "the accrued confidence (in) the inner sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others" (Erikson, 1951, p. 235), identity emerges from three interacting sources of experience. Firstly, the person must experience inner sameness, or integrity, so that actions and decisions are not random. Defined values, principles and expectations order one's behavior. Secondly, the sense of inner sameness is continuous over time. Actions in the past and hopes for the future are experienced as related to the self of today. Thirdly, identity is experienced within a community of important others. Relationships and roles serve, ideally, to support and validate an integrated, continuous identity.

An important aspect of Erikson's model is the stage-like

progression of developmental tasks, balanced to some degree by the recognition that inherent in each task are stage-specific forms of all other tasks. In Erikson's view, ego identity/identity diffusion is the primary task of adolescence. It is preceded by developmental tasks of establishing trust/mistrust, autonomy/shame and doubt, initiative v. guilt, and industry/inferiority (psychosocial parallels to Freud's oral, anal, phallic and latency stages of psychosexual development). In Erikson's view, Identity is followed by the tasks of intimacy/isolation, generativity/stagnation and integrity/despair (see Figure I). Erikson felt that although identity formation precedes the capacity for true intimacy, the process of identity formation involves the establishment of some precursor of intimacy, and all previous stages have the potential to be re-worked in the context of the current task. The timing and sequence of developmental tasks for Erikson has to do with both the timing and sequence of physical development (he was, in this sense a Freudian, accepting the dictum of anatomy as destiny) and the social institutions which served to direct and facilitate the individual's development. Erikson felt that in a well-functioning society, social roles and institutions serve to fit developmental stages together in cogwheel fashion, with persons at different stages paired in mutually-facilitative ways (for example, children mastering initiative and industry are ideally paired with adults mastering generativity).

Figure I: Erikson's Epigenetic Sequence of Development

Old Age								Integrity vs. Despair, Disgust WISDOM
Adulthood							Creativity vs. Stagnation CARE	
Young Adulthood						Intimacy vs. Isolation LOVE		
Adolescence					Identity vs. Identity Confusion FIDELITY			
School Age				Industry vs. Inferiority COMPETENCE				
Play Age			Initiative vs. Guilt PURPOSE					
Early Childhood		Autonomy vs. Shame, Doubt WILL						
Infancy	Basic Trust vs. Basic Mistrust HOPE							

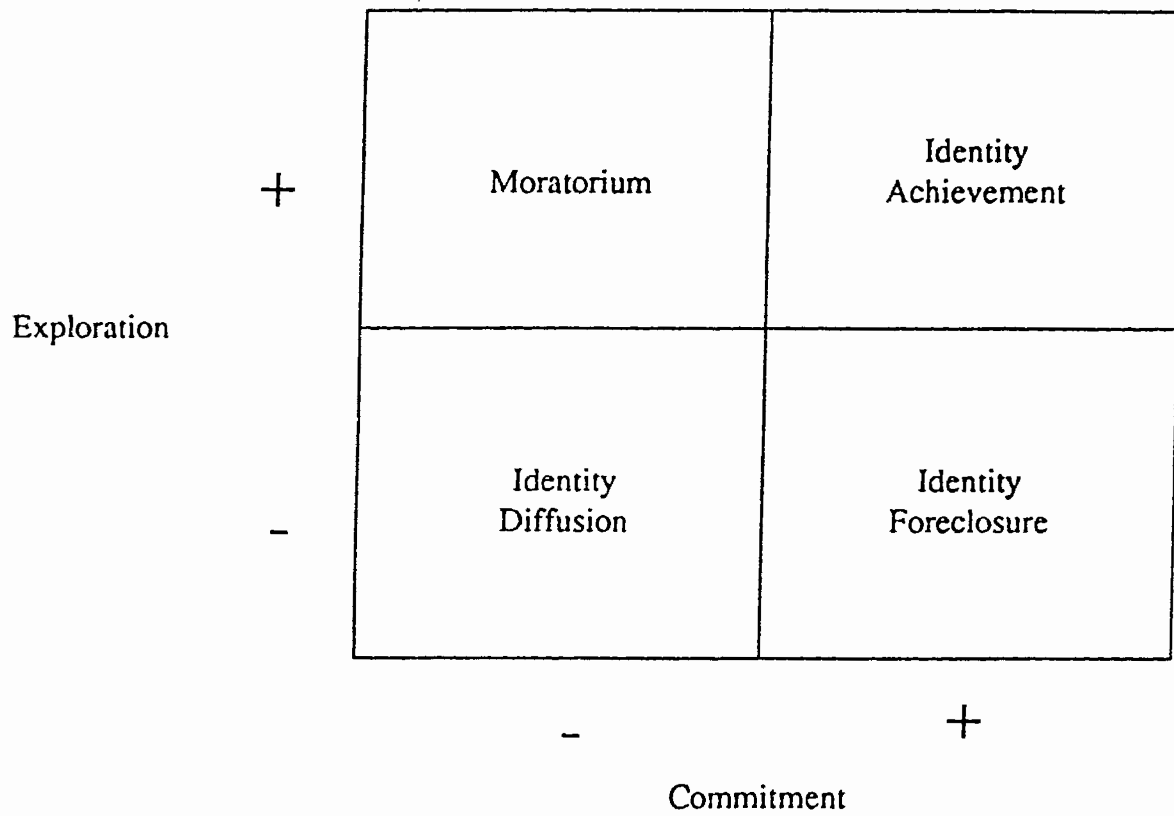
Erikson himself was somewhat vague and self-contradictory regarding the application of his model to women's development. On the one hand, the doctrine of anatomy and destiny determined that he would perceive women's identity largely in terms of their reproductive capacities. Thus, he proposed that it was women's "inner space" (literally, the womb) which formed the basis for a positive resolution of a girl's identity. According to Erikson, (1968, 1975) the girl formed a more or less provisional identity in adolescence, having to do with the kind of man she would seek to attract, and the kind of attractiveness which she would cultivate. Because the particulars of who would occupy that inner space had yet to be discovered and accommodated in adolescence, Erikson saw the completion of women's identity as partly on hold until marriage was accomplished and children were born. On the other hand, anatomy was only one part of a tripartite context for Erikson, where identity was formed with reference to <u>anatomy, history and personality</u>. Conceived as the individual's <u>construction</u> of the experience of womanhood, of living both within a woman's body and within the gender-based role prescriptions and limitations of her culture, identity seems to imply much more than fulfilling one's anatomical destiny. Hence, in the same articles which were criticized for their insistence on anatomy as destiny for women, Erikson at other points appeared sympathetic to women's struggle to define and control their reproductive

power within patriarchal culture, and to challenge the structures which barred women from full expression of their achievement-oriented needs, as well as their nurturing capacities.

Although it is difficult to pin down or agree upon just what Erikson believed about women's identity, a few general themes are suggested by his writings. Firstly, Erikson saw women as more interpersonally-focused in their identity development than men. Secondly, he did not believe that the task of identity formation was limited to adolescence, nor that it was necessarily conceptually distinct from the tasks of intimacy and generativity in women's development.

Building upon Erik Erikson's work on identity formation, James Marcia (1966) developed the Identity Status model to describe ways in which people develop for themselves a guiding set of values and goals in late adolescence. Marcia's model describes four levels, or statuses of identity formation which differ along the underlying dimensions of exploration and commitment (see figure II). In his original study (which involved male university students), Marcia observed the degree and quality of exploration and commitment in three content areas assumed to be of central importance in late adolescence: occupation, religion, and politics. Beginning in 1970 (Marcia and Friedman), the content areas of sexuality and sex roles were

Figure II: Marcia's Identity Statuses



added, particularly for their relevance to women and to adult subjects.

Marcia's four Identity Statuses are as follows:

a) Identity Diffusion is the least developmentally advanced status, although like all of the statuses, it has adaptive aspects and may represent for certain groups at certain times a functional mode of being. Commitment to an internally consistent set of values and goals is absent, and exploration is either missing or shallow. Stated plans and opinions, as well as self-evaluations, are changed easily in the face of external pressure (Adams and Shea, 1979; Marcia, 1967; Toder and Marcia, 1973). People in identity diffusion tend to follow the path of least resistance, and may present themselves as having a carefree, "cosmopolitan" lifestyle, as being flexible in adapting to many situations, and/or as empty and dissatisfied (Marcia, 1966, 1988a).

b) Identity Foreclosure represents a high level of commitment following little or no exploration. For some, identity foreclosure is a developmental starting-point, from which a period of exploration will ensue. However, Marcia considers foreclosure to be a less than optimal permanent resolution of the task of identity formation. People who follow the foreclosure pattern adopt a set of values and goals directly passed down from parents and/or authority figures. People in foreclosure tend to be conventional and

rule-oriented in moral reasoning (Hull, 1979; Podd, 1972; Rowe and Marcia, 1980), somewhat constricted in cognitive style (Marcia, 1967; Bob, 1968), and see their families of origin in idealized terms (Marcia, 1980; Waterman, 1982). They are keepers of tradition, maintaining strong family and religious ties (Josselson, 1988a).

c) Moratorium is arguably considered a stage, rather than a resolution of the process of identity formation, even though a few people may remain in identity moratorium over many years. Marcia's moratorium refers to an intrapsychic event, as opposed to the societally imposed psychosocial moratorium described by Erikson. The moratorium status refers to the work of forging an identity--occupational, interpersonal and ideological commitments--from the myriad of possibilities available. The person in moratorium is actively exploring the options and is working towards commitments. Not surprisingly, people in moratorium tend to have the highest anxiety ratings of all the statuses, while people in foreclosure tend to have the lowest (Marcia, 1967; Marcia and Friedman, 1970). People in moratorium tend to present as likable, intelligent and intense (Marcia, in press). Women seem torn between attempting to preserve harmonious personal relationships through pleasing others, and struggling for autonomy in their thoughts and actions (Josselson, 1987; Marcia, 1980; Marcia, in press; Waterman, 1982). They tend to score highly on measures of moral

reasoning (Podd, 1972; Rowe and Marcia, 1980; Skoe & Marcia, 1991), are highly empathic, ethical and socialized (Hogan, 1973), and have a more balanced concern for their own freedoms and the well being of others than do those of lower identity statuses (Simmons, 1985).

d) Identity Achievement represents a self-constructed autonomous resolution to the task of identity formation. Identity achievement is reached by adopting a set of commitments to values, allegiances and life goals which one has questioned and chosen during a period of exploration (moratorium). It is the exploration of the moratorium period which distinguishes the flexible strength of identity achievement from the rigid power assertion associated with foreclosure. Like people in moratorium, those in identity achievement tend toward greater cognitive flexibility and creativity than do those in foreclosure, and are reflective in cognitive style (Marcia, 1988b, Waterman and Waterman, 1984). Identity achievement is associated with internal locus of control (i.e., the belief in one's ability to affect circumstances and outcomes).

Research applying Marcia's Identity Status Model to women has focussed on four issues which are drawn, in part, from contentious points in Erikson's "inner space" articles (1968; 1975). First, do the salient issues which make up the content of identity differ for men and women? Second,

does timing of identity formation differ for men and women? Third, is identity formation a discrete stage preceding other developmental tasks for women, or does it overlap in content and timing with intimacy and generativity? Finally, does the Identity Status Model capture the most important developmental processes of women in young adulthood, or does it, by virtue of its focus on intrapersonal (rather than interpersonal) events, fail to do justice to women's development?

With regard to content, early studies using the Identity Status model suggested that there was a more or less clear split between the most salient issues for men (namely occupation, religion and politics) and those for women (namely interpersonal issues such as sexuality and sex roles) (Schenkel and Marcia, 1972: Poppen, 1974, Waterman and Nevid, 1977; Matteson, 1977; Hodgson and Fisher, 1979). This split began to break down in the 1980's, as young men and women began to share both strong occupational and interpersonal concerns (Archer, 1985a; Bilsker, Marcia and Schiedel, 1987). Gender differences among late adolescents became more subtle. Men appeared to attend both to "outer space" (Occupation, Religion and Politics) and "inner space" (Sexuality and Sex Roles) issues, but as separate and independent concerns (Hopkins, 1982), while women appeared to need to balance them, negotiating interpersonal issues in order for occupational identity to proceed (Archer, 1985a;

Kroger, 1987; Thorbeck and Grotevant, 1982). In particular, Archer (1989) noted the importance, even in high school, of the career/marraige issue for girls, and the fact that this appeared to be a non-issue for boys.

The timing of identity formation has turned out to be a difficult issue to address in research. Most studies addressing the timing issue have focussed on university (e.g., Constantinople, 1969; Schiedel and Marcia, 1985; Meilman, 1977) or high school students (Archer, 1989). Kroger (in press) has suggested that the Identity Status Interview itself may be problematic applied to age ranges differing significantly from the original sample (i.e., 18-22 year old students). Still, it is necessary to at least ask whether the years experienced by Erikson himself as being optimal for identity exploration (i.e., the years of relative freedom between the dependency of childhood and the responsibilities of adulthood) are optimal for women's identity exploration. Certainly late adolescence is experienced differently by women and men, and one wonders about women's capacity to explore freely among identity possibilities, given differing family pressures, parental protectiveness, vulnerability to sexual assault and harassment, limited economic or educational opportunities and/or early marriage. Although late adolescence appears to be the optimal time for identity formation among some young women (in particular those with strong occupational

commitments), there is evidence that for women who postpone employment to care for young children a strong focus on personal identity emerges as the responsibilities of motherhood loosen and children begin school (O'Connell, 1976). Early, nonreflective role choices appear to predispose women to subsequent disruptive life experiences, which may then trigger identity exploration (Archer, 1985b). In one study Moratorium was found to be the most predominant identity status among women of all ages studied (Kroger, 1987). It may be that an optimal time for identity formation among women can occur at any point in life when the stimulus of changes in role expectations and relationships combines with adequate social ties and situational flexibility to support a process of inner questioning and exploration. This conclusion would shift the emphasis in timing from anatomy or physical development to the historical moment, both in personal and sociological terms.

A flexible time sequence for women's development would imply that women's development might grind to a halt for years at a time, or that it might proceed along less stage-specific terms than Erikson originally had in mind. Certainly the latter appears to be the case. Among women, the tasks of identity and intimacy appear to be resolvable in sequence or simultaneously, and either issue is capable of preceding an examination of the other (Marcia, 1976; Prager, 1977;

Schiedel & Marcia, 1985; Tesch & Whitbourne, 1982; Zampich, 1980).

There appear to be two related questions inherent in the issue of construct validity of the Identity Status model when applied to women. The first question is whether or not Identity Status represents for women a valid developmental dimension. In other words, is it any better or more mature of women to be represented in the "high" statuses of Moratorium and Achievement than to be in the "low" statuses of Foreclosure and Diffusion? The second question is whether the intrapersonal focus of the model misrepresents the process of identity formation by minimizing its interpersonal and societal context.

Early research suggested that although the statuses of Achievement and Moratorium were clearly associated with a number of psychological strengths among males, the high commitment statuses of Achievement and Foreclosure were more adaptive for women than was Moratorium, at least in terms of self-esteem, resistance to peer pressure, and conflict between achievement motivation and fear of success (See Marcia, in press, for a review). Marcia (1980) suggested that the foreclosure status was adaptive for women in the absence of social support for the process of exploration. His reasoning implied that social changes which brought about greater support and opportunities for women would

raise the level of well-being among women experiencing Moratorium, as they lowered the social and psychological costs of exploration. In fact, studies conducted after 1976 seemed to confirm these changes, as the statuses of Moratorium and Achievement appeared, for women as well as for men, to be associated with other measures which were assumed to reflect psychosocial maturity (Marcia, 1990).

However, the issue of Identity Status and adjustment has not been resolved so simply as it might first have appeared. The later studies addressed a different set of dependent variables than did the earlier studies. Early studies focussed on constructs which could roughly be grouped as reflections of surface-level adjustment: self esteem, resistance to peer pressure, and anxiety. Later studies focussed on constructs reflecting ego strength and maturity, including the ability to tolerate internal conflict. The psychological and emotional maturity reflected in measures of ego development and moral reasoning may or may not lead to better adjustment, particularly among women. The process of Identity Moratorium appears to come at a cost for women, in terms of insecurity and anxiety over important relationships and over the 'content' issues of identity (Josselson, 1988). Whether or not this cost is compensated for in terms of well-being by the freedom it wins is still an open question. The answer may be affected not only by history, but also by culture, race, economic status, family

characteristics and less tangible personal attributes. We do not know whether it feels better, subjectively, to be among the Identity Achieved than it does to be among the Foreclosed, and there are no current data which address the relationship for women between Identity Status and surface measures of well being.

The second question regarding Identity Status and well-being left unanswered by the research is that of values vs. universal truths. If higher Identity Statuses may not make us happier people, do they truly reflect better or more mature ways of being, or do they simply reflect traits which are valued within Western culture for particular groups of people (i.e., privileged young men)? If the higher statuses are indeed higher, in the sense of better, then the standard by which we are judging surely goes deeper than self-esteem, well-being, or fitting in with one's surroundings. Although the question of values bias defies a simple or permanent answer, I would argue, along with Marcia (1989) that the advantage of the higher statuses is that of choice and of the ability to perceive options, even when they are few and constricted by a harsh or intolerant context.

