

A STUDY OF THE STABILITY AND VALIDITY OF THE GENERATIVITY STATUS
MEASURE IN ADULTHOOD

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A Study of the Stability and Validity of the Generativity

Status Measure in Adulthood

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ABSTRACT

The main task of generativity - stagnation, Erik Erikson's seventh stage of normative psychosocial development, is to establish and guide the next generation through one's acts of care. Five statuses, or prototypic styles of resolving the issues of this stage, are defined using combinations of a) an individual's level of vital involvement, or active concern for the growth of the self and others; and b) an individual's tolerance of different ideas, traditions, and values, which by extension determines the scope of caregiving concern. The Generative status is characterized by high vital involvement and tolerance, and represents the most positive psychosocial outcome. The Pseudogenerative-Agentic status is high in vital involvement and tolerance for self but not for others, while Pseudogenerative-Communal is high in vital involvement and tolerance for others but not for self. The Conventional status, high in vital involvement for both self and others, is low in tolerance across the board. Stagnant reflects the poorest psychosocial outcome, and is low in vital involvement and tolerance generally. Some evidence for the validity of the new status model in middle-aged adults has been obtained in previous work using a semi-structured interview measure. This study established a stronger psychometric base for the Generativity Status Measure through the use of multiple coders for each interview. The study found moderate to strong stability across a two year period for interview-based generativity status ratings ($N = 100$ and $N = 82$ at respective test sessions), as well as for alternate scale measures of generativity. There was little relationship between experience of important life events, changes in general psychosocial adjustment, and shifts in generativity interview ratings across time. This study also replicated relationships between the Generativity Status Measure, alternate scale measures of generativity, and psychosocial adjustment, with Generative scoring significantly higher than Stagnant on each of these scales. Generative and Conventional prototypes were distinguished on NEO overall Openness to Experience at both testing periods, although not with Openness to Values at Time 2. Follow-up participants were administered the Inventory of Interpersonal Problems

in circumplex format as a means of further exploring status characteristics. Analyses supported Communal as experiencing more interpersonal difficulties associated with overly nurturant tendencies and Agentic as experiencing more difficulties associated with cold and dominant tendencies. At Time 2, participants also completed a self-report status measure which obtained low convergence with the interview measure, suggesting that the two tests, in their present form, measure somewhat different constructs and are not interchangeable as operationalizations of the status model.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPROVAL	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	x
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION	1
Generativity and Adult Development.....	1
The Status Model of Generativity	2
Description of the Study.....	3
Dissertation Overview	5
II LITERATURE REVIEW.....	6
Psychosocial Framework for Generativity	6
Generativity Within Psychosocial Theory.....	7
Theoretical and Empirical Investigations of Generativity.....	11
The Status Approach to Generativity.....	24
Studies Using the Generativity Status Approach	31
The Present Study.....	36
III METHOD	45
Participants.....	45
Procedure.....	47
Measures	48
Statistical Analyses of Gender Differences.....	54
IV RESULTS.....	56
Inter-Rater Reliability	56
Characteristics of Generativity Status Measure Ratings	61
Convergence between Interview and Self-Report Ratings	65
Two Year Stability	66
Relationships between the Generativity Status Measure, Generativity Scales, Psychosocial Adjustment, and NEO-Openness: Time 1 and Time 2.....	74
Interpersonal Issues in Status Characterization: IIP Circumplex, Time 2.....	81
V DISCUSSION.....	88
Inter-Rater Reliability	88
Characteristics of Generativity Prototypes in Interview and Self-Report Measures	90
Two Year Stability of Generativity Measures, Psychosocial Adjustment, and Openness to Experience	93

Relationships between the Generativity Status Measure, Alternative Generativity Measures, Psychosocial Adjustment, and Openness to Experience: Time 1 and Time 2	96
Further Investigations of Generativity Status Measure Validity: Interpersonal Functioning	99
Future Research	101
REFERENCES	103
APPENDICES	
A Generativity Status Measure	153
B Demographics questionnaire	260
C Generativity Status Self-Report.....	261
D Loyola Generativity Scale	263
E Ochse and Plug Erikson Scale	265
F NEO-Openness to Experience Domain Scale	270
G Life Experiences Survey.....	274
H Inventory of Interpersonal Problems - Circumplex	278

LIST OF TABLES

1.	Intraclass Correlations (ICC 2,1) for Rater Groups on Generativity Prototype Dimension Scores Across Entire Sample: Time 1 and Time 2	114
2.	Intraclass Correlations (ICC 1,2) for Final Averaged Generativity Prototype Dimension Scores Across Entire Sample: Time 1 and Time 2	115
3.	Standard Error of Measurement for Final Averaged Generativity Dimension Scores with 95% Confidence Intervals: Time 1 and Time 2.....	116
4.	Interview Classification Distribution: Time 1 and Time 2	117
5.	Means and Standard Deviations for Interview Generativity Dimension Scores: Time 1 and Time 2	118
6.	Interview Generativity Dimension Intercorrelations: Time 1	119
7.	Interview Generativity Dimension Intercorrelations: Time 2	120
8.	Means, Standard Deviations for Continuous Ratings By Categorical Classifications: Time 1.....	121
9.	Means, Standard Deviations for Continuous Ratings By Categorical Classifications: Time 2.....	122
10.	Generativity Self-Report (GSSR) Categorical Ratings	123
11.	Means and Standard Deviations for Generativity Self-Report (GSSR) Dimension Scores	124
12.	Generativity Self-Report (GSSR) Dimension Intercorrelations.....	125
13.	Convergence between Interview Generativity and Self-Report (GSSR) Categorical Ratings.....	126
14.	Convergence between Interview Generativity and Self-Report (GSSR) Dimension Scores	127
15.	Stability of Interview Generativity Classifications: Time 1 to Time 2.....	128
16.	Means and Standard Deviations, Interview Generativity Continuous Scores: Subsample Tested at Time 1 and at Time 2	129
17.	Stability of Interview Generativity Dimension Scores: Time 1 to Time 2.....	130
18.	Stability of Generativity Scales, Psychosocial Adjustment, and NEO-Openness	131
19.	Means and Standard Deviations of Generativity Scales, Psychosocial Adjustment, and NEO-Openness: Time 1 and Time 2	132
20.	Ten Most Frequently Reported Life Events by Gender.....	133

21.	Correlations between Interview Generativity Change Scores and Life Events, Psychosocial Adjustment	134
22.	Correlations between Change Scores on Generativity Scales and Life Events, Psychosocial Adjustment.....	135
23.	Means and Standard Deviations of Generativity Scales across Generativity Status Groups: Time 1 and Time 2.....	136
24.	Correlations of Interview Generativity Continuous Ratings and Generativity Scales: Time 1 and Time 2	137
25.	Means and Standard Deviations of Psychosocial Adjustment (OPES-Index) across Generativity Status Groups: Time 1 and Time 2	138
26.	Correlations of Interview Generativity Continuous Ratings and Psychosocial Adjustment: Time 1 and Time 2	139
27.	Means and Standard Deviations of NEO-Openness Scales across Generativity Status Groups: Time 1 and Time 2.....	140
28.	Correlations of Interview Generativity Continuous Ratings and NEO-Openness Scales: Time 1 and Time 2	141
29.	Means and Standard Deviations of IIP Circumplex Scales Across Generativity Status Groups: Time 2.....	142
30.	Correlations of Generativity Continuous Scores and IIP Circumplex Scales: Time 2	143
31.	Correlations of Alternate Generativity Scales, Psychosocial Adjustment, and IIP-Circumplex Scales.....	144

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Psychosocial Stages..... 145

2. Vital Involvement/Tolerance and Generativity Statuses..... 146

3. Organization of the IIP-Circumplex..... 147

4. Mean z Scores and IIP-Circumplex Scales: Generative..... 148

5. Mean z Scores and IIP-Circumplex Scales: Pseudogenerative-Agentive..... 149

6. Mean z Scores and IIP-Circumplex Scales: Pseudogenerative-Communal..... 150

7. Mean z Scores and IIP-Circumplex Scales: Conventional..... 151

8. Mean z Scores and IIP-Circumplex Scales: Stagnant 152

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Generativity and Adult Development

Erikson's psychosocial theory of lifespan development has received widespread recognition as a valuable framework for understanding human growth and development. For adulthood, Erikson described a shift of instinctual energy towards generativity, a psychosocial process which encompasses procreative, productive, and creative activities, as well as those devoted to nurturing and guiding others (Erikson, 1950/1963). Although the construct Erikson envisioned is enormously rich in scope and application, the theoretical and practical implications of generativity - stagnation have only fairly recently attracted concerted research attention. Nevertheless, both theoretical discussions and empirical investigations have begun to inform a growing sense of the processes, key features, and chronology involved in this stage of life (Browning, 1975; Kotre, 1984; McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992; McAdams, de St. Aubin, & Logan, 1993; McAdams, Ruetzel & Foley, 1986; Ryff & Heincke, 1983; Van de Water & McAdams, 1989; Peterson & Klohnen, 1995; Snarey, 1993; Snarey, Son, Kuehne, Hauser & Vaillant, 1987; Vaillant, 1977; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980; Whitbourne, Zuschlag, Elliot, & Waterman, 1992). Some theorists have incorporated elements of Erikson's schema into their own conceptualizations of adult development (Levinson, 1977, 1986; Vaillant, 1977; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980), while several others have devoted careful thought to an elaboration of the key features of generativity more strictly within Erikson's model (Browning, 1975; Kotre, 1984; McAdams, Ruetzel & Foley, 1986; Snarey, 1993). Issues of measurement and validity have begun to receive more direct attention in generativity research (McAdams et al., 1986; McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992; McAdams et al., 1993; Van de Water & McAdams, 1989). Several investigators have designed measures to tap the entire structure of Erikson's lifespan model, including scales specific to generativity (e.g., Darling-Fisher

& Kline Leidy, 1988; Domino & Affonso, 1990; Hawley, 1984; Ochse & Plug, 1986; Rosenthal, Gourney & Moore, 1981).

Work in defining, measuring, and validating Erikson's generativity construct is still in the early stages, and many questions remain unanswered. Given the scope of Erikson's vision of the generative adult, the implications of the resolution of this stage on an individual and societal level argue for a thorough treatment, both theoretically and empirically, of Erikson's proposals.

The Status Model of Generativity

One possible approach to investigating generativity involves the delineation of prototypic styles, or statuses, of resolution. This method, used in studies of Eriksonian identity and intimacy (Orlofsky, Marcia & Lesser, 1973; Marcia, 1966; Marcia, Waterman, Matteson, Archer & Orlofsky, 1993), describes qualitatively different ways in which the attributes of generativity and stagnation may combine in adults' expression of generativity.

Five broad styles of resolving generativity stage issues were proposed in an initial study (Bradley & Marcia, 1995) devoted to the theoretical elaboration and measurement of the prototypes, and a limited attempt to establish convergent validity. The statuses are defined using combinations of a) an individual's level of vital involvement, or active concern for the growth of the self and others, and b) an individual's tolerance of different ideas, traditions, and values, which, by extension, determines the scope of caregiving concern. The Generative style is characterized by high vital involvement and tolerance, and represents the most positive psychosocial outcome. The Pseudogenerative-Agentive style is high in vital involvement and tolerance for self but not for others, while Pseudogenerative-Communal is high in vital involvement and tolerance for others but not for self. The Conventional style, high in vital involvement for both self and others, is low in tolerance across the board. Stagnant reflects the poorest psychosocial outcome, and is low in vital involvement and tolerance generally.

Using middle-aged samples, this first study, as well as a second investigation (Bradley & Marcia, 1995), have provided some support for the validity of the proposed statuses, and pointed to areas of refinement to the measure. Inter-rater reliability of the status measure was modest in both investigations when categorical classifications alone were considered. However, reliability was substantially improved by the addition, in the second study, of scale measures designed to reflect degree of correspondence to each of the prototypical status profiles. Evidence supporting the hypothesized attributes of the proposed generativity prototypes was obtained in the second study. Generative and Stagnant scored highest and lowest respectively on alternate scale measures of generativity and on a scale of overall Eriksonian psychosocial adjustment. Additionally, Conventional scored lower than Generative on a personality scale measuring openness to values and toleration of unfamiliar experiences. Generative and Conventional prototypes scored higher than Stagnant on a measure of sociability and dominance, and higher than Stagnant on a scale tapping organization, persistence, and self-discipline in task-related behavior. The generativity statuses, self-report generativity scales, and overall psychosocial adjustment were largely unrelated to Loevinger's (Loevinger & Wessler, 1970) measure of ego development, providing tentative evidence for the notion of some independence of Erikson's developmental process from that of ego development as conceptualized by Loevinger. Differences in correlational patterns were observed between self-report generativity scales and the generativity prototypes in relation to personality measures.

Description of the Study

The present study sought to extend the generativity status research in several ways. First, inter-rater reliability of the Generativity Status Measure has represented a consistent weakness of the measure. This study proposes to examine inter-rater reliability issues using categorical and dimensional rating procedures. Second, a new questionnaire measure of generativity status was administered to all participants, to assess convergence

between self-report and interview measures of generativity status. Third, the study examined the stability of generativity measures across a two year time period, and replicated the major findings of the second generativity status study. This involved re-analysing the data at Time 1 relevant to this study, using more reliable prototype scores provided by multiple coders for each interview. The sample initially consisted of 100 participants between the ages of 42 - 64, evenly divided by gender, who were recruited from a variety of community and business sources in the Greater Vancouver area. Those who agree to participate in the current study (82%) were readministered the Generativity Status Measure, the Loyola Generativity Scale (LGS; McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992), the Ochse and Plug (1986) multi-stage Erikson measure, and the Openness to Experience domain scale of the NEO Personality Inventory (Costa & McCrae, 1985). All of these measures were expected to show a moderate degree of stability over the two year period. However, as some individuals had possibly reworked generativity issues in the intervening time, the Life Experiences Survey (Sarason, Johnson, & Siegel, 1978), as well as Ochse and Plug's (1986) scales of the six psychosocial stages preceding generativity, were also administered. The life events questionnaire provided a means of anticipating broad situational factors that may be associated with change in generativity functioning. The inclusion of Ochse and Plug's (1986) scales permitted an exploration of the potential link between stability of generativity resolution and overall psychosocial adjustment, in an Eriksonian sense. Relationship patterns between generativity measures and NEO-Openness were expected to replicate those obtained in the previous study.

Finally, this study further investigated some hypothesized personality attributes of the statuses, through administration of the Inventory of Interpersonal Problems (Alden, Wiggins, & Pincus, 1990), a circumplex measure that summarizes problematic relationship styles across a broad range of interpersonal domains. The measure was expected to distinguish Agentic from Communal prototypes, with highly Agentic individuals endorsing

problems more related to interpersonal coolness, and highly Communal individuals endorsing interpersonal problems associated with heightened warmth and closeness.

Dissertation Overview

Chapter I describes the study in brief. Chapter II outlines Erikson's psychosocial theory in general, and summarizes his conceptualization of generativity - stagnation. Empirical investigations of generativity are reviewed, and the generativity status model is considered in detail. The chapter closes with a discussion of the objectives of the study and the hypotheses investigated. Chapter III outlines the methodology of the study. The results of the investigation are contained in Chapter IV, as they pertain to inter-rater reliability, the convergence of the Generativity Status Measure with the Generativity Status Self-Report scales, other measures of generativity, overall psychosocial adjustment, Openness to Experience, and interpersonal problems scales. This chapter also examines stability of all of these measures; excluding the Generativity Status Self-Report and interpersonal problems scales, over a two-year period. Chapter V discusses the implications of the results of the study, the limitations of this investigation, and future directions for generativity status research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Psychosocial Framework for Generativity

Erikson's (1950/1963) elaboration of the developmental tasks associated with middle adulthood is situated in the context of an integrated theory of human development from birth to death. Drawing upon the biological principle of epigenesis, Erikson articulated a sequential stage framework for ego development in which each growth period is systematically related to all others. In Erikson's schema, biological (soma) and intrapsychic (psyche) processes continually interface with the cultural and historical moment in which the individual lives (ethos) to promote ego growth and adaptation (Erikson, 1982).

The theory proposes eight successive "crises" or dynamic stages of development across the lifespan, in which the individual confronts, in turn, issues of basic trust - mistrust, autonomy - shame and doubt, initiative - guilt, identity - identity confusion or diffusion, intimacy - isolation, generativity - self-absorption and stagnation, and integrity - despair. At each choice point, the individual enters a "crucial period of increased vulnerability and heightened potential" (Erikson, 1968, p. 96) where the timing is propitious to expanded ego functioning through the modalities of the soma, psyche and ethos, although poor developmental outcomes and regression are always possible. Ideally, the individual will arrive at "a creative tension between the polar alternatives, with an emphasis on the more positive pole" (Marcia, 1976, p. 6), rather than a stark alignment with either. Successful resolution results in the development of the particular ego strength most appropriate to the stage at hand, creating in the child the foundations for hope, will, purpose and competence; in the adolescent, fidelity, or a sense of unity and continuity; and in the adult, a capacity for love, care and wisdom. Failure at any developmental task implies that a corresponding core pathology or antipathy inimical to these basic ego

strengths will dominate. While each stage's resolution has implications for subsequent developmental gains, poor resolution of one crisis does not preclude a return to and reworking of those issues at a later date.

In structural terms, Erikson's adoption of epigenetic principles marks a departure from a strict stage perspective that is of considerable importance for both theorists and researchers interested in fully understanding and validating his ideas. In Erikson's schema, although the life cycle consists of a "gradual unfolding of the personality through phase-specific psychosocial crises" [emphasis original] (Erikson, 1980, p. 126), each component therein "exists in some form...before the time when it becomes 'phase-specific', i.e., when 'its' psychosocial crisis is precipitated both by the individual's readiness and by society's pressure" (Erikson, 1980, p. 130). Figure 1 illustrates the 64-square chart that reflects Erikson's conceptualization of psychosocial epigenesis, adapted (Marcia et al., 1993) to show how each stage issue is represented simultaneously at all levels of development. Although "each part comes to its full ascendance and finds some lasting solution during its stage (on the diagonal), it will also be expected to develop further...under the dominance of subsequent ascendancies...and most of all, to take its place in the integration of the whole ensemble..." (Erikson, 1982, p. 29). Efforts to investigate individual moments of psychological growth are complicated by this inter-connectedness of stage issues, a feature of the theory which, however, also contributes importantly to its sophistication as a developmental framework.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Generativity within Psychosocial Theory

Generativity vs self-absorption and stagnation, the seventh stage of psychosocial development, heralds the end of early adulthood, with its emphasis on intimacy - isolation, and extends through middle age, to be succeeded by issues of integrity - despair in the final

years. Fueled by "a gradual expansion of ego-interests and libidinal energy in that which is generated" (Erikson, 1963, p. 267), the main psychosocial task of generativity is to establish and guide the next generation through one's acts of care.

There is, however, considerable breadth to the construct beyond creating and raising children. In fact, procreation itself is not a guarantee of generativity, particularly if previous stage issues have been inadequately resolved (Erikson, 1964). Similarly, adults who elect not to have children - a choice widely possible only recently through modern techniques of birth control - can nevertheless be generative through sublimation of the drive energies in a "new generative ethos [which] may call for a more universal care concerned with qualitative improvement in the lives of all children" (Erikson, 1982, p. 68).

Generativity is achieved through engagement in a wide variety of activities: nurturance of one's productive output, meeting the needs of the next generation, integration of work life with one's family or intimate life, and a creative articulation of "cultural potentials within the emerging world image" (Holsizer, Murphy, Noam, Taylor, Erikson, & Erikson, 1982, p. 269). Generativity is contained in "various forms of selfless "caring" [which] potentially extend to whatever a man [or woman] generates and leaves behind, creates and produces" (Erikson, 1963, p. 267), and is operative in virtually any situation in which one is called upon to be responsible for others. "Parenthood", wrote Erikson, "is, for most, the first, and for many, the prime generative encounter, yet the perpetuation of mankind challenges the ingenuity of workers and thinkers of many kinds". (Erikson, 1964, pp. 132-133).

Central to the concept of generativity is the interdependency between that which is being cared for and the caregiver, between the younger generation and the older. The adult transmits personal values and those of his or her society to the new generation, acts as a mentor and model, and sets the stage for the continuance of cultural symbols and traditions. However, developmental benefits are reaped not only by those guided, by also by those engaged in generative pursuits, for "mature man needs to be needed, needs guidance as

well as encouragement from what has been produced and must be taken care of" (Erikson, 1963, pp. 266-267). Erikson views psychosocial development as one of constant renewal of society as well as the self: "The cogwheeling stages of childhood and adulthood are, as we can see in conclusion, truly a system of generation and regeneration - for into the system emerge those societal values to which the institutions and traditions of society attempt to give unity and permanence" (Erikson, 1964, p. 152). Ultimately, the goal of generativity is to perpetuate humankind and at the same time advance personal development (Erikson, 1982).

Difficulty in achieving a sense of generativity can lead to stagnation, self-absorption, and indulgence in oneself as if one were one's own only child. It is also characterized by a regression to previous crises, particularly that of intimacy - isolation, in the form of "an obsessive need for pseudointimacy...often with a pervading sense of stagnation and interpersonal impoverishment" (Erikson, 1963, p. 103). Although somewhat sparsely elaborated in Erikson's early works (e.g., Erikson, 1950/1963; 1964), component parts of stagnation were more clearly developed in later writings, particularly in one of his last books (Erikson, 1982). In counterpoint to the ego strength "care" developed through generativity, Erikson proposed in this work that "rejectivity" is the core pathology of stagnation (Erikson, 1982, p. 68), resulting in the exclusion of certain people or groups from one's caring attention. Through the vehicle of "authoritism", the "ungenerous and ungenerative use of sheer power for the regimentation of economic and familial life" (Erikson, 1982, p. 70), rejectivity can be directed against one's children, other family or community members, and even oneself. Of course, some degree of discrimination and selection is unavoidable, for in order to care for some things, others must necessarily be eliminated from one's sphere of activity and concern (Erikson, 1968). Similarly, although Erikson identifies the more authoritarian styles and expressions as maladaptive, "genuine generativity, of course, includes a measure of true authority" (Erikson, 1982, p. 70).

While reactivity and authoritarianism aspects of stagnation were not fully elaborated until late in Erikson's career, the roots of this line of thought are clearly present in earlier work. Erikson's (1968) discussions of the dangers of rigidities in social identity identified "pseudospeciation", in which non-familiar others are excluded to the point of being considered dangerously different, as "one of the most sinister aspects of all group identity" (p. 42). Authoritarianism, he argued, "[invites] men...to project total badness on whatever inner or outer 'enemy' can be appointed...as subhuman" (p. 86). In 1982, Erikson defined pseudospeciation, at generativity, as a generalized form of reactivity which is manifested as prejudices against all manner of thought or people different from oneself.

Erikson's elaboration of stagnation to include reactivity and authoritarianism extended his earlier views on the dangers of identity inflexibility both within a particular cultural setting and towards outgroups. It also suggests that he came to view as important not only responsibility, involvement, and legacy aspects of generative caring in the psychosocially mature adult, but also issues of quality and scope of generative concerns, as these are directed towards the self and others.

As with all stages of psychosocial development, successful resolution involves achieving a balance between the two poles. Erikson's discussions of psychosocial stage resolution also strongly suggest that individuals achieve an integration between polar outcomes and arrive at their own unique synthesis of stage issues, particularly in adulthood (Erikson, 1950/1963; 1982). Such a dialectic would result in a particular style of approaching the various life tasks, and elements of stagnation would be present even in those most generative (Erikson, 1982). Although these represent two somewhat different conceptualizations of stage resolution (Marcia et al., 1993), a possible reconciliation of balance and dialectic approaches to psychosocial progression lies in embedding one process-outcome set within the other. One important aspect of a dialectic integration, or style-based resolution of generativity stage issues, may thus involve the negotiation of a personal balance between generation and regeneration, between productivity and respite.

Indeed, periods of fallowness and withdrawal from generative concerns would seem necessary to the continued growth of the adult individual: a time for personal regeneration and incorporation of that which is received from those cared for; a time to reflect and set the stage for the germination of new ideas and further periods of productivity.

Theoretical and Empirical Investigations of Generativity

Some of the more prominent investigators of adult lifespan development have incorporated elements of Erikson's schema into their own conceptualizations of adult development (Levinson, 1978; Vaillant, 1977; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980), thus adapting Erikson's original framework to new models. Several others have elaborated key features of generativity more strictly within Erikson's theory (Browning, 1975; Kotre, 1984; McAdams et al., 1986; Snarey, 1993). Issues of measurement and validity have begun to receive more direct attention in generativity research (McAdams et al., 1986; McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992; Ryff & Heincke, 1986; Snarey et al., 1986; Van de Water & McAdams, 1989).

Two well-known theorists, Levinson (1977, 1986) and Vaillant (Vaillant, 1977; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980), have brought Erikson's theory into their own modified conceptualizations of adult developmental trajectories. Levinson's interview data of 40 men between 35 and 45 years of age culminated in a model of adult male development divided into early adulthood (17 - 45 years), middle adulthood (40 - 65 years), late adulthood (60 - 85 years) and late late adulthood (80+). During these phases of development, characterized by alternate stable and transitional periods, the individual builds a life structure that is renewed with each progressive stage shift (Levinson, 1977). In early adulthood, men focus on "climbing the ladder" of the corporate world. Only after the midlife transition, between the ages of 40-45, does generativity truly come into play, at which time men become "senior members" of their worlds, and "are responsible not only for...[their] own work and perhaps the work of others, but also for the development of the

current generation of young adults who will soon enter the dominant generation" (Levinson, 1986, p. 6). Vaillant, through general psychiatric interviews of 95 Harvard educated men (Vaillant, 1977) and second interviews of these, plus 392 core city men (Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980), came to postulate additional stages of development to Erikson's schema: career consolidation vs self-absorption just prior to generativity; and keepers of the meaning vs rigidity between generativity and Erikson's final stage of integrity - despair. The task of career consolidation is seen to involve clear occupational specializations, typically through the internalization of mentors. "Perpetual Boys", who failed to progress beyond career consolidation, "never reached the point where they 'worried less about myself and more about the children'", and consequently faced stagnation (Vaillant, 1977, p. 228). Generative men, characterized by mature defense mechanisms, became leaders concerned with the well-being of all those around them. Socioeconomic factors seemed unrelated to progression through identity, intimacy and career consolidation stages; however, in order to successfully negotiate generativity, good resolutions of previous stage issues were necessary (Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980). Although largely speculative, Vaillant and Milofsky's post-generative stage addition during the 50's and 60's seeks to separate care and wisdom aspects of generativity, and focuses on the transmission and preservation of cultural norms. The danger here lies in developing an "increasing rigidity that reflects changes in intellectual function often seen after midlife" (Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980, p. 1350).

That Vaillant and Levinson independently sought to redress a seeming omission in Erikson's theory, through an achievement-oriented "missing link" between the stages of intimacy and generativity, speaks to the potential importance of these issues at generativity. However, while their alternative views of adult development may be of relevance to male trajectories, they shed little light on female issues (Gilligan, 1982a), and their departures from Erikson's comprehensive framework leave problematic theoretical gaps. One drawback to Levinson's developmental schema lies in its lack of attention and theoretical

access to childhood issues, and their possible differential impact on the adult, while Vaillant has not fleshed out the accompanying ego strengths, antipathies, and growth features of his two additional stages in terms of psyche, soma and ethos. Moreover, Vaillant and Milofsky (1980) leave unclear the distinction between the wisdom gained through the sub-stage of keepers of the meaning vs rigidity and the wisdom postulated by Erikson as the ego strength of integrity - despair. From a theory construction viewpoint, staying within the bounds of Erikson's theory allows for consistency, on all levels of the theory, in investigating the interrelationship among the adjacent adult life cycle stages, and between these and earlier stage resolutions. Moreover, it provides an integrated framework for monitoring the effects of societal and cultural shifts on the lives of individual men and women, whether this manifests in ways consonant with Erikson's developmental schema, or in divergent patterns by gender or other factors.

Further theoretical insight into the generativity construct stems from Kotre's (1984) description of generative outcomes in terms of agency and communion. In Kotre's conceptualization, agentic generativity exists "if the creation is simply a clone or a monument to the self" (Kotre, 1984, p.16), in which "the agentic progenitor is willing to devour progeny, to possess them narcissistically and feed himself on their talents and admiration" (Kotre, 1984, p. 18). The communal mode of generativity represents the more mature form of caring, in which "life interest is transferred to the generative object with the result that its life becomes more important than the progenitor's" (Kotre, 1984, p. 16). These definitions of agency and communion, within a generativity context, are consistent with Bakan's (1966) notion of agency as associated with self-protection, self-absorption and isolation, and communion as manifested through openness and bonds with others. Aspects of Kotre's "communal mode" clearly reflect generative motivations and behaviors, particularly his observations that generativity "allows a child to develop in his or her own way", and that the "progenitor loves the other for itself" (Kotre, 1984, p. 18). Surely, however, generativity requires both agency and communion: both interpersonal mutuality

and action. Kotre would seem to suggest that agency provides the behavioral impetus for caring acts to occur, whereas maladaptive agency is represented by the "self-asserting, self-protective, self-expanding" (Kotre, 1984, p. 16) aspects of the individual. Kotre's development of the role of agency in generative issues represents an astute underscoring of the potential dangers of "excessive self-love based on a too strenuously self-made personality" (Erikson, 1963, p. 267). His view of mature generativity, however, seems nevertheless somewhat difficult to reconcile with Erikson's "new version of the Golden Rule: do unto another what will advance the others' growth even as it advances your own" (Erikson, 1982, p. 94), and minimizes the potential importance of self-nurturing, independence-sustaining aspects of the post-identity formation adult.

The theme of generativity as an act involving agency and communion is explicitly investigated in McAdams et al.'s (1986) study of the relationship between power and intimacy motives in TAT scores, and generativity at midlife as shown through adults' plans for the future. There, the formulation of a generative act is hypothesized as the communal part of the process, and the performance thereof as the agentic component: "one generates, or produces or creates a product which represents an extension of the self...then, one renounces ownership of the product, granting it a certain degree of autonomy and offering it up to others." (McAdams et al., 1986, p. 802). Findings were seen to lend tentative support to the notion that achievement of generativity "calls on an adult's fundamental need to feel close and to feel strong vis-a-vis others" (McAdams et al., 1986, p. 805).

Snarey's (1993) multigenerational study of men's generativity is one of the few investigations that has directly examined the role of fathering in the development of mature generativity, defined as a commitment to developing and guiding the next generation beyond caretaking for one's own progeny. Snarey builds on Kotre's (1984) division of generativity into subtypes, and postulates that generativity is comprised of three, semi-hierarchical substages: "biological generativity"; "parental generativity"; and "societal generativity", the final mature form of the life stage. Empirical work analyzed fathers'

contributions to the social-emotional, intellectual-academic, and physical-athletic development of their first born child, through frequency counts of joint activities reported in semi-structured interviews when the men were 25, 31 and 47 years of age. Societal, or mature, generativity, was assessed at age 47 as "clearly achieved", "unclear or ambiguous", or "failed or clearly absent" (Snarey, 1993, p. 97). Regression analyses showed that fathers' involvement with their first born child positively predicted that child's achievement of educational and occupational levels beyond those reached by the fathers, although the optimal arena of paternal involvement varied by offspring gender. Having been an active, involved parent was linked to the expression of broad generative concerns at midlife. Successful marriage was the strongest predictor of fathers' participation in the social-emotional development of their first born child, underscoring the potential contribution to generativity outcome of the immediately preceding psychosocial task of intimacy-isolation. As Erikson would predict, a constellation of background factors, including boyhood industry level, significantly predicted subsequent parental generativity. Finally, infertile men who later became fathers were most likely to achieve generativity; in fact, infertile adoptive fathers scored the highest on societal generativity, followed by initially infertile adoptive fathers and fertile birth fathers; all of these men scored higher on generativity at midlife than those who remained childless (Snarey, 1993; Snarey, Son, Kuehne, Hauser & Vaillant, 1987).

On the theoretical level, Snarey has made an important contribution to understanding the complex ways in which fathers' involvement potentially influences the psychosocial outcome of their children, and has pointed to links between parenting experiences and broader generative concerns. Moreover, unlike Kotre, Snarey emphasizes self-care as an important feature of generativity, although the components of self-care are not elaborated. Empirically, Snarey presents intriguing evidence of the differential impact fathering may have on boys' and girls' development, and the potential dangers, from a psychosocial perspective, of uninvolved involvement in parenting activities. Unfortunately, the use

of socio-economic status is perhaps a dubious marker of the quality of adult children's psychosocial success (cf. Fisher, 1959) for the purposes of understanding inter-stage relationships between the study men and their own children, particularly as measures of identity, intimacy, and prior psychosocial stages are available (e.g., Ochse & Plug, 1986; Marcia, 1966; Orlofsky, Marcia, & Lesser, 1973). Also, postulating substages of generativity recalls similar questions, as to their integration into the overall structure of Erikson's theory, to those previously mentioned. How is the "care" of "parental generativity" different from that of "societal generativity"? Is it merely a shift in scope of caregiving activity? Or are there qualitative differences between these types of caring? Could not fathers high in parental generativity in earlier adulthood years concurrently show high societal generativity?

Another line of inquiry has sought to establish the chronological timing of psychosocial changes through the use of retrospective or prospective self-perceptions of change as reported by individuals in early adulthood, middle-age, and old age. In a series of studies, Ryff and her colleagues (Ryff, 1982; Ryff & Heincke, 1983; Ryff & Midgal, 1984) investigated the sequential nature of intimacy, generativity and integrity within Erikson's theory. Although two of these studies (Ryff, 1982; Ryff & Midgal, 1984) were inconclusive in predicting that generative concerns dominate in midlife, Ryff and Heincke (1983) directly linked generativity to middle age for both sexes using a new measure of generativity which they created. In addition, Ryff and Heincke (1983) obtained evidence linking perceptions of greater life complexity to middle adulthood, a logical extension of Erikson's conceptualization of generativity. Ryff and Heincke's (1983) results present encouraging evidence in support of the sequential structure of Erikson's developmental schema. However, confidence in the results of these studies is somewhat constrained by the use of self-perceived change methodology, as self-perceptions of change may not necessarily reflect actual personality change.

Other studies (Van de Water & McAdams, 1989; McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992; McAdams et al., 1993) have provided mixed results on timing issues. Van de Water and McAdams (1989) found no age-related change in level of generativity in a cross-sectional sample of adults between 22 and 72 years. McAdams and de St. Aubin (1992) observed somewhat higher levels of generativity in an adult sample (mean age = 32.7 years) than in a college-age sample, but no support for the association of increasing generativity with age was found on any of three assessment techniques used in a second study reported at the same time. In a more recent study (McAdams et al., 1993), middle-aged adults scored higher on generativity measures than younger adults, although they did not obtain uniformly higher scores on these measures than older adults. Using a longitudinal sample, Peterson and Klohnen (1995) found evidence for higher generativity in women at midlife than in early adulthood. However, Whitbourne et al. (1992) found no significant change in generativity scores in their longitudinal study of men and women at ages 31 and 42, although a trend was observed towards increased mean scores with age between 20 and 31. In cross-sectional analyses, mean generativity scores were higher at age 31 than at age 20, but not at age 42 compared to age 31 (Whitbourne et al., 1992). Additional cross-sectional and longitudinal studies, using samples of both genders, are needed to assist in clarifying further this important issue, as it pertains within and across cohorts.

A number of self-report measures (e.g., Darling-Fisher & Kline Leidy, 1988; Domino & Affonso, 1990; Hawley, 1984; Ochse & Plug, 1986; Rosenthal, Gourney & Moore, 1981) have recently been developed to assess all or most of Erikson's eight psychosocial stages simultaneously. Generativity subscales from two of these measures (Hawley, 1984; Ochse & Plug, 1986) have been used in studies of generativity. Using a small sample of 18 subjects, Snarey (1993) established a moderate to strong level of convergence between his measure of generativity at midlife and Hawley's (1984), Ryff and Heincke's (1983), and Boyd's (1966, 1974) generativity scales (r 's of .57, .54, and .31 respectively), suggesting considerable overlap of generative content between these

measures. Van de Water and McAdams (1989) found generativity as measured by Ochse & Plug's (1986) scale to be significantly positively correlated to two measures seen to capture Erikson's (1963) notion of generativity as embodying a "belief in the species": "hope for the future", and Ochse & Plug's (1986) trust subscale. A moderate relationship was observed between the generativity subscale and open-ended narrative statements about life commitments, as well as with the nurturance scale on the Jackson Personality Research Form. Interestingly, the self-absorption subscale of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Raskin & Hall, 1979) was not negatively associated with generativity as predicted, but in fact showed a modest positive correlation with Ochse and Plug's generativity subscale. This result suggests that perhaps there are important qualitative distinctions to be made between self-absorption and stagnation, aspects of generativity grouped together by Erikson (1982) as forming the less adaptive pole of the crisis. Alternatively, the Ochse and Plug generativity subscale, in its present form, may incompletely capture Erikson's conception of self-absorption in the generativity stage.

While all are still in early stages of investigation, current versions of the multi-stage Erikson measures share a validity problem which limits the usefulness of individual subscales in inter-stage comparisons. College, adult, and elderly samples have been used to validate all stages, although three studies also recruited mid-teen (Domino & Affonso, 1990; Ochse & Plug, 1986) and preteen (Hawley, 1984) subjects. Consequently, measures of crises postulated as occurring in childhood and infancy have not been developed and validated by samples in the corresponding age ranges. Progressive increases in inter-stage correlations with age have been suggested as evidence consistent with the notion that early ego resolutions influence subsequent ones (Domino & Affonso, 1990; Hawley, 1984; Ochse & Plug, 1986). However, high inter-stage correlations, such as those found by Darling-Fisher and Kline Leidy (1988) between generativity and identity ($r = .68$) and integrity and trust ($r = .72$) also suggest potential problems of discriminant validity, as individual scales are intended to measure somewhat different constructs, even

though assimilation of previous stage gains in later crises is a fundamental tenet of the theory (Erikson, 1950/1963). Ochse and Plug (1986) found a strong general factor to underlie their seven-stage measure in an initial study involving 1,859 white and black males and females ranging in age from 15 to 60 years. This general factor, they suggest, represents psychosocial development, and quite possibly identity, in a global sense, consistent with Erikson's integrated system of personality development.

Ryff and Heincke's (1983) study marked one of the first efforts to develop an independent scale measure specifically to capture generativity - stagnation. Based on Erikson's formulations, the scale assesses generativity in terms of high and low scorers. Unfortunately, the validity of this instrument has received little development beyond the initial study. This has also been the case for many of the early measures of generativity, which relied on global clinical assessments of generativity based on readings of Erikson (McAdams et al., 1986; Snarey et al., 1987; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980), as well as the generativity subscales of multi-stage measures (Darling-Fisher & Kline Leidy, 1988; Domino & Affonso, 1990; Hawley, 1984; Ochse & Plug, 1986; Rosenthal, Gourney & Moore, 1981). Several recent measures, however, including Snarey's (1993) ordinal assessment of mid-life societal generativity, have received concerted research attention.

The newest scale measure of generativity is McAdams and de St. Aubin's (1992) self-report Loyola Generativity Scale (LGS). McAdams and his colleagues have adopted a strategy to investigating generativity - stagnation that exemplifies the construct validity methodology described by Cronbach and Meehl (1955) in their classic paper on the topic. The investigators have identified and framed for research purposes building blocks of psychosocial theory that Erikson stated produce and shape development at each psychosocial stage: the soma (which McAdams et al. call "inner desire", 1993, p. 222), ethos ("cultural demand", in McAdams et al.'s terminology, 1993, p. 222) and cognitive/affective aspects of psyche ("belief", "concern"; McAdams et al., 1993, p. 222). The LGS is a scale measure of generativity that intends to measure generative concern

(McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992), and contains a mix of behavioral (e.g., "I do not volunteer to work for a charity") and self-reflective items (e.g., "I think I would like the work of a teacher"). It generates scores on a continuum from high to low. The reliability and validity of this measure is being investigated in a program of research which seeks to elucidate societal, behavioral, and attitudinal aspects of generativity, as well as the individual's personal narration of generativity as this impacts self-definition (McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992; McAdams et al., 1993). Studies to date have demonstrated a substantial convergence between the LGS and generativity subscales from multi-stage measures, as well as good convergent and discriminant validity between the LGS, a generativity behavior checklist, and autobiographical accounts of peak and nadir experiences (McAdams and de St. Aubin, 1992). The behavioral checklist contains more specific behaviors expectable in individuals with high as compared to low degrees of generativity; peak and nadir experiences are also coded in terms of high and low generative content. Interestingly, McAdams and de St. Aubin (1992) found that women scored significantly higher than men on three generativity scales in a college-aged sample, although not in a somewhat older adult sample. Having been a parent was positively associated with scores on the LGS for adult males, but not for females.

Peterson and Klohnen (1995) recently developed a Q-sort measure of a generativity prototype, or "ideally generative person" (p. 23) using the CAQ (Block, 1971). The measure defines generativity as involving giving, considerate, and protective behavior towards others, a capacity for warm interpersonal relationships, dependability, and an ability to provide advice and reassurance to others. These nurturing aspects of generativity were viewed as reflective of an integration of agency and communion in the caregiving adult as suggested by McAdams (1988). The measure also taps social perceptivity and insight, considered necessary qualities for the transmission of cultural values and traditions. The new Q-set has been used in investigations of generativity outcome in mid-life women from two well-known longitudinal projects, the Mills and Radcliffe studies.

The investigators found moderate correlations between CAQ generativity and personality characteristics consistent with Eriksonian notions of generative tolerance and responsibility in both samples. Having been a mother, seeing motherhood as growth-promoting, and helping others at work were moderately related to the Q-set in the Radcliffe women, but only modestly correlated with or unrelated to CAQ generativity in the Mills sample. Political activism was modestly related to CAQ generativity in both samples. Self-reported preoccupation with identity, intimacy and generativity issues was used to determine the discriminant and convergent validity of CAQ generativity from other psychosocial tasks, although methodology differed in the two samples. Identity preoccupation at midlife was uncorrelated with CAQ generativity in both samples. Intimacy preoccupation was uncorrelated with Q-set generativity in the Mills sample, but moderately negatively correlated in the Radcliffe sample, a somewhat puzzling finding given the Radcliffe women's relatively strong correlation between Q-set generativity and interpersonally-oriented criterion variables in work and parenting. Finally, endorsement of generative themes were modestly (in the Mills sample) and moderately (in the Radcliffe sample) related to CAQ generativity.