A second issue challenging the construct validity of the Identity Status Model as it applies to women is the intrapersonal focus of the model. Cote and Levine (1988) argue that in neglecting context, the bulk of identity

status research has not been true to Erikson's emphasis on the individual within society and the historical moment. Josselson (1988a, 1988b), appealing to feminist self-in-relations theory (Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982; Kaplan & Klein, 1985; Miller, 1976 & 1984; Surrey, 1984) argues that women construct identity, not as an elaboration of individual autonomy, but within a context of connection to others. She contrasts the image of the "lone self", characterised by Erikson's psychological portraits, with what she calls the fact of the "embedded self", stating that "Identity resides not in choice of partner but in development, differentiation, and mastery of ways of being with others that meet her standards of care, connect her meaningfully to others, and locate her in an interpersonal network" (1988b, p. 99). Her portraits of women in late adolescence and adulthood resound with the theme of connection as an integral aspect of the _process_, in addition to the content, of identity formation (1988a). In reframing identity formation as an interpersonal, rather than an existential or intrapersonal process, Josselson draws parallels between the exploration of identity formation (i.e., Moratorium) and the rapprochement phase of toddlerhood (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters and Will, 1978), where a strong and secure attachment to a primary caregiver facilitates and supports exploration. The theme of rapprochement is echoed also in recent work by Grotevant and Cooper (1985), who identified close parental attachment and

the encouragement of autonomous exploration as dual characteristics of families whose adolescents were most likely to engage in identity exploration.

At this point, the construct of Identity Status appears to be undergoing a refinement in definition which takes into account the interpersonal processes which parallel intrapersonal exploration. Marcia (1988) argues that the maturational dimension underlying identity is the degree to which the individual has been able to individuate from the world through the process of internalization. Optimal internalization of the parental relationship leads to a permanent sense of security; one can now dare to think and do unheard-of things, knowing that an internal version of the basically approving parent will remain. On the subject of encouraging exploration, he writes "What seems to happen to Foreclosures is that consideration of alternatives becomes loaded with the danger of rejection by those on whom he/she depends most heavily for affection and esteem. These 'conditions of worth' are internalized and function as internal barriers to exploration." (1989, p.406). Patterson, Sochting and Marcia (1991, in press) describe the identity statuses as variations on the theme of self-definition with reference to the internalized parent. Thus, the woman in Diffusion experiences identity as confusion and detachment; "I don't know where I stand, but it is far away from you". Women in Foreclosures define their identity

commitments through loyalty; "Here I stand, by your side". For Women in Moratorium, the dilemma of exploration is expressed; "If I stand here, will you still be there for me?". Women who are Identity Achieved can afford to state in Eriksonian style "Here I stand" because they have behind them the strength of relationships which have weathered the storms of exploration.

The second strand: Gilligan's care-based model of Moral Reasoning

Moral development, like identity, is characterized by a progressive internalization of values and of self-control. The moral reproach "Who do you think you are?", directed toward an offending other, implies the knowledge that identity is implicitly present in any morality of the individual.

Probably the best known, and certainly the best documented model of moral reasoning is the developmental model of Lawrence Kohlberg (1958). Kohlberg, building upon Piaget's theory of cognitive and moral development, proposed a set of stages of moral reasoning. Each stage represented an advance in logical thinking as applied to concepts of duty, rules and justice. Kohlberg's methodology, consistent with an emphasis on logical justification, was to present subjects with a set of classic hypothetical dilemmas, and to

use extensive case analyses of boys, ages 10 to 16, to delineate distinct levels, or stages of moral orientation. Kohlberg's dilemmas and stages have been used extensively in the study of moral development over the past three decades. (For a review, see Kuhmerker, Gielen and Hayes, 1991)

According to Carol Gilligan, Kohlberg's model and methodology are biased in favor of the reasoning of men over women. (Gilligan, 1977, 1982). Perhaps more importantly, Kohlberg's conceptualization of morality appears incomplete; it is presented in terms of justice and principles, not kindness and mercy. Increasing sophistication of judgements based on the logic of justice are accounted for in Kohlberg's developmental stages; growth in one's ability to care for and accept responsibility for the well-being of dependent others is not. Kohlberg's model seems largely irrelevant to dilemmas involving the balancing of care, responsibility and autonomy which prevail in the lives of women.

Gilligan proposed that the typical moral conflicts of women center around the antagonism between care of the self and care of others. The key elements in women's moral thinking, according to Gilligan, are not abstract rules and principles but rather the needs and limitations of the people involved. From this standpoint, the famous "Heinz dilemma"[1] may lead

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1 In the dilemma, Heinz's wife is ill from a life-threatening disease. A drug exists which could save her

to questions about the feelings and circumstances of Heinz and his family: Did they have dependent children? Was Heinz likely to get caught at stealing? Would he be imprisoned? Who would take care of the family? Kohlberg's model addressed neither the concern for dependents nor the power differential between Heinz, who must risk imprisonment, and the chemist who can call upon the law to enforce his "rights" to the drug. From this incomplete perspective, a woman's questions regarding the likelihood of imprisonment appeared to indicate a self-serving or punishment-oriented level of reasoning, and her concern for the family may have been misread as a desire to be seen as "good" in the eyes of others.

Drawing from conversations with pregnant women who were considering abortion, Gilligan developed a model of moral reasoning which recognized women's sense of interpersonal connection, their traditional roles as caregivers, and their special vulnerability in a male-dominated world. In Gilligan's view, moral development hinges upon the conflict between the needs of the self and the needs of others. Women experience this conflict in a context where traditional feminine socialization equates goodness with

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life, but the chemist who owns the drug charges a very high price for it, and Heinz does not have the money to pay. The drug is actually inexpensive to produce, and the chemist claims a profit is his right, since he invented and developed the drug himself. Without the drug, Heinz's wife will die. The subject is asked, "Should Heinz steal the drug?"

self-sacrifice. Where Kolhberg's stages culminate in judgements based on universal principles of justice, Gilligan's stages move toward the insight that the self and others are interdependent, and culminate in the condemnation of abuse and exploitation of others.

There is evidence that the moral reasoning of women does, more often than that of men, involve a focus on issues of care and responsibility over justice (Donenberg and Hoffman, 1988; Gilligan, 1982; Ford and Lowry, 1986; Hendrixson, 1989; Stiller and Forrest, 1990). At the same time, these gender differences in moral orientation tend to be quite small, with a great deal of overlap between genders, and there is a strong body of research which does not support the existance of significant gender differences (Walker, 1989). Pratt and Royer (1982) found that a feminine sex role orientation predicts a greater use of the care orientation for women, and Sochting (1991) found a relationship between sex role orientation and level of care-based moral reasoning among male and female university students. One recent study points to the experience of parenthood as a differentiating factor, with parents being more inclined than adult nonparents to use sex-role consistant moral orientations (Pratt, Golding, Hunter and Samson, 1988). In short, the issue of gender differences in moral orientation has not been resolved. Where gender differences exist, they appear to be small and may reflect

differences in experience or context, rather than in gender per se. Such a conclusion would not, in this author's eyes, be inconsistant with Gilligan's (1982) analysis, which rests largely on examples from literature and the symbolic gender system embedded in Western culture.

More importantly, the issue of gender differences may be a red herring, albiet one which has drawn a great deal of attention and effort away from more fundamental challenges which Gilligan's work raises. Specifically, there are issues which do not appear to lend themselves well to a justice-based system of moral reasoning. Kohlberg's model of moral reasoning is an incomplete but useful starting point for understanding moral development. However, there is no compelling reason to accept it as the last word in moral reasoning, limiting research in this area to a single paradigm. Gilligan's may be only the first of many "different voices" to arise in the reconsideration of moral development and moral reasoning in a psychology which is rapidly being called upon to reflect the multiple realities of gender, culture, race, class, and experience.

Women's level of moral reasoning using the care orientation has been found to correlate highly with Identity Status (Skoe and Marcia, 1991). Gilligan (1982) makes explicit the strong connection for women between identity and a morality of care and responsibility. Believing, as does Josselson,

that women develop their sense of identity in the context of relatedness (as opposed to individuality), she notes that the feminine crisis of identity, like the feminine crisis of morality, involves seeking to disentangle one's own voice from the voices of others, as each speaks of what is needed, wished and valued.

Gilligan's model of moral reasoning appears to be the most appropriate one available for exploring the dilemmas faced by new mothers in balancing multiple role demands and in making decisions about employment or nonemployment. The problem of balancing roles for women most often explicitly calls for a prioritizing of the needs of the self and important others. There are times when the demands of a baby are in direct opposition to important personal needs for autonomy (e.g.. privacy, independent movement, tangible accomplishment) and even survival (e.g.. sleep, food). The conflict here is not one of abstract moral principles or rights. To speak of a child's right to cry or a mother's right to sleep as though they were independent entities quickly begins to sound silly in practice: Babies will cry and mothers will lie awake, whether this is just or not.2 The conflict is one of power and responsibility; the moral imperative is to use one's power for care and not for harm.

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2 Here motherhood is considered as a relational, and not necessarily a biological condition. Although most mothers give birth to the children who are the object of their mother-care, mother-work and mother-love, many, including some men, mother who did not give birth.

Gilligan's model captures the essence of the conflict when decisions must be made that have costs to the humans involved. Moreover, Gilligan's model was developed by and about women. It seems a useful starting point, when studying women engaged in that most traditionally feminine occupation of mothering small children, to employ a female-based model when one is available, rather than relying on a model and a measure developed from the experience of men. Finally, evidence indicates that the care orientation is most characteristic of the way in which women conceive of real-life dilemmas which they have experienced (Gilligan, 1982; Ford and Lowry, 1986; Skoe and Marcia, 1991).

Although Gilligan herself appears to have moved away from the stages of moral development which she outlined in _In a Different Voice_, these stages remain an articulate representation of development in terms of the traditionally feminine values of care and connection. Gilligan makes it clear that in order for Western women to give themselves the same respect and care which they are taught to give others, they must defy the sex roles in which they have been socialized while maintaining the respect and care learned in the service of others' needs. Although orphaned by their author, Gilligan's stages of moral reasoning have given rise to at least one structured interview measure (Skoe and Marcia, 1991), which shows promise as a gender-sensitive instrument for illuminating women's psychological and

emotional development.

Gilligan proposed a three-level theory of moral development, with two transitional phases (Gilligan, 1977; 1982). Gilligan's stages of moral reasoning are described below.

Stages of Care-based Moral Reasoning:

Level I: Individual Survival. At this level, the issue is individual survival, and reasoning is pragmatic. 'Should' and 'would' are not differentiated. The self is the sole object of concern, and the limitations of personal power are the only constraints upon behavior.

Transitional Phase 1.5: From Selfishness to Responsibility. A discrepancy between 'would' and 'should' emerges as the dilemma assumes moral definition. The words 'selfishness' and 'responsibility' first appear as counterpoised potentialities within the individual. The recognition of the potential to do what is 'right' stems from a transition in the self concept, from the solitary survivor of level 1 to a person with attachments or connection to others. Implicit in this transition to a self capable of doing 'the right thing' is an enhancement of self-worth, and the ability to see oneself as possibly worthy of social acceptance.

Level II: Goodness as Self-Sacrifice. At this level, self-worth is judged on the ability to care for others. This level clearly reflects the traditional feminine stereotype of women as all-nurturing, gentle, tactful, and sensitive. The direct expression of one's own needs, especially in opposition to the needs of another, is seen as immoral. The guiding principle of level II is 'others first'. The strength of this position lies in its capacity for caring. Its limitation is that its ultimate end is the denial of self.

Transitional Phase 2.5: From Goodness to Truth. The second transition is marked by the reappearance of the word 'selfish'. Whereas in the first transition, the possibility was raised that one could reach beyond selfishness to connect and act responsibly in a community of others, in the second transition the question is whether it is selfish, or wrong, to include the self within one's domain of care and concern. The logical inconsistency of level II, as well as its outcomes of assertion disguised as response and tangled webs of misplaced responsibility and control, are questioned.

The inclusion of one's own needs and wishes as worthy alongside those of others requires a new kind of honesty in uncovering and asserting just what those needs and wants are. Here, the development of morality and identity overlap explicitly, as the woman struggles to find and respect her

own voice among others. She must first deliberately uncover and acknowledge her needs and wishes, then struggle with the qualification that her 'selfishness' imposes upon the 'goodness' of her decision.

Level III: The Morality of Nonviolence. At this level the disparity between selfishness and responsibility is reconciled through the adoption of nonviolence as the guiding principle of moral judgement and action and through a recognition of the interdependence of all human beings. The latter recognition requires that the injunction not to hurt include the self on equal terms with others. At the same time, it allows the "feminine" virtue of compassion to be reconciled with the adult attribute of power, through the advocacy of personal responsibility and the condemnation of exploitation and harm of others.

<u>The third strand: Hall's coping strategies for conflicting role expectations</u>

If Marcia and Gilligan dealt with abstract issues, Donald T. Hall's (1972) categorization of women's everyday coping is certainly more concrete. Hall's model was developed from the observation that in the process of fulfilling multiple roles within one's family, community and workplace people are often confronted with conflicting expectations for their behavior. This conflict is particularly acute for women who are mothers, in addition to being wives, friends, lovers,

and possibly workers, daughters, sisters, etc. Since the theme of service to others dominates the role expectations of women in our culture, conflicting role demands for women tend to involve the needs and/or wants of others, including children, spouses, employers, and the self. The conflicting pressures faces by mothers of young children are well documented (e.g. Armstrong and Armstrong, 1983; Bailyn, 1964; Baruch, Barnett and Rivers, 1983; Gore and Mangione, 1983; Reifman, Biernat and Lang, 1991), and include (briefly):

a) Economic pressure on young families resulting from the decline of the 'family wage' and rising living costs.

b) Low wages and the channelling of women into a 'female ghetto' of traditional jobs .

c) Lack of adequate, affordable child care to support mothers in the paid work force .

d) Loss of benefits, job status and security associated with part time work and extended maternal leaves.

e) The dual work load of employed mothers, who remain responsible for the majority of household chores and child care.

f) Contrasting expectations and ideals associated with maternal, feminine, and autonomous adult images of women.

g) The 'out of step' phenomenon documented by Baruch and Barnett (Baruch, Barnett and Rivers, 1983), in which the majority of women feel that they are acting in opposition to dominant cultural expectations of women. Women at home

often feel isolated and judged as uninteresting by people in the paid workforce, while employed mothers in turn feel harshly judged by people who believe that mothers should be at home with their children.

Hall proposes that persons tend to cope with conflicting role demands in one of three characteristic ways:

Type III: Reactive Coping. Reactive coping strategies are attempts to respond to or to withdraw from the demands of all role expectations, while assuming these expectations to be unchangeable. Hall considers Type III coping strategies to be defensive rather than active, and questions whether it is valid to refer to them as "coping". Examples of reactive coping include planning and scheduling to increase efficiency, working harder to meet all role demands, having no conscious strategy for coping, and dropping activities which were important or enjoyable to the self.

I have divided reactive coping into active (Type III) and passive (Type IV) subcategories. Active strategies have the advantage of bringing about a sense of mastery, pride and/or recognition of a job well-done, even if the standards of performance originate outside of the self. Passive strategies such as trying not to think about it, giving up or attempting to wait out the crisis, do not assume that one has the ability to please others, nor do they lead to the

rewards of mastery and pride.

<u>Type II: Personal Role Redefinition.</u> Roles are redefined in the woman's own terms as she sets standards of performance according to her needs and values. Decisions regarding what standards to fulfill and how to fulfill them are personal and do not require the consent or cooperation of others. Since it is the woman herself who changes, and not the situation or the role senders (those people who voice the demands of her roles), Type II resolutions may provide only temporary relief from the pressure of multiple role demands. Examples of Personal Role Redefinition include establishing priorities within or among roles, reducing standards and/or choosing not to meet certain role demands, changing attitudes toward roles to reduce internal conflict, and seeing personal interests as a valid source of role demands.

<u>Type I: Structural Role Redefinition.</u> The person seeks to modify her situation and/or to change the role expectations of others in order to reduce the level of conflict or strain which she is experiencing. Examples include eliminating or adding activities within roles, problem-solving with role senders, integrating or arranging roles so that they contribute to one another, and seeking role support from outside the situation (e.g., hiring help) or from role-senders themselves (e.g., asking family members to help).

Hall (1972) found the use of Type I and II strategies to be positively associated with satisfaction, and Type III strategies to be negatively associated with satisfaction. This finding has been replicated by Gray (1982), but not by Gilbert and Holahan (1981), or by Elman and Gilbert (1984), who found increased role behavior (Type III coping) to be associated with coping effectiveness. One possible explanation for the discrepancy between the findings of Gray and those of Elman and Gilbert is that Gray's subjects were older and more established in their careers. Hence, Gray's subjects probably differed from those of the other studies in both maturity and objective power to modify the expectations and support systems around them. The younger subjects might also have more energy, and/or more idealistic expectations of themselves than do their older colleagues. Elman and Gilbert (1984) found positive associations between Type I (structural role redefinition) coping and career engagement, Type II (personal role redefinition) coping and self-esteem, and Type III (reactive coping) coping and social support. Harrison and Minor (1978) found that among black working women, who have a stronger North American tradition of paid employment than do Caucasian women, different coping strategies tend to be used for different kinds of conflicts. Their subjects chose Type I strategies for conflicts where negotiation was practical (i.e., conflicts between the role expectations of wife and worker), and Type II strategies where it was not (i.e., conflicts between the demands of

worker and mother roles). When conflicts were between expectations of mother and wife roles, a combination of strategies was used, with Type I strategies being directed toward husbands" expectations and Type II strategies toward the needs of children, which were seen as less negotiable. Harrison and Minor's results suggest that women are flexible in matching coping styles to the characteristics of the situation, and they highlight distinctions regarding whom women feel responsible for (i.e., children but not necessarily husbands) which may differ by race and class, as well as among individuals. For instance, women who have been socialized to expect economic security in exchange for taking emotional care of their husbands may feel responsible for his well being in a manner different from women who always expected to be economically vulnerable or self-sufficient. Certainly more work is needed in order to clarify the relationships between coping style, situation, cultural expectations and individual personality.

CHAPTER 3: AUTONOMY AND CONNECTION: TOWARD AN INTEGRATION

Although Ruthellen Josselson's descriptions of women's pathways to identity and Carol Gilligan's descriptions of women's moral decisions appear to start from different theoretical corners, they converge upon a single developmental theme: the struggle to define and respect one's own 'voice', one's own self, within a community of loved ones.

Both specifically reject the view of development as a solitary quest, in favor of a view which presumes the presence of important others.3 For women, it seems the individual 'truths' which ultimately define one's uniqueness cannot be found in an interpersonal vacuum. Rather, they are sought within a context of relationships, which may be experienced as supportive, tolerant, restric-tive, and/or oppressive toward the emerging sense of self.

The merger of identity and moral development is eloquently defended by Barbara Houston (1988) as she addresses the charge that care-based moral reasoning does not represent moral development, but rather women's ego development. Houston poses the question "Does ego development involve a moral struggle for women" in rhetorical fashion, and replies:

> "Any moral theory that places respect for persons close to its centre...will take a special interest in the development of persons.... Within a sexist culture, within a society that oppresses women and exploits them, it just may be that 'ego development' is related to seeing oneself as a person: It may also be true that this involves a moral struggle for women, a struggle requiring immense courage" (Houston, 1988, p. 170).

The need for a theoretical integration of identity and moral reasoning is further indicated by Skoe and Marcia's (1991)

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3 Belenky, et al. (1986) come to similar observations regarding women's approaches to empirical knowledge and investigation. They describe a highly effective, 'connected' approach to knowledge, common among college women, which contrasts with the individualistic, 'separate' approach emphasized in academic traditions of debate, reductionism, and remote observation.

findings that identity status and level of care-based moral reasoning are highly correlated for women.

The extension of an integrated account of women's development to the domain of coping, particularly within the context of conflicting role expectations, follows from recognizing the courage required to claim the power of self-direction. If development involves women claiming a voice of their own within the community, then surely it must also involve claiming the right to use that voice to guide one's actions (externally-enforced limitations on her power and choices notwithstanding). When the self is experienced not only as an internalized set of values and goals but also as an actor in a community of relationships, then the separation of identity, morality, and everyday coping becomes artificial.

So far, this work has explored the development of women's full sense of personhood from three perspectives, perhaps better considered as three levels of observation. The theorists; Marcia, Gilligan, and Hall, each describe a set of positions, or ways to construe a problem and its solution, which can be arranged hierarchically along a developmental dimension. For Marcia, the problem is that of individual identity, and the solution lies in a set of self-chosen values and goals to guide the person's choices in life. For Gilligan, the problem is a moral dilemma

involving a conflict of care and responsibility towards the self and others. Hall explores the problem of role expectations; what is required in order to fulfill a set of social roles adequately.

The three models presented describe levels of functioning which progress along interrelated dimensions. First, each describes the manner in which women conceptualize a problem as being directed more or less from within themselves vs. by external factors. Developmentally, women progress from being other-directed and reactive, to being pseudo-self-directed (i.e., directed by internalized, idealized authority figures), to constructing a self-concept which directs actions and choices in its own terms. Second, each theorist describes women claiming progressively more power (or efficacy) to affect their surroundings and to chose their course of action. Finally, each acknowledges that women's decisions and actions take place within a context of important relationships. Thus each has represented, at a specific level of analysis, the interplay of autonomy and connection through experiences of self-direction, power, and relationship (see Figure III). If the three models outlined above are found to be highly associated with one another (and this is an empirical question), then a more direct and integrated account of the process of women's development can be articulated.

Figure III: Interfacing Models of Development

Marcia: Identity	Gilligan: Care-Based Moral Reasoning	Hall: Coping Strategy
Identity Achievement	Level 3: Self and Other Care	Type I: Structural Role Redefinition
Moratorium	Transition Stage 2.5: Goodness to Truth	Type II: Personal Role Redefinition
Foreclosure	Level 2: Goodness as Self-Sacrifice	Type III: Reactive Coping (Active)
Identity Diffusion	Stage 1: Survival/Self-Interest	Type IV: (?) Reactive Coping (Passive)

CHAPTER 4: SUMMARY AND HYPOTHESES

What has emerged from the previous pages is a developing portrait of women's development, drawing from existing theory and set within the particular context of motherhood. The choices made by career women facing new motherhood will be particularly revealing simply because there is no single, well-beaten path for them to take; each must construct her own, choosing what signs and guide posts she will follow from a bewildering and contradictory array. At this junction, her decisions, her concerns and disappointments, and what she looks to for confirmation of her choices all reveal something about her as a person.

If women's development does proceed along a single developmental path (with dual dimensions of autonomy and connection), then identity, care-based moral reasoning, and coping strategies should reflect parallel levels of development within individual women. While it is not necessary that women be entirely consistent across these levels of observation, a pattern of correlation between measures of the three constructs (Identity, Care-based Moral Reasoning and Coping Strategies) should be observed. It is expected, for example, that women who show a high level of self-definition in Identity will also show high regard for the self and others in moral reasoning, and a strong sense

of personal efficacy in coping with role conflict.

The current study examined the Identity Status, Moral Reasoning, and coping strategies of women making employment and role decisions after the birth of their first children. The following hypotheses were made:

a) There would be a positive relationship between Identity Status and level of Moral Reasoning (as evidenced in women's personal accounts of the dilemma of whether, when and under what circumstances to return to paid employment after the birth of their child).

b) Identity Status and Coping Style would be associated, with women in Identity Achievement and Moratorium tending to use Type I and Type II strategies (role redefinition), women in Identity Foreclosure tending to use active type III strategies (reactive coping, active mode), and women in Identity Diffusion tending to use reactive coping strategies which were based on avoidance or noncoping (type IV, or reactive coping, passive mode).

c) There would be a relationship between level of moral reasoning used and type of coping strategy cited, with higher levels of moral reasoning (levels 2.5 and 3) being associated with role redefinition strategies, level 2 moral reasoning being associated with reactive coping (active

mode), and levels 1 and 1.5 being associated with reactive coping (passive mode).

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY

Subjects

Seventy nine women between the ages of 23 and 35 with babies between the ages of 6 and 18 months took part in the study. Forty nine mothers were solicited from departmental files of mothers who had already volunteered to allow their babies to participate in developmental research. The remaining thirty mothers were recruited through pamphlets left in public health clinics and other locations where mothers gather (i.e.. infant swim classes, tanning salons, fitness classes, clubs and supermarkets). Some contacted us through word of mouth, or were recruited from casual acquaintances of the research assistants. All of the women were married to or living with their child's biological or adoptive father, and all had some experience in the paid work force prior to becoming a mother. By limiting several demographic variables (age of child, married or common law status, age of mother, and employment experience), I hoped to create a sample of women with similar role pressures and expectations, and to avoid confounding personality variables with major demographic variations. At the same time, the women represented a broad range of family incomes with a median comparable to that of all three person families in

Canada, and were distributed among employment statuses in proportions roughly equivalent to those found in the Canadian population of mothers with young children in the area. (Statistics Canada, 1989) The average educational level for women in the study was slightly higher than for women in general, ranging from high school graduates to women who were engaged in or had completed university graduate study. The demographic characteristics of the sample are summarized in Table 1.

Measures

Each woman was administered the following:

The Identity Status Interview, Adult Version (Waterman and Archer, 1982). This modified version of James Marcia's Identity Status Interview consists of questions over seven content areas and is quite lengthy. For this study, only the content areas of Occupa-tion, Religion, Sex Roles, and The Role of the Spouse were used. Interview questions focus on the woman's current or historical identity exploration, and her level of commitment to the ideals and goals which she expresses within each content area (Occupation, Religion, Marriage and the Role of the Spouse, and Sex Roles). Categorical ratings (Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure, Diffusion) were given for each content area, and for the overall interview (See Appendix A).

Table 1: Sample Characteristics

Income (family)

	Frequency	Percent	Cum Percent
Under 15,000	7	9.5	9.5
15,000-25,000	11	14.9	24.3
25,000-35,000	18	24.3	48.6
35,000-45,000	10	13.5	62.2
45,000-55,000	12	16.2	78.4
55,000-65,000	8	10.8	89.2
Over 65,000	8	10.8	100.0

Education

	Frequency	Percent	Cum Percent
Grade 12	20	26	26.0
Some Post-secondary	29	37.7	63.6
University Degree	19	24.7	88.3
Graduate Study	9	11.7	100.0

Employment Status

	Frequency	Percent	Cum Percent
Nonemployed	33	42.9	42.9
Part-time	21	27.3	70.1
Full-time (> 35 hrs/wk)	23	29.9	100.0

The Employment Decision Interview. This was modeled after the Real-Life Moral Conflict and Choice Interview used by Carol Gilligan and her colleagues (Brown, Argyris, Attanucci, Bardige, Gilligan, Johnston, Miller, Osborne, Ward, Wiggens, and Wilcox, 1988) to study self-generated moral dilemmas. Women were asked to talk about their choice to stay home or return to paid employment, and questions centered around their decision-making process, factors which they considered in making the decision, and how they evaluated their decision in the present. Ratings were based upon Eva Skoe's (1987) method of scoring interviews for level of care-based moral reasoning. This method uses not only full and half points for levels and transitional stages of reasoning, but also allows interviews to be scored to a quarter point, indicating transitional tendencies in an interview closer to one level of moral reasoning than to the other. Possible scores were thus 1. (for the Level I: Individual Survival), 1.25, 1.5 (From Selfishness to Responsibility), 1.75, 2. (Level II: Goodness as Self-Sacrifice), 2.25, 2.5 (From Goodness to Truth), 2.75, and 3. (Level III: The Morality of Nonviolence). (See Appendix B)

The Coping Strategies Questionnaire. This questionnaire asked women to recall three situations in which they faced competing or conflicting expectations for their behavior. After describing the situation in writing, the women were asked how they responded to the situation, and how they

would have ideally liked to have responded. Dilemmas were coded according to Hall's categories of coping strategies (Structural Role Redefinition, Personal Role Redefinition, and Reactive Coping), with the added category of Reactive Coping, Passive Mode. The questionnaires were categorized according to the most frequently cited type of coping strategy. (See Appendix C).

Demographic Questionnaire. A demographic questionnaire was given to each woman, asking her expected net family income over the current year, her level of education, her employment status, and any special circumstances or hardships which the family had encountered over the year. (See Appendix D).

Procedures

The interviews were conducted by the principal investigator and a team of five female research assistants whom she trained to administer and code both interviews. Subjects were contacted by a research assistant or the principal investigator, and teams of two interviewers met the women either in their homes or at the university. All except five women were interviewed in their homes. Typically, the two interviewers arrived together, introduced themselves, and one left the house or went to an area out of hearing while the other conducted the first interview. Later, the interviewers changed places. Care was taken to assure that neither interviewer heard or was influenced by the interview

which they did not conduct. Each interviewer coded her interview privately and without discussing the subject with the other. Interviewers administered and gathered the questionnaires, which the principal invesitgator coded several months later for Dominant Coping Strategies.

A randomly selected subset of 28 Employment Decision Interview tapes, and 23 Identity Status Interview tapes (selected randomly from the interviews of women who were not available for participating in a second, separate study) were coded a second time by independent raters who were not involved in the original data collection. Questionnaires were coded for dominant coping strategy by the principal investigator, and a second time by a research assistant who was one of the original interviewers in the study.

CHAPTER 6:RESULTS

The possible effects of individual raters, sources of subjects (departmental files vs. pamplets and word of mouth), and the reported presence of unusual sources of family stress upon the dependent variables of Identity Status, Moral Reasoning and Coping Strategies were tested using a Pearson Chi-Square statistic. No sigificant effects were found for raters, subject source, or family stress.

Inter-rater Reliabilities

Identity Status. Twenty three tapes from subjects who were not available to participate in a second, unrelated study were used to assess inter-rater reliability on the Identity Status Measure. The tapes were given to a trained rater who was neither a participant in the original interviews nor trained in the rating of the other measures used in this study (i.e., the Moral Reasoning interview or the Coping Strategies questionnaire.) Inter-rater reliability was assessed using the Kappa statistic, which reflects rater agreement on classification, and which takes into account the number but not the magnitude of disagreements between raters. The results (Kappa=.669, t=5.079, 0<.001) were considered to reflect adequate reliability for the purposes of the study. In addition, reliability was assessed using Kendall's Tau, a rank-order test of association which would reflect not only the presence but also the magnitude of disagreements between raters. The Kendall's Tau statistic yielded results similar in magnitude to those found using Kappa (Tau=.733, t=4.894, p<.001), again suggesting that although agreement between raters was not perfect, it was at an acceptable level for the study (See Table 2). Disagreements on these 23 tapes were resolved by using the ratings of the initial interviewer/rater.

Table 2: Overall Identity Ratings: Inter-rater Agreement

Rater 1 \ Rater 2	Achievement	Moratorium	Foreclosure	Diffusion	
Achievement	5		1		6
Moratorium		2	1		3
Foreclosure	2	1	9		12
Diffusion				2	2
	7	3	11	2	23

Subscores for Identity Status within specific content areas were available for 21 of the 23 tapes. Of the four content areas addressed by the Identity Status Interview, Marriage and the Role of Spouse was found to have the highest inter-rater agreement (Kappa=.653, t=4.815, p<.001; Tau=.753, t=4.026, p<.001). Inter-rater agreement in the content area of Sex Roles was fair (Kappa=.423, t=3.,018, p<.01; Tau=.563, t=3.810, p<.01). Inter-rater agreement was higher in the content area of Religion (Kappa=.611, t=4.186) than in Sex Roles, but when ratings differed in this area they tended to do so by more than one status, bringing the Kendall's Tau statistic (which accounts for magnitude of disagreements) down to a marginally acceptable level (Tau=.499, t=2.342, p<.05). In fact, this finding probably reflects the difficulty raters had in distinguishing between the committed statuses of Foreclosure and Identity Achievement in a content area where the degree of exploration undergone by women in early years was difficult to ascertain or to judge. The content area of Occupation, despite being highly associated with other measures in the study (see below), showed the most disappointing inter-rater reliability of any content area (Kappa=.361, t=2.577, p<.02; Tau=.364, t=1.901, p<.10). The scoring of this content area was found to be particularly difficult when applied to women who were at home with their children. (See Tables 3 to 6)

Table 3: Identity in Marriage: Inter-rater Agreement

Rater 2 \ Rater 1	Achievement	Moratorium	Foreclosure	Diffusion	
Achievement	6				6
Moratorium			1		1
Foreclosure	1	3	10		14
Diffusion					0
	7	3	11	0	21

Table 4: Identity in Sex Roles: Inter-rater Agreement

Rater 2 \ Rater 1	Achievement	Moratorium	Foreclosure	Diffusion	
Achievement	5				5
Moratorium		2			2
Foreclosure	3	1	8		12
Diffusion			2		2
	8	3	10	0	21

Table 5: Identity in Religion: Inter-Rater Agreement

Rater 2 \ Rater 1	Achievement	Moratorium	Foreclosure	Diffusion	
Achievement	2	1		1	4
Moratorium		2			2
Foreclosure	1	1	8		10
Diffusion	1		1		4
	4	4	9	4	21

Table 6: Identity in Occupation: Inter-rater Agreement

Rater 1 \ Rater 2	Achievement	Moratorium	Foreclosure	Diffusion	
Achievement	5		3		8
Moratorium		1	1		2
Foreclosure	2	1	6		9
Diffusion		1		1	2
	7	3	10	1	21

Care-Based Moral Reasoning. Twenty-eight randomly selected tapes were used to assess inter-rater reliability on the measure of Care-Based Moral Reasoning, the Employment Decision Interview. Each tape was rated by an independent rater who was trained in scoring the interview, but not informed of the purpose of the study or trained in the scoring of the other measures used. The second ratings were compared with original ratings, to yield a Kappa of .552 (t=4.817; p<.001) and a Kendall's Tau of .707 (t=6.232, p<.001). As with the overall ratings of Identity Status, the inter-rater reliability of the Employment Decision Interview was judged to be adequate for the purposes of the study (See Table 7).