Peterson and Klohnen's (1995) study is the first to provide evidence of personality characteristics in optimally generative adult women consistent with Eriksonian notions of tolerance, and expands the current knowledge-base on other, theoretically relevant generativity correlates. However, their work sheds little light on the potential complexities of personality, work, and parenting in non-generative individuals. Interestingly, the authors note discrepant views among their "expert consultants" on just what constitutes stagnation. Stagnation was viewed by these consultants variously according to narcissistic, self-absorption aspects of non-generative functioning highlighted by Kotre (1984), as well as negativistic attitudes, poor interpersonal relations, isolative tendencies, and apathy. Although each of these characteristics would seem to reflect elements of Erikson's construct of stagnation, we concur with Peterson and Klohnen (1995) that they are also

distinct enough to require further theoretical integration. Therefore, although this study, building on the efforts of previous researchers, informs our picture of the ideally, or prototypically, generative individual, it does not provide a complete picture of this adult life stage. Moreover, while the results are likely to generalize to men, empirical verification to this effect would seem important, particularly since McAdams and de St. Aubin (1992) found some gender differences in generativity level in a cross-sectional sample.

Issues of gender differences in the timing, content, or developmental process of generativity resolution are clearly of interest in generativity investigations, and a growing literature suggests that there are potentially different developmental pathways for men and women in a variety of life arenas (Barnet & Baruch, 1978; Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1987; Reincke, Holmes & Harris, 1985). Erikson's model has been criticized as more closely approximating male trajectories, through its sequential ordering of life stages, and its emphasis on autonomy and instrumental pursuits (Gilligan, 1982). Support for this view can be found in research on Erikson's identity and intimacy stages, which suggests that for females the dominant concern is interpersonal tasks, with a consequent merging of identity and intimacy issues, whereas males tend to follow the linear model set out by Erikson (Josselson, 1987; Marcia, 1980; Matteson, 1975; Schiedel & Marcia, 1985). Sex differences in identity and intimacy may be related to early socialization of males and females to seek self-worth in agentic and communal modes of development respectively (Bubowski & Newcomb, 1983; Marcia et al., 1993).

How developmental differences impact men and women in terms of generativity issues remains unclear at this point. Much of the work relating to generativity has been conducted with respect to male development (Levinson, 1977, 1986; Snarey, 1993; Snarey et al., 1987; Vaillant, 1977; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980). Gilligan (1982a, 1982b) has argued that placing generativity - stagnation in middle adulthood is too late for women, whose family responsibilities are at that point decreasing as children become independent. Ryff and Heincke (1983) observed no sex differences in their study of self-perceived

change across young, middle, and old aged adults, leading them to contest Gilligan's (1982a,1982b) proposal that current developmental models are inappropriate for the study of female development. McAdams and de St. Aubin's (1992) study, however, provides some tentative evidence that differing pathways for men and women may extend into generativity. College women's scores on the LGS were similar to those of the older adult males, and varied little from the adult female sample, while college males scored significantly lower than their older adult counterparts.

Apart from timing issues, there may be particular process and content differences for men and women addressing generativity consistent with those found in research into previous psychosocial stages. Several investigators (Kotre, 1986; McAdams et al., 1986; McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992; Peterson & Klohnen, 1995) have highlighted the roles of agency and communion at generativity. Certainly, the adult entering the generativity stage has, potentially, all the tools at his or her disposal to effect a blend of the two. To the extent that this has not occurred, one could perhaps anticipate sex differences in generative tasks to manifest, at least partially, along agentic and communal lines.

Efforts to investigate particular features of generativity, such as early adulthood strivings, rigidity in adherence to traditions, agency and communion, personality characteristics, work and parenting roles, and the timing of involvement in generative tasks, have made important progress in operationalizing and investigating a rather amorphous, lengthy psychosocial process that occurs at a time of heightened complexity in the personality and life tasks. However, while theoretical and empirical work conducted on generativity captures important aspects of Erikson's construct, more is needed for a comprehensive understanding of this life stage. In particular, modified Eriksonian models of adulthood, while clearly contributing to the knowledge base, fall short of providing an integrated picture of the generative - and stagnant - adult within the overall psychosocial framework when these modifications are not fully incorporated into the overall model. New, self-report scale measures of generativity benefit from the easy administration and

scoring of this methodology, and can provide a broad understanding of the qualities associated with more generative or more stagnant levels of functioning. However, such methodology is not well suited to addressing the more synthetic, dialectic aspects of engagement in generativity tasks, particularly at less extreme points of functioning. By virtue of its departure from a strict "stage" perspective of development, Erikson's theory anticipates that rather individualized approaches to phase-specific issues will accumulate over time, as the individual draws on the resolutions of past "crises" to confront current psychosocial demands. At each new developmental "phase" or "crisis", the individual integrates into the pre-existing ego structure aspects of both polar outcomes in a synthesis that becomes characteristically his or her own. It would seem important, then, that construct validation efforts for generativity - stagnation take into account both the contrasting polar aspects of the stage, and possible qualitatively distinct accommodations of these opposites into a personal "commitment to a style of production" (Erikson, 1982, p. 71) when exploring outcomes of this psychosocial stage. We now turn to an alternative way of conceptualizing and investigating generativity - stagnation that attempts to remedy these problematic aspects of current research efforts, and to capture more fully the complexities of generativity expression.

The Status Approach to Generativity

Aspects of current theoretical discussions of generativity are reflected and extended in a model that seeks to delineate broad styles of resolving the issues of this stage from within Erikson's framework, consistent with Marcia et al.'s (1993) status typology research into Eriksonian identity and intimacy. Marcia (1966) developed semi-structured interview and scoring procedures to tap into two processes, exploration and commitment, which in combination yield four distinct styles of resolution of the identity stage. This methodology has enjoyed substantial empirical success in understanding Erikson's identity and intimacy constructs (e.g., Marcia, 1966; Orlofsky, Marcia, & Lesser, 1973; Schiedel

& Marcia, 1985; Marcia et al., 1993). One of the most appealing and useful features of this research tool resides in its attention to both qualitative and quantitative differences in approach to life tasks. Thus, the Identity Achieved status clearly implies a higher degree of identity structure than the Identity Diffusion status; however, it also embodies a different kind of identity structure than that typical of the Foreclosed status.

Most existing measures have focused on operationalizing generativity - stagnation along a continuum, resulting in differentiations of a more strictly quantitative nature. This is less true of Snarey's (1993) ordinal measure, which identifies a middle level of generativity that might have mixed behavioral and attitudinal concomitants. The status model proposed here parallels his approach in that it anticipates mid-range resolutions. However, the status model describes distinct styles of generativity outcome which may not readily approximate Snarey's definition of mid-level generativity as "unclear or ambiguous" (Snarey, 1993, p. 97). Moreover, the process-oriented status approach identifies criteria by which individuals arrive at and potentially move between styles of generativity expression, an advantage when attempting to track how developmental gains in addressing stage tasks might occur while staying within the general structure of psychosocial theory. Although some statuses imply a healthier resolution of the stage than others in an Eriksonian sense, the generativity outcomes proposed here are not intended to be strictly linearly ordered. They are, rather, suggested as individual modes of resolution of the stage, in which elements of both generativity and stagnation appear to varying degrees and in different ways. Thus, the model presented below seeks to integrate Eriksonian notions of balance and dialectic in the resolution of stage issues: each broad, prototypic resolution represents a distinct synthesis of both care and reactivity aspects of generativity, and suggests a personal style of balancing productive, creative endeavors with those involving rest and regeneration.

The status model of generativity proposes five generativity styles differentiated on the basis of two criteria as they relate to the self and others: vital involvement and

tolerance. Vital involvement reflects the degree of active concern for the growth of oneself and others, a sense of responsibility for sharing skills and knowledge, and the ability to follow through with commitments. This generativity criterion is consistent with Erikson's notion that "...care is the expression of a vital sympathetic trend with a high instinctual energy at its disposal..." (Erikson, 1982, p. 68), through which adults participate "in the establishment, the guidance, and the enrichment of the living generation and the world it inherits" (Erikson, 1974, p. 123). It is also consistent with the theoretical emphasis by other researchers on generativity as an active, prosocial commitment to the care of others and one's own productive efforts (e.g., Kotre, 1984; McAdams and de St. Aubin, 1992; Snarey, 1993; Peterson & Klohnen, 1995). Thus, vital involvement is primarily, although not exclusively, a behavioral indicator of generativity; that is, low vital involvement means little or no generative action.

Tolerance anticipates that, even when involvement is high, meaningful distinctions can be made regarding the quality of action in ways that capture Erikson's notions of care and rejectivity. Tolerance reflects the scope of one's caregiving activity, in terms of who or what is to be included or excluded. High levels of tolerance are consistent with Erikson's concept of the mature ego as capable of "greater tolerance of tension and diversity" (Erikson, 1968, p. 82). Low levels of tolerance as defined here reflect Erikson's concept of rejectivity, which he considered the antithesis of care, as an "unwillingness to include specific persons or groups in one's generative concern - one does not care to care for them" (Erikson, 1982, p. 68). In extremes, this lack of tolerance in interpersonal relations would approximate Erikson's notion of "pseudospeciation", in which different others are considered inherently dangerous, and which, in more inhibited form, can manifest as "self-rejection" (Erikson, 1982, p. 70). By extension, tolerance also represents by the degree to which one is authoritative, in the sense of knowledgeable and experienced, as opposed to authoritarian, or dogmatic. The less mature ego seeks refuge in "totalities and conformities" that help the individual maintain a "sense of security" (Erikson, 1968, p. 82);

this is accomplished in generativity through "authoritism" (Erikson, 1982, p. 70), the means by which rejectivity is manifested in behavior. In adulthood, Erikson (1968) claimed, "only a combination in parents of true tolerance and firmness can guide an infantile process which otherwise falls prey to the cruelly categoric attitude employed by a strict conscience which first turns against the self, but in one way or another later focuses on the suppression of others" (p. 86).

While work on generativity to date has devoted considerable effort to conceptualizing and measuring indicators of generative involvement with others, little elaboration of Erikson's (1982) later notion of rejectivity and authoritism has been attempted. A notable exception is Browning's (1975) analysis of pseudospeciation and autocracy in the context of contemporary pluralism and technological specialization. Generative man, he states, "refuses to regard the specializations of others as mere chaos, evil or threat" (Browning, 1975, p. 208), but rather acknowledges and respects their separate merit while pursuing his own particular path. Peterson and Klohnen's (1995) study explicitly linked tolerance and non-authoritarian attitudes to optimal generativity functioning; however, the lack of a theoretical consensus on the components of stagnation hampered these researchers in establishing a stagnant prototype. Erikson's (1968; 1982) discussions of generative tolerance, projection of rejected aspects of the self through authoritarianism, and the challenge of maintaining a culturally based, but interpersonally flexible, personal identity suggest a level of complexity in non-optimally generative functioning that is unlikely to be readily captured in one unitary personality and behavioral profile. In the generativity status model, care for self and others is juxtaposed with rejectivity for the self and others through various combinations of vital involvement and tolerance, with theoretical consequences on intrapsychic, behavioral and societal levels.

Vital involvement, tolerance, and the generativity statuses they produce, are anticipated to be reflected across a broad range of life endeavors: in the workplace, through community activities, in relationships with family and friends, and in an individual's

personal concerns and goals. In this sense, we concur with Kotre's (1984) and Snarey's (1993) reading of Erikson that generativity includes, but extends beyond, parenting to permeate attitudes and investments in a variety of settings. As proposed by these researchers, life areas, or "subtypes" of generativity, can be examined separately, a particularly useful strategy when seeking to understand whether and when one's caregiving activities broaden beyond familial concerns. We also suggest that broad life areas can be assessed in terms of status process criteria and aggregated into an indicator of the individual's overall generativity functioning at a particular point in time. Combinations of the criteria yield the following generativity statuses, and are presented in Figure 2.

 Insert Figure 2 about here

Generative individuals are characterized by high vital involvement: in the growth of young people, in the area of work chosen, and in the future society which will be left behind. The Generative individual is conscious of being a guide to others, and feels the need to impart accumulated knowledge and experience, while remaining tolerant of other ways of being and other traditions. Generative individuals lead in such a way as to teach the next generation how to lead in its own style, yet imbue it with the legacy of their achievements and views. Two styles are grouped under the general heading of Pseudogenerative: Agentic and Communal. For the Pseudogenerative individual, investment in other things or people is highly related to personal needs or goals, which makes it difficult to truly nurture the independent growth of the people or organizations around them. Those with an Agentic orientation are highly involved in and tolerant of the self, but not others. Absorbed with their own personal or professional goals, they tend to exclude from their concern people not involved in a common project. Not so for those with a Communal orientation, who have a high investment in others, often to the extent that personal desires and ambitions appear secondary. However, their strong need to be needed

by others may result in their promotion of dependent relationships. Conventional individuals, while high in vital involvement for both self and others, are generally low in tolerance across the board. Traditional in outlook, their concern is primarily for "their own kind". They feel that young people need firm guidance, and they resist deviations from established values, culture or lifestyle. While truly concerned with others as individuals, Conventional individuals are restricted in the world view they can impart to those they guide. Stagnant individuals are characterized by low vital involvement and, generally, low tolerance with respect to others. Although higher tolerance may be exhibited, this will be in the form of a "laissez-faire" attitude rather than as a thought-out position. Inactivated in generative concerns, the Stagnant individual seems truly stuck; there is a feeling of little movement in, or giving to, the world, and little satisfaction with oneself.

In this model, the terms agentic and communal are used to describe broadly instrumental or interpersonal orientations to generative issues. Integration of these aspects of functioning is implied in the Generative resolution, whereas an imbalanced emphasis on one or the other is present in the Pseudogenerative-Agentic and Communal prototypes. This view of agency and communion shares with Bakan's (1966) and Kotre's (1984) formulations the notion that overreliance on agency is maladaptive, and Kotre's and McAdams et al.'s (1986) idea of generativity as encompassing a caring impetus to act in ways that promote the independent growth of the other. However, it also agrees with White (1979) that not only can agency be perceived as a positive quality, but excessive communality can be equally as maladaptive as excessive agency. In the status model, to be generative means also to make a place for the self, in ways that might be, at times, "self-assertive, self-protective, self-enlarging" (Kotre, 1984, p. 16), so that the individual's identity as an independent person is maintained and renewed without excessive dependency on those nurtured. Additionally, Kotre's notion that, in technical generativity, the agentic mode is typified by "do it my way" (p. 17) tells us little about the cognitive or affective set of the individual: i.e., why the individual wants things done his or her way. In the status

model, the Agentic individual would be expected to adopt this stance in order to satisfy personal goals or objectives; in contrast, the Conventional individual would adopt this stance because of fairly inflexible, internalized prescriptions on "the right way to do things".

The Pseudogenerative-Agentic style most closely resembles the career consolidation stage of Vaillant (Vaillant, 1977; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980), and the "climbing the ladder" phase of male adult development described by Levinson (Levinson, 1986). It differs, however, in critical ways. First, unlike Vaillant and Milofsky's (1980) conceptualization, self-absorption is not perceived as polar to Pseudogenerative-Agentic, but rather as a fundamental component thereof. Second, as a pervasive generativity style, it is apparent not only in the workplace, but also in family relations, in the community, and in areas of personal concern. Third, it can represent a final resolution of the stage, one that remains distinct from stagnation. Similarly, the Conventional status bears some resemblance to Vaillant's post-generative stage of keepers of the meaning vs rigidity, because of the low tolerance characteristic of this prototype. However, Conventional is postulated as a legitimate generativity resolution, with probable antecedents in earlier stages, rather than a subsequent stage in which the individual's desire to pass on cultural values may be compromised by a calcification of intellectual functioning due to the aging process. Additionally, Erikson's view of the ego - superego struggle at identity (Erikson, 1968; see also Cote & Levine, 1987), and the potential for domination of superego functions in some individuals from that time forward, argue against instituting rigidity as a struggle at the end of one's productive adult years. Finally, the conceptualization of these, as well as the remaining generativity statuses, in terms of specific psychological variables provides a consistent framework in which to examine and compare the salience of these issues in managing generative tasks for both men and women.

Studies Using the Generativity Status Approach

Two empirical studies using the status approach to generativity have been conducted to date and are summarized in some detail here. A semi-structured interview and scoring manual were developed in an initial study (Bradley & Marcia, 1988) devoted primarily to defining the theoretical components of generativity - stagnation and to constructing an objective status measure. All participants were between 45 - 55 years of age, a time at which, according to psychosocial theory, largely resolved stage outcomes might be readily observable. Individuals were assessed according to generativity status across four life areas: work, community involvement, family, and personal concerns, and given an overall generativity status rating. Assessment of inter-scorer reliability was undertaken using two waves of interview data comprising 16 participants each. Discussion of consensual and divergent rating decisions after the first set of interviews led to further elaboration of the scoring manual to provide clearer guidelines as to status boundaries. A first attempt to establish convergent validity was also conducted using Ryff and Heinicke's (1983) generativity scale (the Generativity Scale of Personality Development; GSPD), and a scale measuring instrumental-experiential orientation (IEQ; Stephen, Fraser & Marcia, 1992). Individuals rated as Generative were expected to score highest and those rated as Stagnant were expected to score lowest on the scale measure of generativity. The IEQ, developed in research on the identity formation process within psychosocial theory, differentiates "goal-seeking", with a focus on personal achievement, from "meaning-making", and a heightened receptivity to a wide variety of experiences. The Pseudogenerative-Agentive status was expected to be more typically instrumental in orientation, in contrast to the Pseudogenerative-Communal status, which was expected to be more generally experiential in orientation.

Modest inter-rater reliability was achieved in this initial study; agreement between two raters on all participants for the final set of 16 interviews was $\kappa = .54$ (69%). The degree of substantive agreement may have been somewhat underrepresented, however, by

reliance on a strictly categorical classification system. No significant differences between status mean scores on Ryff and Heincke's (1983) scale measure were observed in ANOVA operations, although statistical analyses were hampered by the small sample size. A potential source of theoretical divergence between the scale measure and the Generativity Status Measure was identified, however, which perhaps rendered the GSPD not entirely appropriate for determining convergent validity. Pseudogenerative-Communal is conceptualized as evidencing an inordinately high tolerance of and involvement with others, yet it, rather than Stagnant, achieved the lowest mean score on the GSPD. This result became more understandable in light of the GSPD's significant positive relationship to the instrumental orientation on the IEQ. The Ryff and Heincke (1983) measure may be so instrumentally slanted that it fails to capture adequately the balance between instrumental and experiential orientations inherent in the generativity status approach. Consistent with this conceptualization was the finding, as predicted, that the Pseudogenerative statuses, Agentic and Communal, scored at the extremes of the IEQ: Agentic most favouring the instrumental orientation, and Communal most favouring the experiential orientation.

A second study (Bradley & Marcia, 1995) involved changes in the measurement of the generativity statuses and further assessment of their validity. The use of a single global status assessment for the investigation of reliability and validity may result in a loss of valuable information about the individual's particular style of generativity, as well as about similarities in rater assessment (Heumann & Morey, 1990). This second study, therefore, adopted a revised method of scoring generativity statuses that departs from traditional status approaches to other psychosocial stages (Marcia et al., 1993), but is consistent with current research into attachment styles (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). Rather than a single categorical judgment being made, each participant was also assigned a dimensional rating for each status in each content area. Hence, a generativity profile was generated which explicitly states the strength of an individual's affiliation with each resolution. Statuses continued to be conceived of as prototypes of stage resolution, but, now, with individuals

manifesting most strongly one or another of these resolution profiles. The new scoring strategy acknowledged the variability with which individuals can be expected to exemplify a particular resolution, and sought to record the blend of other status profile characteristics into an individual's unique generativity style. The scoring thus yielded both a profile of relative status strength on each prototype dimension as well as an overall status, and provided continuous and categorical scores for use in statistical analyses.

One hundred adults between the ages of 42 - 64 ($M = 49.22$, $SD = 3.97$) participated in the second study. Each subject was assigned an overall generativity status classification as well as a dimensional rating indicating the degree of correspondence to each of the five prototypes. Inter-rater reliability on a subset of the total sample was, as anticipated, higher using dimensional scales ($r = .54 - .83$, $M = .64$, $N = 49$) than with strictly categorical classifications ($kappa = .44$; 55%), suggesting that reliance on categorical assessment may produce an underestimate of rater agreement.

This second study indicated more clearly the difference in emphasis taken by the Generativity Status Measure compared to other generativity measures, and offered some evidence in support of the proposed characteristics of the generativity statuses. Both categorical and dimensional ratings showed convergence between the Generativity Status Measure and two different self-report scale measures of generativity. As predicted, Generative and Stagnant obtained significant mean differences on these measures, and represented the highest and lowest scores respectively. Moreover, the Pseudogenerative-Agentive, Communal, and Conventional prototypes also scored higher than Stagnant on one or another of the alternate generativity scales, which suggests that these profiles of intermediate generativity functioning may align more closely with the Generative resolution than with Stagnant. Generative and Conventional scored higher than Stagnant on Ochse and Plug's (1986) scale of Erikson's first seven stages, collapsed for use as an index of overall psychosocial adjustment. The correlation between Generative and psychosocial adjustment was only marginally significant, suggesting that the psychosocial gains

attributed to previous stage issues may play only a modest role in successful generativity resolution. However, a moderate negative relationship between Stagnant and overall psychosocial adjustment was obtained, which may mean that failure to succeed in other Eriksonian developmental tasks is a fairly good predictor of difficulties in generativity. The results obtained in the study provided some tentative support for use of the overall scale as an index of psychosocial adjustment; however, the scale also showed a sufficiently strong relationship to emotional stability (measured by NEO-Neuroticism) to question the discriminant validity of Ochse and Plug's (1986) scale.

An established personality inventory was used to confirm hypothesized characteristics of the status prototypes, in ways consistent with the defining criteria of involvement and tolerance. The NEO-PI (Costa & McCrae, 1985) assesses five domains of personality: Neuroticism, Extraversion, Openness to Experience, Agreeableness and Conscientiousness. Analyses using the NEO-Openness to Experience scales indicated both conceptual similarities and differences between the approach to generativity taken by the status prototype model and those of other investigators. The Generative prototype, theoretically high in tolerance for self and others, obtained a moderate positive correlation with Openness generally, and also with Openness to Values, a subscale considered a particularly good approximation of tolerance as defined in the status model. Conventional scored lower than Generative on both Openness scales, consistent with its conceptualization as generally low in tolerance. Contrary to prediction, Pseudogenerative-Agentive also scored significantly higher than Conventional on the Openness domain scale, suggesting perhaps a more adventuresome style than originally thought; a positive association with Excitement-Seeking on the Extraversion domain scale lent additional support to this notion. Both characteristics are in keeping with the Agentive individual's high involvement in self as self relates to the world. Self-report scale measures of generativity were uncorrelated with Openness to Values, providing further support for the notion that the Generativity Status Measure and the generativity scale measures used in this

study emphasize somewhat different aspects of Erikson's construct. Differences in correlational patterns between self-report generativity scales and personality characteristics, in comparison to those observed between the generativity prototypes and personality measures, were likely due, at least in part, to the former's general tendency to collapse the intermediate prototype groupings, particularly Conventional, into the upper scores on the scales.

Generative and Conventional prototypes were distinguished from Stagnant on NEO-Conscientiousness in categorical analyses, and continuous ratings showed a small to moderate negative relationship between Stagnant and Conscientiousness. These results were seen to support the use of the criterion vital involvement as a way of representing a tendency to act reliably and responsibly towards self and others. In contrast to Generative dimension scores, self-report generativity scales were positively associated with both Conscientiousness and Agreeableness, as was overall psychosocial adjustment. As predicted, dimension scores for Agentic were moderately negatively correlated with Agreeableness, and Communal dimension scores showed a moderate positive association with this scale.

NEO-Extraversion seems to represent a combination of vigorous movement in the world and a tendency towards congenial interpersonal relations. Although categorical analyses supported the prediction that the Generative status would score significantly higher than Stagnant on the domain scale, they also unexpectedly showed the Conventional status as obtaining a higher mean score than Stagnant. As predicted, Communal scores were associated with greater Warmth and with less Assertiveness; while Agentic scores were associated with greater Assertiveness, and less Warmth and Gregariousness. The Extraversion domain scale was positively correlated with self-report generativity scales as well as with the Ochse and Plug index of psychosocial adjustment.

The generativity prototypes were additionally unrelated to a measure of NEO-Neuroticism, or a general experience of distressing emotions, and were largely unrelated to

Loevinger's (SCT; Loevinger & Wessler, 1970) measure of ego development, with the exception of a modest negative correlation between the Conventional status and the SCT. Alternate measures of generativity were also unrelated to ego development. They were, however, moderately negatively associated with measures of distressing emotions, suggesting, perhaps, a greater conceptual and measurement emphasis on absence of pathology as an indicator of psychosocial maturity. Although it remains unclear to what degree the experience of distressing emotions actually compromises an individual's achievement of mature generativity, the results of this study clearly implied that the various generativity measures differ in the emphasis they place on emotional stability for the generative adult. The failure to find a link between Generative prototype ratings and ego development was, however, somewhat puzzling, particularly in view of the moderate positive relationship observed between the Generative prototype and Openness, a moderate correlate, also, of the SCT. Although ego development and the generativity status model share some of the psychological elements represented by Openness to Experience, they may nevertheless continue to measure rather different constructs. By extension, the lack of association observed between ego level and psychosocial adjustment may be interpreted as tentative evidence for the notion of some independence of the Eriksonian developmental process in general from that of ego development, as conceptualized by Loevinger.

The Present Study

The results of the two generativity status studies to date are seen as generally supportive of the proposed features of the new generativity prototype model, and indicative of important differences between this and other, less process-oriented, operationalizations of Erikson's construct. However, more evidence of predictive validity is needed to confirm the model's structure and further develop an understanding of the characteristics that can be meaningfully associated with each distinct generativity style. Additionally,

these studies could not address the question of whether individuals mature in their experience and expression of generativity across adulthood.

Inter-rater reliability of the Generativity Status Measure, while adequate, was less than ideal in previous research, and suggested that further scoring guidelines and strategies were required. Some gains in reliability have been obtained by using a dimensional approach, which assesses the degree to which individuals approximate each generativity status prototype. The use of dimensional scores on each status may offer another benefit in addition to enhanced reliability, namely, its ability to encode important information about the unique generativity profiles of different individuals. A goal of the current research was to further develop the Generativity Status Measure scoring methodology in ways that enhance the reliability of the measure, and to examine reliability in terms of its generalizability to other coders.

A second goal of the present research was to determine the degree to which self-ratings of generativity status on a new, self-report scale of the generativity prototypes, the Generativity Status Self-Report (GSSR), approximated observer ratings on the interview measure. Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they believe each prototype, described briefly in paragraph form, resembled themselves. This methodology has also been used by Hazan and Shaver (1987), and Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991), in investigations of adult attachment. The self-ratings were compared to objective assessments of the generativity statuses to determine the extent of convergence between self-report and interview generativity prototype scores.

Third, this study sought to begin the process of understanding changes in generativity expression over time, by undertaking a two year follow-up of the participants who were measured for generativity in the second of the two generativity status studies conducted to date. Issues of change and stability are central to developmental models of human functioning, and are attracting increasing attention in Eriksonian psychosocial research, largely as this relates to identity development across adulthood (e.g. Josselson,

1987; Stephen et al., 1992), but also in terms of developmental stage progression both within and between cohorts in their adult years (Whitbourne et al., 1992). Empirical efforts to track the stability of generativity levels to date have focused primarily on establishing the test-retest reliability of self-report generativity measures over relatively short periods of time, although research is beginning to emerge that considers changes in generativity expression over much longer time periods. No data on test-retest reliability exists for two such scales (Darling-Fisher & Kline Leidy, 1988; Ochse & Plug, 1986); however, indices of stability are available for several other self-report measures. Using a sample of 62 females and 46 males (age range: 10 - 86 years; $M = 37$, SD not reported), Hawley (1984) reported test-retest reliability across two distinct time periods for independent generativity and stagnation subscales embedded within a larger measure of psychosocial constructs. Reliability coefficients of $r = .88$ and $r = .80$ were obtained for the generativity subscale across a two week interval, and a second three to thirteen week period respectively. The stagnation subscale achieved test-retest coefficients of $r = .81$ and $r = .78$ across these same periods. Domino and Affonso (1990) reported a one month test-retest reliability of $r = .85$ for the generativity subscale of the Inventory of Psychosocial Balance in a sample of 68 adults, equally divided by gender (age range: 25 - 83 years; median = 49). McAdams and de St. Aubin (1992) obtained three week test-retest reliability of $r = .73$ for the LGS in a sample of 23 male and 56 female subjects ranging in age from 25 to 74 years ($M = 45$, $SD = 9.4$). Using the generativity subscale of the multi-stage Inventory of Personality Development, Whitbourne et al. (1992), as mentioned earlier, observed stable mean generativity scores across a much longer period, from ages 31 to 42 ($N = 62$ men and 37 women), but noted a trend towards increased generativity self-report in a separate sample between ages 20 and 31 ($N = 43$ men and 40 women). In a sample of 49 women, Peterson and Klonen (1995) obtained evidence for higher salience of generativity issues at age 43 than in early adulthood based on observer ratings.

Standard short-term test-retest procedures can, of course, result in overestimates of reliability due to the influence of memory on test responses (Nunnally, 1964), and reveal little about the potential long-term stability of the constructs measured. However, Whitbourne et al. (1992) have produced evidence to suggest both stability and change in generativity self-report over extended periods of time, as measured along a continuum of high to low scorers, and Peterson and Klohnen's (1995) work provides longitudinal findings of changes in the degree of investment in generative activities using observer ratings. There are currently no data on the stability of the more process-oriented Generativity Status Measure, nor any research that compares the relationship between self-report and objective measures of generativity longitudinally.

The present research examined stability and change in the LGS, Ochse and Plug's (1986) generativity subscale, and Generativity Status Measure ratings of individuals' generativity over a two-year period. Measures of generativity were expected to exhibit moderate stability over the two year time period. There is some justification for this hypothesis within psychosocial theory. As with all Eriksonian stages, generativity - stagnation is postulated to progress from an initial immersion in the psychosocial "crisis" to a resolution of stage-specific issues that serves as a foundation for subsequent psychosocial tasks. Individuals measured at Time 1 were selectively recruited in order to represent an age grouping at which, according to psychosocial theory, generativity issues should largely be resolved, with final stage outcomes perhaps most readily observable. Therefore, these individuals could reasonably be expected to exhibit only modest change in generativity ratings on both self-report and objective measures. However, as psychosocial theory allows for the reworking of any life stage subsequent to its initial resolution, it is also possible that some individuals will have shifted in their expression of generativity. Such a shift could be triggered by changes in environmental demands and circumstances, by a reworking of one or several of the psychosocial stages that precede generativity, or simply by a fresh appraisal of issues specific to generativity. Two measures were administered in

an effort to anticipate broad factors which could be linked to changes in generativity self-report or status profile. The Life Experiences Survey (Sarason, Johnson, & Siegel, 1978) provided a means of assessing the number and impact of major life events that have occurred during the two year interval between generativity assessments. Significant life events, particularly those involving increased or decreased responsibilities in the workplace, at home, or in the community, may prompt a review of generativity issues. Other potentially important life events included in the measure were outstanding personal achievement, retirement, the birth of children or grandchildren, major health concerns, and loss of significant others. Participants also completed Ochse and Plug's (1986) measure of Erikson's first six stages, as a means of assessing overall psychosocial functioning based on the resolution of stage issues that theoretically precede generativity. This measure is particularly well suited to tracking developmental aspects of change in generativity resolution, as participants were administered this scale during the first testing session.

A fourth objective of the current study was to replicate salient aspects of the second generativity status study. Relationships between the Generativity Status Measure, the LGS, and Ochse and Plug's generativity subscale self-report measures of generativity, and psychosocial adjustment as measured by Ochse and Plug's (1986) overall scale, were anticipated to parallel those obtained previously, thus confirming a broad convergence between scale measures of generativity and the status model. The Openness to Experience domain scale of the NEO-PI was also re-administered, in order to replicate previous findings distinguishing Generative and Pseudogenerative-Agentive prototypes from Conventional. This scale seeks to assess individuals' "appreciation of experience for its own sake; toleration for and exploration of the unfamiliar" (Costa & McCrae, 1985, p. 2). The domain scale is comprised of the facet scales Fantasy, Aesthetics, Feelings, Actions, Ideas and Values. Fantasy taps into an imaginative vs practically based thinking style. Aesthetics measures appreciation of art and beauty, and Feelings captures emotional responsiveness and empathic tendencies. Actions juxtaposes novelty-seeking with

preference for strict routines, while Ideas differentiates between analytical, theoretically-oriented and pragmatic approaches to life. The Values facet scale was of special interest, as it appeared most consistent with the status model's conceptualization of generative tolerance. Individuals who score high on Openness to Values are described as tolerant and broad-minded; closed individuals are more dogmatic and conforming (Costa & McCrae, 1985). Openness to Values, as well as Openness generally, has been found to correlate negatively with the Traditional Family Ideology Scale (Costa & McCrae, 1985). As before, scale measures of generativity were anticipated to bear no, or only weak, relationships to Openness to Values in the present study. NEO-Openness was initially developed and validated independently of the other domain scales of the NEO-PI (McCrae & Costa, 1985); therefore, use of the domain scale alone was not seen as an inappropriate departure from standard administration procedures. Internal consistency of the domain scale is high ($\alpha = .86$ for men and $.88$ for women), although it is somewhat reduced for the Values facet scale ($\alpha = .67$ for men and $.73$ for women) (Costa & McCrae, 1985). Six month test-retest reliability is good ($r = .86$, domain scale; $r = .79$, facet scale), as is test-retest reliability in adults from age 25 - 84 over the much longer period of six years ($r = .83$, domain scale; $r = .71$, facet scale) (Costa & McCrae, 1989).

Finally, the present study also sought to extend validity investigations of hypothesized status attributes. Earlier research has supported distinctions between several of the generativity prototypes, most notably between Generative, Conventional, and Stagnant. The re-administration of alternative generativity scales, Ochse and Plug's scale of Erikson's first seven stages, and NEO-Openness was intended to confirm these distinctions. The study also endeavoured to obtain further evidence of the proposed features of the two Pseudogenerative prototypes. Agentic and Communal statuses are defined as embodying opposing expressions of vital involvement and tolerance towards self and others, yet are also considered relatively self-absorbed, in the sense of preoccupied with personal needs in their interactions with others. The Agentic prototype frequently

presents as somewhat interpersonally detached, while relationships are of considerable importance to the Communal resolution. Therefore, it seems reasonable to expect that these two prototypes would also experience opposing sorts of difficulties in their dealings with others, and for these kinds of difficulties to be most clearly associated with these two prototypes. Some support for this hypothesis was provided by earlier research which found Agentic to possess marginally more assertive, significantly less warm, and somewhat less agreeable personality traits than Communal, with remaining prototypes undistinguished on these variables. The revised Inventory of Interpersonal Problems (IIP-C; Alden, Wiggins, & Pincus, 1990) was used in this study to test hypotheses concerning areas of interpersonal conflict. The IIP-C is a circumplex adaptation of scales developed by Horowitz, Rosenberg, Baer, Ureno and Villasenor (1988) to catalogue interpersonal problems encountered in clinical settings. The IIP-C identifies an individual's characteristic interpersonal difficulties along axes of dominance and nurturance. The dominance dimension is marked by domineering interpersonal behavior at one extreme, and lack of assertion at the other. The nurturance dimension is characterized by problems of overconcern for others at the one pole, and by difficulties feeling love and concern for others at the other. Beginning with the dominant axis, IIP-C scales assess interpersonal problems within the following circumplex octants: overcontrolling behavior (Domineering); suspiciousness and anger (Vindictive); difficulty feeling and expressing affection towards others (Cold); embarrassment and anxiety in the presence of others (Socially Avoidant); discomfort in authoritative roles and difficulties expressing their needs to others (Nonassertive); problems feeling and expressing anger towards others, and experiences of being easily taken advantage of (Exploitable); trying too hard to please others, as well as overly trusting, caring and generous interactions with others (Overly Nurturant); and inappropriately self-disclosing, attention-seeking behavior (Intrusive).

Alden et al.'s (1990) translation of Horowitz et al.'s (1988) scales into circumplex format has the advantage of enabling researchers to locate the individual at single point in

two-dimensional space, thus summarizing the individual's interpersonal difficulties across a broad range of interpersonal domains. Moreover, their extension of Horowitz et al.'s (1988) research with a college sample confirms the appropriateness of the IIP for use in a general, non-clinical population. Alden et al. (1990) found the IIP-C scales to converge strongly with a well-established interpersonal dispositions circumplex, the Interpersonal Adjective Scale (Wiggins, 1979). Other research has supported the circumplex structure of the IIP-C (Gurtman, 1992). Gurtman has recommended the IIP-C for use as a standard of reference for building a nomological net in construct validation procedures, as its circumplex properties "can produce insights that are difficult to achieve when validation procedures are more piecemeal in approach" (Gurtman, 1992, p. 110). Internal consistency of the IIP-C subscales as reported by Alden et al. (1990) was acceptable, ranging from .72 (Intrusive) to .85 (Socially Avoidant). Figure 3 presents the circumplex, with octants arranged around the axes of dominance and nurturance.

 Insert Figure 3 about here

Participants were administered the IIP-C at Time 2. The Agentic prototype was expected to report interpersonal problems located predominantly on the Cold pole of the nurturance dimension, in octants labeled Domineering, Vindictive, Cold, and Socially Avoidant. These kinds of interpersonal problems are theoretically consistent with the Agentic's low tolerance for and involvement with others, and concomitant high levels of these criteria for the self. In contrast, the Communal's high tolerance for and involvement with others is consistent with interpersonal problems located in octants on the opposite pole of the nurturance dimension: Intrusive, Overly-Nurturant, Exploitable, and Nonassertive. Although acting in an authoritative role is postulated as frequently problematic for strongly Communal individuals, their often intense need to be needed, and consequent forcefulness in relationship maintenance behaviors, suggested that inclusion of the dominant quadrant

on the nurturance pole was warranted. On this measure, Generative and Conventional prototypes were not predicted to show strong or unique patterns of interpersonal difficulties. No firm predictions were made for Stagnant. While it seems reasonable to hypothesize that many individuals typifying a Stagnant profile should cluster in the non-assertive half of the circumplex, the loudly insistant low tolerance of some strongly Stagnant individuals left some doubt as to the degree to which this hypothesis would be true for the status profile as a whole.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Participants

Participants were first recruited between June 1991 and January 1992. One hundred adults between the ages of 42 - 64 ($M = 49.22$, $SD = 3.97$), evenly divided by gender, took part at Time 1. All subjects were volunteers who were not paid for their participation. All were told that the study concerned the "challenges that face men and women in middle adulthood" and that they would be asked about their "values and activities, particularly in the areas of work, social issues, family relations, and personal achievements". Subjects were recruited through a wide distribution of posters in the large urban centre of Vancouver, B.C., Canada, and its outlying areas. Participants were invited to "chain" and bring up to two more individuals, other than spouse, into the study. Twenty participants complied and chained to a total of 23 individuals. Forty-seven percent of the total sample were married, 44% were separated, divorced or widowed, and 9% indicated that they had never been married. Seventeen percent had obtained high school education or less, 63% had some college or university undergraduate training, and 20% had undertaken (although not necessarily completed) graduate education. Differences in education level between women and men were significant, Pearson chi square ($N = 100$, 2 df) = 10.48, $p < .005$, with more men having undertaken (although not necessarily completed) graduate education ($z = 2.36$). Calculation of Cramer's V placed the degree of association between gender and education level at .32. Forty-two percent of the sample were employed in traditionally blue-collar occupations such as trades and clerical work. Fifty-one percent were employed in white-collar occupations, including law and business management. Seven percent were unemployed, retired or full-time students. Sex differences in occupational levels were observed, Pearson chi square ($N = 100$, 2 df) = 17.84, $p < .001$, with more women employed in blue collar occupations than in white-collar occupations

compared to men ($z = 3.56$). Calculation of Cramer's V placed the degree of association between gender and employment at .42. Eighty-five percent had children of their own or by marriage. The average number of children for these participants was 2.1. Age of children ranged from 7 to 34 ($M = 22.15$, $SD = 6.12$).

Eighty-two participants (82%), evenly divided by gender, agreed to be interviewed at Time 2. Six of these individuals (2 males, 4 females) declined to complete the questionnaire package. There were no significant differences between individuals who took part at Time 2 and those who did not in age, $t(98) = 1.18$, ns ($\eta = .12$), marital status, chi square ($N = 100$, 1 df) = .32, ns ($\phi = .07$), education, chi square ($N = 100$, 2 df) = 1.26, ns ($\phi = .11$), or employment, chi square ($N = 100$, 2 df) = .59, ns, (Cramer's V = .08). Mean generativity scores also did not significantly differ for those who took part at Time 2 compared to those who did not. T-test and degree of association analyses showed no systematic pattern of attrition on the Generative, $t(98) = -.59$, ns, ($\eta = .06$), Pseudogenerative-Agentic, $t(98) = 1.02$, ns, ($\eta = .10$), Pseudogenerative-Communal, $t(98) = .56$, ns, ($\eta = .06$), Conventional, $t(98) = -1.63$, ($\eta = .16$) or Stagnant, $t(98) = .43$, ns ($\eta = .04$) prototype dimensional scales. Analysis of status categorizations of those who did and did not participate at follow-up were also non-significant, chi-square ($N = 100$, 4 df) = 5.04, (Cramer's V = .22). The follow-up sample did not score higher on scale measures of generativity at Time 1 than those who declined to take part at Time 2 (LGS: $t(98) = .89$, ns; $\eta = .09$; OPES generativity subscale: $t(98) = .64$, ns; $\eta = .07$).