Coping Strategies. The Coping Strategies questionnaires were scored independently by the primary researcher and by a research assistant who had been involved in the interviews and data collection. Scoring took place several months after the interviews, and questionnaires were identified by number. Seventy four of seventy nine questionnaires were scored for dominant coping strategy by both raters. Five questionnaires were not included in inter-rater reliability because one or both raters failed to arrive at a rating of dominant coping strategy. Inter-rater agreement was assessed (Kappa=.512, t=7.855, p<.001; Kendall's Tau=.452, t=4.406, p<.001). Given the relatively large number of ratings available, the reliability for this measure was seen

Table 7: Employment Decision Interview: Inter-rater Agreement

Rater 2 \ Rater 1	1.50	1.75	2.00	2.25	2.50	2.75	3.00	
1.50								0
1.75	1	1	1					3
2.00		1	3	3	2			9
2.25		1			1			2
2.50					4	1	1	6
2.75					1	1		2
3.00						1	4	5
	1	3	4	3	8	3	5	

Table 8: Coping Strategies: Inter-rater Agreement

Rater 2	Rater 1 Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	
Type 1	22	1	1		24
Type 2	5	8	3	1	17
Type 3	7		9	1	17
Type 4	7			9	16
	41	9	13	11	74

as only fair (See Table 8). The relatively weak reliability of this measure may in part account for its weak association with other variables in the study (see below).

The reliability statistics for each measure used are summarized in Table 9.

Overall Identity Status and Care-Based Moral Reasoning. The hypothesized relationship between Identity Status and Care-based Moral Reasoning was tested using Kendall's Tau, a nonparametric statistic which uses rank order data to estimate association. Kendall's Tau, like a correlation coefficient, varies in value between -1 and 1, with values further from 0 indicating a stronger association between variables. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 10. (It should be noted that none of the women were coded as being below 1.5 in Moral Reasoning.) Overall ratings of Identity Status were found to be strongly associated with Care-Based Moral Reasoning (Tau=.492, $t=6.093$, $p<.001$).

Table 9: Reliability Coefficients

	N	Kappa	t	p	Kendall's Tau	t	p
Identity Status	23	.669	5.079	<.001	.733	4.894	<.001
Care-Based Moral Reasoning	28	.552	4.817	<.001	.707	6.232	<.001
Dominant Coping Strategy	74	.512	7.855	<.001	.452	4.406	<.001
Identity: Occupation	21	.361	2.577	<.02	.364	1.901	<.10
Identity: Marriage (and role of spouse	21	.653	4.815	<.001	.753	4.026	<.001
Identity: Religion	21	.611	4.186	<.001	.499	2.342	<.05
Identity: Sex Roles	21	.423	3.018	<.01	.563	3.810	<.01

Table 10: Identity X Care-based Moral Reasoning

	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement	Total
Level 3	0	4	2	13	19
Level 2.75	0	1	0	5	6
Level 2.5	0	6	5	4	15
Level 2.25	0	6	2	2	10
Level 2.0	1	15	1	4	21
Level 1.75	2	3	1	0	6
Level 1.5	1	1	0	0	2
Total	4	36	11	28	79

Kendall's Tau-B= .492 $t=6.093$ $p < .001$

The hallmark of identity construction is exploration, and that of Care-Based Moral Reasoning is the inclusion self-interest and self-knowledge in one's approach to moral dilemmas. These criteria were used to classify Identity and Moral Reasoning into dichotomous variables. Identity Status ratings were divided into high (Achievement and Moratorium) and low (Foreclosure and Diffusion). Moral Reasoning ratings were also divided into high (2.50 or higher) and low (2.25 and lower) categories. The Pearson Chi-Square statistic and the correlation coefficient ϕ' were used to assess the relationship between them. The relationship between the dichotomous versions of Identity and Care-Based Moral Reasoning appeared to be even stronger than that between the variables when their full range of scores were intact. (Chi-Square=17.347, $p<.0001$). (See Table 11).

Content-Specific Identity Status and Moral Reasoning

Kendall's Tau was used to assess rank-order associations between content-specific Identity Status ratings and Care-Based Moral Reasoning.

Identity in Occupation and Moral Reasoning. Identity in the content area of occupation was significantly associated with Moral Reasoning (Tau=.412, t=5.245, $p<.001$; see Table 12). This finding, although interesting, must be viewed with some caution in light of the poor inter-rater reliability found for Identity Status ratings in this content area.

Table 11: Identity X Moral Reasoning (High/Low)

	Low Identity (Diffusion/ Foreclosure)	High Identity (Moratorium/ Achievement)	Total
High Moral Reasoning (Post-level 2.25)	11	29	40
Low Moral Reasoning (Pre-level 2.5)	29	10	39
Totals	40	39	79

Pearson $\chi^2=17.347$ DF=1 p=0.0000

Table 12: Identity in Occupation X Moral Reasoning

	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement	Total
Level 3	0	4	1	13	18
Level 2.75	0	1	1	4	6
Level 2.5	3	4	1	7	15
Level 2.25	1	3	3	3	10
Level 2.00	5	12	2	2	21
Level 1.75	3	0	3	0	6
Level 1.5	1	0	0	1	2
Total	13	24	11	30	78 *

Kendall's Tau-B=.412 $t=5.245$ $p<.001$

* Occasionally an Identity Status rating was not made in a particular content area. For this reason, the n value for these analyses is not constant, but ranges from 77 to 79.

Identity in Marriage and Care-Based Moral Reasoning. Identity in the content area of marraige was associated with Care-based Moral Reasoning (Tau=.326, t=3.466, p<.001; see Table 13).

Identity in Religion and Care-Based Moral Reasoning. Identity in the content area of religion tended to be associated with Care-Based Moral Reasoning, but not to a significant degree. (Tau-.172, t=1.739, p<.10; see Table 14). The proportion of women in Identity Diffusion in this content area was higher than for any other (18/77), and for many women in the study it did not appear to be a highly salient issue.

Identity in Sex Roles and Care-Based Moral Reasoning. Identity in the content area of sex roles was significantly associated with Care-based Moral Reasoning (Tau=.373, t=3.817, p<.001; see Table 15).

Overall Identity Status and Coping Strategy

The relationship between overall Identity Status and type of coping strategy for role conflict situations was assessed across all four Identity Statuses and four types of Coping Strategies for role conflict, using Kendall's Tau (see Table 16). There was a nonsignificant tendency for the two variables to be associated (Tau=.187, t=1.911, p<.10).

Table 13: Identity in Marriage X Moral Reasoning

	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement	Total
Level 3	0	6	2	10	18
Level 2.75	0	1	0	5	6
Level 2.5	0	5	5	5	15
Level 2.25	0	6	1	3	10
Level 2.0	1	14	1	5	21
Level 1.75	0	4	0	2	6
Level 1.5	1	1	0	0	2
Total	2	37	9	30	78

Kendall's Tau-B=.326 $t=3.466$ $p<.001$

Table 14: Identity in Religion X Moral Reasoning

	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement	Total
Level 3	3	6	3	6	18
Level 2.75	0	4	1	1	6
Level 2.5	4	7	1	2	14
Level 2.25	3	3	2	2	10
Level 2	3	12	3	3	21
Level 1.75	4	1	1	0	6
Level 1.5	1	0	0	1	2
Total	18	33	11	15	77

Kendall's Tau-B=.172 t=1.739 $p<.10$

Table 15: Identity in Sex Roles X Moral Reasoning

	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement	Total
Level 3	0	4	0	14	18
Level 2.75	1	1	0	4	6
Level 2.5	0	5	6	3	14
Level 2.25	0	6	2	2	10
Level 2	0	14	2	5	21
Level 1.75	0	4	0	2	6
Level 1.5	1	1	0	0	2
Total	2	35	10	30	77

Kendall's Tau-B=.373 $t=3.817$ $p<.001$

Table 16: Contingency Table: Identity X Coping Strategy

	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement	Total
Type I	3	15	9	18	45
Type II	0	5	0	4	9
Type III	0	7	2	4	13
Type IV	1	9	0	2	12
Total	4	36	11	28	79

Kendall's Tau-B= .187 $t=1.911$ $p<.10$

Using the redefinition of role expectations as basis for division, the Coping Strategies measure was converted into a dichotomous variable with high (Structural and Personal Role Redefinition) and low (Reactive Coping and Noncoping) levels. Identity Status was also dichotomized into high (Achievement and Moratorium) and low (Foreclosure and Diffusion) catagories, based on the presence or absence of exploration. With the dichotomous variables, a significant association between Identity Status and coping strategy was found using the Pearson Chi-Square Statistic (Chi-Square=4.413, $p<.05$, see Table 17).

Content-Specific Identity and Coping Strategies

Identity in Occupation and Coping Strategy. Identity in the content area of occupation was found to be significantly associated with type of coping strategy for role conflict (Tau=.218, $t=2.26$, $p<.05$, see Table 18).

Identity in Marriage and Coping Strategy. Of the content areas in the Identity Status Interview, Identity in marriage was most strongly associated with type of coping strategy (Tau=.246, $t=2.611$, $p<.01$, see Table 19). This part of the interview seemed to be very salient to the women, and it dealt specifically with the issue of roles within the family (See Appendix A). Inter-rater reliability for this content area was also stronger than for other content areas.

Table 17: Identity X Coping Strategy (High/Low)

	Low Identity	High Identity	Total
High Coping (Role Redefinition)	23	31	54
Low Coping (Reactive Strategies)	17	8	25
Totals	40	39	79

Pearson χ^2=4.413 DF=1 $p<.05$ ϕ'=0.236

Table 18: Identity in Occupation X Coping Strategy

	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement	Total
Type I	7	8	8	21	44
Type II	0	5	1	3	9
Type III	4	4	2	3	13
Type IV	2	7	0	3	12
Total	13	24	11	30	78

Kendall's Tau-B=.218 $t=2.26$ $p<.05$

Table 19: Identity in Marriage X Coping Strategy

	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement	Total
Type I	2	14	8	20	44
Type II	0	5	0	4	9
Type III	0	7	1	5	13
Type IV	0	11	0	1	12
Total	30	9	37	2	78

Kendall's Tau-B=.246 $t=2.611$ $p<.01$

Identity in Religion and Coping Strategy. Identity Status in the content area of religion was not found to be associated with type of coping strategy (Tau=.031, t=0.310, p>.20, see Table 20).

Identity in Sex Roles and Coping Strategy. Identity in the content area of sex roles was significantly associated with type of coping strategy (Tau=.206, t=2.108, p<.05, see Table 21). Although interviewers and subjects found this to be a difficult, overly abstract area of the interview, it had relatively strong inter-rater reliability.

Care-Based Moral Reasoning and Coping Strategy

Care-Based Moral Reasoning and type of coping strategy for role conflict were found not to be associated, either as multilevel variables (Tau=.018, t=0.197, p>.10, Table 22) or in dichotomous variable form (Pearson Chi-Square=0.4224, p>.20, Table 23)

Table 20: Identity in Religion X Coping Strategy

	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement	Total
Type I	13	14	6	11	44
Type II	1	5	2	0	8
Type III	1	7	2	3	13
Type IV	3	7	1	1	12
Total	18	33	11	15	78

Kendall's Tau-B=0.031 t=0.310 p>.20

Table 21: Identity in Sex Roles X Coping Strategy

	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement	Total
Type I	2	14	8	20	44
Type II	0	5	0	3	8
Type III	0	6	2	5	13
Type IV	0	10	0	2	12
Total	2	35	10	30	77

Kendall's Tau-B=.206 $t = 2.108$ $p<.05$

Table 22: Moral Reasoning X Coping Strategy

	Type IV	Type III	Type II	Type I	Total
Level 3	1	5	2	11	19
Level 2.75	1	1	3	1	6
Level 2.5	2	1	2	10	15
Level 2.25	3	0	2	5	9
Level 2.00	4	5	0	12	12
Level 1.75	1	1	0	4	6
Level 1.5	0	0	0	2	2
Total	12	13	9	45	79

Kendall's Tau-B=.018 t=0.197 p>.20

Table 23: Moral Reasoning X Coping Strategy (High/Low)

	Low Moral Reasoning	High Moral Reasoning	Total
High Coping (Role Redefinition)	25	29	54
Low Coping (Reactive Strategies)	14	11	25
Totals	40	39	79

Pearson χ^2=0.4224 DF=1 p=0.4224 ϕ'=0.0731

<u>Demographic Variables, Identity Status and Moral Reasoning</u>

Employment Status. For this analysis, Moral Reasoning scores were condensed into four categories: Transition from self-care to other-care (1.5-1.75), Goodness as other-care (2.00-2.25), Transition to self- and other-care (2.5-2.75), and Self- and other-care (3.00). Employment status was defined as nonemployed (i.e., full-time homemakers), part-time employed (less than 35 hours per week) or full-time employed. Employment status was found to differ significantly among Identity Statuses (Pearson Chi-Square=12.775, p=0.0467, see Table 24), and among levels of Care-based Moral Reasoning (Pearson Chi-Square=22.768, p=.0009, see Table 25). In the latter case, the most striking differences in rates of employment are seen in comparing women at Level 2 (Goodness as other-care) of whom only one in 19 was employed full time, with women at Level 2.5 (Transition to care for self and others), of whom 13 in 21 were employed full time. Employment Status was not significantly associated with type of coping strategy (Pearson Chi-Square=8.658, p=0.1937, see Table 26).

Table 24: Identity Status X Employment Status

	Nonemployed	Part-time Employed <35 hrs/week	Full-time Employed >35 hrs/week	Totals
Achievement	7	7	13	27
Moratorium	3	3	5	11
Foreclosure	20	10	4	34
Diffusion	3	1	1	5
Total	33	21	23	77

Pearson χ^2=12.775 DF=6 p=0.0467 ϕ'=0.288

Table 25: Moral Reasoning X Employment Status

	Nonemployed	Part-time Employed	Full-time Employed	Total
Level 3	6	6	7	19
Transition 2.5-2.75	4	4	13	21
Level 2-2.25	18	10	1	29
Transition 1.5-1.75	5	1	2	8
Totals	33	21	23	77

Pearson χ^2=22.768 DF=6 p=0.0009 ϕ'=0.385

Table 26: Coping Strategy X Employment Status

	Nonemployed	Part-time Employed	Full-time Employed	Total
Type I	17	14	12	43
Type II	1	3	5	9
Type III	7	2	4	13
Type IV	8	2	2	12
Total	33	21	23	77

Pearson χ^2=8.658 DF=6 p=0.1937 ϕ'=0.237

Education. The relationships between women's highest achieved levels of education and Identity Status, Care-Based Moral Reasoning and type of coping strategy for role conflict were tested using Kendall's Tau statistic. This test of rank-order association was used because of the assumption that education is associated with a sense of efficacy, or power in the world, as well as decision-making opportunity. These dimensions are hypothesized to underly the developmental dimension reflected in Identity, Moral Reasoning and coping strategy. It was also hyphothesized that Identity formation, Moral Reasoning and education level might all be related to a general level of cognitive development. The women's levels of education were significantly associated with Identity Status (Tau=.256, $t=2.717$, $p<.05$; see Table 27), and strongly associated with levels of Moral Reasoning (Tau=.307, $t=3.864$, $p<.01$); see Table 28). Levels of education were not associated with type of coping strategy (Tau=.030, $t=0.296$, $p>.20$); see Table 29).

Family Income. Associations between family income and the main variables were assessed using the Kendall's Tau Statistic. Again, the rationale for using a linear test of association had to do with the issue of efficacy; it was assumed that family income both reflects and impacts upon the woman's opportunities to make decisions. Self-reported Annual Family Income was associated with Identity Status

(Tau=0.199, t=2.204, p<.05, see Table 30) and Care-Based Moral Reasoning (Tau=.261, t=3.294, p<.01); see Table 31). Family income was not associated with type of coping strategy (tau=.021, t=0.219, p>.20; see Table 32).

Summary of Results

Table 33 summarizes the tests of association which were performed between pairs of variables, and the results of those tests. The association between Identity Status and Care-Based Moral Reasoning was found to be strong. Identity Status and coping strategies were marginally associated, and coping strategies were not associated with Care-Based Moral Reasoning. The demographic variables of education, employment status and annual family income were all strongly associated with Care-Based Moral Reasoning, significantly associated with Identity Status, and not associated with type of coping strategy.