At Time 2, mean age was 51 years. Fifty-one percent were married, 38% were separated, divorced or widowed, and 11% had never been married. Eighteen percent of the sample had achieved high school education or less, 62% had attended university or college, and 20% had undertaken graduate work. The average amount of education in years was 15.70 ($SD = 3.40$). Sex differences in educational level were observed, with men again obtaining a higher educational level than women, chi square ($N = 82$, 2 df) = 5.84, $p =$

.054, and $F(1,80) = 4.30, p < .05$. Calculation of Cramer's V placed the degree of association between gender and education level at .27. Thirty-seven percent were employed in traditionally blue-collar occupations, forty-eight percent in white-collar occupations, and 11% were unemployed, retired, or full-time students. Significant sex differences in occupational level were observed, chi square ($N = 82, 2 \text{ df}$) = 8.99, $p < .02$), with more women in blue-collar than in white-collar occupations compared to men ($z = 2.38$). Calculation of Cramer's V placed the degree of association between gender and employment at .33. Eighty-five percent of the sample had children of their own or by marriage; the average number of children for these participants was 2.04. Age of children at Time 2 ranged from two weeks to 36 years ($M = 22.33, SD = 6.82$).

Procedure

The study involved two test sessions two years apart. At Time 1, participants were interviewed using the Generativity Status Measure, and then were asked to complete a package of self-report questionnaires. Questionnaire measures relevant to the present study administered at Time 1 were as follows: Loyola Generativity Scale, Ochse and Plug Erikson Scale, NEO-PI Openness to Experience. Self-report measures were left with participants, and a self-addressed, stamped envelope was provided for their return to the investigator. All participants were instructed to complete and mail the questionnaire package within the week immediately following the interview. Actual latency of return at Time 1 was two days to two and a half months (median = 14 days). The second interview was conducted approximately two years after the first interview (ranging from two years less 18 days to two years and three and a half months; median = two years, 28 days). Self-report questionnaires were again left with participants to complete following the interview. In addition to the measures administered at Time 1, participants at Time 2 completed the Generativity Status Self-Report, the Life Experiences Inventory, and the Inventory of Interpersonal Problems. A subset of participants at Time 2 also completed Kohlberg and

Real-Life Moral Dilemmas for use in a separate study. Latency of questionnaire return at Time 2 was two days to three months (median = 15 days), with the exception of one return at four and a half months.

Measures

Generativity Status Measure. A semi-structured interview, preceded by a brief demographics questionnaire (Appendix A), was used to determine generativity status. The interview lasted approximately one hour, was audiotaped, and was scored according to a rating manual (Appendix B). Levels of vital involvement and tolerance are the defining criteria for the status prototypes. Examples of questions tapping vital involvement are: "Do you feel you've accomplished or are on the way to accomplishing your career goals?"; "How do you feel you have influenced your children's development?"; and "Are you involved in community or volunteer work?". Examples of questions tapping tolerance are: "How do you react when someone questions your authority?"; "What do you think young people today need?"; and "How do you feel about the direction your children have chosen/way your children are developing?". Probing questions may be asked in order to obtain a scorable response. Alternative questions are also provided to accommodate salient individual circumstances. For instance, if an individual does not have children, questions exploring the participant's relationship to other young people are asked. The Generative status is characterized by high vital involvement and tolerance, and represents the most positive psychosocial outcome. The Pseudogenerative-Agentive prototype is high in vital involvement and tolerance for self but not for others, while the Pseudogenerative-Communal status is high in vital involvement and tolerance for others, but not for self. The Conventional status, high in vital involvement for self and others, is low to moderate in tolerance across the board. Stagnant reflects the poorest psychosocial outcome, and is low in vital involvement and tolerance generally, although laissez-faire tolerance is sometimes present.

All interviews at Time 1 and Time 2 were conducted by the investigator. Interviews were coded by independent raters trained in the use of the measure. In each of four target areas of activity (work, community, family, and personal goals, activities and health-related behaviors), participants were assessed on the five generativity statuses using a 9-point scale. An overall dimension rating on each status, as well as an overall categorical status rating, was assigned for use in further analyses. Coders also completed additional generativity status scales for use in a separate study. Reliability procedures and final ratings for the Generativity Status Measure are described in the Results section.

Generativity Status Self-Report. The GSSR (Appendix C) describes each prototype resolution briefly in paragraph form and asks participants first to select which prototype they feel best describes them (Part A), and then to indicate, on 9-point Likert scales, the extent to which they believe each prototype resembles themselves (Part B). One man did not complete Part A of the questionnaire, reducing the sample size to $N = 75$. Three men declined to complete the GSSR Generative dimension; 6 individuals (3 men and 3 women) did not complete the GSSR Agentic, Communal, and Conventional dimensions; and 3 individuals (2 men, 1 woman) did not complete the Stagnant dimension, resulting in sample sizes ranging from $N = 73 - 71$.

Loyola Generativity Scale. The LGS is a 20-item questionnaire (Appendix D) developed by McAdams and de St. Aubin (1992), and was used to determine generativity self-rating along a high-low continuum. Participants were asked to indicate on a 4-point Likert scale the extent to which they agree or disagree with each item. High scores indicate greater success with the tasks of generativity - stagnation. Examples of questions from the scale are: "I try to pass along the knowledge I have gained through my experiences"; "Others would say I have made unique contributions to society"; and "I have a responsibility to improve the neighborhood in which I live". Scoring is reversed on six items to control for response set. Examples of these are: "I do not volunteer to work for a charity"; and "In general, my actions do not have a positive effect on others". Internal

consistency in an adult sample ($N = 165$) was previously reported as $\alpha = .84$ (McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992). In this study, an α of .84 ($N = 100$) was obtained at Time 1, and an α of .80 ($N = 76$) was obtained at Time 2.

Ochse and Plug Erikson Scale. This 93-item questionnaire (OPES) developed by Ochse and Plug (1986) is comprised of subscales designed to assess Erikson's first seven psychosocial stages (Appendix E) and a scale to assess social desirability. Internal consistency of the total Erikson scale was high in an initial study involving black and white subjects (coefficient $\alpha = .91$; $N = 1859$). As Ochse and Plug (1986) suggested that a strong general factor representing psychosocial development in a general sense underlies their measure, all Erikson subscales, excluding the generativity subscale, were collapsed and combined into an OPES Total scale score ($n = 66$ items) for the purposes of this study. The generativity subscale ($n = 10$ items) was also used in analyses as a second measure of generativity self-rating. The social desirability scale ($n = 17$ items) built into the OPES was also administered in order to preserve the integrity of the scale. Participants were asked to indicate on a 4-point Likert scale the degree to which they agreed or disagreed with each item. High scores indicate increasing mastery of psychosocial tasks (OPES Total scale) or generativity issues (OPES generativity subscale). Examples of items from the generativity subscale are: "I enjoy caring for young children" and "I have a good influence on people". Reverse scoring is used for half the items. Examples of these items are: "I take great care of myself" and "Young people forget what one has done for them". Examples of items from subscales designed to measure other stage issues are: "I feel the world's major problems can be solved" (trust - mistrust); "After I have made a decision I feel I have made a mistake" (autonomy - shame, doubt; reverse scoring); "I am prepared to take a risk to get what I want" (initiative - guilt); "I lose interest in something and leave it unfinished" (industry - inferiority; reverse scoring); "I feel proud to be the sort of person I am" (identity - identity confusion); and "I feel nobody really cares about me" (intimacy - isolation; reverse scoring). Internal consistency of this subscale in two separate samples using

coefficient alpha was .76 ($N = 1475$) and .68 ($N = 384$). At Time 2, one woman did not complete the OPES psychosocial index, reducing the sample size at Time 2 to $N = 75$. An alpha of .94 ($N = 100$) was obtained at Time 1, and an alpha of .92 ($N = 75$) was obtained at Time 2 for the overall scale; for the generativity subscale, alphas of .63 ($N = 100$) and .67 ($N = 76$) were observed at Time 1 and Time 2 respectively.

NEO-PI. The Openness to Experience domain scale of the NEO-Personality Inventory (NEO-Openness; Appendix F) is comprised of six facet scales, each containing eight items ($N = 48$ items). Openness to Experience describes an individual's "appreciation of experience for its own sake" (Costa & McCrae, 1985, p. 2). Overall Openness scores were computed for use in analyses; the Values facet scale score was also used separately in statistical procedures. High scorers on the Values facet scale are described as "broad-minded, tolerant, non-conforming, open-minded"; while low scorers on this facet scale are "dogmatic, conforming, narrow-minded, conservative" (Costa & McCrae, 1985, p. 2). Examples of items from the Values facet scale are: "I believe letting students hear controversial speakers can only confuse and mislead them" (reverse scoring); and "I consider myself broad-minded and tolerant of other people's lifestyles". Examples of items from the remaining facet scales comprising the domain scale are: "I don't like to waste my time daydreaming" (reverse scoring); "I am intrigued by the patterns I find in art and nature"; and "I often enjoy playing with theories or abstract ideas". High internal consistency of the domain scale (coefficient alpha = .86 for men and .88 for women) has been reported by Costa & McCrae (1985), as well as somewhat reduced coefficients for the Values facet scale (coefficient alpha = .67 for men and .73 for women). At Time 1, one woman did not complete NEO-Openness measures, reducing the sample size at Time 1 to $N = 99$. At Time 2, one man did not complete the NEO-Openness measures, reducing the sample size at Time 2 to $N = 75$. In this study, alphas of .87 and .80 ($N = 99$) were observed at Time 1 for the Openness domain scale and the Values facet scale respectively; alphas of .84 and .77 ($N = 75$) were obtained for these scales at Time 2.

Life Experiences Survey. The LES is a 47-item self-report questionnaire (Sarason, Johnson, & Siegel, 1978) designed to record the number of life events experienced in the past year, and assess the impact of these experiences from negative to positive on a 6-point Likert scale (Appendix G). Three blank spaces are also provided in which participants can report and rate other events that they may have experienced. Several modifications of the LES were made to adapt the scale for use in the present study. First, in addition to the two six-month intervals used by the measure to track the approximate timing of events, a third category, "one year to two years", was incorporated into the inventory to ensure coverage of the full time span between studies. Second, two items relating to familial illness and death were expanded by the researcher to include the category of children. Third, the measure was supplemented with four items from the Life Events Inventory (Cochrane & Robertson, 1973) relating to alcohol and drug use, and marital infidelity. The alcohol and drug use item was expanded to distinguish problematic substance use from increased or decreased substance use. Fourth, a single work-related item on the LES was separated into its component parts through substitution of four reasonably equivalent items from the Life Events Inventory; a fifth item from this inventory was broken down into two parts and included, in order to independently assess the impact of increased or decreased responsibility at work. These latter modifications allowed for greater specificity in the assessment of life events theoretically relevant to generativity. The same rationale underlay the addition of two new items relating to community involvement. Finally, one item on the LES, "Leaving home for the first time", was deleted as inappropriate for this sample. The modified LES scale consisted of 57 items. For each participant, the total number of major events experienced across the two year period was calculated. The total absolute value of impact was computed by adding the absolute value of the positive and the negative impact scores. The impact scales were used to determine the total number of events that were experienced as positive, and the total number of events that were experienced as negative.

A positive impact scale was derived by summing the positive impact scores; a negative impact scale was derived by summing the negative impact scores.

Inventory of Interpersonal Problems. The IIP circumplex (IIP-C; Alden, Wiggins & Pincus, 1990) is a 64-item inventory designed to measure interpersonal difficulties across a wide range of interpersonal domains (Appendix H). Participants were asked to indicate on a 5-point Likert scale the amount of distress they have experienced from each interpersonal problem. Mean values for each subscale were calculated for use in further analyses. Ipsative procedures, in which scale scores are expressed as a deviation from the participant's overall mean, were also calculated on each subscale in order to control for a potential complaint, acquiescence, or intensity factor (Wiggins, Steiger, & Gaelick, 1981). The circumplex is divided into eight octants along the dimensions of nurturance and dominance with subscales corresponding to each octant. The dominance dimension is marked by domineering interpersonal behavior at one extreme, and lack of assertion at the other. The nurturance dimension is characterized by problems of overconcern for others at the one pole, and by difficulties feeling love and concern for others at the other. Beginning with the dominant axis, IIP scales assess interpersonal problems within the following circumplex octants: overcontrolling behavior (Domineering); suspiciousness and anger (Vindictive); difficulty feeling and expressing affection towards others (Cold); embarrassment and anxiety in the presence of others (Socially Avoidant); discomfort in authoritative roles and difficulties expressing their needs to others (Nonassertive); problems feeling and expressing anger towards others, and experiences of being easily taken advantage of (Exploitable); trying too hard to please others, as well as overly trusting, caring and generous interactions with others (Overly Nurturant); and inappropriately self-disclosing, attention-seeking behavior (Intrusive). Examples of items from each octant are as follows: "I try to control other people too much" (Domineering); "Hard to really care about other people's problems" (Vindictive); "Hard to give a gift to another person" (Cold); "I am too afraid of other people" (Socially Avoidant); "Hard to be aggressive toward other

people when the situation calls for it" (Nonassertive); "Hard to say "no" to other people" (Exploitable); "I put other people's needs before my own too much" (Overly Nurturant); "Hard to stay out of other people's business" (Intrusive). Internal consistency was reported by Alden et al. (1990) as ranging from .72 (Intrusive) to .85 (Socially Avoidant, Nonassertive). Alphas at Time 2 ranged from .73 - .87 ($M = .79$; $N = 76$).

Kohlberg and Real-Life Moral Dilemmas. Two moral dilemmas, one hypothetical and one real-life, were administered to a sub-sample at Time 2 for use in a separate study.

Statistical Analyses of Gender Differences

Personality researchers have long advocated examination of differences associated with gender when investigating psychological processes (cf. Block, 1992). Careful attention to gender issues is arguably particularly important when constructing a developmental model of functioning that attempts to describe broad intrapsychic and social aspects of thought and behavior, such as the generativity model proposed in this study. The following strategy has been adopted to ensure, where it is statistically viable to do so, that relationships between variables of interest have been adequately examined by gender. Descriptive statistics for the Generativity Status Measure interview at Time 1 and at Time 2, as well as for the self-report status measure (GSSR) at Time 2, are presented for the total sample, and separately for men and for women. Potential gender differences in categorical classification patterns and mean dimension scores were explored, and the results of these analyses are reported. Generativity prototype intercorrelations at Time 1 and at Time 2 are also presented for the total sample, as well as separately for men and for women. Convergence between the interview and self-report measures at Time 2, and stability of all measures from Time 1 to Time 2 are presented for the total sample, and by gender.

All predictive analyses at Time 1 involving categorical and continuous scores on the Generativity Status Measure were performed using the full data set available ($N = 100$), as well as on the subset of people who completed both the interview and questionnaire

measures at Time 2 ($N = 76$). Unless otherwise specified, similar overall results were obtained for both samples, and analyses on the full data set only are reported. As status classification group sizes at Time 1 were sufficient to permit an examination of gender effects in ANOVA operations with personality variables when the entire data set was used ($N = 100$), two-way ANOVA procedures, with status classifications and sex as grouping variables, were used to test predictive analyses at Time 1 on the full data set. Where main effects for sex, or interactions between sex and generativity with dependent variables were evident at Time 1, separate analyses were conducted by gender and are reported; otherwise, planned and post-hoc contrasts for the total sample only are presented. The generally reduced sample size available at Time 2, and its counterpart at Time 1, yielded a number of very small status group counts when the sample was divided by gender (e.g., $N = 1$ in one case), making an exploration of sex effects unreasonable for most hypotheses, particularly so for those involving Agentic or Communal classifications. Therefore, planned and post-hoc comparisons at Time 2, as well as at Time 1 for the subsample of participants who took part at Time 2, were performed using combined male and female data only. For both testing sessions, correlational analyses between continuous generativity prototype scores and dependent variables are reported for the overall sample; where differences in relationship patterns for men and for women were observed, these are also reported.

Sex differences present in dependent variables are identified. Correlations of interest between dependent variables were examined separately by gender and, unless otherwise specified, were similar for men and for women.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Inter-Rater Reliability

A set of two primary coders provided generativity ratings for all participants at Time 1 (Rater 1 and Rater 2). Reliability of categorical status ratings between the primary coders across all participants at Time 1 was fair but not strong, kappa = .46 (57%). Therefore, a third coder (Rater 3) independently assessed cases where there was disagreement between the primary coders regarding categorical placement (43%). Agreement between two of the three coders across the entire sample at Time 1 attained 88%. The final categorical status rating used in subsequent analyses corresponded to the consensus between two out of the three independent coders for these cases. Where categorical rating procedures did not result in agreement between two of the three coders (12%), continuous ratings provided by the primary coders for each of the five generativity dimensions were averaged, and the highest dimensional rating served as the categorical status for that participant. There was one exception to this procedure. For one particularly difficult case, in which the primary coders were polarized Generative - Stagnant in their status ratings, averaging across the coders to produce a final status categorization was not judged to be a reasonable measurement approximation. Therefore, a fourth coder (Rater 9), expert in Eriksonian psychosocial constructs, independently coded the interview and provided agreement between two of the four coders. For this case, then, Rater 1 and Rater 9 served as final coders, and the status categorization used in subsequent analyses corresponded to their interview classification.

Inter-rater reliability for 9-point continuous scores on the five generativity dimensions was first assessed using the intraclass correlation formula recommended by Shrout and Fleiss (1979; ICC 2,1) for generalizing from sets of judges in situations where each judge rates every target. Using ratings provided by the primary raters, who coded all

participants, these reliability figures showed reasonable generalizability, and ranged from $r(\text{ICC } 2,1) = .45 - .67$ ($M = .61$). Table 1 contains ICC (2,1) correlations.

Insert Table 1 about here

Final dimensional generativity ratings for each participant at Time 1 were calculated by averaging across the pair of raters who had provided agreement on the categorical status rating, or across the primary coders where categorical rating agreement was not achieved. An estimate of the reliability of these final continuous ratings was calculated using the intraclass correlation recommended by Shrout and Fleiss (1979; ICC 1,2) when ratings are provided by different sets of judges for each target, and then averaged for use in subsequent analyses. The ICC(1,2) figures for the final dimensional averages showed strong inter-rater agreement, ranging from $r(\text{ICC } 1,2) = .73 - .90$ ($M = .84$). These coefficients are contained in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

Finally, the standard error of measurement for the averaged dimensional ratings was calculated to provide an index of the confidence with which subjects could be considered to vary absolutely on generativity dimensions when measurement error is taken into account. Standard error of measurement figures for Time 1 ranged from .48 - .63. Confidence intervals for these coefficients suggest that high scorers can be reliably distinguished from low scorers on each dimension. Table 3 contains the standard error of measurement figures and 95% confidence intervals.

Insert Table 3 about here

Coding strategies used at Time 2 to produce final generativity status ratings were as follows. A new set of two primary coders rated all interviews at Time 2 (Rater 4 and Rater 5). Categorical reliability between Rater 4 and Rater 5 across the entire sample was relatively low at kappa = .38 (51%). A third rater (Rater 1) also independently coded all subjects at Time 2, and was able to resolve categorical disagreements between Rater 4 and Rater 5 for an additional 39% of the sample, resulting in 90% agreement between two out of three coders for categorical classifications across the entire sample. The final categorical status rating used in subsequent analyses for these cases corresponded to the consensus between two out of the three independent coders. ICC (2,1) correlations, calculated to establish the generalizability of dimensional ratings provided by Rater 4 and Rater 5 across the entire sample (Table 1), did not yield high agreement, $r(\text{ICC } 2,1) = .20 - .50$ ($M = .39$). This modest overall reliability for dimensional scores assigned by the primary raters at Time 2 recommended against adopting the strategy employed at Time 1 for deriving final categorical classifications where agreement between two out of three coders was not obtained. Therefore, at Time 2, a fourth rater (Rater 9) coded interviews for which categorical agreement between two out of three raters was not obtained. All outstanding disagreements (10%) were resolved by Rater 9, and for these cases, the final categorical status rating for use in subsequent analyses corresponded to the consensus between two out of four independent coders.

Final dimensional ratings for Time 2 were obtained by averaging across the pair of raters who had provided agreement on the categorical status rating for each participant. ICC(1,2) correlations (Table 2), calculated for each dimension to determine how reliably final pairs of ratings could be averaged to produce prototype scores for use in further analyses, showed strong concordance, $r(\text{ICC } 1,2) = .73 - .89$ ($M = .82$). The standard error of measurement for final averaged dimensional ratings ranged from .39 - .56 ($M = .49$); confidence intervals for these coefficients suggest that, at Time 2 as well as at Time 1, high scoring participants can be reliably distinguished from low scoring participants on

each dimension. Standard error of measurement and 90% confidence intervals for final dimension scores at Time 2 are presented in Table 3.

As Rater 1 had coded participant interviews across the entire sample at Time 2, it was possible to estimate the level of agreement between two out of three raters, and between all three raters, when chance agreement was taken into account. The kappa coefficient for agreement between two out of three raters across the entire sample was strong at $\underline{k} = .77$. Three-way agreement between Raters 1, 4, and 5 was obtained for 34% of the interviews. The reliability coefficient for this three-way agreement was low, $\underline{k} = .30$. Categorical agreement across all participants for non-primary pairs of raters were also calculated. Rater 4's level of categorical agreement, across the entire sample, with Rater 1 was moderate at $\underline{k} = .51$ (61%); and Rater 5's level of categorical agreement with Rater 1 was relatively low at $\underline{k} = .35$ (46%).

ICC (2,1) coefficients calculated at Time 2 across all three raters for the entire sample ranged from $\underline{r}(\text{ICC } 2,1) = .32 - .53$ ($\underline{M} = .45$). ICC (2,1) correlations between non-primary pairs of raters were also calculated. Between Rater 4 and Rater 1, these coefficients ranged from $\underline{r}(\text{ICC } 2,1) = .54 - .67$ ($\underline{M} = .59$); and between Rater 5 and Rater 1, the coefficients ranged from $\underline{r}(\text{ICC } 2,1) = .27 - .54$ ($\underline{M} = .38$). These figures, and those presented earlier for the primary raters at Time 2, suggest relatively wide variability in judges' ratings on generativity dimensions when Rater 5 scores are compared with either Rater 4 or with Rater 1, in contrast to relatively strong rater consistency across dimensions when Rater 4 and Rater 1 scores are compared.

While somewhat higher reliability for both categorical and dimensional ratings appeared present at Time 2 when Rater 1's scores were examined in conjunction with Rater 4's scores, an important methodological consideration precluded the use of Rater 1 as a primary coder at this testing period, and prompted further consideration of reliability estimates and the scores used in predictive analyses. Although not blind to Time 1 ratings, having served as a primary coder for these interviews, Rater 1 also provided final codes for

a subset of the sample at follow-up, two years later (39%). While it is clearly less than ideal to use the ratings of a non-naive coder for the purposes of determining stability of functioning across time, practical constraints did not allow otherwise in the current study. Therefore, efforts were made to explore how Rater 1 scores at Time 2 might differ systematically from those of two more independent coders. First, individual stability coefficients were calculated across the entire sample at Time 2 for Rater 1, Rater 4, and Rater 5, using as a point of comparison Rater 1's scores at Time 1. For categorical ratings, these figures were as follows: Rater 1, Time 1 and Rater 1, Time 2, $\kappa = .52$; Rater 1, Time 1 and Rater 4, Time 2, $\kappa = .38$; Rater 1, Time 1 and Rater 5, Time 2, $\kappa = .13$. Second, correlation coefficients were calculated between pairs of coders for each of the five generativity dimensions. Pearson correlations between continuous ratings at Time 1 and at Time 2 ranged as follows: Rater 1, Time 1 and Rater 1, Time 2, $r = .41 - .62$ ($M = .52$); Rater 1, Time 1 and Rater 4, Time 2, $r = .29 - .60$ ($M = .43$); Rater 1, Time 1 and Rater 5, Time 2, $r = .16 - .33$, ($M = .26$).

Somewhat higher stability was observed between Rater 1's scores at both testing sessions compared to Rater 4 and, in particular, Rater 5 stability at Time 2 with Rater 1's scores at Time 1. The import of these figures is, however, difficult to judge. Previous exposure might lead to higher stability in Rater 1 scores from Time 1 to Time 2 than for the other coders, reflecting a systematic bias towards coding people similarly when reviewing them at different time periods. Alternatively, however, higher stability for Rater 1 might be attributable to more accurate ratings. Less reliable test instruments (in this case, raters), are known to attenuate inter-variable relationships (Lord & Novick, 1968). Consequently, it is perhaps important to recall that an acceptable level of reliability was attained for categorical ratings and for all continuous scores at Time 2 between Rater 1 and Rater 4, but not, however, between Rater 4 and Rater 5, nor between Rater 1 and Rater 5. Secondly, Rater 1's scores were used for a subset of the sample at Time 2 (39%), and for a subset of participants at Time 1 (71%), rather than the entire sample at either time period. Although

these factors allow for greater confidence in the final scores than would be the case if Rater 1's scores were the only ratings on which predictive analyses rested at both Time 1 and Time 2, the use of a non-naive coder for any of the Time 2 ratings nevertheless calls for caution in the interpretation of the following substantive analyses. Recoding of cases where there was disagreement between the primary coders at Time 2 by a new rater with no exposure to the interviews at Time 1, while impractical at the present time, is the procedure of choice to eliminate this problem.

Characteristics of Generativity Status Measure Ratings

Interview ratings. Interview rating procedures yielded the following generativity categorizations at Time 1: 19% of the sample were classified as Generative; 16% were classified as Agentic; 18% were classified as Communal; 33% were classified as Conventional; and 14% were classified as Stagnant. Significant sex differences were present in the case of Agentic and Communal, chi square (4, $N = 100$) = 10.63, $p < .05$; $z = 2.52$ in contrast analyses. More men were rated Agentic ($n = 10$ vs $n = 6$), and more women were rated Communal ($n = 15$ vs $n = 3$). Table 4 contains classification counts and percentages.

At Time 2, 29% of the sample were classified as Generative; 12% were classified as Agentic; 9% were classified as Communal; 28% were classified as Conventional; and 22% were classified as Stagnant (Table 4). No significant overall sex differences were observed in categorical generativity classifications at Time 2, chi square (4, $N = 82$) = 2.73, ns, nor was the specific sex difference observed at Time 1 between Agentic and Communal categorizations repeated at Time 2 ($z = .52$, ns).

 Insert Table 4 about here

Means and standard deviations for generativity dimension scores at Time 1 and Time 2 are shown in Table 5. At Time 1, a MANOVA of sex by the five generativity dimensions, and follow-up univariate tests, showed sex differences consistent with those found in categorical classifications, Pillai $F(4, 94) = 5.07, p < .001$ (Agentic: $F(1, 98) = 6.31, p < .03$; Communal: $F(1, 98) = 18.92, p < .001$). Men scored on average about one point higher than females on Agentic ($M = 3.22, SD = 2.02$ vs $M = 2.28, SD = 1.71$) and females scored on average about one and a half points higher than males on Communal ($M = 4.05, SD = 2.09$ vs $M = 2.40, SD = 1.68$).

 Insert Table 5 about here

At Time 2, a MANOVA of sex by generativity status also showed significant sex differences in mean generativity prototype scores, Pillai $F(4, 76) = 2.92, p < .02$. Follow-up univariate analyses again showed sex differences on the Communal dimension, $F(1, 70) = 6.72, p < .02$, Brown-Forsythe formula, with women scoring significantly higher than men ($M = 2.99, SD = 1.67$, and $M = 2.56, SD = 1.47$ respectively). Sex differences were also marginally present on the Stagnant dimension, $F(1, 80) = 3.69, p < .06$, with higher mean scores for men than for women ($M = 2.92, SD = 1.84$, and $M = 2.56, SD = 1.70$, respectively).

Table 6 shows intercorrelations of continuous generativity prototype ratings at Time 1; these relationships at Time 2 are presented in Table 7. Continuous ratings of generativity styles bore interrelationships generally in line with the theoretical conceptualization of the prototypes. The Generative dimension was strongly negatively correlated with the Stagnant dimension at Time 1 and at Time 2 ($r = -.54, p < .001$ and $r = -.65, p < .001$ respectively). The remaining intercorrelations were weak except for a negative relationship between Generative and Conventional ($r = -.40, p < .01$, Time 1; and $r = -.30, p < .01$, Time 2). Agentic was negatively related to Stagnant at both test periods

($r = -.30$, $p < .01$, Time 1; $r = -.26$, $p < .05$, Time 2). At Time 1 and at Time 2, Agentic showed a significant negative relationship to Communal ($r = -.28$, $p < .01$, Time 1; $r = -.39$, $p < .001$, Time 2). At both time periods, dimensions representing prototypes less than fully integrated bore a negative relationship with or were only weakly related to Generative. Correlational patterns were similar for men and for women.

 Insert Table 6 about here

 Insert Table 7 about here

Table 8 and Table 9 contain means for continuous ratings broken down by status classifications at each time period. For each classification grouping, status averages are uniquely high on corresponding continuous generativity scales. That is, at both time periods, individuals classified as Generative obtained the highest mean score on the Generative dimension, with substantially lower averages on the remaining continuous scales. This pattern was true for each of the status prototypes, again suggesting good discrimination between high and low scorers on continuous prototype ratings.

 Insert Table 8 about here

 Insert Table 9 about here

Self-report prototype ratings. Forty-five percent of the sample at Time 2 classified themselves on the GSSR as Generative; 13% as Pseudogenerative-Agentic; 20% as Pseudogenerative-Communal; 16% as Conventional; and 5% as Stagnant. Sex differences

were marginally present in GSSR categorical classifications, chi square (4, $N = 72$) = 8.65, $p < .07$, with a trend towards more men than women classifying themselves as Stagnant, $z = 1.86$ ($N = 4$ vs. $N = 0$). Table 10 contains self-report classification counts and percentages.

 Insert Table 10 about here

Table 11 contains means and standard deviations for GSSR scores. A MANOVA of mean GSSR dimension ratings by sex was nonsignificant, Pillai $F(5, 66) = 1.87$, *ns*. However, individual ANOVA operations revealed a significant sex difference for the Stagnant dimension ($p < .01$), with higher mean ratings for men ($M = 2.97$, $SD = 1.94$, vs. $M = 1.86$, $SD = 1.33$).

 Insert Table 11 about here

Table 12 presents the intercorrelation of self-report prototype ratings. The Generative dimension was not significantly negatively correlated with Stagnant ($r = -.14$, *ns*), in contrast to the interview data, and contrary to hypothesized relationships between these prototypes. Conventional and Communal were significantly negatively correlated with Generative ($r = -.41$, $p < .001$, and $r = -.26$, $p < .05$ respectively), and Agentic was significantly negatively correlated with Stagnant ($r = -.29$, $p < .02$). All other dimensions were weakly and nonsignificantly intercorrelated. Correlational patterns were similar for men and women. The intercorrelation pattern calls into question the use of the GSSR as a self-report approximation of the interview status measure, as the GSSR did not reproduce salient inter-status relationships expectable theoretically and obtained at both testing sessions using the interview measure.

 Insert Table 12 about here

Convergence between Interview and Self-Report Ratings

Further confirmation of poor consistency between the interview and self-report prototype measures was provided through both categorical and correlational analyses examining the convergence between these two measurement methods. Kappa statistics were used to evaluate the degree of concordance between interview and self-report categorical classifications at Time 2. A low level of agreement between the two types of measures was observed, $\kappa = .13$ (32%). In separate analyses by gender, the level of convergence observed for men was $\kappa = .15$ (34%), and for women, $\kappa = .10$ (30%). Categorical concordance between interview and self-ratings are contained in Table 13.

 Insert Table 13 about here

Interview and self-report measures for the Generative and Agentic dimensions were uncorrelated ($r = .18$, ns, and $r = .10$, ns respectively), reflecting a low level of association between the two measurement sources for these dimensions. A modest relationship was observed between measurement sources for the Communal dimension ($r = .24$, $p < .05$), and moderate correlations were obtained on Conventional and Stagnant dimensions ($r = .36$, $p < .003$, and $r = .33$, $p < .005$, respectively). In only two instances in the overall sample (Conventional and Stagnant) did correlations along the diagonal exceed those in adjacent positions, an important consideration for the multi-trait multi-method approach to measurement validity (Campbell & Fiske, 1959). This evidence for some degree of measurement concordance did not hold consistently across gender. Convergent and discriminant validity was obtained for Conventional men only; additionally, evidence of the validity of Communal ratings was obtained for men, although the correlation across

methods was not high ($r = .20$, ns). When the pattern of between-methods correlations was examined separately for women, measures did not converge for any of the prototypes. Table 14 contains correlations between interview and self-report measures.

 Insert Table 14 about here

Paired t -test analyses showed significant mean differences between interview and self-report measures for the Generative, $t(72) = 7.21$, $p < .001$, Agentic, $t(71) = 9.86$, $p < .001$, and Communal, $t(71) = 9.86$, $p < .001$, dimensions, with higher mean self-report scores in each case. Significant mean differences were also observed for the Stagnant dimension, $t(72) = 2.33$, $p < .03$, with elevated mean scores on the interview measure. No mean difference between measurement sources was observed for the Conventional dimension. Similar results were obtained in separate analyses by gender, except for a significantly higher self-report mean score for men only on the Conventional dimension, $t(35) = 7.48$, $p < .001$.

The general conclusion to be drawn from analyses of convergence between interview and self-report measures of generativity status is that these do not represent similar measurement approximations of the prototype model. Several factors might contribute to this finding, including the adequacy of the paragraph status descriptors used in the GSSR, and difficulties comparing self and observer reports where inherently value-laden constructs are involved.

Two Year Stability

Stability of generativity prototype ratings. Ratings were expected to show moderate stability from Time 1 to Time 2. Kappa coefficients calculated on status correspondance across time, taking into account that expectable by chance, supported this hypothesis, $\kappa = .47$ (59%). Fifty-six percent of the women ($\kappa = .43$), and 61% of the men ($\kappa = .53$) obtained the same categorical rating at Time 1 and at Time 2.

Table 15 contains counts and percentages of prototype classifications at Time 1 and Time 2 for the overall sample and separately for each gender. The percentage of individuals whose generativity classification was maintained over time was also examined within each category. Fifty-six percent of interviews classified as Generative at Time 1 were also rated Generative at Time 2 (males: 67%; females: 43%). Similarly, 55% of interviews coded Agentic at Time 1 were coded Agentic at Time 2 (males: 43%; females: 75%). Overall, and for females, a modest percentage of Communal ratings were maintained across time (overall: 31%; females: 36%); however, no Communal males at Time 1 were also coded Communal at Time 2. The absence of concordance for males in the Communal categorization is understandable given the extremely small base rate of Communal males, and the consequent low number available for testing at Time 2 ($n = 2$). Sixty-three percent of Conventional interviews maintained their Time 1 classification at Time 2 (males: 60%; females: 67%). Finally, 83% (males: 88%; females: 75%) of interviews rated Stagnant at Time 1 were coded similarly at Time 2.

Movement out of the Agentic classification was uniquely towards Generative. Individuals who shifted categories from Conventional generally moved to Generative, although some also were reclassified at Time 2 as Stagnant. Communal individuals showed varied movement in status reclassification at Time 2, with some shifting to Generative, some to Stagnant, and one each to the remaining intermediate statuses. Those originally rated as Generative who changes status categorizations tended to move into one of the Pseudogenerative classifications, although some movement to Conventional and Stagnant was observed. None of the individuals who changed from an initial Stagnant rating were reclassified as Generative at Time 2.

Insert Table 15 about here

Paired t -tests were calculated on continuous interview prototype ratings to determine mean differences over time, setting alpha at $p < .01$ to control for multiplicity of tests. Mean differences were observed using this criterion on the Communal dimension only, $t(81) = 2.92$, $p < .005$, with average ratings showing a significant decrease across time. In separate analyses by gender, mean differences over time were maintained on the Communal dimension for women, $t(40) = 3.78$, $p < .001$, although not for men, $t(40) = -.71$, ns. Table 16 contains means and standard deviations for the subsample on which interview data was obtained at both testing periods.

 Insert Table 16 about here

Correlations between continuous ratings for each prototype at Time 1 and Time 2 were also calculated to assess stability (Table 17). Moderate to strong correlations were observed in all cases, $r = .46 - .65$ ($M = .55$). Correlations between non-corresponding generativity dimensions were either negative or non-significant. Stability patterns from Time 1 to Time 2 on dimensional ratings were similar for men and women, with one exception. There was no correlation between continuous scores on the Communal dimension across time for men ($r = .00$, ns), although the correlation was high for women ($r = .61$, $p < .001$). Inspection of the men's scores on this dimension suggested some possible contributing factors to this unexpectedly low stability coefficient. Although scores ranged from 1 - 7.5 on a 9-point scale at both test periods, the distributions were highly positively skewed. This may have effectively limited the range, attenuated the relationship between scores at Time 1 and Time 2, and rendered the stability particularly sensitive to rating changes in the few high male scorers on Communal at Time 1 who were retested at Time 2.

Thus, both categorical and dimensional interview ratings showed moderate to strong stability across the two year period, with one exception. Although correlations

between Time 1 and Time 2 were strong for the Communal dimension, mean scores on this dimension showed a significant decrease over time, and low stability was observed using categorical ratings.

 Insert Table 17 about here

Stability of generativity self-report scales, psychosocial adjustment, and NEO-Openness. The LGS and the OPES generativity subscale displayed strong stability from Time 1 to Time 2 ($r = .78$, $N = 76$; and $r = .72$, $N = 76$ respectively). Correlations between scores at both times are presented in Table 18. Paired t -test analyses showed no significant overall change from Time 1 to Time 2 in mean generativity scores on the LGS and the OPES generativity subscale, $t(75) = .69$, ns, and $t(75) = .64$, ns, respectively. Among those who participated at both testing sessions, there was no significant main effect for sex at Time 1 on the LGS, $F(1,74) = 2.82$, or the OPES generativity subscale, $F(1,74) = 1.42$, ns. There was also no sex by time interaction on either of the generativity scales (LGS: $F(1,74) = .02$, ns; OPES-GEN: $F(1,74) = 1.19$, ns). However, a significant main effect for sex was observed at Time 2 on the LGS, $F(1, 74) = 4.23$, $p < .05$, and a tendency toward sex differences at Time 2 was present on the OPES generativity subscale, $F(1,69) = 3.70$, $p > .06$, Brown-Forsythe formula, with women scoring higher than men in both cases. Therefore, stability was also examined separately for men and women. No significant changes over time were observed when male and female data were analysed separately (LGS males: $t(38) = .54$, ns; LGS females: $t(35) = .41$, ns; OPES-GEN males: $t(38) = 1.10$, ns; OPES-GEN females $t(36) = -.38$, ns). Table 19 contains means and standard deviations for these scales at both time periods.

 Insert Table 18 about here

 Insert Table 19 about here

The OPES psychosocial index also showed strong stability from Time 1 to Time 2, $r = .82$, $N = 75$ (Table 18). Significant mean change was, nevertheless, observed in scores on the OPES psychosocial index from Time 1 to Time 2, $t(74) = 2.34$, $p < .02$, with lower mean scores on this scale at Time 2 (Table 19). Significant sex differences in scores on the OPES index of psychosocial adjustment were observed at Time 2 only (Time 1: $F(1,73) = 2.03$, ns; Time 2: $F(1,73) = 4.49$, $p < .05$), with higher mean scores for women. Separate change analyses for male and female scores showed little difference between trends for men and women to score lower at Time 2 (OPES females: $t(35) = 1.54$, $p = .13$; OPES males: $t(38) = 1.83$, $p = .08$). No significant sex by time interaction was observed on this scale, $F(1, 73) = .42$, ns.

Although changes in NEO ratings from Time 1 to Time 2 were not of direct interest to the present study, they should nevertheless parallel changes in generativity prototype ratings if the predicted relationships between NEO ratings and the Generativity Status Measure are to be maintained across time. There is evidence to suggest that the NEO Openness domain scale remains fairly stable over a considerable time period: test-retest coefficients of $r = .86$ ($N = 31$), and $r = .73$ ($N = 388$) were obtained across a six month and a six year interval respectively (Costa & McCrae, 1988). Coefficients for NEO-Values obtained on these same samples, and for these same time intervals, were $r = .79$ and $r = .71$ (Costa & McCrae, 1988). In the present study, the overall domain scale, as well as the facet scale, showed strong stability ($r = .81$, $N = 75$; and $r = .84$, $N = 75$ respectively) (Table 16). However, significantly lower mean scores over time were observed for the NEO Values subscale, $t(73) = 2.85$, $p < .006$, although not for the domain scale, $t(73) = 1.59$, ns. No significant main effects for sex were observed at Time 1 and Time 2 for those who took part at both testing sessions on the domain scale, $F(1,73) = .44$, ns, and

$F(1,73) = .05$, ns, respectively, or on the facet scale, $F(1,73) = 2.88$, ns, and $F(1,73) = 1.56$, ns. There was also no sex by time interaction on the NEO-Openness domain scale, $F(1, 73) = .30$, ns, nor on the Values facet scale, $F(1, 73) = .76$, ns. Table 19 presents the means and standard deviations for these scales at Time 1 and at Time 2.

In summary, generativity scales, psychosocial adjustment and NEO-Openness all showed strong levels of stability as assessed through correlations between scores at Time 1 and Time 2, although significant decreases in mean scores across time were observed in the OPES index of adjustment and in the Values facet scale across all participants.

Life events. Participants experienced an average of 8.12 ($SD = 5.73$) major life events in the two years between assessments, with a range of 0 - 31 events. There was no significant difference in the total number of events experienced by men and by women, $F(1,74) = .38$, ns. About equal numbers of positive and negative events were experienced (mean number of positive events = 3.86, $SD = 2.98$; mean number of negative events = 3.47, $SD = 3.30$). The impact scales were highly positively correlated with the number of events experienced (absolute impact and total number of events: $r = .93$, $N = 74$; positive impact and number of positive events: $r = .96$, $N = 72$; negative impact and number of negative events: $r = .95$, $N = 73$). Therefore, event counts only were used in subsequent analyses. Table 20 contains the most frequently reported events by gender.

 Insert Table 20 about here

Generativity prototype stability, life experiences, and psychosocial adjustment.