Table 27: Identity X Highest Level of Education

	Grade 12	Post-Secondary	University Degree	Graduate School	Total
Achievement	4	8	8	7	27
Moratorium	3	6	2	0	11
Foreclosure	11	12	8	2	33
Diffusion	1	3	0	0	4
Total	19	29	18	9	75

Kendall's Tau-B=.256 $t=2.717$ $p<.05$

Table 28: Moral Reasoning X Highest Level of Education

	Grade 12	Post-Secondary	University Degree	Graduate School	Total
Level 3	1	9	7	2	19
Level 2.75	1	0	2	3	6
Level 2.5	3	6	3	2	14
Level 2.25	2	4	2	0	8
Level 2.0	7	7	4	2	20
Level 1.75	4	2	0	0	6
Level 1.5	1	1	0	0	2
Total	19	29	18	9	75

Kendall's Tau-B=.307 $t=3.864$ $p<.01$

Table 29: Coping Strategy X Highest Level of Education

	Grade 12	Post-Secondary	University Degree	Graduate School	Total
Type I	12	17	10	4	43
Type II	0	3	2	3	8
Type III	3	6	3	1	13
Type IV	4	3	3	1	11
Total	19	29	18	9	75

Kendall's Tau-B=.030 $t=0.296$ $p>.20$

Table 30: Identity Status X Annual Family Income

	<15,000	15-25,000	25-35,000	35-45,000	45-55,000	55-65,000	>65,000	Total
Achievement	1	3	5	4	5	5	4	27
Moratorium	3	0	2	1	4	0	1	11
Foreclosure	3	8	9	4	3	2	2	32
Diffusion	0	0	3	1	0	0	1	4
Total	7	11	19	10	12	7	8	74

Kendall's Tau-B=0.199 t=2.204 $p<.05$

Table 31: Moral Reasoning X Annual Family Income

	<15,000	15-25,000	25-35,000	35-45,000	45-55,000	55-65,000	>65,000	Total
Level 3	1	1	3	3	6	2	3	19
Level 2.75	0	0	2	0	1	1	2	6
Level 2.5	2	2	3	2	1	4	0	14
Level 2.25	1	1	3	2	0	0	1	7
Level 2	2	6	5	2	2	0	2	19
Level 1.75	0	1	2	1	2	0	0	6
Level 1.5	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	2
Total	7	11	19	10	12	7	8	74

Kendall's Tau-B=.261 t=3.294 p<.01

Table 32: Coping Strategy X Annual Family Income

	<15,000	15-25,000	25-35,000	35-45,000	45-55,000	55-65,000	>65,000	Total
Type I	6	7	8	6	6	5	5	43
Type II	0	1	4	0	1	0	2	8
Type III	0	2	4	1	5	1	0	13
Type IV	1	1	3	3	0	1	1	10
Total	7	11	19	10	12	7	8	74

Kendall's Tau-B=0.021 t=0.219 p>.20

Table 33: Summary of Results

Tests of Association Between Measures

Measures	Kendall's Tau B	t	Pearson χ^2	DF	p
IS X EOC	.492	6.093		78	<.001
IS X Coping	.187	1.911		78	<.10
EOC X Coping	.018	.197		78	>.20
ISO X EOC	.412	5.245		78	<.001
ISO X Coping	.218	2.26		77	<.05
ISM X EOC	.326	3.466		78	<.001
ISM X Coping	.246	2.611		77	<.01
ISR X EOC	.172	1.739		78	<.10
ISR X Coping	.031	0.310		77	>.20
ISS X EOC	.373	3.817		77	<.001
ISS X Coping	.206	2.108		77	<.05
IS X EOC, hi/lo	N/A	N/A	17.347	1	<.001
IS X Coping, hi/lo	N/A	N/A	4.413	1	<.05
EOC X Coping, hi/lo	N/A	N/A	0.4224	1	>.20
IS X Employment	N/A	N/A	12.775	6	<.05
EOC X Employment	N/A	N/A	22.768	6	<.001
Coping X Employment	N/A	N/A	8.658	6	> 20
IS X Education	.256	2.717		74	<.05
EOC X Education	.307	3.864		74	<.01
Coping X Education	.030	0.296		75	>.20
IS X Income	.199	2.204		73	<.05
EOC X Income	.261	3.294		73	<.01
Coping X Income	.021	0.219		73	>.20

IS=Identity Status

Content Areas: O=Occupation; M=Marriage; R=Religion; S=Sex Roles

EOC=Care-Based Moral Reasoning (Ethic of Care)[1]

Coping=Dominant coping strategy

[1]EOC refers to the scoring system developed by Eva Skoe (Skoe & Marcia, 1990) to assess care-based moral reasoning

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

Relationships among Identity, Moral Reasoning and coping strategy

As hypothesized, the measures of Identity and Moral Reasoning were found to be highly associated with one another ($p<.01$). This finding is consistent with previous research (e.g. Skoe and Marcia, 1991) and with the theory outlined in Chapter IV, which argues for common processes underlying both constructs. At the same time, different patterns of association of Identity and Moral Reasoning with other variables (i.e., coping strategies, education, employment and income) suggest that the two constructs, although related, are still best considered to be empirically and conceptually discrete.

There was a near significant ($p<.10$) association between Identity Status and coping strategy. Identity Status determined within certain content areas was significantly associated with coping strategy. Specifically, Identity Statuses in occupation, marriage, and sex roles was significantly associated with type of coping strategy ($p<.05$). Identity in Religion was not associated with coping strategy, and was only marginally associated with Moral Reasoning, suggesting that this content area had little salience or predictive power for the women at this time in their lives (i.e., new motherhood).

Coping strategy was not significantly associated with level of Care-based Moral Reasoning, however, the coping strategies measure had some problems which will be discussed in detail, and which may have masked stronger relationships between it and Identity Status or Moral Reasoning.

Coping strategy: Reliability and validity of the measure

Inter-rater Reliability. The most obvious concern about the coping strategies measure was its weak inter-rater reliability. In particular, both raters found that it was not always easy to discriminate women's actions resulting from their own expectations for themselves (in which case they might be coded as role redefinition) from actions guided by the expectations of partners, children or others. Many women only vaguely identified the sources of their conflicting role expectations, and others did not identify them at all. The two raters appeared to differ primarily in terms of where they gave the benefit of the doubt on this question. In particular, the first rater, whose ratings were used in the analyses, more often assumed that vaguely identified role expectations came from the woman herself, while the second rater tended to assume that they came from within the woman's family. The first rater therefore tended to rate more responses as being Type I than did the second rater. To correct for this problem, the two raters met and re-rated by consensus all responses for which their initial

ratings had disagreed. Given the difficulty each had had in rating the questionnaires alone, consensus was surprisingly easy to reach on most responses. Post-hoc analyses were run, using the new (consensus) ratings. Using the new ratings, the association between coping strategy and Identity Status yielded a Kendall's Tau of .297 ($p<.01$). The association between coping strategy and Moral Reasoning yielded a Kendall's Tau of .224 ($p<.05$). The reader is cautioned, however, against over-interpreting these results, since the consensus ratings were made post hoc in response to relatively weak initial results. Although blind to the ratings on other measures, neither rater was blind to the hypotheses involved. In the process of discussing the questionnaire responses it was possible for cues on the questionnaires as to the women's status on other variables and/or the raters' knowledge of the need for a greater degree of variance in the Coping Strategies scores to intrude on their judgement of specific protocols. The general point to be made is that the Coping Strategies questionnaire requires considerable subjective judgement on the part of raters, and consensus scoring may be useful in the future to minimize individual biases of raters. Alternatively, there may be possible modifications to the questionnaire which could clarify the source of role expectations in order to facilitate objectivity in distinguishing between role redefinition and reactive coping strategies.

Subtypes of Type I Strategies. An overabundance of Type I codes in the initial coping strategy ratings posed both a mathematical and a conceptual problem for interpreting the relationship between coping strategy and Identity Status. Mathematically, the predominance of Type I codes restricted the variance of the coping strategy measure, thereby minimizing any relationship between it and other measures. Conceptually, there appeared to be 'subtypes' of Type I which were impossible to code on these questionnaires, but which promised to be theoretically (and perhaps clinically) useful distinctions. Although women at all developmental levels (in terms of Identity and Moral Reasoning) used Type I coping strategies, they appeared to do so in different ways and from different standpoints depending on their developmental strengths and constraints.

For women in Identity Achievement and Moratorium, Type I coping responses appeared to reflect role redefinition in the sense that Hall had in mind. These women had thought through a number of possibilities and could simultaneously consider more than one point of view. They drew the confidence to define role expectations in their own terms from the knowledge of their ability to reason and to negotiate. For example, one women in this group had prepared a brief for her employer outlining the benefits to the company and its women employees of allowing job sharing

arrangements between mothers. Another described her realization in negotiating responsibilities with her husband that much of what he had previously expected of her actually undermined his confidence as an adult. Realizing this helped her to say "no" to his expectations of unlimited practical support from her, and to replace it with verbal encouragement for his taking on more responsibility for himself. These women were sometimes innovative in problem solving, and often gave a sense of two-way negotiation, considering aloud aspects of their husbands' personalities which they needed to consider in order to make an arrangement which would work for all parties. They often mentioned the support of others. For example, one woman wrote, "When the going gets rough and my time is getting split too much, I am very fortunate to have a tremendous support structure with my husband, mother and extended family. Nearly every time the problem is resolved with little effort once I have recognized my problem or conflict and have reached out to a source of support...Life is basically a compromise, and for the most part the resolutions are satisfactory to very satisfactory".

Many women in Identity Foreclosure seemed to assert their right to define roles in their own terms (and often to tell others what to do as well) from the confidence that comes from being sure of what is right (and wrong). For these women there was no distinction between their expectations of

themselves and the lessons they had learned in right and wrong from internalized authority figures (usually, but not always, parents). For example, one woman described phoning her boss to say that she was missing work in order to stay with her hospitalized child. Although she was able to say "no" to her superior's assumed expectation that she leave her child alone at this time, she swallowed her hurt feelings and anger in response to his remark which she perceived as a put-down of her priorities. She stayed with her child because it was the right thing to do, according to an authority higher than either herself or her boss. When the issue was her own hurt feelings or needs, she did not own the authority to defend herself against her boss's insensitivity. Other mothers at this level successfully defended their right to decline paid employment or to breast feed their children in the face of pressure from friends or relatives. A striking aspect of these women's responses was the equivalence of their own desires with their baby's or family's needs. They successfully and often eloquently defended their right to fulfill a fairly traditional mother role in terms of self-sacrifice, service and care-giving to others. What they often could not or would not defend was their own entitlement to respect, pay, or recognition of their work and their needs. Their needs were to be 'fit in somehow'. For example, one woman who was, for women among this group, unusually articulate about her conflict wrote, "I always wanted to stay home full-time with my children,

and yet now that I'm there, I find that I want to do more than stay home. But at the same time, I find it important to stay with my kids. I know that most important to me is to stay home, but I will try and fit in my other goals." More typical was the veiled wistfulness of the woman who stated, "I just wish that more women felt ok about staying home. We really need more support for women who choose to put their families first".

Women in Identity Diffusion appeared to make unilateral decisions which were sometimes coded as Type I strategies (depending on how successful they turned out to be), but which spoke more of an inability to negotiate than of confidence in their own judgment. Their Type I strategies considered only their own viewpoint and disregarded the opinions of others. In this way, their Type I strategies were mirror images of their second common response, which was to give in to another's demands with complete disregard for their own desires or needs. For example, one woman alternated between dictatorial and self-sacrificial responses to her partner's expectation that lovemaking be 'spontaneous' and before bedtime. She wrote, "He'd complain and bring up last time. It was hard for me because my mind was on the child, thinking he could awake any time and us get interrupted, and thinking how little time we have to get our chores done. I was tensed (sic). We discussed it again and again and raised our voices. I told him he would have

to share more in the housework and make love when the child's asleep....I just give in sometimes". This woman was either totally in charge or totally dominated; there was no middle ground.

The difficulty which women in Diffusion seemed to have in seeing another's point of view was illustrated by the fact that they were the only group to cite role conflicts having to do with the corporal punishment or discipline of children. Unsure of what was the 'right' thing to do in child rearing dilemmas, these women nonetheless balked at the advice and especially the criticism of others. They felt misunderstood, and stated that "if only they spent as much time as I did (with the baby)" that the other would reach the same behaviors or conclusions.

Although their strategies appeared from the outside to be self-directing, the Diffusion women and those who were pre-Level 2 in terms of Moral Reasoning often portrayed a subjective sense of being buffetted about by circumstances and demands with which they were barely able to cope. No group in the study appeared to more desperately want to do the right thing by their children, and no group took more obvious pride when things went right than did these women. One described a conflict where she was "preparing dinner, and numerous other jobs, my husband needs something and the baby is <u>demanding</u> something!! (I) asked hubby to wait.

Dinner put on hold. Baby attended to". This woman rated her satisfaction with this response a 10 out of 10. She stated also that "If we had been ready to have a child, we would not have done some of the things we did in the past which are now making things...difficult for us". Another described the transition to parenthood in terms which sounded as exhausting as they were dramatic. "I started to take vitamins. Went to massage therapy. Did the housework when I can, and try to accept this in your mind that you can't do everything it takes time and prioritiz(ing). I'd do laundry with child there and child's help maybe, or at night when down for sleep. Drop in a load and go to bed. Cleaning bathroom I'd do it before my shower. Doing all this and more, take time for oneself, eat properly, exercise, this I'm trying to do. There could be a lot you could do but it takes time and money....You have to change your whole schedule you had on your own and make a new schedule for a family. Reconditioning your mind". Of her daughter, she wrote, "Every child has a special need or unsurfacing talent. My daughter is very active and it is hard to keep her attention on one thing and when she does... you should encourage and praise. This might be an unsurfacing talent...She likes music and drawing." Yet these women, despite their obvious pride and affection for their children, sometimes lived with men who refused or were reluctant to leave their partners alone with the interviewers, and whose presence the interviewers found

threatening, controlling and/or abusive toward the women and the children in the house. Some depended for child care upon parents whom they described to the interviewer as having been abusive to them when they were children. Their desperate desire to do well for their child appeared to be compromised by a sense of being unable to move out of situations which, to an outsider, appeared unhealthy and dangerous. To consider a Type I coping response in this context as indicative of a woman with a sense of power in the world seemed fallacious. It seemed more likely that her Type I responses came from a limited repetoire of possible responses to conflict (i.e., assert one's will or give in).

Where it was obvious that a woman was not making a distinction between her own expectations or needs and those of her family, or where a woman's unilateral attempts to define her role for herself were clearly destined to be ineffective, the consensus scoring method resulted in rescoring her responses as Type III or Type IV coping. These changes account for the fact that, although a few disputed ratings were moved upwards from Type III to type I, more were moved downward, with the overall consequence that the distribution of consensus-derived scores was both lower and more varied than that of the original scores.

Four versus Two Types of Coping Strategy. A third issue with the Coping Strategies measure was the meaningfulness of

the cutpoints. Were the conceptual distinctions between Types I and II (structural and personal role redefinition), and between Types III and IV (reactive coping, active vs. passive mode) important enough to warrant four categories rather than 2 (role redefinition vs. reactive coping)? It can be argued that the important question was not whether the woman chose an active or passive strategy, but 'in whose terms' she constructed and responded to her role dilemmas (Attanucci, 1988, Willard, 1988). If this is so, then two categories of coping are advantageous, both in terms of conceptual clarity and mathematical simplicity. When the main variables were regrouped as dichotomous, a statistically significant Chi-Square was found between Identity and coping strategy ($p < .05$). A conservative reader might well point out that although the new cutpoints make theoretical sense, they were not generated through a process which was blind to the original contingency tables, and they might inadvertedly capitalize upon the characteristics of the contingency table in order to maximize a weak or marginal association between the variables.

Associations between Identity Content Areas and Coping Strategies. The fact that the association between coping strategy and Identity appears to be strongest within certain content areas (namely, Occupation, and Marriage and Role of the Spouse) suggests that these content areas have a particular salience and/or relevance to everyday issues for

women at this life stage. Conversely, the almost complete lack of association between Identity in Religion and either Moral Reasoning or coping strategy, along with the relatively high proportion of Identity Diffusions in this content area (18/79) suggests that for these women at this time, religion was not a major arena for defining or resolving Identity issues. This finding coincides with informal observations of the interviewers, which suggested that many women found religious and existential matters to be far removed from the more practical issues which consumed their time and energies. In some situations which one would expect to 'pull' for religious questioning, the women were quite conscious and articulate about the decision to put off such questioning for a later time. For example, one woman who had lost a brother over the previous year spoke of her need to 'sort those issues out', but also acknowledged that her questions about spirituality would outlast her child's infancy, and stated her intention to think more about them at some later date. For the time being, these women were grounded in more concrete matters, with or without having consciously forsaken questions regarding some higher meaning. This is not to suggest that their thinking was limited. On the contrary, thoughts and energies were directed outward toward practical matters and nurturance among women who were, by and large, quite capable of introspection and abstraction. Some spoke almost guiltily of the pleasure of talking about themselves and their ideas

for the hour of the interview. (A common response to the interview was "I bet I talked more than anybody else". Another was "I bet we've been talking your ear off, all us moms.") Rather the women appeared to exercise a kind of emotional and intellectual economy, choosing to focus on the immediate and to 'put a lid on', or 'keep on the back burner' the more abstract issues of meaning. Perhaps this explains why, despite tremendous changes in roles, body image, relationships and undoubtedly self image, new motherhood has not traditionally shown up as an optimal time for focusing on or changing one's sense of personal identity (O'Connel, 1976), and few of our women were in Identity Moratorium (n=11/79) overall. It would be interesting to see how women with preschool aged children deal with the press of abstract issues in the face of continuing concrete responsibilities of motherhood.

Predominance of Type I Strategies as a Function of Role Ambiguity. A final issue with role conflict and coping strategies is that of the high proportion women across all levels of Identity and Moral Reasoning who used primarily Type I coping strategies (45/79 among original ratings). Even very traditional women felt the need to confront others in defining role expectations for themselves at this time in their lives. Virtually all of the women recognized the experience of being caught between conflicting expectations, and therefore immediately understood the question we were

asking of them. All except one woman were able to give at least one example of feeling caught in role conflict, and most women readily gave three. The predominance of role redefinition strategies among new mothers may be the result of culturally-inherent role conflict. In the vacuum left by conflicting and unworkable cultural expectations for mothering, almost any decision made consciously on the part of the woman becomes an act of role redefinition. This is true even where that 'redefinition' is, as it was for many traditional women in Identity Foreclosure, a matter of standing up for traditionally defined expectations in the face of new pressures to get a job. Both traditional and nontraditional women felt called upon to defend their right to define their roles as mothers in their own terms, be they old-fashioned or new-fangled.

The Effects of Demographic Variables on Moral Reasoning and Identity.

The association of Moral Reasoning and Identity with demographic variables raises important implications both for construct validity and for intervention in the service of development. Identity and Moral Reasoning were associated with women's level of education, their family income and their employment status. Wealthier and better educated women tended to rate higher in terms of Identity and Moral Reasoning. At the same time, the pattern of association between Identity and Moral Reasoning, and between Identity

and coping strategy, was consistent across all levels of education, family income and employment status. That is, among women of every income level, every level of education, and every employment status, Identity Status was associated with Care-based Moral Reasoning, sometimes to a statistically significant degree within levels, and always within the expected direction. Similarly, Identity and coping strategy were associated, although not to a statistically significant degree, across levels of education, income and employment (See Appendix E). This association was weakest among women with the highest levels of income and education, suggesting that the practical constraints of lower levels of education and money may highlight individual differences in terms of ego development, while money and power may obscure personal limitations. It appears that the constructs of identity, care-based moral reasoning, and coping strategy have meanings which go beyond a simple association of economic or educational success with health or ego development. Poorly educated and economically disadvantaged women, as well as well-off and educated women, can be self-directing with a sense of belonging in their relationships, or they can drift on paths of least resistance while feeling alone in the world. This may be true in part because neither money nor education are often sufficient to counteract the overriding experience for women of being subordinate in status and power to men; many women with large family incomes are "one

man away from welfare", and may feel considerably less powerful than their bank accounts or educations would suggest. In contrast, many women who live close to poverty continue to feel that they have choices and power. In short, the mutually-reinforcing associations among interpersonal connection and belonging, personal efficacy and self-direction seem to hold across barriers of class and economics, although money, education and social power may make everything, including personal growth, easier.

Education. Women's level of education is moderately associated with Identity, and more strongly associated with Moral Reasoning. The strong association between Moral Reasoning and Identity probably reflects in part the cognitive developmental underpinnings of Gilligan's model of moral development. The reader may recall that Gilligan's model was developed to parallel that of Lawrence Kohlberg, who in turn based his work on that of Jean Piaget. Given this genealogy, it would be surprising to discover that women's level of Care-Based Moral Reasoning was not associated with level of education, in spite of Gilligan's efforts to be more divorced from cold logic than was Kohlberg.

The second probable factor underlying the association of both Identity and Care-based Moral Reasoning with women's level of education is that of personal efficacy or power.

Data on education were included because of the assumption that education and efficacy were closely related. A sense of competence encourages girls and women to continue education, which in turn can increase thier efficacy and thier opportunities for decision making. None of the women who were coded as either in Identity Diffusion or in the Care-Based Moral Reasoning transition toward self-sacrifice (pre-Level 2) had university educations. The proportion of universitv educated women increased with each level of Care-Based Moral Reasoning and Identity, although certainly many women in the upper levels (Identity Achievement and Moral Reasoning Level 3) did not have university degrees. Education may help women gain voice and confidence in their perceptions, which would in turn encourage growth toward higher levels of ego development. At the same time, a women who undergoes and completes a university education is already demonstrating her confidence and sense of place in her society. A university education may be sufficient but not necessary for the achievement of Care-based Moral Reasoning at Level 2 or higher, either because it encourages or because reflects a strong sense of belonging and responsibility toward others. Other routes to higher levels of development may include success in family and/or work environments outside of the academic arena.

Family Income. The association of family income with Identity and Care-based Moral Reasoning may be secondary to

that between these variables and employment status. Certainly family income is associated with employment, and the latter shows a greater degree of association with Moral Reasoning than the former (Identity Status appears to be associated with both to a roughly equal extent). It is interesting that family income is not associated with the woman's level of education at this time of her life. Despite an original assumption that income was a somewhat objective index of the money, and hence power, that one has at her disposal in the world, family income did not seem, on informal observation, to be particularly important in its own right in determining the degree to which women felt powerful in making choices and directing their lives. Some women did mention family money as having made it possible for them to choose to remain at home with their children. Others were choosing temporary poverty either to stay home or to pursue educational goals. In their case, poverty was a reflection of choice, rather than a constraint. On the other hand, a few women who lived with a combination of poverty and low education impressed us as being limited in their ability to direct their lives and to perceive options. For them, poverty and lack of education were contributing to their developmental arrest at the level of self-sacrifice (Level 2) or even to a lower level where survival issues dominated their decision-making processes. At the same time, their developmental inability to see a way out of their involuntary poverty suggested that, in these cases,

poverty, a limited sense of self-direction and entitlement, and a lack of efficacy reinforced one another in a recursive manner. Yet the fact that some women whose husbands made a great deal of money experienced their lives in much the same way reminds us that it is not simply family income that is important here, but the degree to which a woman has economic power that she can use and feels entitled to use.

Of the eight women in our sample who were nonemployed or working part time, who rated in the lowest category of education and whose family incomes were under $25,000 per year, seven were rated as being in Identity Foreclosure and one was in Moratorium. Four were at Level 2 (self sacrifice) in Moral Reasoning, two were in transitional stage 1.5 (self-interest to self-sacrifice), and two were rated at or above stage 2.5. Those women who were similar in terms of education and income, but who were working full time appeared to be higher in terms of both Identity and Moral Development. Two of four were rated as being in Moratorium, one was Identity Achieved, and one was rated as Foreclosed. Similarly, two were rated on Moral Reasoning as being in transitional stage 2.5, one was at Level 2 and one was at Level 3. These preliminary observations suggest that although poverty, lack of education and nonemployment may serve as both the cause and the effect of a developmental inability to perceive or to claim more positive options for the self, full time employment may be one expression of a

widening of options and a movement toward the self-direction, efficacy and a stronger sense of belonging inherent in higher levels of development.

Employment Status. The recursive relationship between life circumstance and developmental level or life view is even more evident in the association of employment status with Identity and Moral Reasoning. Looking at the stronger association between Moral Reasoning and employment status, we find that all except one women rated as Level 2 (self-sacrifice) were either at home full time or employed for part time hours. In contrast, the majority of women at Transitional Stage 2.5 were employed full time outside of their homes. Women in Transitional stage 1.5 and at Level 3 were more evenly divided between employment statuses.

At Level 2 of Care-based Moral Reasoning, self sacrifice both justifies and makes acceptable the full time homemaker's constant and daily prioritizing of children's needs above her own. Self fulfillment, recreation, interest, and even cleanliness are constantly put off, to be sandwiched in between the immediate and salient needs of babies. The self-sacrifice ethic which made it possible to trade an independent income, job status and benefits for economic dependency now comes into play and is reinforced daily as small decisions are made and sacrifices are tolerated.

At Stage 2.5, the insistence that self sacrifice is wrong and that one's own needs are legitimate takes on a certain urgency against the press of family demands. This transitional stage precedes the more integrated, relaxed give and take of Level 3, and the woman is less confident that she can wait for self fulfillment without disappearing into the background of everyone else's needs, everyone else's personalities. Transitional women struggling with self-sacrifice vs. self-and-other care are likely to be the most motivated group for returning to full time employment, insisting that they can and should be able to "have it all". Once they are confronted with the double workload of "doing it all", women in stage 2.5 need to constantly negotiate for their own needs and those of their loved ones. Whereas a mother at home may think of a bath or shower as a luxury to be put off until the baby's nap time, the full-time employed mother is not in a position either to put it off or to go without; personal cleanliness is a necessity for the workplace which, along with a hundred other details, must be negotiated on the spot. As one mother put it, "I'm not satisfied honestly....I know I do a good job, but I never have any time for 'me'....Things definitely have to change sooner or later. I'm old fashioned in some ways (e.g., good wife, good mother, employee, daughter), but 'super woman' is not the answer. More equality". Thus, again, the developmental position which pulled for the lifestyle

decision is in turn pulled for by the demands of that decision; lifestyle and life view reinforce one another in a recursive manner. At Level 3, freedom should beget freedom; the woman who perceives and claims choices and options for herself tends to use her creativity to open doors which may have appeared closed at another point in time.

Directions for Intervention

A final issue raised by the study is that of intervention. Erikson, among others, wrote about the concept of an 'average expectable environment'; a set of circumstances which might not be ideal but which nonetheless would provide at least the basic amount of physical and emotional support for age-appropriate growth to occur. For women who have recently become mothers, what constitutes an 'average expectable environment'? We chose to ask this, not in terms of what is truly average or expectable for women in our times, for many of the women whom we interviewed spontaneously shared with us their experiences of sexual and physical abuse as children and as adult women in relationships, and we are by now familiar with the economic vulnerability of women. Rather, the question raises the more idealistic notion of defining a safe milieu for personal growth. If we value women being self-directed, confident of their abilities and of their place in the web of important relationships, then the question becomes: What sort of environment makes it safe for women to go through

the testing and exploration which is inherent in psychological growth toward these goals? Certainly the dichotimizing of women's roles as independent but self centered career women vs. self-sacrificing 'real' mothers is damaging in that it constrains and pressures the exploration process for women. Women on both sides of the employment/home dichotomy expressed frustration, sometimes to the point of tears, over the limited, all-or-none nature of these roles and the difficult and unjust decisions they often necessitated. Likewise, the fear of violence, rape, and the loss of one's children constrain and make dangerous both fully exploring identity options and fully testing the limits of important relationships.

The data here clearly suggest that poverty and low levels of education put women at risk for arrested development. Adequate economic support, child care options, liberal maternal leave policies, and opportunities to pursue educational and occupational goals are important to women, even when they are involved in the presumably absorbing role of mothering a baby. At the same time, it was clear in our interviews that many women, if offered opportunities for greater economic independence, would decline if it meant leaving their babies in substitute care or asking any level of sacrifice from their partners. Although it was clear to the interviewers that such women were in precarious positions (with their emotional as well as their economic

well-being sometimes dangerously reliant on one person), for the most part these women were doing what they themselves chose to do. Interventions which make it easier in economic terms for women to maintain a level of involvement in their careers or to stay at home for some time without giving up job status may fail to promote a sense of self-direction if they are directed at women who do not feel entitled to more freedom, privilege or recognition than they have. Therefore the 'average expectable environment' which would be optimal for women's growth needs to include not only economic but emotional (and physical) safety in order for women to undergo the identity exploration and the testing of relationships which underlies movement into, and later out of, the ethic of self-sacrifice. A reconceptualizing of feminine virtue which includes the values of both connection and autonomy is needed to spur and to support an expansion of role options for women, and particularly for mothers.

In summary, it appears that Identity Status, Moral Reasoning, and to some degree everyday coping strategies are associated along a single dimension, which is affected, but not dictated, by one's education, employment and economical status. Given the overall results of the study, a step in the direction of theory formation does not seem untoward, and may possibly serve to clarify the interplay of issues involved in women's ego development. What follows is an integrative theory of women's development which draws from

the works of James Marcia, Carol Gilligan, and Donald Hall which were described in the introduction. It also borrows from the work of Mary Belenky and her colleagues (1986). The experience of interviewing women and of reviewing the material from the interviews has allowed me to place developmental theory in a specific context (that of new mothers who are married to or living with male partners), and perhaps within the broader context of women's roles and positions in Canadian society.

A Model of Women's Ego Development

The process of women's development can perhaps be visualized as a double helix, with the dual dimensions of autonomy and connection reinforcing one another and linked in a spiral of personal development (see Figure IV). At each level of the helix, the sense of belonging to oneself and that of belonging to and with others serve to reinforce and define one another, and movement along one dimension compels movement along the other.

It is illustrative to describe this process of development in terms of three levels, each representing a relatively stable and internally constant 'position', or world/self view. Transitional stages, as described by Gilligan, and as reflected in Marcia's Moratorium status, are presented between levels in terms of themes encountered in the struggle to re-integrate at a higher level. Three

dimensions define growth and are reflected in increasing strength at each level: personal efficacy and self definition (together constituting the autonomous self) and interpersonal connection (the connected self).

By using levels and stages to describe the positions women take, it is not implied that women all start at level one or that they all end at level three. Nor is it necessary that change occurs in an upward direction, toward higher levels of development. In reality women may move forward or backward through levels, partially as a response to changes

Figure IV: Autonomy and Connection in Identity/Moral Development

Autonomous	Connected
1. Self Interest/Diffusion: Amoral, Outside of law	1. Survival/Diffusion: Disconnected, silent
1.5 Transition: Avoiding harm, testing competence	1.5 Transition: Survival to responsibility; joining the community through filling a a role. Testing good will, trust
2. Rules, Roles Orientation: Self=Role, Competence=Fulfilling role expectations, enforcing rules, enabling others. Goodness=social order	2. Foreclosure/Self in Reflections: Role=Self, experienced through other's eyes. Connection=service, pleasing, enabling, loyalty, complimentary reciprocity
2.5 Transition: Goodness=truth. Rediscovering own voice. Ideological and moral questioning. Testing ideas, intellect.	2.5 Transition: Questioning roles, testing the resiliance of relationships through rebellion. Struggling to include self in circle of one's care.
3. Autonomous Identity: post-conventional morality, self-defined ideology. Loyalty to self. Competence, confidence in one's own mind, talents, uniqueness.	3. Self-in-Connection: Morality is nonviolence, refusal to violate another's integrity or personhood. Connection is based on uniqueness, irreplaceability. Circle of loved ones worthy of care clearly includes oneself.

in their situation and in particular their supportive relationships. What is being suggested is that at any one level of development, the experience of the self in relationship to others in the world forms a more or less coherent whole, and that movement along one dimension (for instance, becoming more trusting and confident in important relationships) will tend to be associated with movement along the other dimension (in this instance, a stronger sense of self-definition and efficacy). By organizing levels hierarchically, an implicit value system is conveyed which prizes a sense of personal choice, of self-knowledge and appreciation, and the conscious awareness of having options. It is also implied that conditions which inhibit or reverse progress along those valued dimensions should in fact be seen as crippling in a developmental sense. Women may indeed get fixed at a particular level or even regress to lower levels of development, but to do so is to close down or deny the impulse toward personal growth. Where conditions are less than optimal for psychological growth, survival takes precedence over development.

Level 1: The Self in Isolation

At this level the sense of self is, as described by Marcia, diffuse rather than solid. Women at this level lack a set of values and commitments that are stable over time, and they lack a strong drive to establish such commitments.

Thus they are able to experience continuity in their sense of self neither thorugh stable commitments nor through ongoing, meaningful struggle toward commitments. What is suggested by Josselson's (1988a) work is that a third source of continuity in their sense of self may also be lacking: these women have relatively few, if any, stable supportive relationships.

As social subordinates, vulnerable in a male-dominated culture, women at this level of development adopt a moral orientation emphasizing survival. Gilligan's (1982) descriptions of this level, along with those of Mary Belenky and her colleagues (1986) convey a sense of constriction and entrapment not suggested in Kohlberg's lower stages of moral development. Here, others are to be pleased, not because their good will is rewarding in itself, but because it is the alternative to punishment. Power is something wielded against the self by others, and the best one can hope for is to avoid getting hurt.

Social roles are rigidly defined by others, or 'society', and the question is whether one will be able to meet even the minimum requirements for 'fitting in'. Coping strategies are reactive,and are likely to be strategies of avoidance or least resistance, since the hope of doing it right by others' expectations is slim. At best, the woman at this level will attempt to do whatever will keep others

happy. Alternatively, she may withdraw from roles with demands she believes she cannot fulfill.