Changes in generativity status profile were examined in relation to the Life Events Survey and the Ochse and Plug Erikson Scale for individuals who completed questionnaire packages at both testing sessions. T-test analyses were used to determine whether categorical changes to Generative ($n = 13$) or from Generative ($n = 6$) were accompanied by mean differences in life event scales. As these group sizes are small, limited power was

available for adequately testing relationships between status shifts, life events, and psychosocial adjustment. There were no significant differences between those who moved to or from Generative in total number of life events, $t(17) = .67, p < .51$, or number of positive life events reported, $t(17) = 1.23, p < .24$. Individuals who did not maintain a Generative classification at Time 2, however, showed a slight tendency to experience more negative life events than those who were newly categorized as Generative, $t(17) = 1.87, p < .08$. On average, those who shifted away from Generative experienced over one and a half times as many negative events as those who shifted towards Generative ($M = 7.17, SD = 3.19$ vs $M = 4.39, SD = 2.93$). Shifts to and from Generative were also examined in terms of change scores on the psychosocial adjustment index, as this could reasonably be expected to accompany decreased or increased generativity functioning. Mean changes in psychosocial adjustment, calculated by subtracting Time 1 from Time 2 scores, were not significantly different for those who moved into or out of the Generative classification, $t(17) = 1.01, p < .33$.

Change scores on generativity interview continuous scales were obtained by subtracting Time 1 from Time 2 scores, and examined in relation to life events and psychosocial adjustment. Total number of life events reported, and number of positive events, were unrelated to change scores on any of the generativity dimensions. Number of negative events was significantly positively related to Stagnant change scores ($r = .26, p < .05$); and tended to be negatively associated with Generative change scores ($r = -.21, p < .07$). However, these results must be viewed cautiously, as bonferroni procedures would place the alpha for each set of tests on dimension change scores at $p < .01$, a criterion for significance that neither of these correlations would meet. Prototype change scores were not significantly related to changes in psychosocial adjustment. Correlational patterns were largely similar for men and women. Table 21 contains correlations between interview generativity change scores, life events, and psychosocial adjustment for the overall sample, and for men and women separately.

 Insert Table 21 about here

Finally, an index of "change towards Generative" was constructed to examine the influence of life events and psychosocial adjustment on change in a "positive" direction. Continuous scores on all prototypes excluding Generative were summed at Time 2, and subtracted from the sum of ratings on these scales obtained at Time 1. The resulting figure was added to the amount obtained by subtracting ratings on the Generative prototype at Time 1 from those obtained at Time 2. The resulting index was uncorrelated with the overall number of life events ($r = -.14$, ns), the experience of positive life events ($r = .07$, ns), and the experience of negative events ($r = .04$, ns). The index was also unrelated to change scores from Time 1 to Time 2 on psychosocial adjustment ($r = .13$, ns).

Generally, changes in generativity status ratings bore little relationship to life events and changes in psychosocial adjustment scores, although there were suggestions in the data of a small link between negative life events and less optimal generativity functioning. This was represented as a very slight trend in categorical analyses of shifts away from Generative, and as modest correlations between Generative and Stagnant change scores and negative life events in dimensional analyses.

Generativity scales stability, life events, and psychosocial adjustment. LGS and OPES generativity subscale change scores were computed by subtracting Time 1 scores from those at Time 2. Change scores for both scales were unrelated to the total number of life events reported (LGS: $r = .03$, ns; OPES-GEN: $r = -.05$). Change scores for both scales were similarly unrelated to the number of positive events experienced over the two year period (LGS: $r = -.07$, ns; OPES-GEN: $r = .14$, ns), and unrelated to the number of negative events experienced over the two year period (LGS: $r = .01$, ns; OPES-GEN: $r = -.17$, ns). Correlations with OPES psychosocial index change scores were significant for both the LGS and the OPES generativity subscale (LGS: $r = .37$, $p < .001$; OPES-GEN: r

= .48, $p < .001$). Table 22 contains the correlations between generativity scale change scores, life events, and psychosocial adjustment.

 Insert Table 22 about here

Relationships between the Generativity Status Measure, Generativity Scales, Psychosocial Adjustment, and NEO-Openness: Time 1 and Time 2

Previously tested relationships between dependent variables and the Generativity Status Measure using interview codes provided by a single rater at Time 1 were re-analysed in the present study with the more reliable coding composites and classification agreements obtained through the use of multiple coders for each interview. Thus, the interview rating procedures used to investigate validity at both Time 1 and Time 2 were based on multiple coders and composite ratings.

Generativity prototypes and alternative generativity scales. Using status interview classifications, a MANOVA with sex and generativity statuses as grouping factors was performed at Time 1 on the two generativity scales: the LGS and the OPES generativity subscale. The results showed an overall significant main effect for generativity status, Pillai $F(8, 180) = 2.47, p < .02$, and no significant main effects for sex, Pillai $F(2, 89) = 1.53, ns$, or sex by status interaction, Pillai $F(8, 180) = .99, ns$. Follow-up analyses showed significant effects for generativity status on both scale measures (LGS: $F(4, 90) = 4.70, p < .002$; OPES-GEN: $F(4, 90) = 4.01, p < .005$). Table 23 contains group means and standard deviations for scores obtained at Time 1 and Time 2. As predicted, at Time 1 individuals classified as Generative scored significantly higher than those classified as Stagnant on scale measures of generativity in planned contrast analyses (LGS: $t(95) = 4.41; p < .0009$; OPES-GEN: $t(95) = 3.98, p < .0009$). Tukey honestly significant difference (HSD) contrasts with Kramer's adjustment for unequal groups were examined post-hoc to determine whether other group differences were present. Agentic was also

distinguished from Stagnant on both the LGS and the OPES generativity subscale ($p < .05$) using this procedure.

 Insert Table 23 about here

Correlational analyses at Time 1 were consistent with this pattern of results (see Table 24). Ratings indicating the degree to which individuals matched the Generative prototype were positively correlated with both generativity scales (LGS: $r = .32, p < .001$; OPES-GEN: $r = .26, p < .01$), and ratings on the Stagnant dimension were negatively correlated with these measures (LGS: $r = -.44, p < .001$; OPES-GEN: $r = -.41, p < .001$). Remaining status dimensions were weakly and nonsignificantly correlated with the generativity subscales. Correlational patterns were similar for men and women.

 Insert Table 24 about here

Table 23 also contains means and standard deviations for status classifications obtained on the LGS and the OPES generativity subscale at Time 2. A MANOVA of generativity status with the LGS and the OPES generativity subscale as dependent variables was significant, Pillai $F(8, 142) = 2.71, p < .01$. Follow-up analyses again showed a significant effect for generativity status on both scales: for the LGS, $F(4, 21) = 4.16, p < .03$, Brown-Forsythe formula; and for the OPES generativity subscale, $F(4, 71) = 5.27, p < .001$. Planned contrasts on the LGS using separate variance estimates to compensate for heterogeneous group variances confirmed significantly higher mean scores for Generative compared to Stagnant, $t(35.8) = 3.68, p < .001$. Pooled variance contrasts between Generative and Stagnant on the OPES generativity subscale also showed a significantly higher mean for Generative over Stagnant, $t(71) = 3.82, p < .001$. Additional group differences were present in post-hoc Tukey HSD contrasts. At at Time 2, Agentic obtained

a higher mean score than Stagnant on the LGS ($p < .01$) and on the OPES generativity subscale ($p < .05$) using this procedure.

Correlational analyses at Time 2 were consistent with this pattern of results (Table 24). Continuous ratings on the Generative dimension were positively correlated with both generativity scales (LGS: $r = .29$, $p < .05$; OPES-GEN: $r = .35$, $p < .01$), and ratings on the Stagnant dimension were negatively correlated with these measures (LGS: $r = -.42$, $p < .001$; OPES-GEN: $r = -.50$, $p < .001$). Agentic continuous scores were also positively related to both generativity scales (LGS: $r = .27$, $p < .05$; OPES-GEN: $r = .28$, $p < .05$). Ratings of the remaining status dimensions were weakly and nonsignificantly correlated with the generativity subscales. Correlational patterns were largely similar for men and women; however, scores on the Communal dimension were negatively correlated with the OPES generativity subscale ($r = -.34$, $p < .05$) for women, but not for men ($r = .02$, ns). These correlations were not reliably distinct when tested using Fisher's r to z transformation ($z = 1.60$, ns).

A correlation of $r = .65$ ($N = 100$) was obtained at Time 1 between the LGS and the OPES generativity subscale, and a correlation of $r = .72$ ($N = 76$) was obtained between these scales at Time 2, replicating McAdams and de St. Aubin's (1992) initial findings ($r = .66$, $N = 149$).

In summary, analyses at Time 1 and at Time 2 suggest a degree of content overlap between the Generativity Status Measure and alternate scale measures of generativity in conceptualizations of the most positive and, particularly, the least favorable psychosocial outcomes for this life stage.

Generativity prototypes and psychosocial adjustment. An ANOVA was performed using the OPES scales, excluding generativity, collapsed into an index of general psychosocial adjustment, with sex and generativity status classifications as grouping variables (Table 25). At Time 1, results showed a significant main effect for generativity status $F(4, 90) = 4.01$, $p < .005$. No sex main effect, $F(1, 90) = .10$, ns, or sex by

generativity status interaction, $F(4, 90) = .77$, *ns*, was observed. Individuals classified as Generative scored significantly higher than those classified as Stagnant on the psychosocial adjustment index in planned contrast analyses, $t(95) = 2.92$, $p < .004$. Mean scores obtained by those in the Conventional classification were also significantly higher than Stagnant in post-hoc Tukey HSD contrasts ($p < .05$). Although the Generative dimension was not significantly positively correlated with psychosocial adjustment ($r = .13$, *ns*), ratings on the Stagnant dimension showed the expected significant negative relationship to psychosocial adjustment ($r = -.33$, $p < .001$) (Table 24). Psychosocial adjustment and the Conventional dimension were significantly positively correlated ($r = .23$, $p < .05$), while adjustment and the Communal dimension were marginally negatively correlated ($r = -.18$, $p > .07$).

 Insert Table 25 about here

At Time 2, ANOVA procedures using generativity statuses as a grouping factor were also significant, $F(4, 70) = 3.44$, $p < .02$ (Table 25). Planned contrasts between Generative and Stagnant classifications using pooled variance estimates confirmed the hypothesized relationship with psychosocial adjustment, $t(70) = 2.52$, $p < .02$, with Generative scoring significantly higher than Stagnant. Consistent with findings at Time 1, post-hoc Tukey HSD contrasts also showed higher mean scores for Conventional over Stagnant on this measure ($p < .05$). Correlational analyses displayed a marginally positive relationship between psychosocial adjustment and continuous scores on the Generative dimension ($r = .22$, $p < .07$), a significant positive association between adjustment and scores on the Conventional dimension ($r = .26$, $p < .05$), and a marginally negative relationship between adjustment and scores on the Communal dimension ($r = -.21$, $p < .07$). Psychosocial adjustment was again significantly negatively correlated with the Stagnant dimension ($r = -.44$, $p < .001$) (Table 26). Thus, at each testing periods,

Generative was shown to report greater overall psychosocial adjustment, in an Eriksonian sense, than Stagnant, in analyses using both categorical and dimensional interview scores.

 Insert Table 26 about here

The LGS and the OPES generativity subscale were positively correlated, at both testing sessions, with the OPES index of psychosocial adjustment (LGS: $r = .56$, $N = 100$; and $r = .55$, $N = 76$; OPES-GEN: $r = .61$, $N = 100$; and $r = .57$, $N = 76$).

Generativity prototypes and NEO-Openness. The NEO Openness to Experience domain and Values facet scales were used to test hypotheses related to a general psychological willingness to tolerate new experiences, values and ideas. A MANOVA was performed at Time 1 using sex and status classifications as grouping variables for scores on the Openness measures (Table 27). A significant main effect for generativity status was obtained, $F(8,178) = 3.70$, $p < .001$. No significant sex main effect, $F(1, 88) = 1.96$, ns, or sex by status interaction, $F(8, 178) = .52$, ns, was present. Follow-up univariate analyses produced a significant result for overall Openness, $F(4, 89) = 8.06$, $p < .0009$, and for the Values facet scale, $F(4,89) = 3.29$, $p < .02$. Planned contrast analyses supported hypotheses on both the specific and the general scales, with Generative scoring significantly higher than Conventional (Domain scale: $t(94) = 5.48$, $p < .0009$, using pooled variance estimates; Values: $t(47.4) = 4.2$, $p < .0009$, separate variance estimates). In post-hoc Tukey HSD contrasts, the mean score of individuals classified as Agentic was also significantly higher than that of individuals classified as Conventional on the domain scale ($p < .01$), and Generative scores were significantly higher than Stagnant on the domain scale ($p < .05$). Correlations between NEO-Openness measures and generativity status dimensional ratings were consistent with this pattern of results (Table 28). Ratings on the Generative dimension were positively correlated with the Openness domain and the Values facet scales at Time 1 ($r = .46$, $p < .001$ and $r = .32$, $p < .001$ respectively), and

ratings on the Conventional dimension were significantly negatively correlated with these measures ($r = -.47, p < .001$ and $r = -.40, p < .001$ respectively).

 Insert Table 27 about here

 Insert Table 28 about here

At Time 2, a MANOVA using status classifications as a grouping variable for scores on the Openness domain and Values facet scales was also significant, Pillai $F(8, 140) = 2.25, p < .03$ (Table 27). Follow-up univariate analysis of generativity status on the Openness domain scale produced a significant result, $F(4,74) = 3.80, p < .01$; however, analysis of the Values facet scale resulted in marginal significance only, $F(4,70) = 2.23, p < .08$. Planned contrasts using pooled variance estimates replicated the hypothesized difference between the Generative and Conventional prototypes on the Openness domain scale, with Generative scoring significantly higher than Conventional, $t(70) = 3.05, p < .003$. The Values facet scale showed a slight trend toward higher scores for Generative compared to Conventional, $t(38.1) = 1.61, p < .09$, using separate variance estimates. In post-hoc Tukey HSD contrasts, Agentic again obtained a significantly higher mean score than Conventional on the Openness domain scale ($p < .05$). No post-hoc group differences were found on the Values facet scale. Correlational analyses conducted between NEO-Openness measures and generativity status dimensional ratings were consistent with the pattern of results obtained using categorical status classifications at Time 2 (Table 28). Ratings on the Generative dimension were positively correlated with the Openness domain scale ($r = .40, p < .001$), but, again in contrast to Time 1, not with the Values facet scale ($r = .10, ns$). Continuous scores on the Conventional dimension were, however,

significantly negatively correlated with both measures ($r = -.35, p < .01$, and $r = -.23, p < .05$, respectively) at both Time 1 and Time 2.

The LGS and the OPES generativity subscale were uncorrelated with the NEO Values facet scale at Time 1 and at Time 2, (LGS: $r = .11, ns, N = 100$; and $r = -.07, ns, N = 75$; OPES-GEN: $r = .04, ns, N = 100$; and $r = .01, ns, N = 75$), although the LGS was correlated with the NEO-Openness domain scale at both testing sessions (LGS: $r = .35, p < .001, N = 100$; and $r = .25, p < .05, N = 75$). The OPES generativity subscale was modestly correlated with overall Openness at Time 1, and showed a relationship trend at Time 2 (OPES-GEN: $r = .22, p < .03, N = 100$; and $r = .19, p = .09, N = 74$). T-tests were performed to determine whether correlations observed at Time 1 between the generativity scales and Values could be considered reliably distinct from that obtained between Values and the Generative dimension. The correlation between the LGS and Values was significantly lower than that obtained between the Generative dimension rating and Values, $t(96) = 1.97, p < .05$. The correlation between the OPES generativity subscale and Values was also significantly lower than that obtained between Values and Generative dimension ratings, $t(96) = 5.61, p < .001$. These results provide support for the hypothesized distinctions between the status model and alternate operationalizations of generativity at Time 1, consistent with the status model's emphasis on generative tolerance. However, in contrast to these results, at Time 2, neither the Generative dimension scores nor the scale measures of generativity were significantly related to NEO Values, and the two sets of correlations between scale measures of generativity and Values were not distinguished statistically from that between Generative continuous scores and Values (LGS and Generative with Values: $t(72) = 1.12, ns$; OPES-GEN and Generative with Values: $t(72) = .67, ns$).

The OPES psychosocial adjustment index showed a tendency to correlate with NEO-Openness at Time 1 ($r = .18, p < .08, N = 100$) and was uncorrelated with Openness

at Time 2 ($r = .16$, $p < .15$, $N = 75$). The OPES index was uncorrelated with the Values subscale at both testing sessions ($r = .08$ *ns*, $N = 100$; and $r = .06$, *ns*, $N = 76$).

Interpersonal Issues in Status Characterization: IIP Circumplex, Time 2

The relationship between the generativity prototypes and interpersonal problems as reported on the IIP circumplex measure at Time 2 was examined. An ANOVA was performed on total mean scores across all subscales, to determine whether differential levels of problem endorsement by generativity groupings were present. A significant main effect for overall problem endorsement was observed, $F(4,74) = 2.97$, $p < .03$. Tukey HSD contrasts showed that Communal reported significantly greater interpersonal problems than Generative ($p < .05$). Consistent with these results, continuous scores on the Communal dimension were significantly positively related to overall problem endorsement ($r = .37$, $p < .001$); additionally, Agentic continuous scores were significantly negatively related to overall problem endorsement ($r = -.23$, $p < .05$). Therefore, each participant's subscale scores were ipsatized for use in subsequent analyses, by expressing each subscale score as a deviation from an individual's own overall mean across all subscales. Each person's ipsatized score reflects the relative degree to which the individual experienced a given set of difficulties problematic, thus controlling for an individual's tendency to endorse interpersonal problems generally. Sex differences were marginally present on the Vindictive subscale when the scores were ipsatized, $F(1, 74) = 3.47$, $p < .06$, with higher mean scores for men; in addition, ipsatized scores on the Exploitable subscale showed significantly elevated scores for women compared to men, $F(1, 74) = 8.30$, $p < .006$.

Table 29 contains overall mean ipsatized subscale scores for each generativity status. In Figures 4-8, ipsatized subscale means are presented graphically in circumplex format as z scores, calculated using the mean and standard deviation of each subscale across the entire sample.

 Insert Table 29 about here

 Insert Figures 4 - 8 about here

ANOVA operations were conducted on each of the subscales, and revealed significant overall group differences on the Domineering, $F(4, 71) = 6.04, p < .001$, Exploitable, $F(4, 71) = 2.53, p < .05$, and Overly Nurturant $F(4, 71) = 2.59, p < .05$ subscales. Hypothesized group differences were partially supported in planned contrasts calculated for each subscale. However, the low power that resulted from the small group sizes for Agentic and Communal status profiles at Time 2 (n 's of 8 and 7) hampered efforts to investigate hypothesized relationships between the GSM and the IIP-C using categorical classifications.

On the nurturance side of the interpersonal space, Communal scored significantly higher than Agentic on the Exploitable subscale, $t(71) = 2.74, p < .008$, and on the Overly Nurturant subscale, $t(71) = 2.63, p < .01$ in planned contrast analyses. No mean group differences were observed on the Non-Assertive subscale, $t(71) = 1.09, ns$. Mean group differences were also absent on the Intrusive subscale, $t(8.1) = 1.60, ns$, when separate variance estimates were used to compensate for heterogeneous group variances. However, inspection revealed that the direction of Agentic and Communal group means on this subscale was opposite to that hypothesized, with Agentic obtaining the highest and Communal obtaining the lowest mean scores respectively on this scale. No other significant mean differences were present in post hoc Tukey HSD contrasts on these scales.

On the cold pole of the interpersonal circumplex, planned contrasts between Communal and Agentic were significant for the Domineering subscale, $t(71) = 3.95, p < .0009$, but nonsignificant for the Cold subscale, $t(71) = .25, ns$, and the Socially Avoidant

subscale, $t(71) = .19$, *ns*, respectively. Although Communal obtained the lowest mean score on the Vindictive subscale, this was also not significantly lower than the Agentic mean score for this scale, $t(71) = 1.41$, *ns*. Post-hoc Tukey HSD contrasts revealed additional mean differences on the Domineering subscale, Conventional and Generative statuses also scoring significantly higher than Communal ($ps < .01$). These results are consistent with the theoretical profile of the Communal prototype as less able than those two prototypes to establish and maintain personal priorities.

Wiggins, Phillips, and Trapnell (1989) provide sine and cosine formulas that may be used to calculate summary coordinate scores on the interpersonal circumplex for nurturance and dominance, as well as vector length, a summary score designed to assess the intensity of the individual's characteristic interpersonal pattern within each octant. ANOVA operations using participants' non-ipsatized scores on each of the eight circumplex scales revealed no generativity mean group differences on the nurturance summary scale, $F(4, 71) = .80$, *ns*, nor on vector length, $F(4, 71) = 2.02$, *ns*. However, a trend towards group differences was observed for the dominance summary scale, $F(4, 71) = 2.22$, $p < .08$, with Agentic and Communal scoring highest and lowest respectively on this scale.

Each of the eight ipsatized IIP subscale scores was also correlated with each generativity prototype dimensional rating (Table 28). Results of correlational analyses, based on dimensional scores across the entire sample, were more clearly supportive of the hypothesized distinctions between Agentic and Communal in self-reported profiles of interpersonal problems. All but one of the significant correlations involved the Agentic or the Communal dimensional scores; that is, Generative, Stagnant, and Conventional did not show particularly strong nor consistent patterns of interpersonal problems on the IIP-C in correlational analyses.

As predicted, Agentic was positively correlated with the Vindictive ($r = .26$, $p < .05$) and Domineering ($r = .32$, $p < .01$) subscales on the cold pole of the nurturance dimension, whereas Communal was negatively correlated with these subscales ($r = -.30$, p

< .01 and $r = -.42$, respectively). Agentic scores were positively correlated with the Cold subscale for women, but not for men ($r = .35$, $p < .05$, vs. $r = .01$, ns); these correlations were not reliably distinct when tested using Fisher's r to Z transformation ($z = 1.49$, ns). Neither Agentic nor Communal were correlated with the Socially Avoidant scale ($r = -.02$, ns, and $r = .07$, ns respectively).

On the nurturance side of the circumplex, Communal dimensional scores obtained significant positive correlations with the Exploitable subscale ($r = .29$, $p < .05$), and with the Over Nurturant subscale ($r = .27$, $p < .05$), whereas Agentic dimensional scores were significantly negatively related to Exploitable ($r = -.29$, $p < .05$) and Over Nurturant ($r = -.27$, $p < .05$). Communal was also positively associated with the Nonassertive subscale ($r = .38$, $p < .001$), although Agentic was nonsignificantly negatively correlated with this scale ($r = -.21$, ns). Contrary to expectation, but consistent with the observed directionality of status mean scores, Communal was negatively correlated with the Intrusive subscale on the nurturance side of the interpersonal space ($r = -.30$, $p < .01$), again suggesting a divergence between self-perceptions of interpersonal functioning in this area and those theorized by the status model. This relationship appeared more characteristic of scores for women than for men ($r = -.48$, $p < .01$ vs. $r = .01$, ns), and the correlations were reliably distinct when tested using Fisher's r to Z transformation ($z = 2.15$, $p < .05$).

 Insert Table 30 about here

The results of correlational analyses between the remaining generativity prototypes and octants of the interpersonal space paralleled those obtained using status classification groups, and were nonsignificant as anticipated, with one exception. Conventional dimensional scores were positively correlated with the Domineering subscale ($r = .29$, $p < .05$). Although not predicted, interpersonal problems involving efforts to control and direct others is consistent with the low tolerance and preference for conformity that define the

Conventional prototype theoretically. All other correlations between remaining status prototypes were non-significant.

Analyses of summary coordinate scores also showed a modest positive association between dominance and dimensional scores for Agentic ($r = .26, p < .05$) and Conventional ($r = .24, p < .05$). Correlations between continuous scores on the Communal dimension were negatively correlated with dominance coordinate scores ($r = -.40, p < .001$), and were, surprisingly, uncorrelated with nurturance ($r = .11, ns$). The negative correlation between Communal and the Intrusive subscale likely contributed to the global lack of association between nurturance and Communal when nurturance subscales were aggregated to form coordinate scores. Agentic and Stagnant were marginally negatively correlated with nurturance ($r = -.22, p < .06$; both dimensions), whereas Generative was marginally positively associated with nurturance ($r = .22, p < .06$). Conventional dimensional scores were uniquely positively correlated with vector length ($r = .24, p < .05$).

Correlations between alternative generativity measures, psychosocial adjustment, and IIP-C scales were also inspected to assess patterns of difficulties in interpersonal relations on these scales, and are presented in Table 29. Both the LGS and overall psychosocial adjustment were negatively correlated with global problems scores (LGS: $r = -.27, p < .05$; OPES-adjustment: $r = -.61, p < .001$). The LGS was positively associated with ipsatized scores on IIP-Domineering ($r = .27, p < .05$), and the OPES generativity subscale was negatively correlated with the Cold subscale ($r = -.27, p < .05$). The Nonassertive subscale was negatively correlated with both the LGS and the OPES generativity subscale for women ($r = -.36, p < .05$; and $r = -.33, p < .05$, respectively), but not for men ($r = .13, ns$; both scales). Tests using Fisher r to z transformations showed correlations for men between the two generativity scales and Nonassertive to be reliably distinct from those for women (LGS: $z = 2.05, p < .05$; and OPES-GEN: $2.02, p < .05$). The opposite pattern was true for the Cold subscale on the LGS (men: $r = -.36, p$

< .05; women: $r = .05$, ns), and confirmed by Fisher r to Z transformations ($r = 1.82$, $p < .05$). Although the correlations for men and women between the OPES generativity subscale and the Cold subscale also appeared distinct (men: $r = -.31$, $p < .05$; women: $r = -.09$, ns), they were not significantly different in tests using Fisher r to Z transformations ($z = .97$, ns). Both the LGS and the OPES generativity subscale were additionally positively related to the nurturance summary coordinate scores ($r = .22$, $p < .06$; and $r = .27$, $p < .05$ respectively). Overall psychosocial adjustment as measured by the OPES index was negatively correlated with the Socially Avoidant subscale ($r = -.26$, $p < .05$).

 Insert Table 31 about here

In summary, Communal ratings were generally associated with greater interpersonal difficulties resulting from excessive warmth than Agentic. High Communal scores were related to discomfort in authoritative roles (IIP-Non-Assertive), difficulty making personal needs known (IIP-Exploitable), and overly generous, caring behavior towards others (IIP-Overly-Nurturant). Contrary to expectation, scores on the Intrusive subscale were negatively associated with Communal; this relationship appeared more true for women than for men. Some evidence for the hypothesis that Agentic, more than Communal, scores would be associated with greater problems arising from interpersonal coolness was obtained. Generally, strongly Agentic scores tended to cluster in the cold - domineering quadrant of the interpersonal circumplex, suggesting interpersonal difficulties arising from controlling, overassertive behavior towards others (IIP-Domineering), suspiciousness of others, and problems caring about others' needs (IIP-Vindictive). Although no significant relationships between status prototypes and nurturance coordinate scores were observed, Communal scores were negatively related to dominance coordinate scores, while Agentic and Conventional ratings were positively associated with these scores. As predicted, statuses other than Agentic and Communal showed no strong pattern

of interpersonal problems on the circumplex, although Conventional was significantly related to the Domineering subscale. The LGS also correlated positively, but not strongly, with Domineering. Both the LGS and the OPES generativity subscale were modestly associated with interpersonal problems represented by nurturance coordinate summary scores. Other relations between alternate generativity subscales and the IIP circumplex were complicated by gender differences. Women, but not men, who scored low on both the LGS and the OPES generativity subscale endorsed problems associated with lack of assertion; men, but not women, who scored low on the LGS reported difficulties resulting from interpersonal coldness. Psychosocial adjustment was strongly negatively associated with overall endorsement of interpersonal problems, and modestly negatively correlated with problems involving social avoidance.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Inter-Rater Reliability

This study undertook to strengthen the inter-scorer reliability of the Generativity Status Measure. Two strategies were used to further this goal. First, the scoring manual was expanded, both in terms of examples of scoring rules, and also in the level of detail provided as prototype descriptors. In an effort to systematize coding of the criteria of vital involvement and tolerance, coders were explicitly asked to make judgments on the degree to which participants approximated these criteria. This frequently proved a difficult task for coders to perform, and required many discussions regarding the interpretation of these criteria. There nevertheless emerged from group debate a set of guidelines that can be used for coding generativity status process criteria in future studies. The revised manual also includes instructions on administering the Generativity Status Measure interview which identify further important scoring information, and highlight probing questions to be attended to when coding interview protocols.

This study demonstrated that appreciable gains in reliability can be obtained through the use of multiple independent coders for interviews that prove difficult to rate. Previous attempts at establishing reliability of the Generativity Status Measure were either based on very small sample sizes, or involved a reliability check by a single independent coder on a sub-group of the entire sample (Bradley & Marcia, 1995). In the present study, as before, the reliability of categorical decisions by only two coders for a given set of interviews was not strong, and ranged from 46% - 61%. Similarly, inter-scorer reliability for dimensional ratings was also not consistently high across pairs of raters. However, the addition of a third coder to produce final categorical ratings for use in subsequent analyses strengthened reliability, to 88% at Time 1, and 90% at Time 2. These levels of agreement are consistent with those reported using a two out of three consensus criterion in the identity status literature (Marcia et al., 1992). The new

scoring strategy also included averaging prototype dimension scores across multiple judges into composite ratings, considered a superior methodology when seeking to maximize measurement reliability using coders' judgments (Heumann & Morey, 1990; Horowitz, Inouye, & Siegleman, 1979; Lord & Novick, 1968; Shrout & Fliess, 1979). When the dimensional scores of coders who agreed on the categorical placement of a given interview were combined, reliability of the composite rating was strong at both interview times, with mean intraclass correlations across the five generativity prototypes of .84 and .82. In considering predictive analyses below, however, it is also important to remember that Time 2 codes are not based entirely on ratings provided by independent coders blind to Time 1 generativity status standings, an unfortunate limitation of the present study.

The difficulties encountered in achieving a solid psychometric base for the Generativity Status Measure may spring from several sources. Erikson's constructs are complex and difficult to operationalize, and the wide scope of his vision for the generative adult makes this stage perhaps especially challenging to capture in measurement form, particularly when qualitative judgments are required. Generativity status interviews are not easily scored, and a certain degree of clinical skill is likely necessary to achieve accurate classifications and dimensional ratings. Other rater characteristics may also play an important role in establishing inter-rater reliability. Investigators using the status typology methodology have commented on the possible importance of rater identity issues in obtaining accurate identity status assessments. Marcia et al. (1993) have observed that raters considered Identity Achieved, through informal observation, seemed to perform more accurately than those of other identity status resolutions, although this hypothesis has not been directly tested. Loevinger and Wessler (1970) recommend that raters of the Washington Sentence Completion Test of ego development have some graduate training in psychology, be of above average intelligence, and operate at a relatively high level of ego development. They suggest, based solely on impressionistic experience, that individuals lower than an I-4 level of ego development may be limited in their ability to discriminate upper level responses. The logic of psychosocial theory

offers a speculative developmental characteristic of potential importance in generativity status research; namely, an engagement in the tasks of generativity that may come with age and life experience. Few of the generativity status coders to date have had the advantage of graduate-level clinical training, but all of the coders in this study had completed their early adulthood years. Conversations with these, and much younger prospective coders, provide anecdotal support for the suggestion that coders' own developmental issues may play a role in reliably scoring the prototypes. Certainly, the whole question of rater characteristics in psychosocial research is intriguing and merits direct empirical investigation. The revised scoring methodology, and the reliability obtained in this study, suggest that sophisticated undergraduates, with a modicum of life experience and exposure to psychodynamic theory, can reliably perform the difficult task of scoring the Generativity Status Measure when a two out of three scoring criterion is adopted.

Characteristics of Generativity Prototypes in Interview and Self-Report Measures

The distribution of the statuses was similar across testing periods. Conventional and Generative represented the largest classifications in both cases, with Conventional leading at Time 1 (33% vs 19%) and Generative at Time 2 (29% vs 28%). Stagnant represented the lowest frequency of categorical ratings at Time 1 (14%), while Communal was lowest at Time 2 (9%). Sex differences along theoretically expectable lines were observed in status classifications and dimensional scores at Time 1, with more men appearing Agentic, and more women appearing Communal.

The degree to which the status distributions obtained in this study accurately reflect population baserates is, of course, unknown, and the non-random sampling that results when volunteer populations are used may have generated over-representations or under-representations of one or all status prototypes. The relatively low rate of participation by individuals with high degrees of Agentic or Stagnant characteristics is entirely consistent with the theoretical composition of these prototypes as being unengaged with others. Less easily explained, and perhaps disturbing, is the relatively low overall proportion of Generative

individuals assessed in this study. While other highly Generative individuals may have been too busy to participate, or have been unaware of the study, there exists another possibility, one which is consonant with the thinking of other generativity theorists (Browning, 1975; Snarey, 1993). Browning (1975) has suggested that modern society is in urgent need of more generative individuals, and a more caring and responsible approach to environmental, family, and societal concerns. For both Browning and Snarey, generativity is a central issue facing humanity today -- one which challenges us to form a global community committed to careful guardianship and nurturance of the world on which we depend, and the new generations which will be its inheritors. These investigators' concerns about the dearth of highly generative individuals in modern society may be reflected through the relatively small number of Generative classifications in the present study. However, it is also important to recall that the intermediate prototypes in the status model are not without generative strengths, but rather represent qualitatively different modes of addressing generative issues, each with its own particular limitations.

Prototype intercorrelations for the interview status measure were generally in line with the model's theoretical structure. Generative and Stagnant were negatively correlated at both testing periods; remaining intercorrelations of statuses were either nonsignificant or negative. However, the correlation matrix for the self-report status measure was inconsistent with theoretically expectable relationships, as GSSR-Generative ratings were not significantly negatively correlated with GSSR-Stagnant ratings. This is an important consideration that, in itself, argues against use of the GSSR as a self-report instrument. Convergence between the two measurement methods was also low, providing further evidence that the two tests, in their present form, are not interchangeable as operationalizations of the status model. This is likely due, at least in part, to the considerable difference in information available to coders and participants in making rating decisions. Coders had a large scoring manual at their disposal, many months of practice, and group discussions clarifying coding ambiguities to guide them in

making judgments consistent with the model. Participants completing the GSSR based their self-ratings solely on brief paragraph descriptions of the prototypes.

Another difficulty in creating an appropriate self-report measure of the status model lies in the inherently value-laden nature of the generativity - stagnation construct. Jackson (1968) demonstrated that individuals differ in their responses to scale items in personality inventories in ways that likely reflect their unique cognitive and motivational set regarding the desirability of particular items. The descriptors of the generativity statuses may exert a general effect of desirability as well. It is perhaps noteworthy that a full 45% of participants selected the Generative paragraph as a best descriptor, while only 5% chose the Stagnant paragraph. In fact, none of the study women rated themselves as Stagnant; the higher percentage of Generative ratings on the GSSR is also largely based on women's self-ratings. Another source of difficulty may relate broadly to problems in the use of self-report scales generally when seeking to understand levels of psychological functioning. Shedler, Mayman, and Manis (1993) have argued that typical self-report scales are more likely to represent valid predictors of adjustment and mental health when scores are nearer the poorer functioning pole, and tend to be ambiguous when clustered around the "healthy" end (cf. Fisher, 1959). Shedler et al. also join other investigators (e.g., Heilbrun & Schwartz, 1979; Weinberger, Schwartz & Davidson, 1979) in cautioning that defensive style frequently compromise the validity of "objective" psychological measures, particularly those addressing psychological health and adjustment. Others have shown that defense processes can interfere with the accurate self-report data when this information is contrasted with behavioral outcomes (e.g., Hofer, Wolff, Friedman, & Mason, 1972; Katz, Weiner, Gallagher, & Hellman, 1970; Lazarus, 1983). Future efforts to validate a status self-report measure would likely be well served to assess the potential influence of defensive processes and the perceived desirability of status profiles when seeking to create a viable instrument.

Two year Stability of Generativity Measures, Psychosocial Adjustment, and Openness to Experience

Overall, the results showed moderate to strong stability across the two year period for interview-based generativity status ratings. Stability of generativity status classifications ranged from 31% to 83%, with Communal representing the lowest, and Stagnant the highest percentage of categorical stability. Fifty-six percent of those classified as Generative at Time 1 were again rated as Generative at Time 2. Similar proportions of individuals were re-classified at Time 2 as Agentic (55%), and as Conventional (63%). Percentages of classification stability were largely comparable across gender, with two exceptions: Agentic and Communal. None of the Communal men at Time 1 were re-coded as Communal at Time 2; this result, however, is not surprising given the low base rate of men in this category. Similarly, few women were originally classified as Agentic. Those who changed from an original Communal rating varied considerably in directionality of reclassification. All individuals who shifted categories from Agentic were reclassified as Generative at Time 2, an expectable direction of change developmentally. Although this was also generally the case for Conventional, some originally Conventional individuals moved to Stagnant. No Stagnant individuals at Time 1 were reclassified as Generative at Time 2. Test-retest correlations for prototype dimension scores were moderate, and ranged from .46 to .65. Stability patterns on dimensional ratings were generally similar for men and women except for Communal. Again, this was likely due to the low base rate of high male scorers on this dimension. Despite correlational evidence of stability, one mean difference in scores from Time 1 to Time 2 was observed. Communal continuous scores showed a mean decrease across time, as well as displaying considerably lower proportional stability using categorical ratings. Stability figures likely underestimate the true stability somewhat, as they do not control for unreliability in the interview ratings (Lord & Novick, 1968).

The Stagnant classification appeared most stable in the present study. This is consistent with status studies of ego identity across time, in which the Identity Diffusion status tends to

show the highest percentage stability (Marcia et al., 1993). It is also compatible with Fisher's (1959) notion that it is easier to predict low functioning than high functioning from situational, genetic, and personality criteria, because there are less available options for responding in constricted situations than there are in more benevolent ones. Base rates for Stagnant were somewhat, but not dramatically, lower than most of the remaining statuses at Time 1, and were mid-range in comparison to other statuses at Time 2, which lends some support to interpretation of this finding as evidence of greater stability for the Stagnant category. However, dimensional ratings did not identify Stagnant as dramatically more stable than other prototypes, and these analyses serve as a caution against strong interpretations of the percentage stabilities.

There was little relationship between life events, changes in general psychosocial adjustment as measured by Ochse and Plug's (1986) multi-stage measure, and shifts in generativity interview ratings across time. There were, however, some small suggestions in the data of a possible link between negative life events and decreased generativity functioning; these were consistent across categorical and correlational analyses. While the occurrence of distressing life events might be important psychosocial influences on generativity, this study cannot draw any firm conclusions to that effect. In part, this is due to the importance, when conducting multiple tests, of avoiding inadvertent acceptance of chance relationships (Howell, 1987). There is, however, another reason why more work is needed before concluding that negative life events impact generativity. This sample was selected initially as representing an age at which generativity issues might be largely resolved. In partial support of this notion, study participants indeed showed a moderate to strong level of stability across two years of middle to late middle adulthood. Therefore, the sample was probably not particularly well suited for studying how change in generative functioning might occur. Few people experienced high numbers of distressing events, such as job loss, divorce, or major achievements. Moreover, the wording of items on the modified Life Events Survey (Sarason et al., 1978) was not sharply focused enough on questions of direct relevance to generativity,

such as changes in relationships with children, coworkers, other family members, and community involvement, to accurately assess their impact on generativity functioning. However, this study does suggest that further investigation of the influence of major life stressors on generativity is warranted. More detailed measures of negative life changes, administered in conjunction with the generativity interview at anticipated transition points in generativity functioning, may provide greater clarity on this issue.

A "change towards Generative" index also revealed no relation between life events, psychosocial adjustment, and change in a "positive" direction. This index is perhaps not best suited for tracking positive shifts in generativity functioning across time. Intermediate generativity statuses carry considerable theoretical psychosocial strengths, although these likely vary in form from status to status. Therefore, substantially different inter-status shifts may lead to increased generativity functioning without necessarily resulting in a stronger Generative rating. For instance, movement from Stagnant to Conventional could represent a considerable shift towards more positive generativity expression; Agentic to Conventional might not. Complexities of developmental pathways and inter-status movement may make any attempt to trace a linear path towards increased "positive" functioning premature at this point.

Alternate generativity scales showed strong test-retest stability, consistent with previous research using a much shorter test-retest period (McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992). The LGS and Ochse and Plug's (1986) generativity subscale were correlated at .72 and .78 across time. This study also tested, for the first time, the stability of Ochse and Plug's multi-stage measure, collapsed as an index of general psychosocial adjustment. This scale showed high stability at .82. NEO Openness scales replicated previous findings of considerable constancy across time (Costa & McCrae, 1988) with correlations of .81 for the domain scale and .84 for Values. Significant mean decreases were also observed in psychosocial adjustment, and Openness to Values scores. Life events were unrelated to changes in scores on alternate generativity scales from Time 1 to Time 2. However, increases in scores on both generativity scales were significantly positively related to increased psychosocial adjustment. Several interpretations of

this finding are possible. Generativity scales may not be sensitive to the impact of important life changes generativity functioning. They may, however, dovetail closely with the psychosocial index in identifying salient features of optimal functioning, and thus be particularly well suited to tracking the relationship between changes in generativity and general development. Alternatively, the substance of the generativity scales may overlap sufficiently with overall psychosocial adjustment to compromise somewhat their discriminant validity with this scale, thereby reducing the usefulness of these inter-scale comparisons for the purposes of understanding change in psychosocial functioning over time. In fact, both the LGS and Ochse and Plug's (1986) generativity subscale correlated fairly strongly with the general scale (r 's from .54 - .57 across both testing periods). The contrasting lack of correspondence between changes in overall psychosocial functioning and change scores on the Generativity Status Measure may be attributable to differences in theoretical focus that distance the status measure from the psychosocial index, such that little evidence of concomitant change is discernable when stability levels are generally strong.