Belenky and et. al. (1986) describe a developmental starting point they poignantly term "silence", where a woman can rely neither on wisdom from a "voice" from within, nor on the benevolence of authorities and voices around her. They observe that ongoing physical and sexual abuse are common experiences in the lives of women at this level.

To summarize, autonomy at Level 1 is experienced as the physical survival of a diffuse and silent self. A strong or supportive sense of connection with others is missing, and the person experiences themselves as profoundly alone in the world.

Transitional stage 1.5: From Survival toward Responsibility

The transition out of stage one is through moving from lone survival toward a sense of responsibility and the hope of belonging within a community. Autonomy is strengthened through tests of one's competence in avoiding harm and in meeting new challenges and expectations, either from within or from without. Connection is strengthened through tests of the trustworthiness and good will of others. Belenky et. al. (1986) observed that for many women the birth of a child provides an opportunity to make this transition. As

mothers, Belenky's formerly silent women found faith in their own competency to care for a child, and found connection with other caregivers who shared encouragement and information. They moved from silence to being the receivers or gatherers of knowledge, believing that information useful to them could be found in the words of experts.

Josselson (1988,b) found that some women whom she had classified as Identity Diffusion in college had, by middle adulthood, managed to attain the more solid levels of commitment and connection inherent in the Identity Statuses of Foreclosure or Achievement. The key for these women appeared to have been finding a benevolent source of authority (a husband, job or religion) which was trustworthy and supportive. In joining a community one cares about and filling a socially sanctioned role, women may move toward level 2.

The women whom we interviewed at this level (1.5) were very much immersed in issues of competence and of trust (the trustworthiness of themselves and of others). Some presented as very much in love with their babies, who may have been among the first persons perceived as safe love-objects, and/or who may have represented to the women aspects of themselves which they were able to love and nurture through another. Others gave little sense in the

interview of either their babies or their husbands as unique individuals. A few lived in homes which gave little or no sense of a child's needs. For example, in one home breakable objects were left within reach of a crawling child, and no toys were visible on or near the floor. All the women at this level appeared to have high hopes for their families, and seemed not quite convinced they they could pull off the role of mother in a way that would make their hopes come true. They tended to be either openly unsure of things, or unusually descriptive in detailing they managed thier days. They often presented as almost (but not entirely) overwhelmed by the responsibility of motherhood, and felt that to do things any other way than the way they were would be "too much". Decisions were made by default and/or by a desire to avoid what they perceived as greater difficulty and danger.

The countertransference reactions of interviewers to women at this level were interesting. Interviewers typically either reacted negatively, describing the women informally as stereotyped, shallow or "airheaded", or they reacted with protective, maternal feelings, wishing, for instance, to see them in a safer relationship or a better living situation. If adopting a stereotypically feminine role is construed as an early-learned strategy for survival, then both reactions can be seen as possible reflections of the salience of safety issues in these women's lives.

Level 2: The Self in Reflection

This level corresponds to Marcia's Identity Foreclosure and Gilligan's Level II, in which goodness is equated with self-sacrifice. Continuity at Level 2 is experienced through the three elements of interpersonal connection, commitments, and competence. Clearly a member of the community and/or family, the woman at this level experiences herself as competent in fulfilling her prescribed roles well, and in facilitating the growth and achievement of others. She judges herself by externally defined, but personally adopted, standards of goodness and womanhood. Unlike the woman at level 1, who must respond reactively to external authority, the woman at level 2 responds to the authority of her own conscience. This conscience consists of internalized versions of authority, usually parents, and has not been reconstructed in the woman's own terms. The role expectations she has for herself are standards to be 'lived up to'; either she meets them or she fails, but she does not negotiate the standards themselves. She sees herself through her reflection in the world, and judges herself either through her influence on others ("My children are doing nicely") or through the critical lens of role expectations ("I am a good mother").

Josselson (1988b) observes that the woman in Foreclosure is

loyal; a keeper of relationships and of traditions. Within the community and family, her strengths lie in her ability to uphold standards and traditions, and to protect and nurture others. In her relationships with loved ones, she strives to please, to take care of others, and to avoid conflict (except where conflict is necessary to protect loved ones and shared values). The orientation towards maintaining connection through pleasing others is reinforced by traditional conceptions of femininity which place women's needs as subordinate to those of children and of men, and which hold women responsible as caretakers of relationships. The community of relationships which the women works to protect includes both those immediately present (such as husbands, children, and friends) and those who may be absent in the flesh but who, for her, remain present in spirit. Where expectations or loyalties conflict, the importance of being good in the eyes of internalized loved ones may supersede that of fulfilling the expectations of the moment.

The connectedness achieved through meeting the needs and expectations of others (even in their internalized form) is a tenuous foundation on which to base the continuity of the self. This is not a relationship of equals; only the other has the right to be displeased. The arrangement begs the question, "What happens if I fail?" Conflict, heresy, or the failure to live up to expectations threaten the continuity of relationships, and, ultimately, the core of

the self (Kaplan, 1984). Josselson found Foreclosure women to be conventional in values, but high achievers who, if they remained in the paid workforce strove to fulfill 'superwoman' standards. In Gilligan's study, Level II women put the needs of others first, conceptualizing the highest good as self-sacrifice.

In interviews, women at this level generally presented as quite certain of "right" and "wrong". Beyond this shared certainty, the group was more diverse than we had anticipated. At least two subgroups of level 2 women appeared to exsist, which were informally referred to among the interviewers as "rigid" vs. "flexible" Identity Foreclosures.

The defining feature of the "rigid" subgroup was a sense of righteousness and/or disdain toward women who had made different decisions than they had for themselves. The most common target of critism was employed mothers, who were portrayed as sadly misled by materialist values or as cold, unfeeling women who "parked" their children in the care of "strangers". The fact that many of these women used part time substitute child care themselves did not stop them from denigrating substitute care arrangments, including, sometimes their own. They tended to emphasize the values which their families shared, and their faith that only they could successfully pass these values on to their children.

The world outside of the family and/or a fairly well-defined group of others who shared their beliefs and values was portrayed as threatening: full of temptations, crime, child abuse, and generally bad influences.

The "flexible" Forclosure women presented generally as warm and accomodating. They were respectful of different viewpoints, and only with some probing from the interviewer (and perhaps some anxiety on their own part) did they state their own opinions clearly. It was not clear where the greater flexibility of these women originated, but at least three sources seem plausible. For some of these women, flexibility and an accomodating nature may have been cultivated in the interests of smooth relationships and the avoidance of threatening confrontations. For others, flexibility and tolerance may have developed slowly with maturity and experience in an imperfect world. These women would be similar to Identity Achievement women, but may not have undergone a clearly identifiable period of exploration. Finally, the differences between women at this level could be temperamental, with more relaxed, easy-going women developing a different style of maintaining family and traditional values than that of more anxiety-prone or perfectionistic women.

Women at Level 2 tended to make frequent use of the pronoun "we" in the interview, including their husbands in their

statements of opinion and family policy. Similarly, they more frequently described themselves and their husbands in role terms, as "moms" and "dads". If employed, they were likely to see their employment as temporary, necessary to the family income, or supporting their partner through school. They invariably spoke loyally of their husbands, praising them as fathers or providers and clearly deflecting hints of criticism or discontent. Family roles, traditional values, and loyalty appeared to be guiding these women confidently through early motherhood.

Transitional stage 2.5: From Goodness to Truth[1]

Level 2 is challenged when traditions and/or self-sacrifice are exposed as clearly unworkable, or when the reciprocal roles on which the woman depended fail her trust. Some of Carol Gilligan's interviewees experienced such an impasse when deciding whether or not to abort a pregnancy; there was simply no solution in which someone other than themselves would not be hurt by their actions. Situations which might influence a new mother to question the logical and emotional flaws in level 2 reasoning include disappointment in her partner as a husband, father or provider, or the discovery that for her there is no solution to the work/child care dilemma that meets her standards of good maternal care. In

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1 This transitional stage is actually named by Carol Gilligan in In a Different Voice: (1982). I could not think of a more descriptive title.

such cases, the transition out of level 2 may be preceded by a sense of betrayal. On the other hand, a woman may begin a transition out of level 2 on the basis of security and a positive sense of self worth, perhaps fostered by the encouragement of a caring partner and/or women friends.

The woman leaving level 2 is questioning her past and traditional roles, and her ideological and moral standards. She gains confidence in her own 'voice', her ability to know what is true for her, through testing her ideas and intellect. She gains confidence in her connection to others through testing the resilience of important relationships. She rebels, carefully or impulsively, then watches the results. If she includes herself in the circle of loved ones, if she directs some of her nurturance and protection toward her self, will she still be loved? Will she still be moral in her own eyes?

The woman in transition is struggling to accomplish several tasks at once. She must, after seeing herself in the eyes of others, develop and learn to listen to her own inner voice. She must face and test her fear of emotional abandonment or of displeasing others by following her own instincts, having her own opinions. She may feel disloyal in betraying family expectations or traditions. In extreme cases, she may risk abuse, abandonment and/or financial hardship. Finally, she must resolve the question of whether

she has a right to be selfish, to know and respond to her own needs as she would to those of her loved ones. A strong sense of self worth and of connection will aid her in the struggle to include herself in her circle of care.

The degree to which women at Stage 2.5 appeared to be engaged in conflict and internal struggle varied a great deal from one woman to the next in our sample. Some expressed their conflicts openly and with a great deal of feeling. Others seemed more distant from their conflict, with little emotional tone but many self-contradictions throughout the interview, so that they made clear statements which were indicative of both Level 2 and Level 3 reasoning. A very few actually presented as depressed, and several were going through or had been through recent marital crises. They did not have the same tendency to idealize their husbands that women at Level 2 had, although most of them clearly expressed affection and loyalty despite imperfections. There was no single event which drove the conflict and transition for this group of women; each had her unique impetus. A few were grieving for careers which they had given up or the power of having a paycheck, but struggled with the issue of child care. Others were disappointed by partners who were unable or unwilling to provide the kind of support which the women expected. Still others were in school, or were using time at home with a baby to reevaluate the kind of career they would like to

have, or the kind of relationships which they wanted to cultivate with family members. A few were contemplating separations from their partners, or had separated and were working at reconciliation. Conflicts between the needs of the self and the needs of others tended to be thought of in terms of compromise; i.e., each party would have to give something up. Guilt, disappointment, strong family ties, pride and determination all characterized these women to some degree. As one woman put it, "No, it isn't about self-expression vs. self-sacrifice; it is self-expression vs. love". In various ways, these women appear to ask, "If I become more of myself, will my family still love me? Will my love still be good enough? Will they be alright?"

Level 3: The Self in Relation

In terms of James Marcia's Identity Achievement, the woman at level three has passed through a time, or many times, of questioning and exploration. She has arrived at a self-defined set of values and commitments. She experiences competence not only in her ability to meet standards of performance, but also in her ability to redefine the standards themselves. Role expectations are negotiable; i.e., she can define them privately in he_ own terms, and/or she can attempt to change the conditions in which she meets them. In relationships and in society, she can envision herself as an active participant in reciprocal exchanges

based upon respect.

The continuity of the self at this level rests upon the continuity of interpersonal connection and upon a self-defined set of identity commitments. What is different about interpersonal connection at this level is that it is based not only on the ability to please and to care for the other, but also on one's uniqueness as a human being. There is the potential for relationships that can weather conflicts and failures to please. A realistic confidence in her uniqueness somewhat frees this woman from the threat of competition along externally defined standards of goodness (competition from others who are younger, prettier, skinnier, or who have drier babies). She seeks connection based not on what she can do, but on who she is in a unique and self-defined sense.

In moral dilemmas involving care and responsibility, the self is seen as deserving alongside of others. In conflicts between the needs and expectations of the self and of others, the Level 3 woman will seek a solution which is as responsible and caring toward all parties as possible, and which avoids hurt. This may require both a rejection of qualities traditionally considered 'feminine' (e.g. passivity, quietness, and self-sacrifice), and considerable creativity and social skillfulness on her part. In the context of current societal expectations and structures, the

woman at this level may need the ability to weather conflict, both intrapersonal and interpersonal.

Women interviewed at this level were skilled at finding inclusive solutions to problems, as opposed to compromises. They seldom saw conflicts in zero-sum terms. It was possible for everyone to win, and for there to be no losers. They presented a strong sense of belonging and of self-respect. They were supportive of other mothers, and very rarely attacked another solution as wrong. When they spoke of family members, one was likely to get an impression of the individual, with their personality quirks intact and respected. They clearly owned responsibility for their decisions, even when they expressed uncertainty with regard to outcomes. For instance, if they were employed primarily for monitary reasons, they talked about why they valued the money enough to choose to work for it. If they were at home, they were likely to be less certain that it was the best thing for their child than they were that it was the path that they wanted to be on at that particular time.

The women at Level 3 were skilled as participants and observers in relationships. They knew and were somewhat protective of their own feelings, actively seeking out and cultivating friendships with persons whom they knew could be counted on for emotional understanding and support. They were nonjudgemental and tolerant toward their friends, and

toward other mothers in general, tolerating differences but not insult. They articulated ethical principles of mutual respect and nonviolence. They descibed their partners and their children as unique individuals, rather than in terms of roles or of generic needs.

To summarize, the elements of personal competence, self-definition (autonomy), and interpersonal connectedness underlie women's development of a solid and continuous sense of self. At each level of development, these elements are reflected in women's constructions of identity, care-based moral reasoning and coping strategies for handling conflicting role expectations. A woman who is becoming more autonomous in her self-definition and/or sense of competence is also redefining the basis of her connection with others, and visa-versa. Autonomy and connection are like two sides of the same coin, which is a woman's sense of worth, her sense of self in the world.

APPENDIX A: IDENTITY STATUS INTERVIEW, ADULT FORM

General Opening

How old are you?
Where are you from? How do you feel about living in _______?
Are both of your parents still living?
(If not) At what age were you when you (father)(mother) died?

Have your parents ever been separated or divorced?
(If yes) At what age were you when your parents separated?
(If appropriate) Whom have you lived with?
(If appropriate) Have either of your parents remarried?
(If yes) What age were you at that time?

Can you tell me something about your father's educational background?
What type of work does he do?

And your mother, what was her educational background?
Has she been employed outside the home? Doing what?

Do you have any brothers or sisters?
(If yes) What are their ages?

Vocational Plans: Opening

What have you done regarding continued schooling, work, and marriage since you left high school?

Vocational Plans: Working

How did you come to work for _________________ company?
And how did you choose to do ___________work? (fill in: industrial, mechanical, office, sales, etc.)

(If unemployed) What type of work would you like to do?
(If appropriate) How are you going about trying to obtain employment?

When did you first become interested in __________?
What do you find attractive about the work you are doing now?
What drawbacks do you see about your present work?

When you were deciding on employment, were there any other fields or types of work you were considering?
(if appropriate, ask "attractive" and "drawback" questions for any fields seriously considered aside from those already discussed.)

Was there ever a time when you were trying to decide between

two very different directions for your life?
(If yes) Was that a difficult decision to make?
(If yes) What influenced your decision here?

Most parents have plans for their daughters, things they'd like to see them go into, things they'd like to see them do. Did your folks have any plans like that for you?

Do you think your parents may have had a preference for one field over another, although they would never have tried to pressure you about it?
How did your parents feel about ________? (list principal alternatives to the current employment)
How do they feel about the work you are doing now?
(If parents don't know) How do you think they would feel about it if they did know?

(Insert sections on Technical School or College Attendance, as appropriate, then resume)

Since you have been working at your present job, have you thought about changing fields?
(If yes) What fields have you considered?
Have you thought about doing the same type of work for another employer?
(If yes) Why are you looking to change employers?

Overall, how satisfied would you say you are with the type of work you are doing?

How willing would you be to change your plans from ________ (the strongest one or two fields mentioned) if something better came along? (If asked, "What do you mean by better?", respond ,"Whatever might be better in your terms").

(If R indicates the possibility of change) What might you change to?
What might cause you to make such a change?
How likely do you think such a change might be?
(Repeat for all of the possibilities mentioned)

Vocational Plans: Attending Technical School

How did you come to decide on attending __________?
And how did you choose the field of __________?

When did you first become interested in ________?
What did you find attractive about this type of work?
What drawbacks did you see about working in this field?

When you were deciding on continuing your schooling, were there any other fields or types of work that you were considering?

(If appropriate, ask "attractive" and "drawback" questions about each field mentioned."
(If appropriate) Why did you decide not to pursue that career?
(If appropriate) Was that a difficult decision to make?
(If appropriate) What influenced your choice?

(If currently attending technical school) Since you have been attending _________, have you thought about changing schools or changing fields? (If yes) Why?

Overall, how satisfied would you say you are with the type of work you are preparing for?

How willing would you be to change your plans from _________ (the strongest one or two fields mentioned) if something better came along?
(If asked "what do you mean by "better"?, respond: "Whatever might be better in your terms".)
(If R indicates the possibility of change) What might you change to?
What might cause you to make such a change?
How likely do you think such a change might be?