Relationships between the Generativity Status Measure, Alternative Generativity Measures, Psychosocial Adjustment, and Openness to Experience: Time 1 and Time 2

One aim of the present study was to replicate findings that showed considerable convergence between alternate scales measures of generativity, psychosocial adjustment, and the Generativity Status Measure, and also areas of divergence between these measures. Previously analyzed data from Time 1 was reviewed using multiple coders for each interview, with minor differences between results obtained using a single rating and those using composites. Predictive analyses at both Time 1 and Time 2 using more reliable rating strategies provided encouraging confirmation of hypothesized relationships between the Generativity Status Measure and alternate, scale measures of generativity, despite methodological and conceptual differences. Both categorical and dimensional ratings showed convergence between operationalizations of Generative and Stagnant and two different self-report scale measures of

generativity; this relationship was consistent at both testing sessions. Additionally, the Agentic prototype also scored significantly higher than Stagnant on scale measures of generativity at Time 1 and Time 2. This result is interesting in light of Van de Water and McAdam's (1989) finding that narcissism was modestly positively correlated with the generativity subscale of the Ochse and Plug Erikson Scale, rather than negatively correlated as expected. Perhaps a modicum of the self-absorption hypothesized as characteristic of these status prototypes is important in the resolution of generativity issues, and may be reflected to some, possibly lesser, extent in both Generative and Conventional prototypes as well. The generativity status model suggests that a degree of self-interest, through involvement in and tolerance of the self, is fundamental to the continued growth of the adult individual engaged in generative tasks. The role of self-interest in generative concerns represents an area of future investigation for the status model. However, when scale measures do not distinguish between qualitatively distinct forms of generativity, the ability to track their attitudinal and behavioral concomitants is lost.

Parallel patterns of relationship consistent with predictions were also obtained using Ochse & Plug's (1986) multi-stage Erikson measure as an index of psychosocial adjustment. Generative and Conventional scored higher than Stagnant on the psychosocial index at both testing sessions. The correlation between Generative and psychosocial adjustment was nonsignificant at Time 1 and Time 2. A moderate negative relationship was observed at both times between Stagnant and overall adjustment. Perhaps poor resolutions of prior Eriksonian developmental tasks are a better predictor of difficulties in generativity than success at previous stage issues is a predictor of strongly generative outcomes. Interestingly, Conventional showed a modest, but significant, correlation with psychosocial adjustment at Time 1 that was replicated at Time 2. Ochse and Plug's multi-stage scale includes a number of items for which high scores would result from a strong endorsement of fairly categorical self-descriptors. A good example of this type of item is taken from the identity subscale: "I change my ideas about what I want from life". This item is reverse scored, such that individuals who re-appraise their life's goals are considered less psychosocially mature. While the Conventional individual

might tend to favor a relatively strong endorsement of these items, Generative individuals within the status model descriptors are probably less likely to do so. The presence of this type of statement in Ochse and Plug's scale may account for its association with Conventional outcomes.

Time 1 analyses showed strong support for the notion that Generative and Conventional may be distinguished from each other on the basis of general openness to experience, and specifically, openness to new ideas, values, and beliefs. These predictions were only partially replicated at Time 2. Generally open perspectives were once again positively correlated with Generative, and negatively with Conventional prototypes, but the more specific facet scale intended to measure tolerance and non-authoritarian attitudes was not positively related to Generative prototype scores, although it continued to be modestly negatively associated with Conventional. Moreover, despite strong stability from Time 1 to Time 2, the Values facet scale nevertheless showed a significant decline in mean scores across the entire sample.

A particularly important question in aging research is the extent to which avoiding rigidity is a task primarily for older adulthood. Although Erikson placed the timing of this struggle first in early adulthood, and Shaie's (1984; 1994) work suggests that a flexible personality style at midlife is predictive of preserved cognitive functioning in old age, other lifespan researchers (e.g., Vaillant & Milofsky, 1986) have proposed that rigidity becomes an increasing danger as old age approaches. Furthermore, it is unclear whether individuals who have shown flexibility in the resolution of prior adult psychosocial tasks confront rigidity anew when faced with later adulthood challenges, such as coping with loss and maintaining a sense of purpose as one's productive years draw to a close. The data from this study do not provide answers to these questions, but rather highlight the importance of carefully tracking the maintenance or development of flexible ego functioning with the transition to early old age, and identifying factors that may facilitate or inhibit this.

Further Investigations of Generativity Status Measure Validity: Interpersonal Functioning

Participants at Time 2 were administered the Inventory of Interpersonal Problems in circumplex format as a means of further exploring status characteristics. The results of these analyses largely supported the hypothesized distinctions between Agentic and Communal profiles. Power considerations undoubtedly affected the ability of statistical procedures to detect group differences, given the small group sizes available at Time 2 for these statuses. However, both correlational and contrast analyses supported Communal as experiencing more interpersonal difficulties associated with overly nurturant tendencies than Agentic, with the exception of self-disclosing, attention-seeking behavior. Communal dimensional scores were, in fact, significantly negatively correlated with this subscale. Positive endorsement of the items on this subscale would have been consistent with the status model's view of Communal as overtly self-effacing in caretaking activities, yet, and perhaps more covertly, strongly invested in maintaining relationships of dependency with those guided. That individuals with high Communal scores did not see themselves that way in the present study does not necessarily mean that this dynamic is not present in their lives. However, it does imply that more sophisticated efforts to assess these characteristics of the Communal profile are required, particularly when using self-report descriptions of functioning.

Similarly, an association between high Agentic scores and the subscale tapping difficulty expressing affection and being generous towards others would have reflected this profile's theoretically minimal attention to individuals not involved in a common pursuit. However, in this study, Agentic individuals did not generally endorse problems associated with interpersonal coolness. In previous research (Bradley & Marcia, 1995), Agentic scores were associated with a less warm and agreeable personality profile than were Communal scores. The items on the NEO-PI are all positively worded descriptors of personality traits, and, unlike the IIP-C, do not identify interpersonal problems that may arise from the expression of the various personality traits. Complexities of self-perceptions may, therefore, have played a role in the observation of a weak association between Agentic and interpersonal

coolness. For instance, Agentic individuals may not see themselves as experiencing problems from an interpersonally distant style. Nevertheless, this could be the perception of those around them, particularly individuals who feel they are unsuccessful in gaining needed generative attention from the Agentic individual. It is, however, relatively easy to see why Agentic scores were not positively related to the Socially Avoidant subscale, as this scale tends to target feelings of anxiety and embarrassment in social situations, and probably should not have been included as a hypothesized relationship.

Despite these considerations, hypotheses regarding the cold pole of the interpersonal circumplex were largely supported. Agentic scores clustered in the cold - dominant quadrant of the circumplex, consistent with the conceptualization of this status prototype as aggressively pursuing personal objectives in the world. Communal ratings were negatively associated with this quadrant. Generative and Conventional statuses, in addition to Agentic, scored higher than Communal on the scale related to controlling and manipulating others (IIP-Domineering). However, only Agentic and Conventional continuous scores showed a significant association to this scale. The tendency for both Agentic and Conventional to identify interpersonal problems relating to overly dominant behavior was further supported by significant correlations between these prototypes and dominance summary coordinate scores. As both of these prototypes share a theoretical low tolerance towards others, as well as high involvement in themselves, this result is seen as consistent with expectable interpersonal functioning for these two status profiles. As predicted, Generative and Stagnant showed no unique or strong pattern of interpersonal problem endorsement on the IIP-C.

Alternate scale measures of generativity also showed some patterns of association with the IIP-C. There may be important gender differences in the interpersonal problem profile of both high and low scorers on the LGS and the OPES generativity subscale that merit careful consideration by investigators using these measures in validity research. Of particular note, perhaps, is the significant, albeit modest, positive relationship between the LGS and the Domineering subscale across both sexes. This suggests that controlling, directive behavior

may be over-represented in LGS scale items. Alternatively, it could mean that the kind of forceful behavior associated in this sample with interpersonal problems of dominance may be an important component of generativity. This is not, however, consistent with status model's description of optimal generativity functioning, nor were Generative dimension scores correlated with the Domineering subscale. Further investigation of these different operationalizations of Erikson's construct are needed before either one can be confirmed as more closely representing Erikson's concept of the psychosocially mature adult. However, the results of this study provide considerable evidence in support of both conceptual overlap, and important distinctions, between alternate scale measures of generativity and the status model.

Future Research

In general, the generativity status profiles in these studies represent what one would expect as a final resolution of the stage. This research cannot address the question of whether individuals mature in their experience and expression of generativity from early to middle adulthood. The processes by which an individual might arrive at mature generativity are also an area for future research. However, the status approach, given its emphasis on organizing criteria, provides some means for speculation. The Pseudogenerative-Agentive and Communal may be one means of transition into the stage, as a struggle to balance personal growth and needs with those of others. The Conventional status may constitute a second entry point to the stage, from which increasing responsibilities may prompt the Conventional individual's tolerance to stretch to more Generative levels. Future studies will need to take into account the distinction between developmental, age-appropriate manifestations of the Pseudogenerative and Conventional statuses, and these statuses as final resolutions of the stage.

The model proposed in this thesis marks the only attempt in the literature to identify processes by which the ego strength, care, and its antithesis, rejectivity, become synthesized within individuals into qualitative styles of generativity outcome. Further investigation into the validity of the proposed generativity statuses is seen as taking several directions. First, more

evidence of predictive validity is needed. One possibility is the study of psychosocial processes operating in parental and leadership styles. Each of the generativity statuses is anticipated to adopt a distinct approach to these tasks, which would allow an investigation of the effect that different styles might have on those parented or led. Second, relationships between prior and subsequent psychosocial stages can be investigated. For example, there should be a positive relationship between the intimacy statuses (Orlofsky et al., 1973) and the generativity statuses. In addition, the attainment of generativity should be related to the subsequent stage of integrity. It is extremely important to extend the procedure to other ages, particularly as adulthood stretches across such a long age span and multiple generations of individuals. Longitudinal designs are necessary to identify and understand the multiple psychosocial factors that likely impact generativity development across adulthood, including, for instance, changes in the broad societal ethos of differing generations. Research using younger samples, and investigations designed to take into account the influence of socioeconomic and situational factors, may help determine the relative contribution of these considerations to generativity as well. Finally, parental generativity status might serve as a predictor of the identity status of adolescent children, and the industry level of children at elementary school age. In summary, the status approach presented here may provide a meaningful route to understanding the adult crisis of generativity - stagnation, and the interplay of this stage of life with the maturational processes of those younger and older.

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Table 1

Intraclass Correlations (ICC 2,1) for Rater Groups on Generativity Prototype Dimension Scores Across Entire Sample: Time 1 and Time 2

Rater Groups	Generativity Dimensions				
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
Time 1					
Rater 1, Rater 2	.45	.67	.67	.62	.64
Time 2					
Rater 4, Rater 5	.49	.45	.20	.33	.50
Rater 4, Rater 1	.55	.62	.57	.54	.67
Rater 5, Rater 1	.42	.54	.27	.29	.38
Rater 4, Rater 5, Rater 1	.48	.53	.32	.41	.50

Note: Sample sizes are as follows. Time 1: $N = 100$; Time 2, $N = 82$. GEN = Generative; PGA = Pseudogenerative-Agentive; PGC = Pseudogenerative-Communal; CON = Conventional; STA = Stagnant.

Table 2

Intraclass Correlations (ICC 1,2) for Final Averaged Generativity Prototype Dimension Scores
Across Entire Sample: Time 1 and Time 2

Test Session	Generativity Dimensions				
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
Time 1	.73	.90	.85	.82	.88
Time 2	.86	.80	.73	.80	.89

Note. Sample sizes are as follows. Time 1: $N = 100$; Time 2, $N = 82$.

Table 3

Standard Error of Measurement for Final Averaged Generativity Dimension Scores with 95% Confidence Intervals: Time 1 and Time 2

Test Session	Generativity Dimensions											
	GEN		PGA		PGC		CON		STA			
	SEM	+/-95%	SEM	+/-95%	SEM	+/-95%	SEM	+/-95%	SEM	+/-95%		
Time 1	.63	1.24	.43	.85	.57	1.11	.54	1.06	.48	.94		
Time 2	.52	1.01	.56	1.09	.48	.94	.52	1.01	.39	.77		

Note. Sample sizes are as follows. Time 1: N = 100; Time 2: N = 82, evenly divided by gender.

Table 4

Interview Classification Distribution: Time 1 and Time 2

Time 1						
Dimension	Overall		Females		Males	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
GEN	19	19	7	14	12	24
PGA	16	16	6	12	10	20
PGC	18	18	15	30	3	6
CON	33	33	16	32	17	34
STA	14	14	8	16	6	12

Time 2						
Dimension	Overall		Females		Males	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
GEN	24	29	11	27	13	32
PGA	10	12	5	12	5	12
PGC	7	9	5	12	2	5
CON	23	28	13	32	10	24
STA	18	22	7	17	11	27

Note. Sample sizes are as follows: Time 1, $N = 100$; Time 2, $N = 82$, evenly divided by gender.

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations for Interview Generativity Dimension Scores: Time 1 and Time 2

Time 1						
Dimension	Overall		Females		Males	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
GEN	3.49	1.71	3.19	1.67	3.80	1.71
PGA	2.75	1.92	2.28	1.71	3.22	2.02
PGC	3.23	2.06	4.05	2.09	2.40	1.68
CON	4.23	1.79	4.37	1.61	4.09	1.96
STA	2.71	1.98	2.69	1.98	2.72	2.00

Time 2						
Dimension	Overall		Females		Males	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
GEN	3.88	1.94	4.01	2.01	3.95	1.97
PGA	2.98	1.72	2.59	1.78	2.78	1.75
PGC	2.13	1.10	2.99	1.67	2.56	1.47
CON	3.99	1.78	4.02	1.60	4.01	1.68
STA	3.27	1.92	2.56	1.70	2.92	1.84

Note. Sample sizes are as follows. Time 1: $N = 100$; Time 2, $N = 82$, evenly divided by gender.

Table 6

Interview Generativity Dimension Intercorrelations: Time 1

Overall					
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GEN	1.00	.03	-.19	-.40***	-.54***
PGA		1.00	-.28**	-.17	-.30**
PGC			1.00	-.10	-.02
CON				1.00	-.13
STA					1.00

Females					
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GEN	1.00	.03	-.12	-.39**	-.52***
PGA		1.00	-.19	-.21	-.27
PGC			1.00	-.14	-.05
CON				1.00	-.15
STA					1.00

Males					
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GEN	1.00	-.05	-.14	-.40**	-.57***
PGA		1.00	-.24	-.12	-.34*
PGC			1.00	-.16	.01
CON				1.00	-.11
STA					1.00

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$, two-tailed.

Note. Sample sizes are as follows: $N = 100$, evenly divided by gender.

Table 7

Interview Generativity Dimension Intercorrelations: Time 2

Overall					
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GEN	1.00	.00	-.08	-.30**	-.65***
PGA		1.00	-.39***	-.12	-.26*
PGC			1.00	-.17	.08
CON				1.00	-.13
STA					1.00

Females					
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GEN	1.00	.07	-.21	-.36*	-.62***
PGA		1.00	-.43**	-.19	-.33*
PGC			1.00	-.16	.19
CON				1.00	-.14
STA					1.00

Males					
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GEN	1.00	-.06	.08	-.24	-.70***
PGA		1.00	-.32*	-.06	-.25
PGC			1.00	-.23	.10
CON				1.00	-.13
STA					1.00

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$, two-tailed.

Note. Sample sizes are as follows: $N = 82$, evenly divided by gender.

Table 8

Means, Standard Deviations for Continuous Ratings By Categorical Classifications: Time 1

Classification Groupings		Generativity Dimensions				
		GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GEN	<u>M</u>	6.34	2.32	2.32	2.66	1.37
	<u>SD</u>	1.00	.92	.96	1.01	.74
PGA	<u>M</u>	3.41	6.56	2.28	3.28	1.75
	<u>SD</u>	.97	.93	1.37	1.28	.80
PGC	<u>M</u>	2.83	1.86	6.72	3.64	2.83
	<u>SD</u>	1.08	.82	.89	.97	1.19
CON	<u>M</u>	2.85	2.15	2.73	6.32	2.09
	<u>SD</u>	.95	1.01	1.51	.79	.91
STA	<u>M</u>	2.11	1.54	2.21	3.29	6.89
	<u>SD</u>	.71	.89	1.16	1.03	.90

Note. Generativity classification groupings are as follows. GEN: N = 19. PGA: N = 16. PGC: N = 18. CON: N = 33. STA: N = 14.

Table 9

Means, Standard Deviations for Continuous Ratings By Categorical Classifications: Time 2

Classification Groupings		Generativity Dimensions				
		GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GEN	<u>M</u>	6.58	2.63	2.25	3.00	1.67
	<u>SD</u>	1.00	.86	.75	1.02	.84
PGA	<u>M</u>	3.35	6.75	1.60	3.05	1.95
	<u>SD</u>	1.11	.59	.57	.80	.72
PGC	<u>M</u>	3.07	1.57	6.50	3.21	2.93
	<u>SD</u>	.93	.82	1.00	.70	.61
CON	<u>M</u>	3.13	2.30	2.13	6.24	2.30
	<u>SD</u>	.84	1.01	.64	.56	.79
STA	<u>M</u>	2.14	1.86	2.61	3.11	6.03
	<u>SD</u>	.72	.82	1.12	1.23	.67

Note. Generativity classification groupings are as follows. GEN: N = 24. PGA: N = 10. PGC: N = 7. CON: N = 23. STA: N = 18.

Table 10

Generativity Self-Report (GSSR) Categorical Ratings

Dimension	Overall		Females		Males	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
GSSR-GEN	34	45	20	54	14	34
GSSR-PGA	10	13	5	14	5	13
GSSR-PGC	15	20	9	24	6	16
GSSR-CON	12	16	3	8	9	24
GSSR-STA	4	5	0	0	4	11

Note. Sample sizes are as follows: Overall, $N = 75$; for women, $N = 37$, and for men, $N = 38$.

Table 11

Means and Standard Deviations for Generativity Self-Report (GSSR) Dimension Scores

Dimension	Overall		Females		Males	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
GSSR-GEN	6.15	2.09	6.23	2.20	6.00	2.00
GSSR-PGA	4.89	1.92	4.81	1.98	4.97	1.87
GSSR-PGC	5.26	2.06	5.58	1.99	4.94	2.10
GSSR-CON	4.42	2.23	4.25	2.36	4.58	2.13
GSSR-STA	2.43	1.75	1.86	1.33	2.97	1.94

Note. Sample sizes are as follows. GSSR-Generative: $N = 73$ (37 females, 36 males); GSSR-Agentive, GSSR-Communal, GSSR-Conventional: $N = 72$ (36 females, 36 males); GSSR-Stagnant: $N = 73$ (36 females, 37 males).

Table 12

Generativity Self-Report (GSSR) Dimension Intercorrelations

GSSR Dimensions - Overall					
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GEN	1.00	-.02	-.26*	-.41***	-.14
PGA		1.00	-.09	.22	-.29*
PGC			1.00	.13	-.15
CON				1.00	.10
STA					1.00

GSSR Dimensions - Females					
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GEN	1.00	.10	-.36*	-.37*	-.02
PGA		1.00	-.17	.21	-.29
PGC			1.00	.20	.15
CON				1.00	.10
STA					1.00

GSSR Dimensions - Males					
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GEN	1.00	-.16	-.17	-.45**	-.22
PGA		1.00	-.01	.23	-.36*
PGC			1.00	.08	-.28
CON				1.00	.08
STA					1.00

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$, two-tailed.

Note. Sample sizes are as follows: Overall, $N = 72$; for males, $N = 36$; for females, $N = 36$.

Table 13

Convergence between Interview Generativity and Self-Report (GSSR) Categorical Ratings

Overall					
Self-Report	Interview				
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GSSR-GEN	11	6	1	11	5
GSSR-PGA	4	1	1	2	2
GSSR-PGC	5	1	3	2	4
GSSR-CON	1	0	2	6	3
GSSR-STA	1	0	0	0	3

Females					
Self-Report	Interview				
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GSSR-GEN	6	3	0	8	3
GSSR-PGA	1	1	1	2	0
GSSR-PGC	3	0	3	1	2
GSSR-CON	0	0	1	1	1
GSSR-STA	0	0	0	0	0

Males					
Self-Report	Interview				
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GSSR-GEN	5	3	1	3	2
GSSR-PGA	3	0	0	0	2
GSSR-PGC	2	1	0	1	2
GSSR-CON	1	0	1	5	2
GSSR-STA	1	0	0	0	3

Note. Sample sizes are as follows: $N = 75$ (37 females, 38 males).

Table 14

Convergence between Interview Generativity and Self-Report (GSSR) Dimension Scores

Overall					
Self-Report	Interview				
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GSSR-GEN	.18	.12	-.07	-.13	-.21
GSSR-PGA	.14	.10	.00	.07	-.21
GSSR-PGC	.03	-.25*	.24*	.06	-.10
GSSR-CON	-.15	-.16	-.08	.36**	-.01
GSSR-STA	-.21	-.07	-.13	-.10	.33**

Females					
Self-Report	Interview				
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GSSR-GEN	.14	.20	-.23	.06	-.22
GSSR-PGA	.26	.04	.11	.15	-.43**
GSSR-PGC	-.09	-.37*	.22	-.05	.06
GSSR-CON	-.25	-.20	-.01	.26	.18
GSSR-STA	-.23	-.05	.02	-.34*	.40*

Males					
Self-Report	Interview				
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GSSR-GEN	.21	.05	.14	-.33*	-.17
GSSR-PGA	.00	.16	-.16	-.01	-.03
GSSR-PGC	.15	-.10	.20	.03	-.18
GSSR-CON	-.03	-.13	-.15	.48**	-.23
GSSR-STA	-.20	-.15	-.12	.07	.20

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$, two-tailed.

Note. Sample sizes are as follows. Correlations with GSSR-Generative: $N = 73$ (37 females, 36 males); correlations with GSSR-Agentive, GSSR-Communal, GSSR-Conventional: $N = 72$ (36 females, 36 males); correlations with GSSR-Stagnant: $N = 73$ (36 females, 37 males).

Table 15

Stability of Interview Generativity Classifications: Time 1 to Time 2

Overall

Time 1

Time 2	GEN		PGA		PGC		CON		STA	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
GEN	9	11	5	6	3	4	7	9	0	0
PGA	3	4	6	7	1	1	0	0	0	0
PGC	2	2	0	0	4	5	1	1	0	0
CON	1	1	0	0	1	1	19	23	2	2
STA	1	1	0	0	4	5	3	4	10	12

Females

Time 1

Time 2	GEN		PGA		PGC		CON		STA	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
GEN	3	7	1	2	3	7	4	10	0	0
PGA	2	5	3	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
PGC	1	2	0	0	4	10	0	0	0	0
CON	1	2	0	0	1	2	10	24	1	2
STA	0	0	0	0	3	7	1	2	3	7

Males

Time 1

Time 2	GEN		PGA		PGC		CON		STA	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
GEN	6	15	4	10	0	0	3	7	0	0
PGA	1	2	3	7	1	2	0	0	0	0
PGC	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0
CON	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	22	1	2
STA	1	2	0	0	1	2	2	5	7	17

Note: Sample sizes are $N = 82$, evenly divided by gender.

Table 16

Means and Standard Deviations, Interview Generativity Continuous Scores: Subsample Tested at Time 1 and Time 2

Time 1						
Dimension	Overall		Females		Males	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
GEN	3.54	1.70	3.67	1.69	3.42	1.72
PGA	2.66	1.84	3.11	1.95	2.21	1.61
PGC	3.17	1.95	2.39	1.61	3.95	1.97
CON	4.37	1.86	4.27	2.03	4.46	1.70
STA	2.67	1.98	2.81	2.13	2.52	1.83

Time 2						
Dimension	Overall		Females		Males	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
GEN	3.88	1.94	4.01	2.01	3.95	1.97
PGA	2.98	1.72	2.59	1.78	2.78	1.75
PGC	2.13	1.10	2.99	1.67	2.56	1.47
CON	3.99	1.78	4.02	1.60	4.01	1.68
STA	3.27	1.92	2.56	1.70	2.92	1.84

Note. Sample sizes are N = 82, evenly divided by gender.

Table 17

Stability of Interview Generativity Dimension: Time 1 to Time 2

Overall					
Time 2	Time 1				
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GEN	.47***	.21	-.14	-.14	-.41***
PGA	.05	.65***	-.18	-.25*	-.25*
PGC	.04	-.29**	.46***	-.07	-.03
CON	-.19	-.17	-.12	.53***	-.17
STA	-.28**	-.30**	-.05	-.11	.63***

Females					
Time 2	Time 1				
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GEN	.48***	.12	-.13	-.18	-.38*
PGA	.21	.66***	-.37*	-.38*	-.25
PGC	-.04	-.28	.61***	-.09	.00
CON	-.27	-.16	-.19	.56***	-.08
STA	-.35*	-.30	.22	-.08	.67***

Males					
Time 2	Time 1				
	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
GEN	.47***	.33	-.21	-.12	-.45**
PGA	-.13	.64***	.14	-.13	-.27
PGC	.23	-.20	.00	-.10	-.03
CON	-.11	-.17	-.10	.50***	-.23
STA	-.27	-.44**	.09	-.12	.60***

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$, two-tailed.

Note. Sample sizes are $N = 82$, evenly divided by gender.

Table 18

Stability of Generativity Scales, Psychosocial Adjustment, and NEO-Openness

Scale	Overall	Females	Males
LGS	.78	.82	.72
OPES-GEN	.72	.72	.72
OPES-Index	.82	.90	.73
NEO-Openness	.81	.90	.69
NEO-Values	.84	.83	.83

Note: Sample sizes are as follows. LGS and OPES generativity subscale: $N = 76$ (37 women and 39 men); OPES psychosocial index: $N = 75$ (36 women and 39 men); NEO Openness domain and Values facet scales: $N = 75$ (37 women and 38 men).

Table 19

Means and Standard Deviations of Generativity Scales, Psychosocial Adjustment, and NEO-Openness: Time 1 and Time 2

Overall				
Scale	Time 1		Time 2	
	mean	sd	mean	sd
LGS	37.71	7.71	37.82	6.70
OPES-GEN	19.50	3.19	19.32	3.47
OPES-Index	137.08	18.54	134.36	17.54
NEO-Openness	122.10	17.71	123.71	16.31
NEO-Values	22.86	4.88	21.85	4.72

Females				
Scale	Time 1		Time 2	
	mean	sd	mean	sd
LGS	39.21	7.69	38.92	6.66
OPES-GEN	19.95	2.98	20.08	2.81
OPES-Index	140.19	19.01	138.72	17.26
NEO-Openness	123.33	16.03	124.14	15.30
NEO-Values	21.89	5.25	21.16	5.11

Males				
Scale	Time 1		Time 2	
	mean	sd	mean	sd
LGS	36.28	7.55	35.82	6.47
OPES-GEN	19.08	3.36	18.59	3.89
OPES-Index	134.13	18.69	130.33	17.02
NEO-Openness	120.92	19.30	123.29	17.44
NEO-Values	23.79	4.39	22.50	4.27

Note: Sample sizes are as follows. LGS and the OPES generativity subscale: $N = 76$ (37 women and 39 men); OPES psychosocial index: $N = 75$ (36 women and 39 men); NEO Openness domain and Values facet scales: $N = 75$ (37 women and 38 men).

Table 20

Ten Most Frequently Reported Events by Gender

Males

Event	Count
Major change in closeness of family members (increased or decreased closeness)	19
Major change in usual type and/or amount of recreation	17
Major change in eating habits (much more or much less food intake)	11
Death of close family member (non-spouse)	14
Borrowing more than \$10,000 (buying home, business, etc.)	14
Minor law violations (traffic tickets, disturbing the peace, etc.)	12
Son or daughter leaving home (due to marriage, college, etc.)	12
Change in hours or conditions in present job	11
Major change in financial status (a lot better or a lot worse off)	11
Change of residence	10

Females

Event	Count
Major change in eating habits (much more or much less food intake)	14
Serious injury or illness of close family member	13
Change in hours or conditions in present job	13
Death of close family member (non-spouse)	12
Major change in financial status (a lot better or a lot worse off)	12
Change of residence	12
Outstanding personal achievement	10
Gaining a new family member (through birth, adoption, family member moving moving in, etc.)	11
Major change in closeness of family members (increased or decreased closeness)	10
Major change in social activities, e.g., parties, movies, visiting (increased or decreased participation)	10

Table 21

Correlations between Interview Generativity Change Scores and Life Events, Psychosocial Adjustment

Overall					
Scale	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
Total Life Events	.02	.01	-.09	.02	.15
Positive Life Events	.17	-.03	-.06	.11	-.05
Negative Life Events	-.21	-.05	.05	-.09	.26*
Psychosocial Adjustment	.14	.20	-.16	-.13	-.13

Females					
Scale	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
Total Life Events	.04	-.05	.01	-.01	.24
Positive Life Events	.27	.04	.04	.16	-.15
Negative Life Events	-.18	-.11	.12	-.13	.28
Psychosocial Adjustment	-.01	.05	.09	-.18	.02

Males					
Scale	GEN	PGA	PGC	CON	STA
Total Life Events	.00	.05	-.19	.04	.09
Positive Life Events	.07	-.10	-.12	.09	.01
Negative Life Events	-.24	.00	-.03	-.07	.25
Psychosocial Adjustment	.22	.29	-.28	-.10	-.18

* $p < .05$, two-tailed.

Note. Sample sizes are as follows. Life events scales: $N = 74$ (35 females, 39 males); OPES psychosocial adjustment: $N = 75$ (36 females, 39 males).

Table 22

Correlations between Change Scores on Generativity Scales, and Life Events, Psychosocial Adjustment

Scale	Overall					
	LGS			OPES-GEN		
	Overall	Females	Males	Overall	Females	Males
Total Life Events	.03	.14	.04	-.05	-.03	-.06
Positive Life Events	-.07	-.06	-.09	.14	.22	-.01
Negative Life Events	.01	.21	-.14	-.17	-.06	-.06
Psychosocial Adjustment	.37***	.31*	.41**	.48***	.57***	.43**

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$, two-tailed.

Note. Sample sizes are as follows. LGS and the OPES generativity subscale: $N = 76$ (37 women and 39 men); OPES psychosocial adjustment: $N = 75$ (36 women and 39 men).

Table 23

Means and Standard Deviations of Generativity Scales across Generativity Status Groups:
Time 1 and Time 2

Generativity Dimension		LGS		OPES-GEN	
		Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2
GEN	<u>mean</u>	42.47 _a	39.23 _a	21.11 _a	20.50 _a
	<u>sd</u>	6.40	5.22	3.16	3.04
PGA	<u>mean</u>	39.75 _a	42.75 _a	20.38 _a	21.88 _a
	<u>sd</u>	6.63	5.57	3.63	4.05
PGC	<u>mean</u>	38.11	34.71	19.39	18.86
	<u>sd</u>	7.43	10.45	2.55	2.48
CON	<u>mean</u>	37.61	37.41	19.52	19.41
	<u>sd</u>	7.64	6.60	2.82	3.02
STA	<u>mean</u>	31.14 _b	33.29 _b	16.79 _b	16.65 _b
	<u>sd</u>	8.07	4.82	3.49	3.14
	<u>F</u>	4.70***	4.16***	4.01***	5.27***

*** $p < .001$.

Note. Means with different subscripts differ significantly, ranging between $p < .001$ to $p < .009$ for planned contrasts between Generative and Stagnant. All other subscripted mean differences are significant at between $p < .05$ and $p < .01$, Tukey HSD contrasts. Sample sizes are: Time 1: $N = 100$; Time 2: $N = 76$. Group sizes at Time 1 are as follows. Generative: $n = 19$; Pseudogenerative-Agentive: $n = 16$; Pseudogenerative-Communal: $n = 18$; Conventional: $n = 33$; Stagnant: $n = 14$. Group sizes at Time 2 are as follows. Generative: $n = 22$; Pseudogenerative-Agentive: $n = 8$; Pseudogenerative-Communal: $n = 7$; Conventional: $n = 22$; Stagnant: $n = 17$.

Table 24

Correlations of Interview Generativity Continuous Ratings and Generativity Scales: Time 1 and Time 2

Generativity Dimension	LGS		OPES-GEN	
	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2
GEN	.39***	.29*	.26**	.35**
PGA	.17	.27*	.16	.28*
PGC	.07	-.08	.01	-.09
CON	-.11	-.08	.00	-.04
STA	-.44***	-.42***	-.41***	-.50***

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$, two-tailed.

Note. Sample sizes are: Time 1: $N = 100$; Time 2: $N = 76$.

Table 25

Means and Standard Deviations of Psychosocial Adjustment (OPES-Index) across Generativity Status Groups: Time 1 and Time 2

Generativity Dimension		Psychosocial Adjustment	
		Time 1	Time 2
GEN	<u>mean</u>	144.68 _a	137.23 _a
	<u>sd</u>	21.84	16.53
PGA	<u>mean</u>	132.00	137.38
	<u>sd</u>	22.20	14.18
PGC	<u>mean</u>	129.39	125.14
	<u>sd</u>	15.21	19.28
CON	<u>mean</u>	142.85 _a	141.18 _a
	<u>sd</u>	18.78	15.33
STA	<u>mean</u>	124.64 _b	123.56 _b
	<u>sd</u>	19.49	17.71
<u>F</u>		4.01**	3.44*

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Note. Means with different subscripts differ significantly, ranging between $p < .02$ to $p < .004$ for planned contrasts between Generative and Stagnant. All other subscripted mean differences are significant at $p < .05$, Tukey HSD contrasts. Sample sizes are: Time 1: $N = 100$; Time 2: $N = 76$. Group sizes at Time 1 are as follows. Generative: $n = 19$; Pseudogenerative-Agentic: $n = 16$; Pseudogenerative-Communal: $n = 18$; Conventional: $n = 33$; Stagnant: $n = 14$. Group sizes at Time 2 are as follows. Generative: $n = 22$; Pseudogenerative-Agentic: $n = 8$; Pseudogenerative-Communal: $n = 7$; Conventional: $n = 22$; Stagnant: $n = 17$.

Table 26

Correlations of Interview Generativity Continuous Ratings and Psychosocial Adjustment:
Time 1 and Time 2

Generativity Dimension	Psychosocial Adjustment	
	Time 1	Time 2
GEN	.13	.22
PGA	.03	.17
PGC	-.18	-.21
CON	.23*	.26*
STA	-.33***	-.44***

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$, two-tailed.

Note. Sample sizes are as follows. Time 1: $N = 100$;
Time 2: $N = 75$.

Table 27

Means and Standard Deviations of NEO-Openness Scales across Generativity Status Groups:
Time 1 and Time 2

Generativity Status		Openness Domain Scale		Openness to Values	
		Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2
GEN	<u>mean</u>	135.21 _a	130.27 _a	25.26 _a	22.55
	<u>sd</u>	14.03	15.02	2.42	4.10
PGA	<u>mean</u>	128.81 _c	134.50 _a	24.13	24.13
	<u>sd</u>	13.40	15.27	3.30	3.00
PGC	<u>mean</u>	122.06	116.14	22.78	19.43
	<u>sd</u>	14.75	17.53	5.53	6.32
CON	<u>mean</u>	111.41 _b	116.27 _b	20.84 _b	20.14
	<u>sd</u>	16.69	16.23	5.05	5.72
STA	<u>mean</u>	120.43 _{b,c}	122.81	23.57	23.19
	<u>sd</u>	14.02	12.75	3.34	2.86
<u>F</u>		8.06***	3.80**	3.29*	2.23

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Note. Means with different subscripts differ significantly, ranging between $p < .003$ to $p < .0009$ for planned contrasts between Generative and Conventional. All other subscripted mean differences are significant at between $p < .05$ and $p < .01$, Tukey HSD contrasts. Sample sizes are: Time 1: $N = 99$; Time 2: $N = 75$. Group sizes at Time 1 are as follows. Generative: $n = 19$; Pseudogenerative-Agentic: $n = 16$; Pseudogenerative-Communal: $n = 18$; Conventional: $n = 32$; Stagnant: $n = 14$. Group sizes at Time 2 are as follows. Generative: $n = 22$; Pseudogenerative-Agentic: $n = 8$; Pseudogenerative-Communal: $n = 7$; Conventional: $n = 22$; Stagnant: $n = 17$.

Table 28

Correlations of Interview Generativity Continuous Ratings and NEO-Openness Scales: Time 1 and Time 2

Generativity Dimension	<u>Openness Domain Scale</u>		<u>Openness to Values</u>	
	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2
GEN	.46***	.40***	.32***	.10
PGA	.20	.14	.16	.20
PGC	.03	-.10	-.08	-.21
CON	-.47***	-.35**	-.40***	-.23*
STA	-.09	-.19	-.15	.04

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$, two-tailed.

Note. Sample sizes are: Time 1: $N = 99$; Time 2: $N = 75$.

Table 29:

Means and Standard Deviations of IIP Circumplex Scales across Generativity Status Groups: Time 2

IIP Scale	Generative		Pseudogenerative		Pseudogenerative		Conventional		Stagnant		
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	
		22		8		7		22		17	
Global Problems Score	.92 _a	.32	.84	.55	1.44 _b	.47	.92	.44	1.12	.43	2.87*
Domineering	-.12 _a	.39	.06 _a	.36	-.76 _b	.40	-.01 _a	.48	-.33	.32	5.99***
Vindictive	-.42	.34	-.28	.29	-.60	.62	-.26	.53	-.35	.39	.97
Cold	-.24	.40	-.19	.68	-.12	.52	-.26	.61	-.09	.51	.31
Socially Avoidant	-.14	.40	-.13	.34	-.08	.50	-.11	.46	.12	.43	1.06
Nonassertive	.13	.45	.28	.47	.56	.57	.10	.56	.34	.43	1.67
Exploitable	.45	.35	.11 _a	.24	.70 _b	.54	.30	.53	.25	.35	2.54*
Overly Nurturant	.46	.39	.16 _a	.39	.76 _b	.49	.42	.53	.22	.38	2.59*
Intrusive	-.11	.35	-.02	.30	-.46	.68	-.17	.53	-.15	.43	1.03
Summary scales											
Nurturance	.16	.63	-.12	.74	.18	.84	.00	.89	-.23	.64	.80
Dominance	.03	.60	.24	.43	-.63	.84	.18	.84	-.12	.60	2.22
Vector	.75	.44	.82	.21	1.15	.61	1.07	.57	.78	.45	2.02

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Note. Means with different subscripts differ significantly ranging from $p < .01$ to $p < .008$ for planned contrasts between Agentive and Communal groups. All other subscripted mean differences are significant at between $p < .05$ and $p < .01$, Tukey HSD contrasts. IIP Global Problems Scale and summary scales are based on non-ipsatized scores. All IIP subscales are ipsatized.

Table 30

Correlations of Continuous Generativity Prototype Ratings and IIP Circumplex Scales: Time 2

IIP Scale	<u>Generative</u>		<u>Pseudogenerative</u>		<u>Conventional</u>	<u>Stagnant</u>
		<u>Agentic</u>	<u>Communal</u>			
Global Problems Score	-.12	-.23*	.37***	-.11	.21	
Domineering	.14	.32**	-.42***	.29*	-.19	
Vindictive	-.12	.26*	-.30**	.17	.07	
Cold	-.21	.18	-.03	-.10	.21	
Socially Avoidant	-.14	-.02	.07	-.16	.19	
Nonassertive	-.05	-.21	.38***	-.21	.09	
Exploitable	.18	-.29*	.29*	-.10	-.20	
Overly Nurturant	.16	-.27*	.27*	-.06	-.20	
Intrusive	.07	-.03	-.30**	-.07	.00	
Summary scales						
Nurturance	.22	-.22	.11	.04	-.22	
Dominance	.02	.26*	-.40***	.24*	-.03	
Vector	-.15	.06	.11	.24*	-.05	

*p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001, two-tailed.

Note. Sample sizes are N = 76 (39 men and 37 women). All IIP subscales are ipsatized. IIP Global Problems Scale and summary scales are based on non-ipsatized scores.

Table 31

Correlations of Alternative Generativity Scales, Psychosocial Adjustment, and IIP-Circumplex Scales

IIP-C Scale	LGS	OPES-GEN	Psychosocial Adjustment
Global Problems Score	-.27*	-.20	-.61***
Domineering	.27*	.13	.21
Vindictive	-.08	-.17	.11
Cold	-.21	-.27*	-.09
Socially Avoidant	-.19	-.12	-.26*
Nonassertive	-.07	-.03	-.20
Exploitable	.02	.18	.10
Overly Nurturant	.09	.17	.11
Intrusive	.20	.13	.05
Summary scales			
Nurturance	.22	.27*	.14
Dominance	.13	-.01	.09
Vector	-.15	-.09	-.20

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$, two-tailed.

Note. Sample sizes are as follows. LGS and OPES-GEN: $N = 76$; Psychosocial Adjustment: $N = 75$. IIP-C subscales are ipsatized.

Figure 1
 Psychosocial Stages (adapted by Marcia et al., 1993)
 Identity Issue
 at Integrity
 Stage

OLD AGE	VIII	T-M Intg	A-S,D Intg	I-G Intg	Ind-I Intg	Id-ID Intg	Int-Is Intg	G-S Intg	Integrity and despair
ADULTHOOD	VII	T-M G	A-S,D G	I-G G	Ind-I G	Id-ID G	Int-Is G	Generativity and Stagnation, Self- Absorption	Intg-D G
YOUNG ADULTHOOD	VI	T-M Int	A-S,D Int	I-G Int	Ind-I Int	Id-ID Int	Intimacy and Isolation	G-S Int	Intg-D Int
ADOLESCENCE	V	T-M Id	A-S,D Id	I-G Id	Ind-I Id	Identity and Identity Diffusion	Int-Is Id	G-S Id	Intg-D Id
SCHOOLAGE	IV	T-M Ind	A-S,D Ind	I-G Ind	Industry and Inferiority	Id-ID Ind	Int-Is Ind	G-S Ind	Intg-D Ind
PLAY AGE	III	T-M I	A-S,D I	Initiative and Guilt	Ind-I I	Id-ID I	Int-Is I	G-S I	Intg-D I
EARLY CHILDHOOD	II	T-M A	Autonomy and Shame, Doubt	I-G A	Ind-I A	Id-ID A	Int-Is A	G-S A	Intg-D A
INFANCY	I	Basic Trust and Basic Mistrust	A-S,D T	I-G T	Ind-I T	Id-ID T	Int-Is T	G-S T	Intg-D T

Figure 2

Vital Involvement/Tolerance and Generativity Status

	VITAL INVOLVEMENT		TOLERANCE	
	<u>Self</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Self</u>	<u>Others</u>
Generative	High	High	High	High
Pseudogenerative-Agentive*	High	Low	High	Low
Pseudogenerative-Communal*	Low	High	Low	High
Conventional	High (or moderate)	High	Low (or moderate)	Low
Stagnant	Low	Low	Low (or laissez-faire)	Low

*other variations of high/low for self and others within each criterion are possible for Pseudogenerative; however, an imbalance of self-care and other-care typically results in mixtures of high/low within criteria

Figure 3

Organization of the IIP-Circumplex

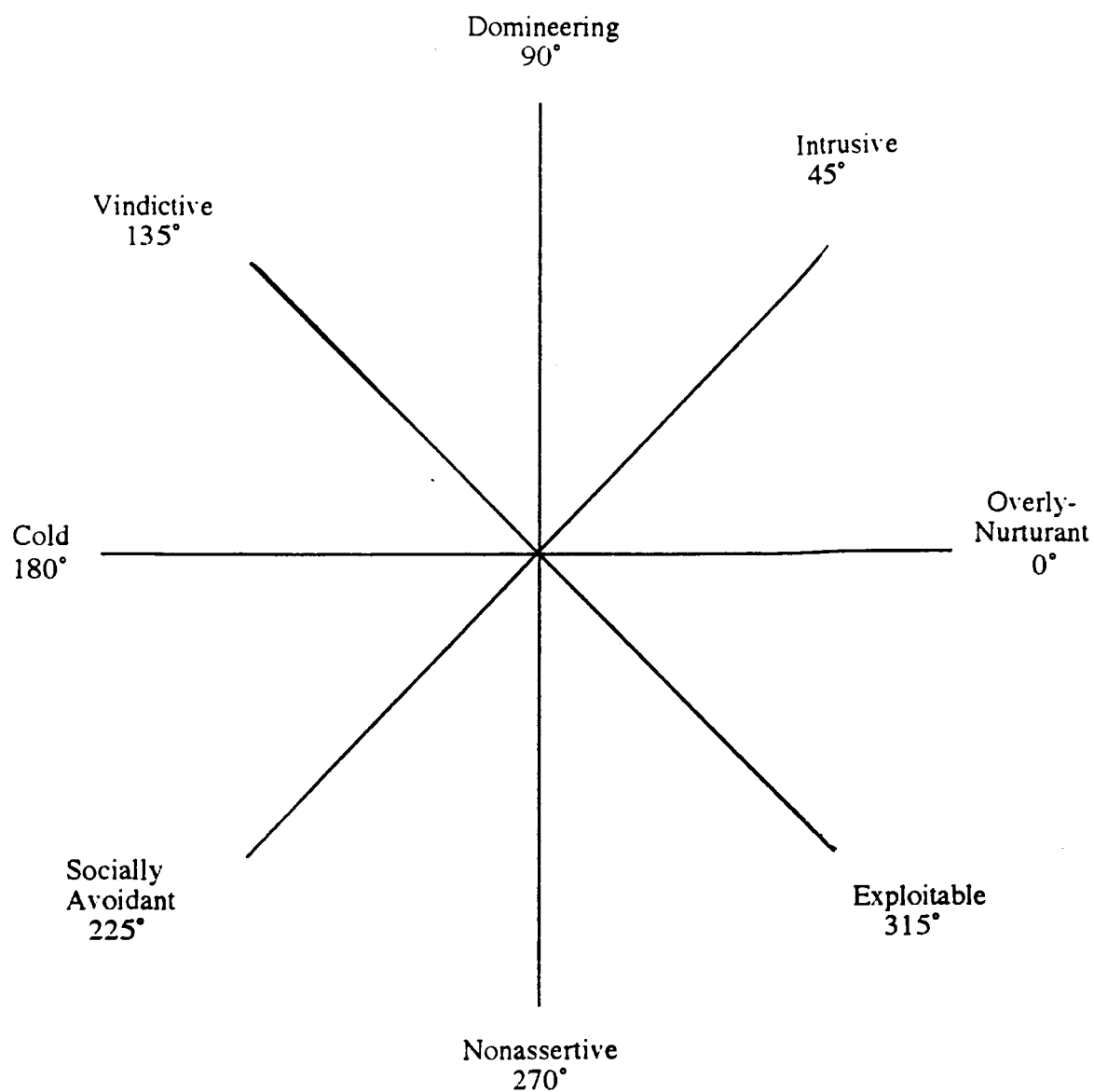


Figure 4

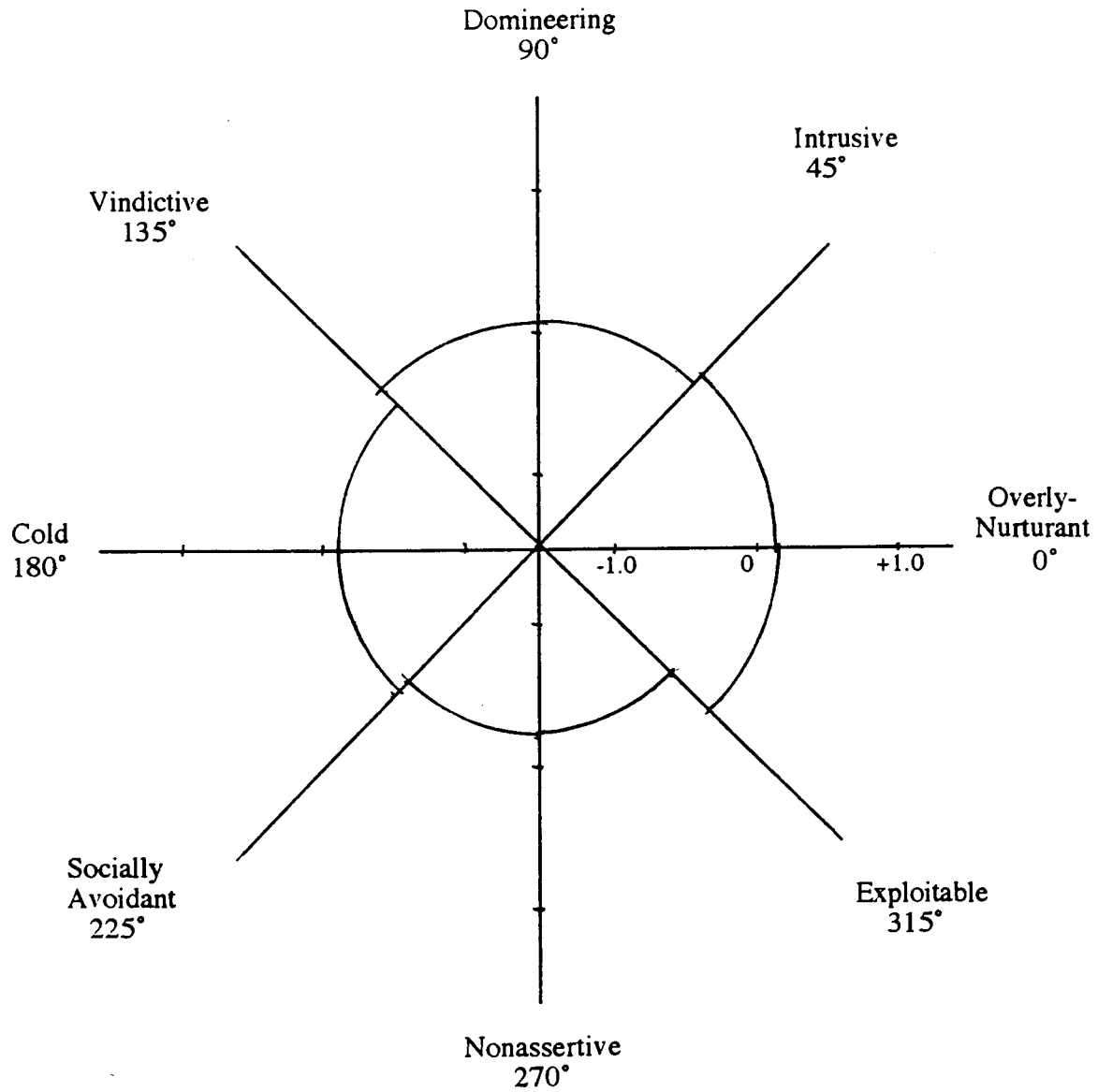
Mean z Scores and IIP-Circumplex Scales: Generative

Figure 5

Mean z Scores and IIP-Circumplex Scales: Pseudogenerative-Agentive

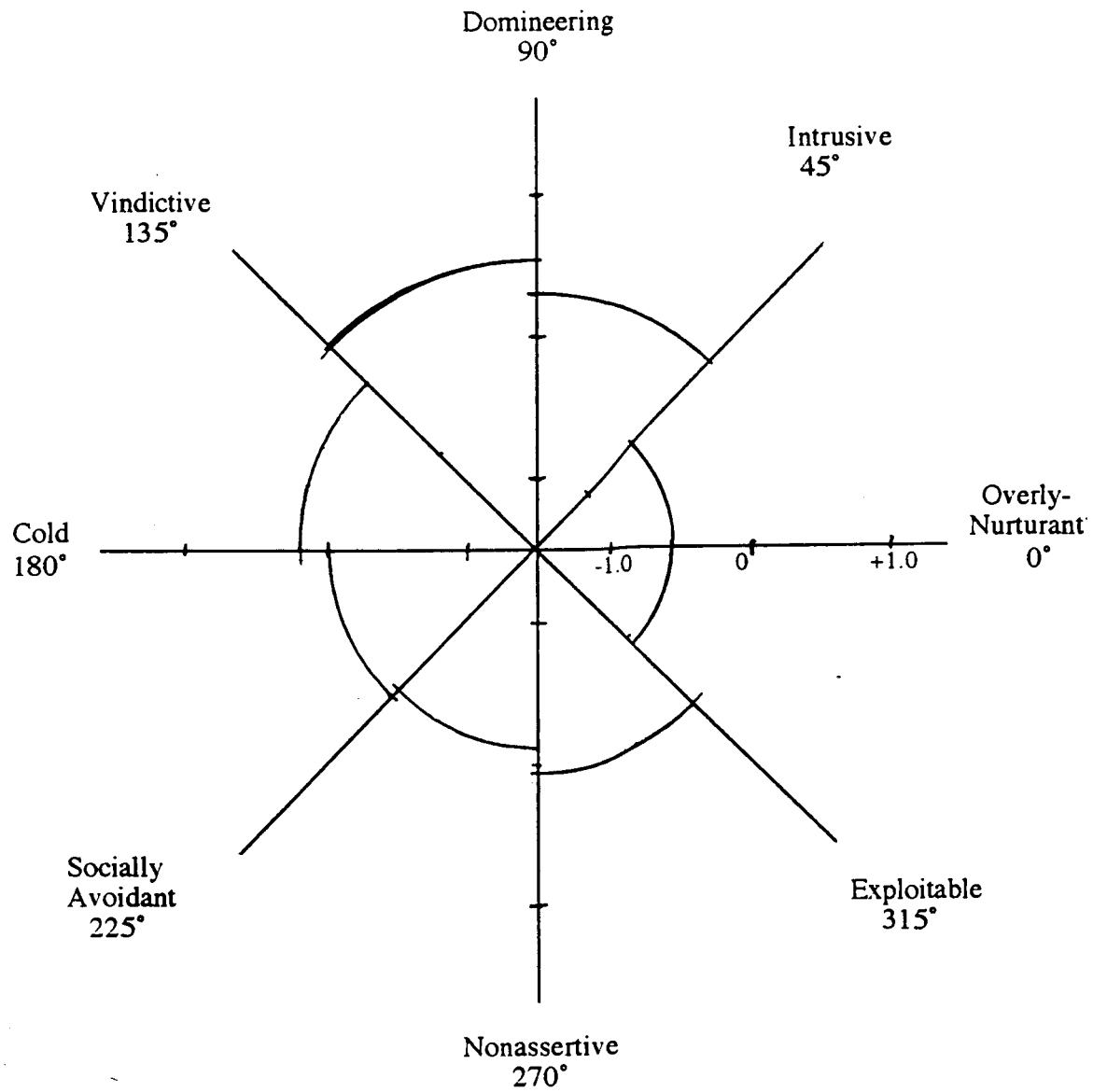


Figure 6

Mean z Scores and IIP-Circumplex Scales: Pseudogenerative-Communal

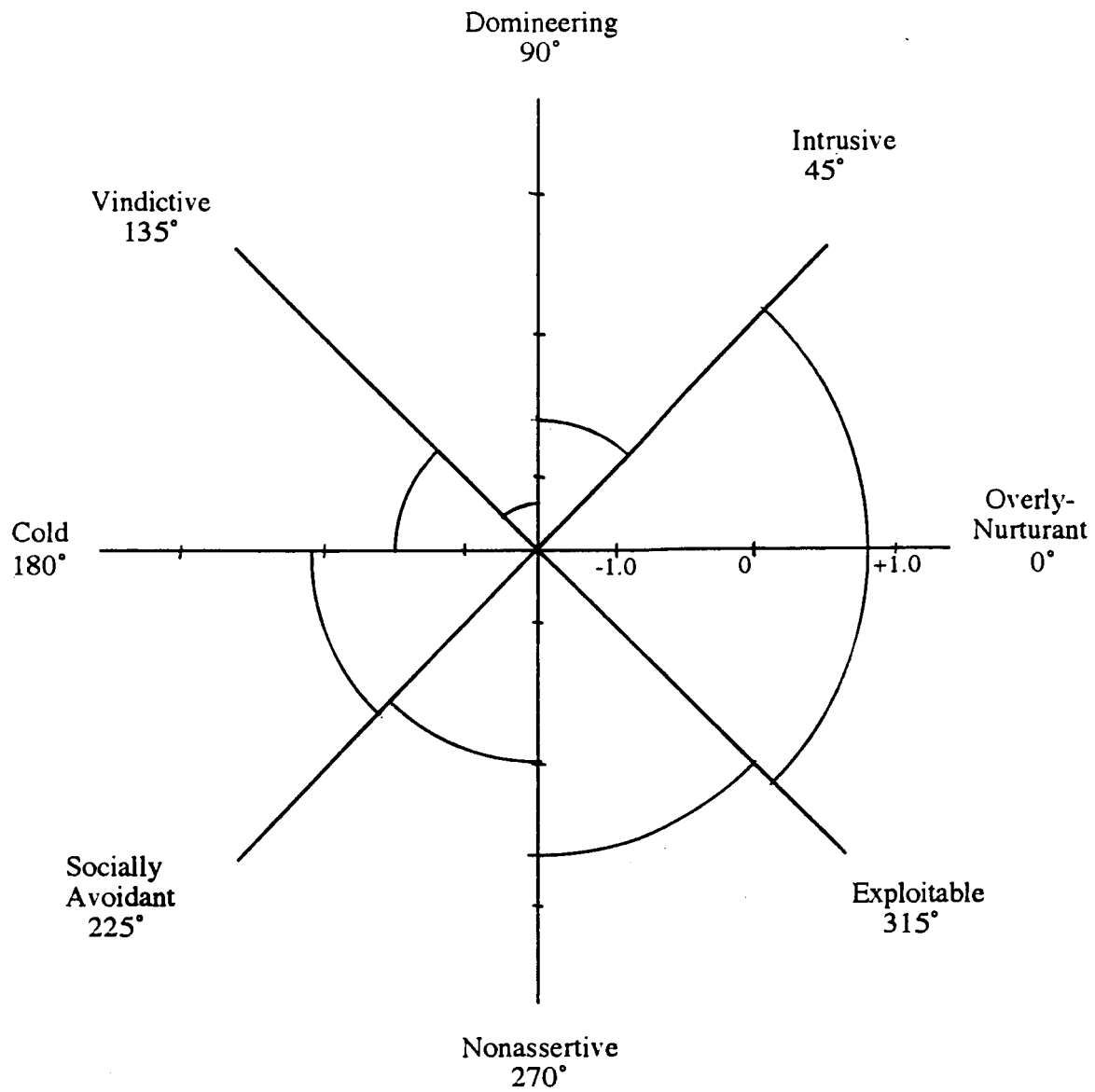


Figure 7

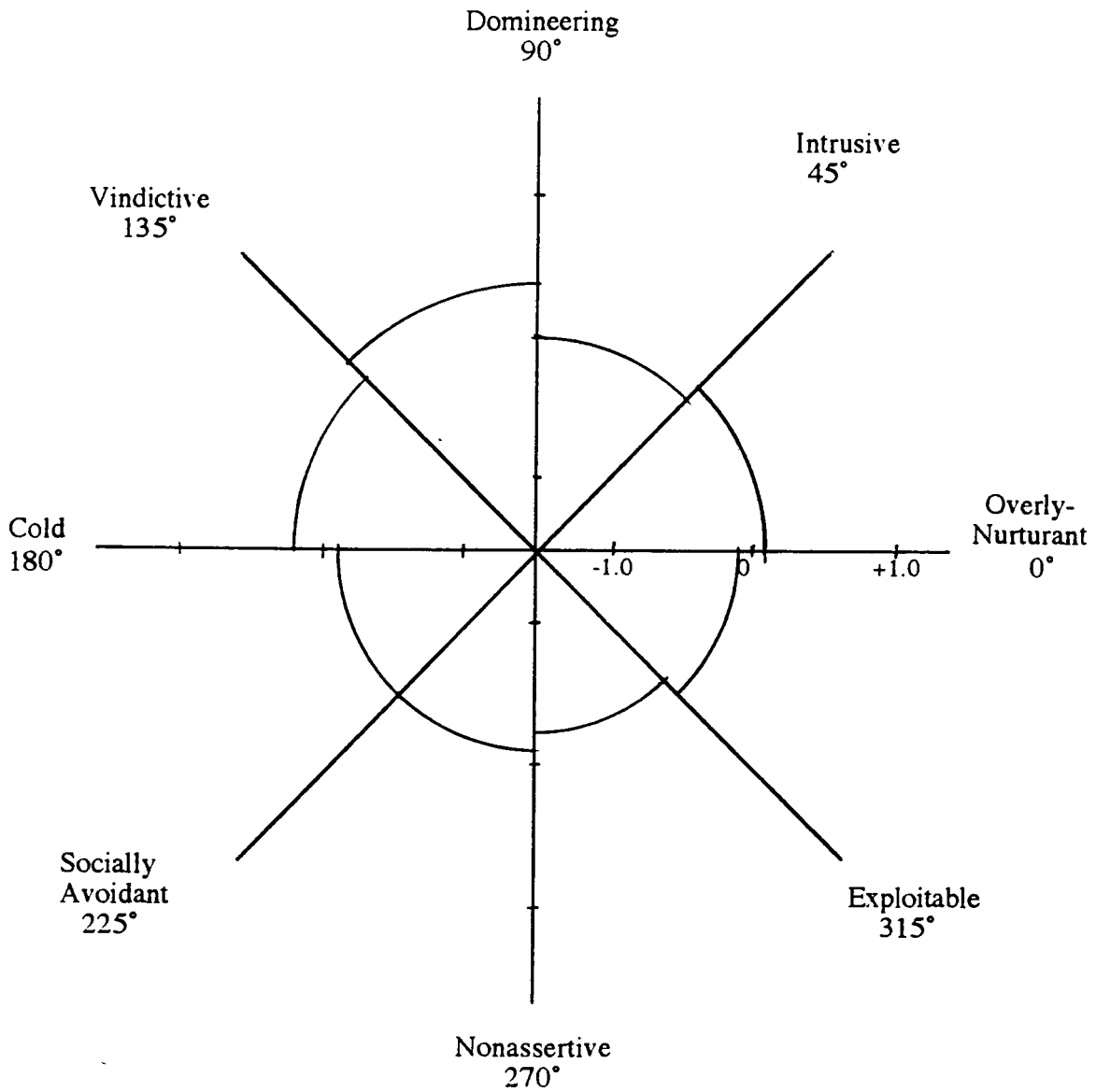
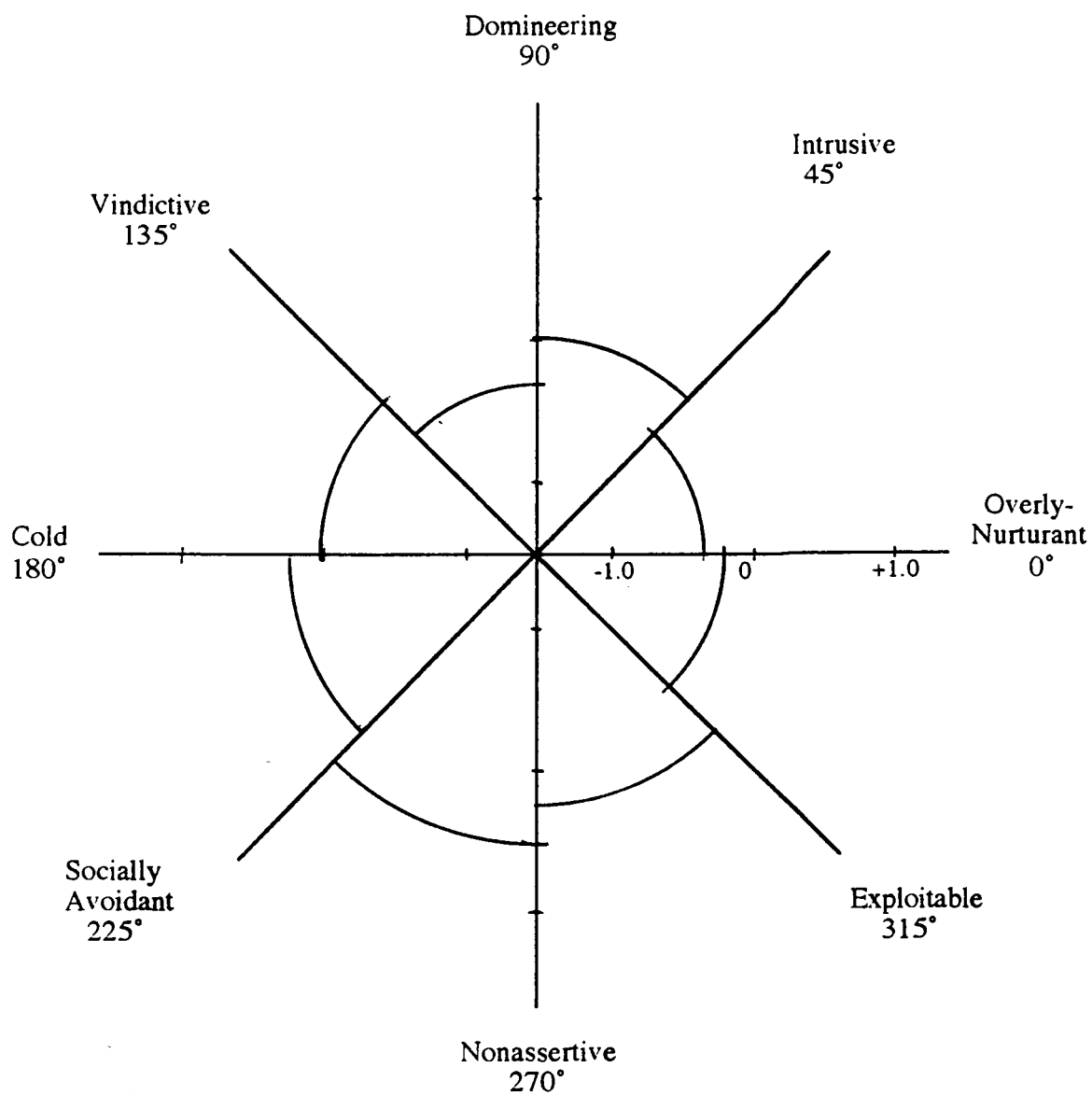
Mean z Scores and IIP-Circumplex Scales Conventional

Figure 8

Mean z Scores and IIP-Circumplex Scales: Stagnant

APPENDIX A

GENERATIVITY STATUS MEASURE
INTERVIEW AND SCORING MANUAL

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Revised 1994

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

DRAFT MANUAL - USE ONLY IN CONSULTATION WITH THE AUTHOR

GENERATIVITY STATUS INTERVIEW

General Information

1. Sex?
2. Age?
3. Marital Status?
4. Children? sex/age?
5. Educational background?

Work:

6. What kind of work do you do/have you done?
7. How do you feel about your work? How important is it in relation to other areas of your life? What do you enjoy about it?
8. How would you describe your relationship with your boss? Your employees? Your coworkers?
9. Do you feel you've accomplished or are on your way to accomplishing your career goals?
10. What are your most valued accomplishments?
11. How do you react when someone questions your authority?

Community:

12. Are there any social/political issues you feel strongly about? Do you get actively involved?
13. Are you involved in community or volunteer work? If yes, what draws you to that work?
14. What do you think young people today need?

Family:

15. How would you describe your relationship with your children? What kinds of things do you do with them?
OR How do you feel about not having any children? Are there any young people you are close to? What kinds of things do you do with them?
16. How do you feel about the direction your children (OR young people you are close to) have chosen? Is it what you would have expected?
17. How do you feel you've influenced their development?
18. How would you describe your relationship with your partner (if married or in a relationship)
OR How do you feel about being single? Do you have friends you feel particularly close to? How would you describe this (these) relationships?
19. Are there other relatives/friends who you are particularly involved with or concerned about?

Personal Concerns:

20. What are your main goals and interests? Are they different from what they were, say, 10 or 20 years ago?
21. Who are the significant people/what are the significant events over the years that have helped shape who you are today?
22. Do you set aside time for yourself? What do you do? How important is that to you?

23. Do you ever experience non-productive periods in your life? If yes, how do you feel about that when it happens?
24. How is your health generally? When you get sick, how do you react?
25. People often talk about 'settling down' as something that happens sometime after the age of thirty. Does this have any meaning for you?

GENERATIVITY STATUS SCORING MANUAL

Generativity within psychosocial theory

Generativity vs self-absorption and stagnation, the seventh stage of psychosocial development, heralds the end of early adulthood, with its emphasis on intimacy vs isolation, and extends through middle age, to be succeeded by issues of integrity vs despair in the final years. Fuelled by "a gradual expansion of ego-interests and libidinal energy in that which is generated" (Erikson, 1963, p. 267), the main psychosocial task of generativity is to establish and guide the next generation through one's acts of care.

There is, however, considerable breadth to the construct beyond the prototypical generative endeavors of procreation and parenting. In fact, procreation itself is not a guarantee of generativity, particularly if previous stage issues have been inadequately resolved (Erikson, 1964). Similarly, adults who elect not to have children - a choice widely possible only recently through modern techniques of birth control - can nevertheless be generative through sublimation of the drive energies in a "new generative ethos [which] may call for a more universal care concerned with qualitative improvement in the lives of all children" (Erikson, 1982, p. 68).

Generativity is achieved through engagement in a wide variety of activities: nurturance of one's productive output, meeting the needs of the next generation, integration of work life with one's family or intimate life, and a creative articulation of "cultural potentials within the emerging world image" (Holsizer, Murphy, Noam, Taylor, Erikson, & Erikson, 1982, p. 269). Generativity is contained in "various forms of selfless "caring" [which] potentially extend to whatever a man [or woman] generates and leaves behind, creates and produces" (Erikson, 1963, p. 267), and is operative in virtually any situation in which one is called upon to be responsible for others. "Parenthood", wrote Erikson, "is, for most, the first, and for many, the prime generative encounter, yet the perpetuation of mankind challenges the ingenuity of workers and thinkers of many kinds". (Erikson, 1964, pp. 132-133).

Central to the concept of generativity is the interdependency between that which is being cared for and the caregiver, between the younger generation and the older. The adult transmits personal values and those of his or her society to the new generation, acts as a mentor and model, and sets the stage for the continuance of cultural symbols and traditions. However, developmental benefits are reaped not only by those guided, but also by those engaged in generative pursuits, for "mature man needs to be needed, needs guidance as well as encouragement from what has been produced and must be taken care of" (Erikson, 1963, pp. 266-267). Erikson views psychosocial development as one of constant renewal of society as well as the self: "The cogwheeling stages of childhood and adulthood are, as we can see in

conclusion, truly a system of generation and regeneration - for into the system emerge those societal values to which the institutions and traditions of society attempt to give unity and permanence" (Erikson, 1964, p. 152). Ultimately, the goal of generativity is to perpetuate humankind and at the same time advance personal development (Erikson, 1982).

Difficulty in achieving a sense of generativity can lead to stagnation, self-absorption, and indulgence in oneself as if one were one's own only child. It is also characterized by a regression to previous crises, particularly that of intimacy vs isolation, in the form of "an obsessive need for pseudointimacy...often with a pervading sense of stagnation and interpersonal impoverishment" (Erikson, 1963, p. 103). If "care" is the ego strength developed through generativity, then "rejectivity", Erikson proposes, is the core pathology of stagnation, resulting in the exclusion of certain people or groups from one's caregiving activity. Through the vehicle of "authoritism", the "ungenerous and ungenerative use of sheer power for the regimentation of economic and familial life" (Erikson, 1982, p. 70), rejectivity can be directed against one's children, other family or community members, and even oneself. Erikson spoke of the generalized form of rejectivity in terms of "pseudospeciation", which is manifested as prejudices against all manner of thought or people different from oneself (Erikson, 1982).

Of course, some degree of discrimination and selection is unavoidable, for in order to care for some things, others must necessarily be eliminated from one's sphere of activity and concern. Similarly, Erikson's conceptualization of generativity does not preclude the exercise of authority, but rather identifies the more authoritarian styles and expressions as maladaptive.

As with all stages of psychosocial development, successful resolution involves achieving a balance between the two poles, with elements of stagnation present even in those most generative (Erikson, 1982). Indeed, periods of fallowness and withdrawal from generative concerns would seem necessary to the continued growth of the adult individual: a time for personal regeneration and incorporation of that which is received from those cared for; a time to reflect and set the stage for the germination of new ideas and further periods of productivity.

Generativity "statuses", or prototypes

The status approach to generativity vs stagnation identifies criteria by which individuals arrive at and potentially move between styles of generativity expression. Although some statuses imply a healthier resolution of the stage than others in an Eriksonian sense, the generativity outcomes proposed here are not strictly linearly ordered. They are, rather, individual modes of resolution of the stage, in which elements of both generativity and stagnation appear to varying degrees and in different ways. The five generativity statuses are:

Generative, Pseudogenerative-Agentic, Pseudogenerative-Communal, Conventional, and Stagnant. Statuses are differentiated along the dimensions of vital involvement and tolerance, as they relate to the self and to others. Vital involvement reflects the degree of active concern for the growth of oneself and others, a sense of responsibility for sharing skills and knowledge, and the ability to follow through with commitments. This generativity criterion is consistent with Erikson's notion that "care is the expression of a vital sympathetic trend with a high instinctual energy at its disposal (Erikson, 1974, p. 123). Tolerance reflects the scope of one's caregiving activity, in terms of who or what is to be included or excluded. Low levels of tolerance as defined here reflect Erikson's concept of reactivity, which he considered the antithesis of care, that is, an "unwillingness to include specific persons or groups in one's generative concern - one does not care to care for them" (Erikson, 1982, p. 68). Tolerance is also represented by the degree to which one is authoritative, in the sense of knowledgeable and experienced, as opposed to authoritarian, or dogmatic. This aspect of tolerance coincides with Erikson's concept of "authoritism" described previously (Erikson, 1982). Combinations of these criteria yield the following generativity statuses, and are presented below.

Vital Involvement/Tolerance and Generativity Status

	VITAL INVOLVEMENT		TOLERANCE	
	Self	Others	Self	Others
Generative	High	High	High	High
Pseudogenerative-Agentic*	High	Low	High	Low
Pseudogenerative-Communal*	Low	High	Low	High
Conventional	High (or moderate)	High	Low (or moderate)	Low
Stagnant	Low	Low	Low (or laissez-faire)	Low

*other variations of high/low for self and others within each criterion are possible for Pseudogenerative. Usually, an imbalance of self-care and other-care is evident, resulting in mixtures of high/low within a criterion

Generative individuals are characterized by high vital involvement: in the growth of young people, in their work, and in the future society which will be left behind. The individual is conscious of being a guide to others, and feels the need to impart accumulated knowledge and experience, while remaining tolerant of other ways of being and other traditions. *Generative* individuals lead in such a way as to teach the next generation how to lead in its

own style, yet imbue it with the legacy of their achievements and views. Two styles are grouped under the general heading of *Pseudogenerative: Agentic* and *Communal*. For the *Pseudogenerative* individual, investment in other things or people is highly related to personal needs or goals, which makes it difficult to truly nurture the independent growth of the people or organizations around them. Those with an *Agentic* orientation are highly involved in and tolerant of the self, but not others. Absorbed with their own personal or professional goals, they tend to exclude from their concern people not involved in a common project. Not so for those with a *Communal* orientation, who have a high investment in others, often to the extent that personal desires and ambitions appear secondary. However, their strong need to be needed by others may result in their promotion of dependent relationships. *Conventional* individuals, while high in vital involvement for both self and others, are generally low in tolerance across the board. Traditional in outlook, their concern is primarily for "their own kind". They feel that young people need firm guidance, and they resist deviations from established values, culture or lifestyle. While truly concerned with others as individuals, *Conventional* individuals are restricted in the world view they can impart to those they guide. *Stagnant* individuals are characterized by low vital involvement and, generally, low tolerance with respect to others. Although higher tolerance may be exhibited, this will be in the form of a "laissez-faire" attitude rather than as a thought-out position. Inactivated in generative concerns, the *Stagnant* individual seems truly stuck; there is a feeling of little movement in, or giving to, the world, and little satisfaction with oneself.

In this model, the terms agentic and communal are used to describe broadly instrumental or interpersonal orientations to generative issues. Integration of these aspects of functioning is implied in the *Generative* resolution, whereas an imbalanced emphasis on one or the other is present in the *Pseudogenerative-Agentic* and *Communal* prototypes. This view of agency and communion shares with Bakan's (1966) and Kotre's (1984) formulations the notion that overreliance on agency is maladaptive. However, it also agrees with White (1979) that not only can agency be perceived as a positive quality, but excessive communality can be equally as maladaptive as excessive agency.

Interview procedures

The Generativity Status Interview covers four broad areas of experience: work, community, family, and personal concerns. Typical interview length varies from forty-five minutes to an hour and a half, depending on the respondent's volubility. An interview of less than thirty minutes is unlikely to produce enough information for reliable scoring; interviews of beyond an hour and a half are rare, and usually denote difficulties maintaining focus on content relevant to the task. The interview questions are generally asked in the order they appear, so

that rapport is developed around the most public areas of an individual's life before addressing more private issues. Interviewers are encouraged to ask probing questions as they judge appropriate, using the standard question as a starting point, and keeping in mind that the goal of the exercise is to arrive at ratings reflecting the degree of correspondence to each of the five generativity prototypes. For example, if an individual indicates that they enjoy "the people" most about their job, a useful probe would be to inquire what it is about the people that the respondent enjoys. A statement about making a positive impact on others' lives would subsequently be considered differently, when scoring, than a response of "I don't know, I just like people", or "they support me in what I am trying to accomplish", depending, of course, on the remainder of the interview responses.

Good probing requires a thorough knowledge of the scoring criteria and sufficient familiarity with the interview as a whole to accommodate instances where it is unwieldy or impractical to follow the standard interview format in one or another section. The latter situation may arise, for instance, if an individual has elected to retire early or for some other reason is unemployed. These circumstances call for a quick adjustment on the part of the interviewer, who may then wish to tailor questions more closely to the individual's actual situation and inquire about recent or prospective work positions, unpaid work such as that performed in the home if this responsibility falls primarily to the respondent, or to delete some questions from the section. However, it is important to make creative efforts to draw out the criteria as much as possible in all sections, and not to pass over any content area entirely. By the same token, do not discard the standard questions in a later portion of the interview simply because the respondent has previously alluded to their position on that issue, or has addressed the issue directly in the context of a previous question. Additional information may be gathered that could provide a broader or different perspective on the individual's generativity style. For instance, an individual may have indicated in the work section during a discussion of their major accomplishments that they are unsure of their future plans. This admission should not deter the interviewer from asking about major goals and interests when the question arises again in the section on personal concerns. One way to acknowledge that you are nevertheless aware of the respondent's previous comments is to preface your question with a phrase such as "You may feel that we have touched on this issue already, but I'm wondering..."

Finally, in order to ensure that the respondent feels as comfortable as possible with the interview, do not hesitate to reword specific questions so that they are more meaningful to the individual. For instance, if a respondent has indicated that they have never had "goals" in life, one way to reword the first question of the personal section to ask "What do you see for yourself when you look ahead?", or "What would you like to be doing in the next few years?"

These rewordings preserve the intent of the question, while maximizing the potential for obtaining scorable responses and maintaining rapport.

Interviewers unfamiliar with basic clinical interviewing skills such as active and reflective listening are encouraged to develop these techniques through practice, and through the reading of instructional materials such as those prepared by Egan (1990), and Matteson (1993).

Rating procedures

The objective of rating each interview is to situate an individual in one of five generativity "statuses", each status being a style of resolving the generativity vs stagnation crisis of middle adulthood. Thus, statuses are conceived of primarily as prototypes of stage resolution, with individuals manifesting most strongly one or another of the resolution profiles. However, individuals can reasonably be expected to differ in the extent to which they exemplify a particular resolution, and may exhibit to varying degrees characteristics associated with other status prototypes. In order to record this diversity, dimensional scalings are used to assess each individual on all five generativity statuses simultaneously. In this way, a generativity profile is generated which explicitly states the strength of an individual's affiliation with each status resolution. Under this scoring procedure, the highest overall dimensional rating becomes the status classification for a particular individual; this and the dimensional ratings can then be used in further analyses.

The status criteria, vital involvement and tolerance, as well as all five prototypes, are rated on a dimensional scale from 1-9 in each of the four content areas: work, community, family, and personal concerns. A final rating is made across all content areas for each dimension scale, and an overall categorical status rating is assigned. A sample rating sheet is provided in Appendix A.

The criteria scales have been subdivided into three components. The purpose of this subdivision is to identify as specifically as possible the defining features of vital involvement and tolerance within each interview. The criteria scores should then guide the coder in determining the degree to which the respondent approximates each prototype within a particular content area. Vital involvement is seen as reflecting three broad qualities: active concern, responsibility, and reliability; while tolerance encompasses an individual's sense of authority, expectations, and caregiving scope. Each subcomponent receives a dimensional score; these ratings are then combined to produce overall criteria scores for a particular section. Although typically this will involve a straight arithmetic mean across the three subcomponents for each criterion, rater judgement will be required for arriving at a unitary criterion rating when there is some discrepancy between subcomponent scores. For instance, a respondent may be assigned

scores of 8, 5, and 3 for active concern, responsibility, and reliability respectively as these pertain to others in the content area of work. Depending on the particular case, the coder may wish to assign an overall vital involvement rating of 5, the approximate mean score, or may opt for an overall rating that reflects more closely the higher or lower end score.

The final ratings for each dimensional scale and for the categorical classification of the interview will generally approximate an average of ratings across the four content areas. However, there will be cases for which it is inadvisable to derive final scores from a strict arithmetic mean of the content area ratings. Individual lives do not always neatly divide into four compartments, and a paucity of energy expenditure in one area may be compensated for by heightened commitment in another. This type of unevenness can also produce less information in one of the content areas, with the result that scoring in this area is more difficult and hence, possibly less reliable than in other areas. For these reasons, it is best to consider the interview as a whole when formulating a final rating, while using the content area scores as a guide and a within-rater reliability check.

A detailed description of the criteria scales scoring guidelines is contained in the following pages.

CRITERIA SCALES SCORING GUIDELINES:

The following 9-point scale is used to rate each area below:

Low		Moderate			High	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
						8
						9

Vital Involvement	
Active Concern	<p>Low score implies limited or no expression or behavioral evidence of concern</p> <p>Moderate score implies some expression or behavioral evidence of concern, although this may not be particularly pronounced or consistent</p> <p>High score implies clear, consistent expression of concern, and evidence of action taken towards that concern</p>
Responsibility	<p>Low score implies limited or no sense of responsibility for caretaking, growth promotion, or guidance</p> <p>Moderate score implies the presence of a sense of responsibility for growth promotion, or guidance, although this may not be particularly pronounced or consistent</p> <p>High score implies clear, consistently expressed sense of responsibility for caretaking, growth promotion, or guidance</p>
Reliability	<p>Low score implies that an individual's commitments cannot be counted on, or that caretaking efforts are sporadic and unpredictable</p> <p>Moderate score implies the presence of reliability in commitments, or considerable regularity in caregiving efforts</p> <p>High score implies a clear ability to make and fulfil commitments, and a high degree of regularity in caregiving efforts</p>
<p>Is concern for the growth of self/others expressed?</p> <p>Is action taken towards that concern?</p>	
<p>Is there a sense of responsibility for those who may benefit from the individual's skills and knowledge?</p>	
<p>Can the person's commitments be counted on?</p> <p>Is there consistency in the words and deeds of the person?</p>	

CRITERIA SCALES SCORING GUIDELINES:

The following 9-point scale is used to rate each area below:

Low		Moderate			High			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Tolerance	
<p style="text-align: center;">Authority</p> <p>Is there ability to be authoritative (knowledgeable, experienced), without being authoritarian (restrictive, dogmatic)?</p> <p>Can one accept another's authority without feeling that one's own is diminished?</p>	<p>Low score implies restrictive dismissive, punitive or reluctant exercise of authority or knowledge base</p> <p>Moderate score implies discomfort or defensiveness around authority or knowledge base; limited flexibility around decision-making</p> <p>High score implies confidence in knowledge base and decision-making ability; inclusion of multiple options in the decision-making process</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Expectations</p> <p>Are expectations of self/others realistic?</p> <p>Is there allowance for individuality?</p> <p>Can failure be seen as a growth experience?</p>	<p>Low score implies unrealistic expectations, restrictive fear of failure, or inability to allow for individual differences in temperament, motivation, or ability</p> <p>Moderate score implies relatively fixed expectations, frustration when these aren't met, and some difficulty allowing for individual differences in temperament, motivation, or ability</p> <p>High score implies realistic expectations, modify goals when necessary, and allowance for individual differences in temperament, motivation, or ability</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Caregiving Scope</p> <p>Are some kinds of people or concerns considered unimportant or rejected when making decisions that might have an impact on others/self?</p>	<p>Low score implies extremely limited scope of caregiving concern, in terms of who or what is "worthy" of being included</p> <p>Moderate score implies that worthiness for inclusion in caregiving scope is conditional, with relatively fixed boundaries and rules</p> <p>High score implies broad-based concern, not restricted by judgements of worthiness</p>

The rating of qualitative data requires a disciplined approach to organizing information. Problems frequently encountered for those learning the generativity status rating scheme include over- or under-interpreting affective data such as voice tone, and allowing personal biases to influence the application of the rating criteria (e.g., a negative or positive experience with a particular organization or type of profession can result in difficulties perceiving an individual affiliated with that organization or profession inconsistently with one's previous experience; similarly, preconceived expectations about the maximal or prototypical generativity profile for a particular profession can negatively impact coding reliability). Another potential source of difficulty may arise when the rater is substantially younger than the respondents. Raters may become more alert to the issues of generativity when they are either currently engaged in the developmental tasks of this life stage, or have confronted them previously. Vigorous application of the criteria that define the statuses, a thorough understanding of Erikson's concepts, and a modicum of clinical training are required to accurately score the generativity interviews.