Vocational Plans: Attended College or University

How did you come to decide on attending __________?
What majors did you have, whether you graduated in this field or not? Did you have a minor? If so, what was it?

What ideas did you have about what you'd like to do after graduation?

How did you come to decide on _________? (Ask concerning major field).

(If appropriate) When did you first become interested in _______? What did you find attractive about ________? What drawbacks did you see about working in this field?

(If appropriate) Did you consider any other fields besides _________? (If appropriate, ask "attractive" and "drawback" questions about each field mentioned.) (If appropriate) Why did you decide not to pursue that field? Was that a difficult decision to make? What influenced your choice?

(If currently attending college or university) Since you have been attending ________, have you thought about changing schools or changing majors? (If yes) Why?

Overall, how satisfied would you say you are with the educational experience you are receiving at _______? (If appropriate) How satisfied are you with your major field?

How willing would you be to change your plans from _________ (the strongest one or two fields mentioned) if something better came along? (If asked: "What do you mean by better?" respond: "Whatever might be better in your terms").

(If R indicates the possibility of change) What might you change to? What might cause you to make such a change? How likely do you think such a change might be? (Repeat for all of the possibilities mentioned).

Marriage and the role of the spouse

Are you married?

How long have you been married/living with your current partner?

(If not married) Was not marrying but living together a conscious decision for you? (If appropriate) Has it been an important or difficult issue for you, not getting married? Why/Why not?

Had you always planned to marry (live with someone in a committed relationship)?

(If yes) Why did you plan to marry (live with someone)?
When did you think that it would be a good time for you to marry (live with someone permanently)? Why then?
Before you met your husband (partner), what kind of a person did you think you wanted to marry (live with)?
At that point, how did you picture what marraige (living with someone) might be like for you?
What did you see as your role as a wife (partner) at that point?

(If no) What was your early thinking on this topic? How did it come about that you married (began living with your partner) when you did? How did you feel about it then?

(All) How does your husband (partner) fit the description of the type of person you thought you might want to marry?
Has marriage for you worked out the way you thought it would or has it been different than you anticipated in some important respects?
Has your role as a wife (partner) been different from what you had anticipated?

Would you say that your decision about marriage (living together) came easily to you or was it a difficult decision to make? Why do you think that was the case?

At this point, what do you see as the advantages and disadvantages of being married (living together)? How does

this compare to your earlier thinking about marriage (living together)?

Have you ever gone through an important change in your thinking about marriage (being in a committed relationship) for yourself? (If yes) Please describe that change. (If appropriate) What started you thinking about these questions? (If appropriate) Who may have influenced your decision?

How would you describe your parent's marriage? What do you think of the marriage your parents (have) (had)? Would you like your marriage to be similar to theirs or different in some important ways?

How do your parents feel about your ideas about marriage? Has that always been the case? (If parents don't know) How do you think they would feel about them if they knew?

How would you compare your ideas about marriage (living together) with those of your husband? What would you say are the most important similarities? What would you say are the most important differences? How have you gone about trying to resolve any differences that may exist?

(If separated or divorced) When did you (separate) (become divorced) from your previous husband (partner)?

What would you say were the most important factors leading to your (separation) (divorce)?
Was the decision to (separate) (divorce) a difficult one for you to make? (If appropriate) How did you go about making that decision?

How did your parents feel about your decision to (separate) (divorce)? (If appropriate) What are their feelings now?

How did you react to to the actual (separation) (divorce)? How do you think your husband (partner) felt after the actual (separation) (divorce)?

What, if anything, did you do differently in preparing for your current marriage (relationship) than you did the first time? (If appropriate) Was the decision to remarry (enter a new relationship) a difficult one for you to make? Why?

Religious Beliefs

Do you have any religious preference?

How about your parents, do they have any religious preference? Were both of your parents raised________? How important would you say religion is to your parents?

Have you ever been active in church or church groups? (Adapt for Jews, Buddhists, etc.). Have you been active since you left your parents' home? (If not already answered) Do you currently attend religious services? (If yes) What are your reasons for attending services? (If not) Did you ever attend religious services with any frequency? (If appropriate) What led to your attendance at services falling off?

Do you find yourself getting into religious discussions? (If yes) What point of view do you express in these discussions?

I'd like to find out something about your ideas in the area of religion, for example on such questions as the existence of God and the importance of organized religion. What are your ideas?
(If Catholic) How about on the question of the infallibility of the Pope? (Ask concerning other religious questions if they appear appropriate.)

How do your parents feel about your religious beliefs? (If parents don't know) How do you think they would feel about them if they did know?

Are there any important differences between your beliefs and those of your parents?

Was there ever a time when you came to question, to doubt, or perhaps to change your religious beliefs? (If yes) What types of things did you question or change? (If appropriate) What started you thinking about these questions? (If appropriate) Do you feel that you've resolved these questions for yourself or are you still working on them? (If resolved) What helped you to answer these questions? (If unresolved) How are you going about trying to answer these questions?

At this point, how well worked out do you think your ideas in the area of religion are?

Do you think your ideas in this area are likely to remain stable or do you believe that they may very well change in the future? (If they may change) In what direction do you think your beliefs might change? (If appropriate) What might bring about such a change? (If appropriate) How likely is it that such a change might aoocur?

(If there is evidence of continued thought being given to religious questions) How important is it to you to work out your ideas in the area of religion? Are you actively trying to work out your beliefs now or are you more concerned with other things?

Sex Role Attitudes

Changing the topic again, I'd like to talk with you about your perceptions of men's and women's roles in society today.

What advantages and disadvantages do you see as associated with the role of women in society?

What is personally most satisfying to you about being a woman? What do you see as personally least satisfying?

If you could have chosen to be a man or a woman, which would you be? Why?

How did you come to learn what it means to be a woman in today's society? Do you feel this is something that came rather naturally for you or were there times when you were uncertain as to how you should act? (If appropriate) Can you give me some examples?

How was your behavior in this area influenced by your parents? How about the effects your brothers or sisters may have had? (Adapt as appropriate to the presence of sibs)

Are there any important differences between the ways in which you and your mother express the role of a women in today's society? (If appropriate) How about differences between you and your sisters?

How do your parents feel about your views in this area? (If parents don't know) How do you think they would feel about them if they did know?

Are there any areas of your behavior which you are still questioning as a female? (If yes) What is the nature of the uncertainty? (If appropriate) Why do you think this is an issue for you? (If appropriate) How are you going about trying to work out your ideas as to what you should do?

Do you see your ideas about the roles of men and women in today's society remaining stable or do you see your ideas as possibly changing in the future? (If appropriate) What do you think might cause your ideas to change? (If appropriate) How likely is it that such a change might occur?

APPENDIX B: EMPLOYMENT DECISION INTERVIEW

1. When you were pregnant, did you expect to return to your job after your baby was born?
Was it difficult for you to decide what you wanted to do?
Why/why not?
What reasons did you have at that time for expecting you

would return to your job/stay at home?

2. After your baby was born, did your plans change? (If yes, go to a; if no, go to b.)

a) (yes) How did they change? What reasons did you have for changing your plans? Was this a difficult decision for you? What made it difficult/easy?

b) (no) Have things worked out as you expected? What, if anything, surprised you about staying home/returning to work?

3. In thinking about whether to return to your job, were you ever unsure what to do? What was the conflict? Why was it a conflict?

4. In thinking about that to do, what did you consider? Why? Was there anything else you considered?

5. Are you employed now?

a) (yes) What are the important reasons for your working?
What do you find difficult about working outside the home, now that you have your baby? What do you find rewarding?
If you could do whatever you wanted to do, what would you be doing with your life right now? What changes would you make in your situation if you could?
How does your husband feel about your woking outside the home? Does he help out? How?
What about other family members or friends? How do the attitudes or actions of these people affect your experience of working and taking care of your baby?

b) (no) What are the important reasons for your staying home with the baby?
What do you find difficult about being at home with your baby? What do you find rewarding?
If you could do whatever you wanted, what would you be doing with your life right now? What changes would you make in your situation if you could?
How does your husband feel about your staying home? Does he help out? How?
What about other family members and friends? How do the attitudes or actions of these poeple affect your experience of being a full-time mother at home?

6. Do you think your decision was the right one? Why/why not?

7. What was at stake for you in this decision? What was at stake for others? In general, what was at stake?

8. How did/do you feel about it? How did/do you feel about

it for the other people involved?

9. Under what conditions do you think that it is right for a mother to go to work outside of the home? Why?
Under what conditions do you think a mother should stay home with her child? Why?

10. Is there another way to see the problem of whether or not to go to work outside of the home after a baby is born? (other than the way you described)

11. When you think back on the decision you made and the processes you went through in making it, do you think you learned anything from it?

12. Do you consider the decision about whether to work outside of the home a moral one? Why/why not?

13. What does morality mean to you? What makes something a moral problem for you?

14. All in all, how satisfied are you with your decision to stay home/go to work outside of the home? Do you think you are doing the right thing? How do you know? How would you know if you were doing the wrong thing?

15. Is there anything left unsaid that you would like to add?

APPENDIX C: COPING STRATEGIES QUESTIONNAIRE

All of us have several roles which we fill in our families and communities; we may be mothers, daughters, wives, friends, employees and professionals all at the same time. Most new mothers find that there are times when these roles interfere or come into conflict with each other. Psychologists call this experience "role conflict". One example of role conflict is a woman whose husband wants her to spend time with him after the baby has gone to sleep, but who finds herself worn out from taking care of the baby all day. Another example is a woman who is needed at her place of employment, but whose child is sick and needing her at home.

Another kind of role conflict which mothers often experience comes from having more than one idea about how a role should be filled. For instance, a woman may feel pulled between two different views on what to feed her baby, or between two views on whether or not she should do all of the housework.

At these times, when there are two or more sets of expectations telling a mother what to do, she may think "I can't do everthing!" or "I can't please everyone". Thinking back over the last two months, are there times when you have

felt this way?

Please list, if you can, three occasions when you experienced conflict between roles, or between different sets of expectations about how to fill roles, in the last two months.

1.

2.

3.

1. For the first conflict, were there special conditions or circumstances which made this a particularly difficult situation? If so, please describe them.

How did you attempt to deal with the situation?

On a 1 to 10 scale (Where 10 is very satisfied), how satisfied were you with this resolution?_____

What do you think an ideal plan or resolution would have been?

2. For the second conflict you listed, were there special conditions or circumstances which made this a particularly difficult situation? Please describe them.

How did you attempt to deal with the situation?

On a 1 to 10 scale, how satisfied were you with this resolution?____

What do you think an ideal plan or resolution would have been?

3. For the third conflict you listed, were there special conditions or circumstances which made this a particularly difficult situation? Please describe them.

How did you attempt to deal with the situation?

On a 1 to 10 scale, how satisfied were you with this resolution?____

What do you think an ideal plan or resolution would have been?

On a 1 to 10 scale, how much conflict do you experience between different sets of role expectations in your life? (1 is very little or no conflict, 10 is very severe conflict) ____.

On a 1 to 10 scale, how satisfied are you with the ways in general that you cope with role conflict? (10 is very satisfied)_____.

APPENDIX D: DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

What is your expected net family income for 1989?
a) Under 15,000
b) 15,000-25,000
c) 25,000-35,000
d) 35,000-45,000
e) 45,000-55,000
f) 55,000-65,000
g) Over 65,000

What educational year or degree did you last complete?

Are there any special hardships that have been a strain on the family and/or its resources since the birth of your child? If so, please explain.

Does your child have special needs? If so, please explain.

Where did you hear about this study?

Are you employed outside the home?

___no ___part-time (< 35 hrs/wk) ___full-time

APPENDIX E

Relationships between Identity Status (IS), Care-Based Moral Reasoning (EOC), and between Identity Status and Coping Strategies across levels of Income, Education and Employment

Table 34: Identity Status X Moral Reasoning (EOC) across Level of Family Income

Income	EOC	Identity				
		Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement	Total
Low <25,000	Transition 1.5-1.75	0	2	0	0	2
	Level 2-2.25	0	8	1	1	10
	Transition 2.5-2.75	0	1	2	1	4
	Level 3	0	0	0	2	2
	Total	0	11	3	4	18
Medium 25,000-45,000	Transition 1.5-1.75	3	1	0	0	4
	Level 2-2.25	0	7	1	4	12
	Transition 2.5-2.75	0	3	2	2	7
	Level 3	0	3	0	3	6
	Total	3	14	3	9	29
High >45,000	Transition 1.5-1.75	0	1	1	0	2
	Level 2-2.25	1	3	1	0	5
	Transition 2.5-2.75	0	2	1	6	9
	Level 3	0	1	2	8	11
	Total	1	7	5	14	27

Table 35: Identity Status X Coping Strategy across Level of Family Income

Income	Coping	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement	Total
Low <25,000	Type IV	0	2	0	0	2
	Type III	0	2	0	0	2
	Type II	0	1	0	0	1
	Type I	0	6	3	4	13
	Total	0	11	3	4	18
Medium 25,000-45,000	Type IV	1	4	0	1	6
	Type III	0	4	0	1	5
	Type II	0	2	0	2	4
	Type I	2	4	3	5	14
	Total	3	14	3	9	29
High >45,000	Type IV	1	0	1	0	2
	Type III	3	2	1	0	6
	Type II	2	0	1	0	3
	Type I	8	3	4	1	16
	Total	14	5	7	1	27

Table 36: Identity Status X Moral Reasoning (EOC) across Level of Education

Education	EOC	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement	Total
Grade 12	Transition 1.5-1.75	1	3	1	0	5
	Level 2-2.25	0	6	2	1	9
	Transition 2.5-2.75	0	2	0	2	4
	Level 3	0	0	0	1	1
	Total	1	11	3	4	19
Some Post Secondary or Trade School	Transition 1.5-1.75	2	1	0	0	3
	Level 2-2.25	1	8	1	1	11
	Transition 2.5-2.75	0	0	4	2	6
	Level 3	0	3	1	5	9
	Total	3	12	6	8	29
University Bachelor Degree	Transition 1.5-1.75	0	0	0	0	0
	Level 2-2.25	1	4	0	2	6
	Transition 2.5-2.75	0	3	1	1	5
	Level 3	0	1	1	5	7
	Total	0	8	2	8	18
University Graduate Studies	Transition 1.5-1.75	0	0	0	0	0
	Level 2-2.25	0	1	0	1	2
	Transition 2.5-2.75	0	1	0	4	5
	Level 3	0	0	0	2	2
	Total	0	2	0	7	9

Table 37: Identity Status X Coping Strategy across Level of Education

Education	Coping Strategy	Identity: Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement	Total
Grade 12	Type IV	1	2	0	1	4
	Type III	0	3	0	0	3
	Type II	0	0	0	0	0
	Type I	0	6	3	3	12
	Total	1	11	3	4	19
Some Post Secondary or Trade School	Type IV	0	3	0	0	3
	Type III	0	4	0	2	6
	Type II	0	2	0	1	3
	Type I	3	3	6	5	17
	Total	3	12	6	8	29
University Bachelor Degree	Type IV	0	2	0	1	3
	Type III	0	0	2	1	3
	Type II	0	2	0	0	2
	Type I	0	4	0	6	10
	Total	0	8	2	8	18
University Graduate Studies	Type IV	0	1	0	0	1
	Type III	0	0	0	1	1
	Type II	0	0	0	3	3
	Type I	0	1	0	3	4
	Total	0	2	0	7	9

Table 38: Identity X Moral Reasoning (EOC) across Employment Status

Employment Status	EOC	Identity: Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement	Total
Nonemployed	Transition 1.5-1.75	2	3	0	0	5
	Level 2-2.25	0	13	2	3	18
	Transition 2.5-2.75	0	4	0	0	4
	Level 3	0	1	1	4	6
	Total	2	21	3	7	33
Employed Part-time	Transition 1.5-1.75	0	1	0	0	1
	Level 2-2.25	1	7	0	2	10
	Transition 2.5-2.75	0	1	2	1	4
	Level 3	0	1	1	4	6
	Total	1	10	3	7	21
Employed Full-time	Transition 1.5-1.75	1	0	1	0	2
	Level 2-2.25	0	0	1	0	1
	Transition 2.5-2.75	0	2	3	8	13
	Level 3	0	2	0	5	7
	Total	1	4	5	13	23

Table 39: Identity X Coping Strategy across Employment Status

Employment Status	Coping Strategy	Identity				
		Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement	Total
Nonemployed	Type IV	1	6	0	1	8
	Type III	0	5	1	1	7
	Type II	0	1	0	0	1
	Type I	1	9	2	5	17
	Total	2	21	3	7	33
Employed Part-time	Type IV	0	2	0	0	2
	Type III	0	1	0	1	2
	Type II	0	3	0	0	3
	Type I	1	4	3	6	14
	Total	1	10	3	7	21
Employed Full-time	Type IV	0	1	0	1	2
	Type III	0	1	1	2	4
	Type II	0	1	0	4	5
	Type I	1	1	4	6	12
	Total	1	4	5	13	23

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