Although Figure 1 has good heuristic value in describing the prototypes in terms of the process criteria, only those exemplars that most closely approximate the prototype profile will reflect these levels of the criteria exactly. In practice, the rater will often find high and low levels of vital involvement and tolerance less sharply defined than presented in the model. Moreover, the rater will find that she is frequently faced with making relative judgements as to the strength of these criteria, and consequently as to the boundaries of the prototype profiles as well. For instance, she will have to decide at what point the moderate tolerance of a *Conventional* orientation more closely approximates the high tolerance of *Generative*. An individual's particular blend of generativity styles will also contribute to variability in criteria levels for each prototype. For example, an individual with a top prototype rating of *Conventional*, followed closely by *Generative*, will present somewhat differently from an individual with a top rating of *Conventional*, followed closely by *Stagnant*. In the former case, we would expect a higher degree of both vital involvement and tolerance than in the latter, despite a shared, dominant, theme of *Conventional*.

Finally, attempts to describe the responses typical of each prototype, and of prototype "blends" in a manual of this sort are necessarily hampered by the loss of important qualitative information when interview tapes are transcribed. Voice tone, nuances of expression, and general response quality all contribute importantly to the scoring of actual generativity interviews, and this should be kept in mind when reviewing prototype descriptions and interview excerpts.

Training and Reliability

The length of time required for training in administering and scoring generativity status interviews will, of course, vary according to the general academic and clinical experience of trainees, individual skill-levels, and prior exposure to qualitative scoring procedures. For senior undergraduate students, a training period of 3-6 months is recommended; for graduate students with a good grounding in psychodynamic theory and application, this timeframe may be shorter. Training should include, at a minimum: a selection of readings on Erikson's psychosocial theory, with a focus on generativity and its relationship to other life stages; a careful review of the Generativity Status Measure scoring manual; and practice ratings on between 15-20 complete interviews for which reliability has been established. Transcripts and/or tapes of interviews for training purposes are available from the author.

As of this writing, reliability levels obtained using these training procedures with senior undergraduate and beginning graduate students have been good, particularly when using as criterion categorical agreement between two of three independent coders, and dimension scores averaged across those raters for which agreement has been obtained. Details on expectable inter-rater reliability figures can be obtained from the author.

PROTOTYPE DESCRIPTIONS

The following descriptions of the generativity prototypes and interview excerpts were developed with the intent to maximize prototype clarity, and to offer scoring recommendations for simple prototype "blends" of two or occasionally three prototypes, where one of the generativity prototypes clearly dominates. Complex blends, in which a respondent may appear to be moderately affiliated with several generativity prototypes, are not presented. These interviews can present scoring challenges best tackled once a firm understanding of basic rating principles has been reached, and on a case-by-case basis using actual interview tapes.

The excerpts have been edited to protect the confidentiality of respondents, where important identifying information was given. In order to focus on scoring principles and to keep the manual to a manageable length, many probing questions have been excluded, with responses combined across probes to form a coherent response to a primary interview question. For the sake of convenience, the masculine pronoun has been used throughout the status descriptions to indicate both male and female genders, except where a gender is obvious from the context of the excerpt. Raters are referred to using the feminine pronoun.

Generative

The *Generative* individual is characterized by high vital involvement and high tolerance with respect to self and others. He is activated in generative concerns.

Work:

He enjoys work, and looks at the challenges it brings as stimulating and rewarding. He is aware of the contributions of others to the accomplishments of goals and encourages them to participate to their full potential. He enjoys the mastery he has acquired in his area of specialization, and feels a need to contribute to the growth in mastery of those who work for or with him. He makes allowances for mistakes in himself and others, although he is able to be firm and decisive as the situation warrants. He is comfortable with the vocational choices that have been made, and is able to make further changes if that is necessary or desirable.

Example GW1:

I: How do you feel about the work that you do?

R: I like it, I seem to have a facility with the work, I find it quite enjoyable. At one point I wanted to get out of accounting and into psychology, but I decided to make not so drastic a change, so I wouldn't lose the wealth of experience I had already accumulated. So I went from a comptroller in a large firm to my own business, which I've been operating for the past 8 years.

I: What is it you enjoy most about your work?

R: I'm allowed to do my accounting work but I'm also helping people, in the sense that I'm advising them and consulting them. It's really the best of both worlds.

I: What kind of relationship do you have with your clients?

R: My practice is oriented toward people and helping them do well in their business. But I'm also able to give boundaries, define the services that I offer, and refer someone to someone else if it's something I don't do. For instance, I don't do tax work, and if they want someone to do their taxes, I just refer them on to someone else.

Example GW2:

I: Do you feel you've accomplished or are on your way to accomplishing your career goals?

R: Yes, I am able to earn a living while being effective and making a contribution. As an organizational planner, I help people planning their own lives within their organization. In general, I've wanted to make a contribution, or a difference, in the quality of life for people in their work, so that they can formulate strategic goals that are consistent with their own values. So yes, I'm accomplishing these goals...and also, my work provides me with a way to practise my values and clarify them, so that my life is congruent.

I: What are your most valued accomplishments?

R: My family and friends, and the relationships we've developed together. The differences I see in the people I work with. I like to see people grow.

I: How do you react when someone questions your authority?

R: It's difficult but essential. It's no trouble because they can't take it away from me. Let me explain. I have not the right nor the desire to control people; rather I see my job as enabling them to do what they're there to do. So authority as a sense of self, and what I'm doing...part of my work is helping people define their own authority, and challenging mine is a step in the direction of forming their own and that's part of my job. The biggest learning for me has been allowing that belief and my behavior to be consistent.

Example GW3:

I: You mentioned that you see yourself as a kind of a mentor.

R: Yes. I know I have a tendency of assuming that everyone has potential for development, and if you interface with people a certain way, the positives come out, or if you interface with people another way, the negatives come out. So I think...basically I think it is my tendency to believe that everyone has potential to be developed, and if it's not developed, it really is a waste. My management philosophy is that the institution's most valued resource is the minds of the people and their capacity to think. And if you really believe that, then you always have to assume that people can carry it out. And you have no question that people can think and develop. And so all the behaviors that you have developed within yourself is to live up to that belief...and the other thing I've learned is that if a person has alot of intelligence, that's not enough.

You have to be able to persevere, have a certain amount of motivation, you also have to get certain feelings of success from having tried, even if you didn't quite reach the goal. Because there may be something wrong with the goalsetting, so rather than blaming your own personal ability - well I guess your goalsetting is part of your ability - it's just being comfortable...misjudged a realistic goal.

These three examples show high levels of vital involvement and tolerance, across all subcomponents of the criteria. Provided these indicators remain consistent across other work content questions, scoring for this area should place these individuals in the high range of the *Generative* dimension scale (i.e., 8-9), and in the low range of all other dimension scales (i.e., 1-2).

Example GW4:

I: How do you feel about the work that you do?

R: Fabulous when I have a product that I like to sell and a company that I like to work with; in the absence of one or the other, I don't work - I need a good product or else I drive a cab, which I do off and on.

I: How important is your work in relation to other areas of your life?

R: Not as much as it once was. It has to be fun, and I have to get a social value out of being there.

I: What is it you enjoy most about your work?

R: Talking to people, serving the people, getting the job done professionally - generally I'm a big ticket salesman and it's really important to serve the people and have them satisfied the job's been done properly.

This example provides an indication of at least moderate *Generative* leanings, in the sense that the individual is committed to providing a service to others. As the interchange is somewhat sparse, it is difficult to assign a top rating on *Generative*, although other information in the interview might confirm that this is warranted. A score in the upper range of moderate to low range of high (i.e., 6-7) on *Generative*, with low scores on remaining scales, would be appropriate for the excerpt.

Example GW5:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your boss?

R: I have many bosses - collegial, that feels very good; friendly, respectful on both sides, professional.

I: What about your relationship with your staff?

R: Much the same way - it's quite a flat heirarchy on my unit, so I act as a consultant alot with people and my staff. They ask for advice and we problem solve together, but everybody works quite independently. I rarely have to discipline anybody - thank God, because I'm not very good at that..

I: What are your most valued accomplishments?

R: My children, and the people they've become; travelling - I've not done nearly enough, although I've done a fair amount. It's enriched my life in ways that are impossible to even describe. The driving thing, though, has been work.

I: What is it about work that you feel has been so valuable to you?

R: Working with people, being present when people grow is an enormous privilege, and health work is alot like that.

I: How do you react when someone questions your authority?

R: Hmmm...it doesn't happen very often, that's interesting. Do you mean my gut reaction or how I behave - they're quite different. My gut reaction is I must be wrong, but I don't usually behave that way. I think about it for awhile. I'm not as impulsive as I once was, I've outgrown that. I try to figure out why I'm being questioned, and if I have to be tough I will be. Sometimes I let it ride a bit too long and feel taken advantage of, so for instance with one employee who was recently missing alot of work when we finally sat down I was fairly upset with her, which came out. I guess the lesson I learned is being a little quicker, before I become resentful. They pay me to be a bit tougher I think, or to intervene earlier, and that's something I'm still learning. It's a very fine line in my work between friendliness and friendship, and it's hard when I feel I'm pulling rank on people and laying down the law but that's what I'm expected to do sometimes - and as it turns out, I think she would have appreciated me acting earlier too.

This example contains characteristics of the *Generative* prototype (upper moderate to high range), but also some difficulty with authority in ways consistent with the *Communal* prototype (upper low to low-moderate range). A useful probe, not made, would have explored the individual's discomfort in disciplinary situations mentioned early in the exchange; however, this becomes clear in a response to a later question. The respondent is able to reflect on her supervisory style during the exchange without apparent discomfort.

Exmple GW6:

I: What is it that you enjoy about your work?

R: I guess it's reasonably well-defined. I know what I'm doing today, what I must do next week, and basically for the next two years. It has a direction to it, a beginning, a middle and an end. It's a process kind of job, with a bit of variety.

I: How important is your work in relation to other areas of your life?

R: It's important - how important? If you took the work away I'd replace it with something else - golf, skiing, real estate...When people say work, what they really mean is meaningful activity; it doesn't have to be done in the workplace or for wages. It's important to keep active, not necessarily in this particular job - I could leave these folks tomorrow so in that respect it's not as important to me, but being active is.

I: How would you describe your relationship with the people who report to you?

R: Great. On a professional level, work assignments are passed out, reports returned; they know my expectations, know what they're doing, and there's no confusion. I spend a lot of time in the workplace trying to eliminate confusion and they're not confused about what they're doing or what I want. I think they're happy.

I: How would you describe your relationship with coworkers?

R: For the most part, good. I had some critical feedback on my style, some find it's aggressive, assertive, domineering; but that's only in the initial stages. When they get to know me, things level off, so - good.

I: Do you see yourself in the feedback?

R: Yeah, and it's developed over the years mainly because I've been successful, and this quality has been exploited by my bosses...so, I'm working on taking the edge off of that. I took a course on this very question, so I'm working on it.

I: What are your most valued accomplishments?

R: I think back to the opportunities I've given younger people, and I take a lot of pride in being able to give someone a leg up, so for example I helped a couple of university students get serious employment. A young woman who worked with me a few years back went off to work in Calgary and did exceedingly well - she claims, because of the help I gave her. We instituted a training program a couple of years ago specifically for women, and two clerical staff here became first rate middle managers with my help. So these kind of things are very important to me.

I: How do you react when someone questions your authority?

R: That's not a problem for me. It came up this morning, in fact. I wrote a draft letter and it was being reviewed, and the fellow who was reviewing it was unhappy with one sentence and I said relax, Alan, if it's not clear to you, then it's not going to be clear to the folks that receive it, so get out your pencil and change something. Working in the government is like working in committee. You don't want to see yourself as having all the answers, anytime. Other people can make a contribution and if you're being challenged it's because maybe they see a better way. Just open up and let them have a go. If you're self confident you're not bothered by people who challenge your organizational authority, because in the long run, the real authority is that personal authority that you build up and earn yourself and that can't easily be taken apart by other people.

Although this excerpt is primarily *Generative* in tone (lower end of the high range), there are some indications of *Conventional* and *Agentic* leanings, largely because the respondent acknowledged receiving feedback on his management style that is consistent with these prototypes. The respondent appears to prefer a fairly structured work environment, and to some extent seems to be "putting in time", which may be interpreted as somewhat *Conventional*. However, as there is minimal confirmation of this tendency, beyond the respondent's reference to feedback, a score beyond the low to low-moderate range (i.e., 3-4) on the *Conventional* dimension is not justified. This excerpt rates a score in the low range on the *Agentic* dimension (a 2 or 3 would be appropriate), and on the *Stagnant* dimension (i.e., 1-2).

Community:

He is aware of his local community and larger issues. He feels a responsibility to contribute to the community, through involvement in professional associations and possibly volunteer work. He may use the skills he has acquired in his professional life when volunteering in the community. He has formed a world view, and places political and social opinions within a larger context. He feels a responsibility to his community to help improve the quality of the lives of its inhabitants, and is an active proponent of its development.

Example GC1:

I: Do you feel strongly about social or political issues?

R: I feel there is a crying need for tending to people's personal problems. It's not more important than other issues - for instance, environmental issues. But it's been my focus for the past 15 years that I've been involved in community work. I'm just going on what seems to fit. I've worked with a variety of programs - from 12 step programs, to crisis lines - and I thought it was altruistic at first, but it turns out you're also getting help too. I had a really awful family life when I was growing up, and I think that while helping others, I've developed coping skills of my own.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: I think they need continuity. There's a crisis in the family these days, the traditional nuclear family with grandparents and cousins living close is just not there anymore for many kids, and somehow we have to replace that continuity for them... Young kids need to own their own reality, trust their ability to make decisions, acknowledge bad things when they happen, and see how things are affecting them - honestly look at their lives and talk out their issues.

Example GC2:

I: Are there any social or political issues you feel strongly about?

R: I feel strongly about social issues. I think we live in one of the richest countries in the world, and I don't think we should have the level of poverty that we do. I read that we don't have the facilities to treat our mental patients in this area, and so there are a lot of ill people in the streets. That bothers me, it's not necessary. I'm not a socialist or a do-gooder, but I'm not happy with these kinds of things. On a political level, I suppose I'm pretty conservative, but I'm not happy with the job they're doing - I think we can do better.

I: Do you get involved in political issues?

R: I do, but only on a provincial basis, so I've been involved in the last five or six campaigns. It's hard to justify complaining if you don't get involved (laughs).

I: Do you do any community or volunteer work?

R: Yes, I sit on the board of a local college, that's been very challenging and rewarding, to help shape the educational policy of the institution. I'm involved in a nursing home for the elderly. I got involved there - actually, I had trouble going there and that's one of the reasons I got involved. My father-in-law was there and I found I

had difficulty going there, it made me uneasy, although it's a great place and they really treat the residents well. So I thought, gee, that's got to be nuts, so I decided to do something about it and the next thing I got involved and I feel good about that and now I feel good about going there, and I've met some terrific older people...And I've been involved in our industry, sat on various committees, been involved in the Canadian Manufacturer's Association.

I: What draws you to these activities?

R: I think you have to do your part, you can't always expect others to be doing it, so you've got to take your turn. Although I'm not saying you should stay involved in any one organization forever - just as I've been involved in the college about long enough, I'm not serving as useful a purpose out there anymore. Because you're not worth much during the first year you're involved, as you're just getting to know the organization. But in the second and third year you get better, get to know what's going on, and after the fifth or sixth, then you can help someone else know what's going on, and then you should get out, and that should be the maximum you stay involved.

I: How come?

R: It's difficult to maintain your interest and enthusiasm indefinitely, and you need to keep bringing in new ideas, fresh blood, to keep the organization vital. So you step aside, let someone in, and go on to other things.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: I don't know that they need anything; I think we have the brightest, best informed group of young people ever...They just need the opportunity to use the technology and learning they've got in ways that help them feel good about themselves.

Example GC3:

I: Are there any social or political issues that you feel strongly about?

R: Yes, employment equity, environmental issues - we're in a mess provincially there, and we've got global problems.

I: Do you get involved?

R: Yes, I'm director of a political party, and I work on campaigns. I've never not voted; I feel that if I don't do what I can, I don't have much of a right to complain. I'm involved in a woman's organization for employment equity, and I have sat on the sexual harassment committee for our company. If I'm asked to do things like that, I try to, because I feel it's important.

I: Do you do any volunteer or community work?

R: Not beyond what I've just mentioned, which are all on a volunteer basis.

I: What draws you to these activities?

R: A concern for people being treated in a humane way - education on everybody's part is the answer. Building the self-worth of people.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: All young people aren't the same. To say something like "everybody has to go to university" is a big mistake; it's not necessarily for everyone. I think we need to strive to make opportunities for young people that are fulfilling and needed.

These three excerpts are highly *Generative*. The respondents report considerable involvement in community affairs, and express tolerance of the needs of different individuals in society. The first two examples also show a clear sense of personal gain or growth from community activities aimed at helping others.

Example: GC4:

I: Are there any social or political issues that you feel strongly about?

R: I guess it really worries me to see the social safety net in Canada begin to come apart. It worries me, but I do feel that the country has to be wealthy enough to afford its safety net, and I don't believe we should move over to a socialist government to create the safety nets. We need to create a really good business climate and be as wealthy as we can as a country, and maximize the use of the resources and the talents of the people, and based on that we can be compassionate towards all our people. And I think even the most conservative type governments have learned that - even in the USA with the discussion of medical care. And perhaps they've learned something from Canada and perhaps our conservative government has learned something from the NDP socialist party. And so they cannot be ignored, and I think we've got to keep the thrust going...When economic conditions are very tough, then people can legitimately say we can't afford these things and they can tend to take a tough attitude that people have to fend for themselves more, but we know not everyone in society can do that, and it's in our best interest as a society to have the safety net...You improve the quality of life in the society as a whole when you look after the poor and the disadvantaged, and as long as we ignore that we'll all pay a price in the end, so that's one of the biggest issues ahead of us - can we preserve that carefully built up safety net, keep the programs in place, stop the abuses, and modify them so that the cost is appropriate to what we can deliver.

I: Do you get involved?

R: Not since I moved here a few years ago. I take an interest, but I'm not active - except during election times, to an extent, as I campaign for the more conservative groups, but that could be changing for me. You know, the conservative groups have turned out to be very tough-minded and self-interested both locally and federally, and so I seriously question them now.

I: Do you do any volunteer or community work?

R: I am on the community service committee of the Rotary Club. I joined about 10 months ago, so I still feel new at it. The main thing is weekly meetings, and speakers on all kinds of topics, many of them from community care organizations, sometimes from political level people. The Rotary raises funds for a number of different causes, and I'm on the committee that receives requests and does investigations...

I: What drew you to doing that kind of volunteer work?

R: I don't know, I guess I feel I've got a lot of talents that I should use in some ways to help the community rather than just in self-interest. Family has absorbed a lot of attention for a long time, and now I can afford more time for the community. I haven't been exposed to a lot of poverty but I'm very conscious of it and aware of it. I read about the down and out in Vancouver and I don't think you have to come from an abused background to take an interest in the people in our society who are losing out. When you look around and see what people do, it's amazing, it's very inspiring, to see how people at every level of our society do help. I see it through the Rotary, lots of people who've just put their time in and raised money, and worked on these committees.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: I think they need to feel a sense of purpose. Lots feel that things are just too overwhelming. It's damned difficult to get a job and the problems of the world are huge, so instead of tackling a corner of it and saying we'll make a difference in our area, a lot of them are disoriented, and don't know where to begin. I feel sorry for young people in our society at this point. I think some take the bull by the horns and run with it, and seem to know what their vocation is, and get the training they need. Others have much more difficulty getting to where they want to, or even knowing what that is.

This respondent seems to be in transition from a narrower to broader expression of generative concern, which may reflect movement from a more *Conventional* to *Generative* style. However, it is difficult to determine the extent of the previous affiliation with the *Conventional* prototype from this excerpt. Vital involvement and tolerance are both high; therefore, this excerpt rates a score in the high range on *Generative*, with low scores on remaining prototype dimensions.

Example GC5:

I: Are there any social or political issues you feel strongly about?

R: Yes, third world development issues are big in my mind - the whole idea of sending money to the third world while I was in business I thought was totally crazy, but a few years ago I spent some time in Brazil and that really changed my ideas. Since I've come back I have a much broader social scope than the group of people that have been our friends and associates over the years. It causes a little conflict, actually.

I: Do you get involved?

R: I'm a member of Amnesty International. My wife and I support two foster kids overseas. I've never been a joiner, but if it's a good cause I'll promote it in my own way.

I: Do you do any community or volunteer work?

R: Yeah, recently with a local multicultural society, teaching English as a second language, and helping people with their income tax forms.

I: What draws you to doing that kind of work?

R: I feel myself to be very very fortunate in what I have, and it's been through hard work and some family inheritance. But I feel that since coming back from that trip - it's opened my eyes in that we're so fortunate here in Canada, even down and out is more fortunate than much of the world, and I'd like to give a little back.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: Well, that's very interesting. I don't have any kids of my own, and other than the odd nephew or two, I tend to not come in contact with young people so much. Still, the few I've talked to recently have - well, I was talking to one guy who says he's not inheriting a great world, and it's really tough to get a job. It was considerably easier when I left high school and just walked into a job.

I: What do you think they need?

R: They need some better role models than we're offering them right now.

I: In what sense?

R: In virtually every sense - political it's self-evident, there's corruption at every level, lying and deceitfulness. Sports - there are a few role models there but there are also lots of drug busts, pretty hard for the kids when the Olympic athletes get busted for taking performance-enhancing drugs, to feel - I don't know where they'd look to say there's somebody I can grab onto and use as a role model. So that's a concern.

This respondent appears also to have shifted in scope of generative concern, and has had experiences that have expanded his tolerance guidelines. Although the respondent may have some residual *Conventional* leanings that could become apparent from the remainder of the interview, this excerpt does not warrant a score beyond the low range on that dimension. A moderate score on *Generative* (eg., 6) is appropriate.

Example GC6:

I: Do you do any volunteer or community work?

R: I have been involved over the past six years in an outdoor club which I was president of for two years. I lead hikes, so I guess that's my community involvement. One other area I'm involved in is a program promoting excellence in management, and when you've completed the program, you can go back and assist. So I go back and do that once each year, just giving back what I've learned, on a volunteer basis. I like to make a difference somehow if I can; just generally make a difference in the world, if I can do it in some little area. I know I can't - well, I guess I could do something great, I shouldn't say I can't, but right now that is my area of putting something back.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: Leadership, understanding, acceptance. I think one of the biggest problems is they don't have role models to look up to, people who themselves are clear in their vision of where they want to go and their purpose in life, that can guide children, and are willing to take the time. I'm not an expert on this, but I know with my daughter when she was 13-14, the biggest thing she would say to me is trust me, trust me, and eventually I had to let go and just trust her, and she went out and made mistakes and what not, but they have been her learning experiences. I can't live her life, and I see a lot of parents

wanting their children, or whoever, to live their lives by the parent's rules, like well, I did it this way, and therefore, you should do it this way. My children are never going to live their lives the way I lived mine; they're going to have their own experiences, and I think allowing them to do that and having the understanding and when they make a mistake instead of criticizing them, ask them what they learned from it. Instead of saying you did it wrong, saying what did you learn.

The respondent is committed to some community involvement, but shows tolerance for himself in putting limits on what he feels he can offer at the present. He also expresses considerable tolerance for others in his comments on young people. This excerpt rates a score on the *Generative* scale in the high range (a 7 would be appropriate), with low scores on remaining prototype dimensions.

Family:

He takes an active interest in the welfare of his children, or other young people. He perceives his role with his children as one of advisor, but his children's directions are seen as uniquely theirs. He strives to further the development and contentment of each member of the family.

Example GF1:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your children?

R: Over the years, a bit disjointed, because of my separation with their mother, although we now see each other quite regularly.

I: What do you do together?

R: We just have a hoot together! I love to see their eyes sparkle, to see that connection there. And it's my responsibility, because I'm the adult, not to disturb that connection, to make that always a fruitful connection for them...With my son, we mountain climb, go to hockey games, movies. My daughter and I tend to go swimming, and we sing together in a choir.

I: How do you feel about the direction they're going in?

R: I have some concerns about my son joining the army, which he seems to want to do - I'm concerned about him being drawn into an authoritarian environment, but that's the way it is. I encourage him in whatever he's doing and I feel I'm there to talk about stuff, but he's almost an adult now and he's going to do his thing.

I: How do you feel you've influenced their development?

R: I try to make them feel really free, within some clear boundaries I established for them. For instance, I hired my daughter in a janitorial job at my business, but I had to fire her (laughs, shakes his head). Even though I love her alot...but she started taking advantage of my being her father. She wouldn't come in on time, and some days she just didn't come in at all. We talked about it, and I told her that the job was the job, and it needed to be done, but she didn't take it seriously, so...There's a continuity and a structure I try to establish so they know what to expect.

Example GF2:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your children?

R: Evolutionary - it changes as they grow and develop.

I: What kind of things do you do together?

R: My oldest daughter is pregnant, and so we are two women sharing something I've gone through and she's discovering. With the youngest, we're still talking about safe sex and drugs. We do lots of talking, listening to what they're up to. We go shopping, watch sports together.

I: How do you feel about the direction they're going in?

R: Good. I worry when they're wavering, or stuck, and I wait to see what they're going to do next.

I: Have they developed in ways you would have expected?

R: Yes, in a general sense. For instance, my oldest daughter has always been nurturing, and my son has always seemed to be teaching; he tended to be interested in leading, showing others how to do things.

I: How do you feel you've influenced their development?

R: By example, I think. And I've always tried to give them opportunities to explore ways they could be independent and self-sufficient, and feel good about themselves as people. I spent time saying "how are you going to solve that problem", and listening to their solutions. I suppose the strongest influence is in less conscious ways, like how my husband and I lead our lives.

I: How would you describe your relationship with your husband?

R: He's my best friend; we're happy, we have hobbies together, and explore new things together. We're companions as well as sexual partners.

These two excerpts are good examples of clearly *Generative* responses in the family section. The respondents both show high levels of involvement and tolerance, while maintaining a structure and framework for their children to learn from experience and grow into self-sufficient adults. All other prototype scales should be scored in the low range.

Example GF3:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your children?

R: I think pretty good. There's a lot of open communication. Just because we differ doesn't mean we don't talk about it, or it doesn't mean that people censor what they put out. Two out of the three, in particular, enjoy putting out things they know are different from my beliefs and values, and it is an unanxious norm around here to have different opinions and values. I don't mean arguments, but it's ok to put different information out...

I: What kinds of things do you do with your children?

R: Sometimes we bike ride, sometimes we go to the hot tub at the city pool, sometimes it's something as mundane as working together cleaning the place up, or sitting talking, being included when their friends are over, that's a fairly normal kind of thing for us. I assist them, but often not in the way they're asking for - for example, after a few times of "I've slept in, will you give me a ride to school", I say no, get up earlier next time (laughs).

I: How do you feel about the direction they're going in?

R: Great, in all cases. The 17 year old moved in with us when she was 14 and a half, before that she'd been with her mother. She was into marijuana which is something I don't support - and just generally sorting out a lot of craziness...there are some things I wish she was making different choices and decisions about, but what I'm proud of and content with is that she's learning every time - moving closer to a more stable, balanced, healthier position, so at 17, I'm content with that process. The other two are very clear about what they want to do, and have good relationships with their boyfriend and girlfriend, so that's fine.

I: How do you feel you've influenced their development?

R: I know I've influenced my daughter a lot, around healthier choices, self-ownership, empowerment, self-esteem stuff, realizing her own potential. I know I've influenced my stepdaughter too, especially with dealing with men. She has a lot of difficulty with her father, and we had to build our own relationship on trust. With my son, I think it's open, supportive, more willing to do things with each other than in previous years. I think I had a negative impact on him at one point though - too strict with him.

I: How would you describe your relationship with your partner?

R: I think it's mutually supportive - we discuss a lot, try to recognize each other's individuality - carry on, I'm not here to change your behavior, or your likes or dislikes, I just want to know what they are so I don't get in your way, that kind of stuff.

I: Are there any relatives or friends you're particularly concerned about these days?

R: There's one I'm a bit concerned about; the rest of them I'm not so concerned about as interested in supporting their struggle when they call upon it. The one fellow, his wife just decided she didn't want to be a wife or mother anymore and she just left, so sometimes he'll call and we'll talk for a while. I trust his ability to sort it out and get to where he needs to get to, but it's a hard time for him and so I'm interested in what he's up to, how he's handling it.

Example GF4:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your children?

R: It's an open relationship, although it could be more open - there's always things that are more difficult to talk about. I decided not to use a lot of authority with my kids as they were growing up, so it's been harder for them to find something to rebel against - I could always understand their point of view. It's a house with few rules.

I: What do you do with your children?

R: With my oldest son, I do more physical things, like kayaking. With the younger, we have more discussions.

I: How do you feel about the direction they're going in?

R: Pretty good for Tom, now. It wasn't exactly what we expected. We were concerned about his decision to go into medicine as it seemed to be moving away from what was important to him, but he's managing to integrate these now. I feel good about their directions as long as they choose it for themselves...The youngest is confused about what he wants to do right now, and that's ok - he'll sort it out as he goes along.

I: How would you describe your relationship with your partner?

R: Open, equal, caring. I value the differences between us, and we encourage each other's development.

Examples GF3 and GF4 also show high levels of generativity, although there are some traces of potentially *Conventional* tones. In GF3, these are represented in the respondent's determination not to influence his children overly by providing direction; in GF4, the respondent acknowledges a previous tendency towards undue strictness with his son, and this tendency may be present in his current relationship with his daughter. However, in both cases, the tone is overwhelmingly *Generative*, and in the absence of further confirmatory evidence, all remaining scales should all be scored in the low range.

Example GF5:

I: You mentioned that you don't have children. How do you feel about that?

R: There was a medical reason why I couldn't have kids, and I dealt with that many years ago. I would have wanted kids, but I have lots of neices, nephews, and friends' grandchildren that I spend time with.

I: What do you do with these other young people that you're close to?

R: My neices and nephews use me as a sounding board - they probably talk to me about issues they couldn't talk about with my sister and brother. We take long walks together, go to the theatre - more what they want to do than what I want to do, truthfully.

I: How do you feel about the way they've developed?

R: I discovered recently how difficult it is to sort out childcare with two people working. One of my neices had a second child and wasn't sure if she could arrange childcare - she wanted to return to work - but they figured it out, and the dad's really involved in bringing up the family, doing the laundry, cooking and whatnot. They have an equal relationship, so I'm pretty proud of them. None of my nephews is a macho type that comes home and demands dinner - they're all well-rounded individuals.

I: How do you feel you've influenced their development?

R: Hmm. I don't know how to answer that, except I think they think I'm ok. I've been on my own for a long time, and doing fine. They're proud of me too, that I've been able to survive and have a comfortable life.

I: How do you feel about being single?

R: It doesn't bother me, I have lots of outside things.

I: do you have friends you're particularly close to?

R: Yes. I have two or three very close friends. My life is open to them; I wouldn't hesitate to call on them, and they'd do the same thing. We've been friends for over 10 years.

This respondent is close to young people despite not having children of her own, and expresses a moderately *Generative* relationship with them. There are indicators that she may have some *Communal* leanings (upper end of the low range): she knows she's influenced them because they think she's "ok"; also, there is an edge of resentment in her acknowledgement that she follows their lead in shared activities. In this case, the rest of the interview confirmed a tendency towards a *Generative -Communal* style, with final scores of 7 and 4 on these scales respectively.

Personal Concerns:

He takes time for himself, and this is important to him. He takes care of his health, and when sick slows down to accommodate his illness. Personal growth is a priority.

Example GP1:

I: What are your main goals and interests now, and are they different from what they were 10 or 20 years ago?

R: No, not at all, my goals have always been to enjoy what I do and to get the most out of life, but first and foremost to stay healthy, because if you don't have your health you have nothing. I've always wanted to put something back in as I've taken stuff out, and just basically have each day evolve and get the most out of it.

I: Have there been significant people or events over the years that have really shaped you?

R: Yeah, I think so...I'm very affected by what other people do, like I read a great deal, and I try to learn from what others do and the mistakes they make. And I've had some really good friends over the years that have been a steadying influence who have taught me by being able to watch how they do things. I've learned from them, and they've always been there if I've needed to touch base with them, and I think again that this is what this is all about - they plug into you if they need you, and you can plug into them when they can be of help to you, and this whole thing is a people business, so yeah, there's been a number of them that stand out...

Example GP2:

I: Who are the significant people or what are the significant events that have shaped you to who you are today?

R: I can't remember having a hero or heroine, so nobody specific. I'd just say that on a broad basis, what you read and what you glean adds up bit by bit...Certainly I was helped when I worked by various people in the office that were active - like mentors - for a short duration. People have always been very helpful - I wouldn't say they shaped my life but I wouldn't have managed without other people's help, I don't think any of us do whether we like to admit it or not. So the only thing I would hope is that along the way when my turn came that I was helping those who came along too, just pass that along to someone else.

I: Do you set aside time for yourself?

R: I try to - maybe that was the lesson my cancer had to teach me. It was such a way of life to be busy and to do...so even now sometimes I have to step back and think really, am I going in the direction I feel I should...With age you realize that you must be selective and as the days shoot by you take steps to square things around so you can do more things - not more time to do more things, but use your time to do those things that are dear to you.

I: Do you ever experience non-productive times?

R: (laughs) Oh yes, of course. But unless you have non-productive times you don't let the thoughts come, or the creativity...If you keep ever busy with the small things that crowd in there never is any of this time to sort things out, so really there does have to be non-productive time...

Example GP3:

I: What are your main goals and interests, and are they different from what they were 10 or 20 years ago?

R: Twenty years ago I was building a nest, now my goals are more general, and philosophical - personal development, increased awareness of myself and others, and enabling others to do that as well. What I learn I can pass on to others. My spirituality is important to me, growing beyond what I am now and learning new skills.

I: Have there been significant people or events over the years that have really shaped you?

R: Getting married was an important event, and my wife has been a consistent influence through the expression of her values. A university professor, his values - he was interested in the profession of engineering because it could make a difference in the world, and that made a deep impression on me. People from my church have been important too.

I: Do you set aside time for yourself?

R: Yes, that's very important. I meditate every day, and I ski, canoe, read. My work is for myself too, in a way, because it allows me to express myself.

I: Do you ever experience non-productive times?

R: Yes. I've learned to enjoy them - learned that there will be times when I'm uncomfortable, learned to call these growth experiences.

The above three excerpts contain highly *Generative* responses. These respondents take time for themselves, are tolerant of non-productive periods, and are open to influence from others. Each also expresses concern about contributing to the development of others.

Example GP4:

I: Do you set aside time for yourself?

R: Twenty-four hours a day! No, I don't set aside any particular time, because I like what I do. If I feel pushed, I make time, and I have some safety valves that I know work for me. I have a particular friend that I go to lunch with, and we lie to each other for three hours and then I've completely forgotten about business, and what's going on, and when that's over I feel better...Or I'll go for a walk on the beach, that works really well.

I: Is it important to you to have that kind of time?

R: Yeah, it's important that I be able to do it when I need to do it, but I don't do it regularly, and I don't do it at specific times; I just know I can do it whenever I need to.

I: Do you ever experience non-productive periods?

R: Oh, I think we all waste an awful lot of time, but I don't think that that's important...I'm very good at organizing my time when I need to, and I try not to waste time, but there are times when you have to waste time, just let it happen, and I do that, just as there are times when you need to spend money foolishly...

I: How do you feel when that happens?

R: Well, then I get back organized and get my thing in gear again and away I go...If I don't feel things are happening, I overbook myself, and then I've got to run like hell to catch up, and the next thing I know I'm so busy again that I can't keep up, and then I'm right back where I was before (laughs), so...no, it's not hard to do.

Example GP5:

I: What are your main goals and interests, and are they different from what they were 10 or 20 years ago?

R: When I was in my 20's, I was really out to prove myself, to myself and to others, and to see where my contribution would be. I was competitive with peers for income and sports, and was always in a leadership role in athletics. Now, I've accomplished most things, and my main goal is to clear up my health so that I can have healthy, rich, senior years. I want to be active, and have enough money...

I: How's your health generally?

R: For the past two years I've had problems with candida yeast, and it was really serious for awhile - I was only working half days for a year.

I: How do you react when you're sick - how do you feel?

R: If you traumatize yourself over those times, it's only going to make things worse. I'll sit with it and be sick. Sometimes, I think it's a nice change to be sick - but not too sick.

Excerpts GP4 and GP5 are *Generative* (in the high range). Although there is a certain feeling of "drive" to the excerpts, there is also a tolerance for non-productive time, and an ability to forego purposeful activities in favour of social relaxation when the respondent feels stressed. Note a progression, in GP5, from a competitive, possibly *Agentic* stance, to one more *Generative* in outlook.

Example GP6:

I: Do you set aside time for yourself?

R: A lot, yes. Well - I don't set aside time daily, although I exercise every day. I enjoy writing, and so that's a big thing. I try to be gentle to myself, so sometimes I won't go out with friends because I need to be quiet. I used to go, because of obligation, or I'd told someone I would - I paid more attention to others' needs than my own. Now I don't; I listen to me - it's taken me years to do that.

I: Do you ever experience non-productive periods?

R: Yes, it's frustrating sometimes, yet other times, I know that it's part of sorting through things. Sometimes lying on the couch staring at the ceiling is productive, or if I'm in bed sick it's productive.

I: How's your health generally? How do you react when you get sick, for instance with a cold or the flu?

R: My health is good. When I'm sick, hmmm. I will take a day or so and try to get better, and look at how come I got sick in the first place.

I: People often talk of settling down as something that happens sometime after age 30. Does that have any meaning for you?

R: No, I guess I did, or I am, now that I've been living in the same place for 5 years. But I didn't settle at age 30. Life is full of experiences, and I guess I keep moving, not only in my residence, but also in my mind - I'm not rooted, or planted.

This excerpt merits a score in the high range (7 would be appropriate) on the *Generative* prototype dimension. There are indications of previously low levels of tolerance for self which may represent *Communal* or *Conventional* leanings; however, there is insufficient information to score this excerpt higher than the low range on either prototype scale.

General Comments:

The *Generative* individual displays consistency between stated beliefs and goals, and action towards those beliefs and goals. There is a feeling of balance between self-care and other-care, and a cohesiveness to his life. The *Generative* individual is motivated to assist others, and includes others in his responses. *Generative* individuals are not without strong opinions or the ability to make decisions unpopular to some; but they are tolerant and involved with respect to both self and others.

Pseudogenerative

Pseudogenerative is characterized by mixtures, within a criterion, of high and low for self and others: high vital involvement/tolerance, either in self or others, but generally not in both. There are two types of *Pseudogenerative*: *Agentic* and *Communal*. Most frequently, they come across as two styles of being self-absorbed; one with his own external goals and things; one with other people and his need to be needed by them.

Although it is important not to oversimplify the motivational characteristics of these prototypes, in a general way, the *Communal* orientation is conceptualized as appreciation-seeking, and the *Agentic* orientation as admiration-seeking. In theory, the *Agentic* prototype seeks admiration in the sense that it provides acknowledgement of the individual's impact on the world, is a measure of his success, and thus validates his achievements. *Communal* seeks appreciation in order to buttress his self-concept, provide assurance that he is "a good person", and is of value to others. Therefore, one could say that for the *Communal* orientation, recognition of one's contribution is an end in itself, whereas for the *Agentic*, recognition is a more a means to an end, for it furthers the individual's cause in the external world. In terms of generative caregiving, the *Agentic* orientation is conceptualized as prone to an imbalance of care involving the "exclusion" of others' concerns, while the *Communal* orientation is conceptualized as prone to an imbalance of care involving the "inclusion" of others' concerns, opinions, and regard in their actions.

In practice, distinguishing between *Agentic* and *Communal* responses can be challenging. A specific example of this differentiation between means and ends may assist in scoring. For instance, both *Agentic* and *Communal* may make a point of listing professional or community involvements during the interview. One question to ask oneself when scoring: is this person (when detailing all the committees they're on, the charities they've donated to, the work they've done) pulling for a response from me something along the lines of "wow"? If this seems the case, then the discussion has a more *Communal* than *Agentic* flavor. Generally, more purely *Agentic* will have a more distant need for recognition. There will usually be a less personal pull during the interview; those doing the recognizing will be less individual and more collective. This isolated point is not sufficient to determine overall protocol rating, and not all *Agentic* or *Communal* responses will pointedly list these involvements or seek to involve the interviewer to a high extent. However, once convinced that the choice is between *Agentic* and *Communal* (i.e., there is fairly strong self-absorption), look for the motivation of the individual in relaying the information, and the response pulled for during the interview.

A final general word on *Agentic/Communal* orientations: when integrated, these two form *Generative*. Thus, the *Generative* prototype shares with the *Agentic* a desire to make an impact or leave a mark on the world, and to engage in purposeful activities as an extension of the self. *Generative* shares with *Communal* a desire to be helpful to others or the general community, to take what they've learned and pass it on, and to feel that this makes a difference in the lives of others.

Pseudogenerative-Agentive

Pseudogenerative-Agentive is characterized by high vital involvement in self as self related to the world: an identification of oneself with one's personal goals and achievements. *Agentive* can be very productive, but may be spread too thin, or have too concentrated a focus to reliably guide others. A highly *Agentive* individual may see others as peripheral to his own concerns and therefore uninteresting. Tolerance of limitations or impediments to personal goals may be lacking; he tends to perceive others as either contributing to or obstructing his path.

It is important not to be caught in a "workaholic" simplification of this prototype. *Agentive* is much more than simply busy. In fact, busyness can be a characteristic of any of the prototypes. What distinguishes the *Agentive* style from others is that respondents tend to have difficulty guiding others when the others' pursuits differ from their own, or will cause some degree of personal inconvenience. Others are seen as needed extensions of the self more than as separate beings, and efforts on their part to disengage may be perceived as potential threats to the *Agentive's* own objectives. Consequently, the *Agentive* prototype is less tolerant of others' independent aspirations and requirements. When conflict arises, the *Agentive* respondent may reject or dismiss the individual and seek a replacement so that they may continue uninterrupted. The *Agentive* prototype desires recognition from others because this confirms their power-base, provides credibility to continue carrying out their goals unimpeded, and brings more individuals to their cause. At their best, then, these individuals can be inspiring, committed to their ideals, and can be great artists, scientists, or impressive achievers; but their primary motivation will be personal rather than global, even though this may be a very real offshoot of their activities.

Work:

He may be very busy, and have a position of some responsibility. He seems to be constantly striving to meet deadlines, or maximize his output. He may have minimal contact with the people he deals with beyond work-related concerns.

Example AW1:

I: How do you feel about the work that you do?

R: I really enjoy my work. I guess my concern is, family is extremely important to me, so that one of the conflicts is I really tend to spend more time at work than I really should, and leisure time takes third place, and at a distance.

I: What is it about the work that you enjoy?

R: I guess the thing I feel best when changes are made that benefit others. I work best when we have a strong team of achievers who have a vision, and are prepared to work to make that vision come true. Let me use an example of the work we did in Nova Scotia. We worked hard in the Nova Scotia for five years, and when I returned to visit them last year, almost 100% of the consulting work we did is now implemented. So that gave me a real sense of satisfaction. And some of the facilities we designed, we now toured. And people were so happy because of the involvement of a team I worked with. That's where my main satisfaction comes. And I admit, I got a lot of satisfaction out of getting my three professional recognitions, and I worked hard to get them. I guess the sense of satisfaction is that a lot of people are watching what I do, and I appreciate that achievement in myself.

Example AW2:

I: How important is your work in relation to other areas of your life?

R: It probably has a very predominant position. I spent the majority of my years working towards being a CEO. I spend a lot of hours working at my job. I have a husband, yes, but I don't have kids, so I don't have a commitment there...I have lots of commitments in the evenings; at least three nights each week I have work-related activities, so it's quite involved, not a 40 hour week.

I: What is it that you enjoy most about your work?

R: I enjoy most the accomplishments, doing something and seeing things change, compliments from the public that they like the institution, from peers in the industry. That's important to me.

I: How would you describe your relationship with your boss?

R: Well, I report to a board of trustees. It's not close, and I don't have a lot of respect for them...They don't know as much about the organization as I do, and so I wonder sometimes how they can evaluate my performance.

I: How do you react when someone questions your authority?

R: I probably get quite annoyed, because usually the people who do are people I don't have a lot of respect for. Anyone who says well where do you get the authority to do that is probably doing something I don't think they should be doing...Anyone who's ever questioned my authority has done it because they don't like what I'm suggesting is important for them to do, and that we don't tolerate that kind of behavior in the organization. Usually when I get to that extent it's quite a significant problem, and I get quite annoyed. But it doesn't happen very often.

Example AW3:

I: Do you feel that you've achieved or are on your way to achieving your career goals?

R: Yes, I've achieved them. I wanted to be a partner in an important law firm and I'm there.

I: What are your most valued accomplishments?

R: Peer recognition within the profession, leadership recognition in the firm, recognition in the business community of being a lawyer with skills that cause a good reputation.

I: How do you react when someone questions your authority?

R: Refusing to do something? What do you mean? If they could do something better, then fine. So I'd try to solicit that they agree with what's proposed, or offer some better alternative. I don't order people - if it got to that, I wouldn't order them, but I

wouldn't work with them anymore either. I'd apply a judgment on all the factors involved, on an ad hoc set of circumstances.

The three respondents above appear highly goal-oriented, focussed on personal achievements, and concerned about peer recognition. Although Example AW1 expresses concern for others, these individuals never really take form, and the focus remains primarily on the respondent. Family and leisure take second place to external goals and achievements. In AW2, the respondent is quite candid about her frustration and impatience with those who may interfere with her vision of the organization, while AW3 would simply curtail involvement with those who seriously questioned his proposals. These excerpts rate a score on the *Agentic* dimension in the high range, with remaining scales in the low range.

Example AW4:

I: Do you feel that you've accomplished, or are on your way to accomplishing, your career goals?

R: Oh yeah, I far exceeded them, just blew them away.

I: What are your most valued accomplishments?

R: Currently I have the best-selling book in the world in my field. As far as my occupation goes, I guess I'm a person who's always loved writing and wanted to do it. I tried to make some really original points, and in some chapters tried to tell the field where it should be going, not so much where it is now. I tried to point out this is telling the students what is happening now and more of it should happen, and I can do this by putting it in a textbook, and making sure every student and teacher has to read this year after year and think about it...And I get tons of fan mail, tons of it, from other writers, and so yeah, that's always been one of my goals, and I think it's a very important thing I did. Certainly I worked towards it for six years of my life, 6 am every morning...I'm most happy when I'm striving, and it's starting to come clear that maybe I'm going to get it, that's the thrill...I've done very well as far as my career goes, I've published way beyond what most people do...

I: How do you react when someone questions your authority?

R: It depends on what...I would never be in a position of giving someone a direct order. Usually, my authority is such that I don't have to order people to do anything, I just suggest that it might be a good idea to do that, but would never say "you do this". Now if someone working for me said stuff it, they wouldn't work for me anymore, but I guess on the other hand - do you know the concept "noblesse oblige"? I'm a strong advocate of that, and I can be a pretty aggressive person...

This excerpt also rates a score in the high range on *Agentic* (a 9 would be appropriate). The respondent is extremely self-absorbed, and has a remarkable opinion of his influence and skill. Others do not figure, except most peripherally, in his responses. Tolerance for other people's viewpoints and priorities appears to be minimal.

Example AW5:

I: How do you feel about the work that you do?

R: It's exciting. Sometimes I get too busy and can't enjoy it at all, but...

I: How important is work in relation to other areas of your life?

R: Over the past four or five years, it's been almost fully occupying my time, regrettably. I had to back off of my volunteer work, which I started in 10 years ago, and I miss that.

I: How would you describe your relationship with your boss?

R: Well, I have two partners in this business, and they have different strengths and weaknesses. We have had limited success in talking out problems. I'm trying to set personal life goals. I don't want to keep up this pace until I'm 65 - my family - and frankly I - won't make it.I

I: How would you describe your relationship with your employees?

R: It's reasonably good. I sometimes get stretched too thin. I'm away the most in the office, and it's not easy to give day-to-day direction when you're away. There may be a sense of frustration when I'm away and the staff can't get answers. We've had some tense meetings lately - I guess there's a need to restructure.

As the excerpt progresses, it becomes clear that the pace of the organization is creating difficulties for both the respondent and employees. He seems highly focused, but has little time to ensure that the support staff have adequate instruction to work effectively. The respondent indicates that he intends to make changes in his personal and professional life, suggesting a move towards *Generative*. This excerpt rates a score in the upper moderate to high range on *Agentic* (i.e., 6 or 7); a 3 on *Generative* would be appropriate. All other prototype dimension scales should be in the low range.

Example AW6:

I: How important is your work in relation to other areas of your life?

R: It's been too important, and that's what's cost in the marriage and other areas. I tend to have been compulsive in my work; I know I've poured too much of my life's energy into my work at the exclusion or expense of family and home. So I'm not prepared to do that anymore...Look what it cost me in mylife to be overindulgent in my work, in pursuit of goals. Family was always put on hold while I pursued other things.

I: Has it been difficult to change?

R: It's been real tough. I look at others, and how they go home to their families, and I ask myself, how come I can't do that? And it's very clear to me: because I never made it a priority or put it on the same par as my career path. Why I have been compulsive over the years in seeking promotion and needing challenging things to do is because I thought that was a wonderful way to validate myself. Which is fine, but not at the expense of where you live - home, family, etc. Now there's more of a balance in my mind and guts between how I live at home and how I conduct myself at work. Still, we'll have to see how it pans out in practice...it's all still new to me...I've taken a year off work, just to rest, sort things out, find a new direction. So we'll see, now that I'm back, how I manage. But I'm determined to make a change.

I: Do you feel that you've achieved your career goals?

R: I did it about a year ago. I wrote the report for a task force in the industry, held a press conference with the industry-wide team that was on it, and we presented it to the minister publically. And it felt like, here I am, at 46, I have written what's really like a federally commissioned report, the first one like it in the country, in my own field. I wanted a polemic report, so I was able to write - in a way, my greatest work is the first six to eight pages in that report - but I wrote it, consensually, but with my emphasis, my thrust, and I called the the blueprint for tomorrow. And it felt like, well, this is my home, and I've just written the blueprint for how to revise all education in this field for the next decade or more, and why. And I've put my stamp on it, whether or not they adopt it is another case, but I've done it...And I'm not going to waste any more time attempting to beat people into seeing the importance of this when the evidence is not only in the report, it's all around the world.

This respondent shows considerable insight into the costs of his pursuit of achievement, and has begun a process of change through taking time away from his work. However, his description of the task force report clearly downplays the role of others in its conceptualization and development. Whether the report creates positive change in the industry seems less important to the respondent than the fact that it represented his personal vision of the future of the field. The excerpt rates a score in the high range on *Agentic*, with low scores on all other prototype dimensions.

Community:

There is little time for community activities or volunteer work, although he may serve in a leadership capacity on professional or work-related committees. His contact with community leaders may be made with the idea that they may be useful to him at some later date.

Example AC1:

I: Are there any social or political issues that you feel strongly about?

R: When I was a tradesman, I used to be on the executive of the political party most favourable to the workers. And I thought, this is great, to have someone who works for the workers. Now that I'm looking at different ways of making money, that party isn't good for me anymore. I always look at the political situation, what are the advantages for the businessman, and which party is more lenient towards the businessman, never mind about whose party is more towards the unions and so on. Which party will assist the businessman, give him the most grants, incentive to hire more people.

I: Do you get involved in politics now?

R: No, I don't get involved. I follow politics but I don't get involved because I have no time for that. I used to be involved in social things, like the local service clubs, but I find I can't do that anymore, not as involved as I should be. I hate to say this but I only go to those functions when there's a purpose for it, if a meeting will be useful to me. Useful is a kind of a word - I go there if it's worth it to me to go, otherwise I don't go.

I: Do you do any community or volunteer work?

R: Once in awhile I will slip a letter into a mailbox with some money in it, like to a widow in our neighbourhood who I know is having financial problems. And the reason I do that for people is because I'm not able to really get involved in helping street kids, soup kitchens etc - I just can't do that, I don't have the time, so the best way I can do it is that way. If I see a young man trying to do business ventures, I will try to give him advice. Or a young salesman comes into my office, I know he's green in the first five minutes and I will try to help him. But as far as getting involved in organizations, I don't have the time.

This respondent's interest in social or political issues extends only to organizations that may be of benefit to himself. He is charitable with a financially needy neighbour, although his anonymity ensures that helping activities remain strictly on his own terms. If people starting out in business turn up in his office, he will offer advice. The excerpt merits a high score on the *Agentic* dimension, and scores in the low range on the remaining prototype dimensions.

Example AC2:

I: Are there any social or political issues that you feel strongly about?

R: No, I don't think so.

I: Do you get involved in social or political issues?

R: No. I guess what I do is make a real effort to not get involved, because maybe I would, and would like to, but I don't have the time or the energy. My work takes a great deal of energy, so I have to just try not to get too involved. I do a bit of recycling but that's about it.

I: Do you do any volunteer or community work?

R: Well, in a sense, because I live in a coop and there are handicapped people in the coop, so the able-bodied residents are there to help when that's needed. Obviously someone in a wheelchair isn't going to be doing the floors, so in terms of maintenance...yeah, that's something I do... And I give money sometimes to some of the street people. I can't deduct it from my income tax, but I get personal pleasure from helping people that way. Mostly, though, I don't have time for community work.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: Opportunity. I guess that's all I would say anyone really needs and that's all they deserve, too. Some people think that the government owes them something but what it owes them is the opportunity to be certain things, and if you don't take them, then that's your problem...My generation had more job opportunities, I think. Now we have all these kids that really expect something, and are highly ambitious, and end up being bag boys at the grocery store if they're lucky. So I guess they need opportunities.

The respondent avoids involvement in social or political issues in order to conserve his energy for his work. Community service is restricted to giving money to panhandlers and performing functions in the coop that the physically handicapped people living there are unable to do. Young people need opportunities - but if they can't or won't benefit from those, that's

their problem. The excerpt merits a high score on the *Agentic* dimension, and scores in the low range on the remaining prototype dimensions.

Example AC3:

I: Are there any social or political issues you feel strongly about?

R: Well, I'm really glad to see the political party that's been in power taken to the cleaners. I think everybody feels that way. No, I'm not too involved in anything like that - basically, it's entertainment, to see what scandal's going to be next.

I: Any social issues?

R: Not alot, I'm basically not involved with - generally not.

I: Do you do any community or volunteer work?

R: I've coached rowing for several years, which I don't do anymore. I'm involved with a cycle racing program for teens. I guess I'm one of the technical coaches, and that's really enjoyable.

I: Are you involved in that now?

R: No, not yet, but when the weather turns nice, we'll be out there.

I: What draws you to being involved in that coaching?

R: Well, you sort of get your arm twisted, in a sense. One of my daughters is a top cyclist, and she might make the national team this year, so if your kids are in the system...So you get, well, if we're going to coach your kids, why don't you coach these kids, and so that's how you get involved in it. I just really like cycling, and I'm out there almost every day in the summer, so it's just a structured way for me to be out there regularly. Some sports, the parents are just real jerks, but I've found this crowd ok so far. I don't really like team sports as a rule. The best thing about the cycle program is that you get to cycle with the very best people in the country occasionally. I've cycled with national coaches, and for a few minutes with the national champion, who was in the Olympics, which not everyone off the street gets to do.

The respondents seems critical and cynicial about the political situation in his area, although he expresses no interest in becoming involved himself. He does some volunteer work in athletics, partly because his daughter is involved, and partly because others pressured him into coaching. However, he does not mention the benefit to the athletes that may arise from his involvement, focusing instead on his own association with and exposure to nationally acclaimed cyclists.

Example AC4:

I: Are there any social or political issues that you feel strongly about?

R: Yes, I'm very interested - mostly as an observer. I follow politics at all levels, and social issues. But I don't get involved directly in the sense of time participation. The

firm contributes to political parties, so there's a financial commitment that's taken care of from that angle.

I: Do you do any volunteer or community work?

R: I've been a member of a couple of boards in the area, as part of my contribution. I was drawn to the Art Gallery by the fine people running that organization. And I'm proud to lend my name to it, to be associated with this excellent institution in our city.

I: What do you think young people need?

R: Opportunity, in the sense of education. And some goals as to what they want to do with that opportunity. They shouldn't be restricted by status, or family, or artificial, non-skilled restricting hindrances. The state should provide low cost education, available to everyone. Not necessarily university - but it's up to them. If they have the ambition, fine; if not, that's ok by me, if that's all they're prepared to do.

The respondent is involved in community issues, through his participation on local non-profit boards and through work-related political financial contributions. However, his discussion of his work with the Art Gallery tends to be somewhat self-promoting. He expresses a tolerant, and liberal-minded view of education access for young people, but does not appear interested in extending himself for their benefit, whether they take advantage of the opportunities available or not. A score in the high range on *Agentic* would be appropriate for this excerpt.

Family:

In the area of family concerns, *Pseudogenerative-Agentive* may look similar to *Conventional*, in the desire to imbue the children with his own values and directions. The main difference will be either an isolation from the children, or difficulty perceiving family members' choices and desires as separate from his own.

Example AF1:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your children?

R: My kids sometimes felt cheated as far as not being able to have me as available. They've got a very good mother who's filled the role admirably. The youngest one feels upset with me when I can't go to school functions. She understands, but...

I: What kind of activities do you do together?

R: Skiing...I enjoy going for a walk, shopping. Just to be together.

I: How do you feel about the direction they've gone in?

R: I never charted a course for them. My son's still trying to find his direction; my first daughter focussed in quicker. The jury's still out with my son...you can guide them, but you can't force them into a decision on what they should do.

I: How do you feel you've influenced their development?

R: Well, my son said, dad, I don't want to be an engineer because if I have to work as hard as you I don't want to be an engineer. So I guess I've influenced them in a negative way. My eldest daughter charted her own course, and I didn't have to influence her other than to give her a shove once in awhile when she was timid. My youngest daughter...well, she doesn't know what she wants yet.

I: How would you describe your relationship with your wife?

R: Reasonably good. It has its ups and downs. She feels I devote too much time to business, and I have to agree with her. The holidays have been skinny and she's gone on her own and it's not satisfying for her. She's a family person, and as the kids grow up, she's still very close to them. They know they can always come to her and talk to her, she's always there.

Example AF2:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your husband?

R: I think it's a solid relationship. We have our ups and downs, lots of discussions on issues. We don't always see eye to eye on everything, but I think we have a comfortable relationship. We've been married for 16 years, and so you would expect that. He's very supportive of my career and always has been. He thinks I spend too much time at it but he's always been supportive of it. I think he's quite proud of what I've been able to achieve. We do some things together like skiing, although I like it more than he does. We compromise on things we like or don't like. I'm probably too much of a neat freak for him and I irritate him greatly about that, but that's something he seems to have accommodated.

I: Are there any friends or family that you're particularly concerned about, or involved in?

R: Nope.

The respondent describes a long-term marriage commitment in which her husband seems to accommodate her career activities, leisure preferences, and household standards. Although this excerpt is short, it contains clearly *Agentic* leanings, and if the remainder of the interview were consistent with this tone, a rating in the high range on *Agentic* would be warranted.

Example AF3:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your children?

R: Interesting, they love me, I love them. Did I have much time for the kids - no. For the wife - no. And there's reasons for it, of course. I think in my mind I always thought the financial rewards would be a compensation for time away from my kids. So, daddy can't be home tonight at 5 p.m., but tomorrow I'll take you shopping and get you the best jeans, the best clothes you could get. My kids are starting to understand that daddy was a good man in this way. Of course he didn't have much time, but they knew daddy wasn't out in the bar drinking, he wasn't chasing women, so they have respect for me, although I wish I'd had more time for the kids a few years

ago. Now that I'm separated I spend more time with them, than when I lived with them, and I'm able to spend more quality time.

I: What kinds of things do you do together?

R: Well, before they come, I plan what we'll do, whereas before I couldn't plan, and there was always something that came up. Now, I say, ok, my kids are coming for two weeks in the summer, what'll I do. Sunday we will go to church, because they're very strong churchgoers, Saturday we'll go to Playland. And my daughter will go to camp for 3-4 days. They don't really want to spend all their time with daddy, so, ok, so many hours for friends, and so many hours for daddy. So I plan their way, but they can see that daddy is an organizer, making sure everything is working properly for them. So now, when I travel to where they live with their mother, I can call up and say - ok, what do you want to do, and we plan it.

I: How do you feel about the direction they're going in?

R: Well, I've tried not to tell my kids what they should do because daddy feels that's what they should be doing. My daughter's not too interested in school, and I said, honey, if you want to sell shoes, go sell shoes, and I'll respect you for that. And so that's great, working in a shoestore is great. And she says, why dad? Well, because some day you'll own your own shoestore. So we're not encouraging the kid to work in a shoestore, we're encouraging the kid to go to the highest that she can accomplish in life in a shoestore. Which would probably be owning a shoestore, or two, or three. My son works part-time in a lumberyard, and I say, great, son, someday you'll have a lumberyard - just keep at it and think big.

Example AF4:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your children?

R: My family is a big priority, of course. And as a family, we have goals, goals that everyone can share in. So take this business here - I built it up from nothing, and I've been very successful, my name means something in the community. And we're thinking of expanding into the European market, opening a branch in England. My son, he's 21 now, finished his university degree, and it's time he got involved. So we're sending him overseas to start up this new branch.

I: How did you and the family come to this decision?

R: Well, I won't say it wasn't without some - ah, discussion, shall we say. My wife is really opposed, she doesn't want him to have to leave everything he knows. And frankly, the rest of the family doesn't see the benefits of him going either. But he's going, and I truly think it's our big chance to make a real splash with this business. So - he's over there now, getting things together for us to start. It's an exciting time, a real opportunity for him - and for the rest of us. So, people will come around. And he doesn't have to be there forever, after all.

Examples AF3 and AF4 both describe parent-child relationships in which the needs and desires of the children are quite secondary to the goals and ambitions of the parent. The key, in differentiating *Agentic* from *Conventional* responses with respect to children, is the level of involvement in the children, and the perception of these as separate individuals. While *Conventional* may have difficulty accepting a child's independent wishes, the child - and their

interests, activities, or desires - will take shape in the response, whereas there may be little description of the child, in terms of a recognizable individual, in a strongly *Agentic* response. Thus, in the two excerpts above, we learn very little about the children themselves; rather, we learn more about the parents, the parents' goals, and the means by which they intend to accomplish those goals. Even when speaking in the present, AF3 directs the activities he engages in with his children, and seems to spend only periodic, structured time with them when in the same city. Very high ratings on the *Agentic* dimension (i.e., 8 or 9) are appropriate for these excerpts.

Personal Concerns:

There is a strong sense of purpose and commitment to personal goals; these may be the same as work goals. Taking care of oneself, in the sense of relaxing, accepting non-productive periods, and accommodating illness, is typically un compelling when these behaviors compete with other interests or goals.

Example AP1:

I: Who have been significant people that influenced you, to shape you to where you are and how you think today? Any that stand out?

R: Oh yes, quite a few. I guess our whole family wouldn't probably be where they are today, that is each individual, if it hadn't been for my wife Carol. She is extremely supportive, and I had to take all of my post graduate studies after we had been married. We were married while I was taking university, so she was extremely supportive, even during my first degree. And we achieved a tremendous amount during the first degree. That is, I taught, plus took classes, because we were poor, but still graduated with the gold medal. Now I'm telling you this not to boast, but to indicate that without her support and understanding, I could not have accomplished that. Because I had to work hard and then the postgraduate training, and then all of the fellowships, all the trips to England in order to complete my licenciate, she came with me and she has been a very supportive person...I read extensively, and I guess John F. Kennedy certainly influenced me, and Churchill. I listened to a tape of him over the weekend, where he said give me the tools and we'll finish the job. I guess that fits into my philosophy of life, that given opportunities, given provision of resources, we'll finish the job.

This excerpt suggests high involvement in self and tolerance for personal ambitions; his wife seems to have played a mainly supportive role, facilitating his achievements. The excerpt merits a rating in the high range on *Agentic*.

Example AP2:

I: Are there any significant people or events over the years that have shaped who you are?

R: There have been events that changed my life and work, like when I had lung problems. People...no, actually, I can be easily swayed but not influenced much by people. I'm still my own man, and I do what I want more often than not. I don't model myself after anybody, or principles, or theories.

I: Do you set aside time for yourself?

R: I haven't really been, and I realize that I need to do that. I was up for my annual checkup complaining about some things, and the doctor said "you've been like that ever since I've known you, and you're the one who has to resolve that problem, it's not a medical problem". I guess it's a stress thing, and I'm the guy that creates the stress and I have to fix it. I don't take work home from the office but I guess it's probably always ticking away somewhere because I don't really do much to offset that at home.

I: Do you ever experience nonproductive periods?

R: I have, but not many. I count nonproductive periods where even a day where I don't do anything, and I don't have many of those days. I usually have something scheduled or in mind that I want to do and if I find I'm home on one of those days and have nothing to do, I'm nearly mental by 9 am because I'm an early riser. Then I gradually start slowing down and relaxing - or else I just head into the office, keep plugging away at it. I haven't had many periods in my life when I've not been quite active.

I: How do you react when you get sick with the cold or the flu?

R: Well, I take care of my lung, so if it's that flaring up, I do something. But I pretty well ignore anything else. I might stay in bed or whatever I need to do. I'm extremely overweight and extremely healthy. My doctor keeps wondering why I'm not sick.

The respondent seems highly self-directed and absorbed in his work. He sees himself as healthy and active, despite what seem to be minor medical complaints which he has discussed with his doctor. He takes care of his lung problem, a more serious medical condition, but doesn't pay much attention to routine ailments. A score in the upper moderate to high range on *Agentic* would be appropriate (i.e., 6 or 7).

Example AP3:

I: What are your main goals and interests, and are they different from what they were 10 or 20 years ago?

R: Twenty years ago I didn't have as clear goals as I do now. Now my goal is to take my art and have it go big, become well known, gain recognition, write about it, and teach it to others so that it has roots. The last five to six years have been an apprenticeship for me. Now I feel that I'm getting on my own, getting recognized, as an expert on something, and on my terms - no boss. Very different from what's usually out there.

I: Have there been significant people or events over the years that have really helped to shape you?

R: Yes, I would say so. My father was abusive and disrespectful, put us down alot. At age 14 I met a man who gave me some wise advice, and inspired faith and confidence in myself. It was important to be recognized. My father didn't, but others have.

This excerpt has both *Generative* and *Agentic* leanings. The respondent is committed to his craft, in the sense of wanting it to grow and expand to others, and also has a strong desire for recognition of his talents and expertise. A score in the upper moderate to high range on

Agentic (i.e., 6 or 7), and in the low to moderate range on *Generative* (i.e., 3 or 4) would be appropriate for the excerpt.

Example AP4:

I: What are your main goals and interests, and are they different from what they were 10 or 20 years ago?

R: Life is very interesting, and I don't just have one goal. So this big project, it's now within reach, and I'll probably develop new goals. Of course, if it screws up, well I'll try to find out where I went wrong, and move on.

I: Have there been significant people or events over the years that have helped shape you?

R: Yes. I have a policy, it sounds weird, but always go with someone smarter than yourself, so you can learn from them. I'm not envious of people...I will go with someone who drives a Jaguar, not because I want to ride in the Jaguar, but because I want to find out how he got that car. If a friend of mine drives an old pickup truck, I'll still go with him, of course, but...I'm not envious, I just want to know how they got it, what's the background. Was it because they're smarter than you? Or have more degrees? The trick to life is to never feel inferior to anybody, there's always going to be smarter than you, so you have to look at people and try to learn from them.

I: Do you set aside time for yourself?

R: I go on holidays, sure; I've got a sports car, and I love driving it around.

I: Is it important to you to have that kind of time?

R: Yeah, I always think, I juggle things in my mind, looking at the advantages and disadvantages. So let's say I want to go from point A to point N, but when I get to point H I find these obstacles there, so you prepare for it, so that when they do come, you're ready for it. The trick is to know how to get around obstacles, and the only way to do it is just by yourself, analysing the whole situation and expecting problems. Or if I'm not quite sure, I may ask other people what they'd do under these circumstances. The information out there is just incredible. You know, I don't go to a lawyer and talk in his office; when I want legal advice, I just buy him lunch.

Example AP5:

I: What are your main goals and interests, and are they different from what they were 10 or 20 years ago?

R: No, they probably haven't changed a great deal. My goal was to get expanded positions in this industry, and move up the career ladder and become a CEO. So now that I've achieved that I have to decide what my personal career goal is going to be for the future. Right now my goal is to do the things here at this institution that I feel are necessary for that. And my interests haven't changed a great deal. I've taken up golf, but that's not a big deal; I still ski and those kind of things.

I: Have there been significant people or events over the years that have helped shape you?

R: Yes, yes, there were probably two major events, and then one mentor that I had who was very significant in my life. Both of the major events were failures that shaped me. One was when I was in my final year of high school, and I didn't do very well, and I had to make a personal decision that if I wanted to go on to university, I would have to go back and redo my last year and get better marks. And that was very difficult, as I had worked very hard, but obviously working hard did not meet the requirements in the end, so...I actually did go back and repeated it and got better marks and went on to university. And I learned that well, you just don't always do everything perfectly and you have to be able to still see your goal and sometimes you have to step back and go around an obstacle and then continue on. So I learned that. The second was failure again, when I was in another city, I was the Senior Vice President of operations and they reorganized and I was terminated, my position was cancelled. That happens to a lot of people now, but it was more unusual then, and to me it was very traumatic because I took great pride in being able to do a good job and there had been nothing in the past to indicate that I wasn't doing a great job. But again, I learned that you have to go on, and build again, and if you have to, you take a step back, and you go around the obstacle and you go on to your present goal...And as to the mentor, well, I was quite idealistic at the time, and I thought that if you just had the right training you could go out there and change the world. But this woman, she showed me, that's not true, you can have the best idea in the world and you have to get me to agree with it before you can implement it, and if I don't like it it isn't going anywhere, because I have the power. So that's when I decided that I would go back and do an MA.

I: Do you set aside time for yourself?

R: Yes, I do. I don't say ok this time I'm going to set aside for myself but I do take advantage of opportunities, and I do it intentionally.

I: Is it important for you to have that kind of time?

R: Yeah, it's important for me to recharge, and I like very much to be alone. I get tired of people, and I get to the point where I just can't stand them anymore. And in fact, I even go home and can't stand to answer the phone. So I just cut myself off, and I like that.

I: Do you ever experience nonproductive periods?

R: Yes, I go through periods of time when I feel I just can't do anything, and I can't stand it, and isn't this awful, and oh I just hate it...I find them frustrating. But it's not unusual, and I know a lot of people who sometimes feel that way too (laughs).

Examples AP4 and AP5 both demonstrate a high degree of tolerance for the self, in terms of learning from adversity or challenge. Both respondents are interested in understanding and acquiring the power-base to make large scale decisions, although their end goals, and their methods of achieving this differ. Both rate scores in the high range on *Agentic*.

General Comments:

Agentic responses may look *Generative*. The individual is likely to be a high achiever, and may feel a sense of responsibility for leadership. Despite the appearance of involvement in others or in a "greater good", he will seem either cut off from them in some meaningful way, or they will appear to be seen as extensions of himself.

Pseudogenerative-Communal

In contrast to the *Agentic* orientation, the *Communal* prototype is much more focussed on other people in an individual sense. *Communal* tends to place others' needs, desires, and wishes first, and generally seem to want to be of service. Consequently, individuals who exemplify this orientation can be kind, generous, warm and eager to be of assistance. However, here as well there is a sense of self-absorption about them: they need appreciation from those around as a sign that they are "doing the right thing", are "good people", and are accepted and valued by those around them. *Communal* has a need to be needed by others that often results in difficulties in letting go of a nurtured object. They will, therefore, not generally be forceful and dominant, but will tend to be somewhat timid of confrontation, peacemakers, and willing to accept the authority of others - for to do otherwise would expose them to possible disapproval and disregard.

Work:

He may claim that work is a priority for him, but may not seem motivated to reach career goals. He may downplay his contributions in false modesty, or claim his contributions are indispensable to those he works with. He may feel uncertain in positions of authority, and anxious with disagreements.

Example CW1:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your boss?

R: Oh, tough, but a learning experience - you know, he's an alcoholic, which makes things difficult, but I've set it up to work things out with him. I love him, but I can never please him, and he's the ultimate judge of my performance. I'm working out a lot of my abandonment issues with him. I'm intimidated by him sometimes, but I care about him. We have some real power issues to work out.

I: How would you describe your relationship with coworkers?

R: We all work long hours in the employee assistance program - you know, it's not an easy job working with people in crisis. Susie's the closest, because there's so much in my stress management program. I have a close connection with one of the vice presidents who's been very involved in my work, and quite supportive...I see hundreds of people.

I: Do you feel that you've accomplished or are on your way to accomplishing your career goals?

R: Oh, there's so much to be done, and I'm getting a sense of what I'm to focus on. My destiny is to help people in the healing process. I empower them. I am to work with large numbers of people, the form doesn't matter, nor the place...it will be determined by what is needed.

I: What are your most valued accomplishments?

R: (tearful) Survival. Survival and my health. I've had cancer, hepatitis, cluster headaches - and when I went back to work, I have such long hours I put in. I kept working through much of the headaches until my stress level built to where I couldn't

work anymore. Then I had to have more surgery, I was in intense pain, it was terrible...I do alot of work on the subconscious for healing...I'm moving out of my left brain, trying to feel again...

I: How do you react when someone questions your authority?

R: I used to be very threatened and authoritarian - I really needed to be right. Conflict just feeds into my abandonment issues...I'm trying to work it through. I have an incredible knowledge of what I do but I still undermine it by feelings of insecurity and powerlessness, particularly when disputes arise. I'm trying to act, rather than react.

The respondent is emotionally entangled with her boss, anxious about his opinion of her, and uncertain when faced with interpersonal conflict. She is preoccupied with her physical and mental well-being. She appears to be seeking avenues to assist others, although she finds her job as a stress management counsellor draining. The excerpt rates a score in the high range on *Communal* (i.e., 8 or 9), with remaining prototype scales in the low range.

Example CW2:

I: You mentioned that you worked in the library until a few months ago. How would you describe the relationship you had with your boss? What about other jobs?

R: We got along fine, in the library. She's friendly, older, very personal...she took me under her wing and I was sick alot. She was really supportive, told me to just come in when I could. And I just felt terrible - I told her, "you can fire me if you want, I won't say anything - I'm not much good to you at home". But she didn't, for some reason. In other jobs...oh, sure, I always got along fine. I had a job as a cook in a group home once, and I got along fine with the staff because I was the mom and the cook, and they were in their early 20's and 30's, and I was in my 40's. Of course, the cook was real popular, so that was fine..

I: Do you feel that you've accomplished, or are on your way to accomplishing your career goals?

R: I don't know what my career goals are right now. I'm trying to adjust to my one daughter getting married and the other very much having a life of her own - that was my sort of purpose, I realize now, so I'm having trouble finding focus and meaning in my life. Last semester my youngest daughter was finishing her degree and so she's off getting married and doing all the young couple things. Now there's a person who has some goals and plans....I need a cause here.

This respondent is also somewhat distressed; in this case, because of the loss of individuals to care for. There is a tone of bitterness as she describes her youngest daughter's independence and upcoming marriage. The excerpt rates a score in the high range on the *Communal* dimension.

Example CW3:

I: How do you feel about the work that you do?

R: I enjoy working, I need that. I'm happier when I'm working. In our department, I'm the junior accountant - well, more like an assistant. I don't think I'm assertive enough for accounting work, although maybe that's a copout.

I: What is it that you enjoy about the work?

R: The strokes if I do it well, which I don't often get as a homemaker. You can clean the same bowl over and over and nobody pays any attention. I

I: How would you describe your relationship with your boss?

R: I think he treats me well and I like him for that. He knows how to approach me and he makes me feel good about myself.

I: Do you feel that you've accomplished or are on your way to accomplishing your career goals?

R: I have none, I'm not going anywhere. I could accomplish more if I were more assertive. I've allowed people to take advantage of me.

I: What are your most valued accomplishments?

R: I've worked overly hard to make things happen for my kids. My husband has a very strong will, and although I often think he's wrong, things have gone his way. Sometimes I worry that our relationship has wrecked our kids, and I feel very responsible for that...I feel responsible for my husband, he's had a major depressive episode, and I've had to be his psychiatrist or whatever...

The respondent looks to others for appreciation of her work and her talents. She expresses a lack confidence in her ability to assert herself, and feels responsible for the effect of her conflicted relationship with her husband on their children. However, she also feels responsible for him, and "had to be" in the role of mental health worker during his depression. The excerpt rates a score in the high range on *Communal*, and low scores on the remaining prototype dimensions.

Example CW4:

I: How do you feel about the work that you do?

R: Great. I like the place, there's interesting people. I get to help people. The most fun is being helpful. It's sometimes hectic, and I like that, and it's physically oriented.

I: How important is it compared to the rest of your life?

R: It's important. I couldn't get a better job for me. I get to talk to people, and everybody likes us here because we're a nice group. I like to think other areas are the most important - home life, music, friends - but I really feel I'm doing a service here. At first, when I came, there was a lot of conflict, and people were unhappy in the department. And it was really hard in the beginning - to get them to trust me. But now I think we're all pretty happy here, and people comment on how helpful, how friendly we are.

I: What is it about your work that you enjoy most?

R: Oh, having things available for people to further their work. Our mandate is to make people comfortable with the equipment so that they can do what they have to. People ask us how best to record or video something and we supply the equipment. But you know, we still get in trouble when things go wrong! You just can't please some people, no matter how hard you try.

The respondent is clearly oriented towards helping people, and he seems somewhat taken aback that some people will find fault with the department, despite their best efforts. While the excerpt does not provide much information on tolerance for self, the tone should alert the rater to the possibility of strong Communal leanings. In this case, the rest of the interview bore out the *Communal* orientation, with a final rating of 8 on *Communal*, and a 4 on *Generative*.

Example CW5:

I: How do you react when someone questions your authority?

R: I don't deal with that very well at all. I would say I'm not an authoritarian person and I've had a couple of situations here in the lab - one not too long ago and I don't handle it too well.

I: What do you do?

R: For the most part I try to avoid conflict and try to structure the situation so that the person has some flexibility but I still get them doing what I need them to do. Around here most people respond to that really well, but if there's a conflict it usually goes quite a long time before I actually get to the stage where I sit down with this person and say "hey, we've got a problem here". And at that point I usually try to take a large part of the responsibility for the problem or make them feel that I'm taking a large part of the responsibility. Then I expect that ok, they will see their part too, but that doesn't always work. Last year when I had that problem we finally - well I blew up at him and stood in the hall and yelled. But that's extremely rare.

I: How do you feel in those situations?

R: That probably they've got some justified reason for questioning it. I think I give other people a lot of credibility that whatever they're saying or doing deserves my attention and consideration and that maybe I'm out of line. I have a lot of confidence if everything is going along in neutral, but if it goes either side of neutral I don't have that much confidence, even if people are saying I'm doing a really good job, I don't quite give that credibility, I don't have the confidence that I am. I think they're trying to encourage me, and I look for it, but I have difficulty accepting it too. And if things are going badly, I take the responsibility for that too. Ok, I'm not organizing it properly, not communicating it properly.

The respondent acknowledges difficulty in conflict situations consistent with the Communal prototype. She tends to defer to others and doubt herself, and has allowed a conflict situation to deteriorate to the point where she lost her temper entirely. A score on the *Communal* dimension in the high range would be appropriate for the excerpt.

Community:

He sees himself as a contributing member of the community. Although charitable in actions, motivation for helping behavior may be vague, or on occasion at cross-purposes to the welfare of those assisted.

Example CC1:

I: You mentioned that you were involved with community work, volunteer work.

R: Civil liberties is what I do, but I also act as a mentor - that may be the wrong word - I edit and help some of the graduate students with their theses. I have two students currently, both have English as a second language so they really need help with that. And although they do pay me some, I really do consider it volunteer work because they have to be babied through a lot of it. A lot of it I seem to wind up writing, I feel as if I'm writing their theses sometimes. The ideas of course and the research are theirs, but I try to get it into some kind of shape. One is out of town now, fortunately.

I: So you would say that your relationship with those people is as a bit of a mentor?

R: Yes, they kind of rely on me, you know. Like, Christian has had a couple of papers published in some of the journals, and he says, "I couldn't have done it without you", and I know that that's true, there's no question in my mind...I don't know, it's exhausting work. It's close and fine and you have to read every word, there's so much I read and it doesn't make any sense whatever so then you have to start conjecturing about what they're writing about, plus getting them to some kind of quasi-educational, sometimes scientific, depending on the subject mix. So it requires a lot of guesswork on my part, which makes me a little uncomfortable. I get more of a kick out of the interaction with them than doing the work itself because I find the work is quite demanding and I don't even know that much about editing, or doing that sort of thing. Often the results are not that observable. You know, a lot of times, what happens is people don't really want you to tamper with what they've written. Well these two people are exceptions, because they do, but I have worked for people - you know, they're - people feel very much an ownership about what they've written and they like it and if you start rearranging it sometimes you know, what I'm saying is that you're performing a service and a function that is not always appreciated as much as you would wish it to be, except for my boss Gordon who is a real jewel. He loves everything I do and any suggestions I make are just great.

The respondent offers as volunteer work a paid editorial contract. She perceives her role as essential to the success of the individuals, even though her knowledge of their content area is very limited. She wishes that her contribution was appreciated more, although her boss seems exemplary in this regard. A score in the high range on *Communal* is appropriate.

Example CC2:

I: Are there any social or political issues that you feel strongly about, and do you get involved?

R: I used to. I'm a strong socialist, even though I don't have much to gain as I can take care of myself and my family under any circumstances. I tend to lose out when everything is put in one pot and shared out, as I tend to put in more than I take out...

I: Do you do any volunteer or community work?

R: I used to. Now, well the kind of work I do people usually do for volunteer work. Working in family services - well, I feel I put lots into the community. I've sat on boards, things like that. When I lived up north, people would come to me when they wanted something done with the government, I didn't have to volunteer. They saw that I was the person in the community best suited to call the premier person-to-person and get some action.

I: What draws you to that involvement?

R: I've done everything from teach kids math in the church bathroom to sitting on the justice council. I should contribute to my community; it betters my life and that of my kids.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: Meaning and purpose. Causes they're willing to put out for. Kids don't feel connected to their families. Like ours - I make sure we bake biscuits together, hike in the mountains.

This excerpt has both *Communal* and *Agentic* tones, in the sense that the individual seems committed to providing grassroots types of services to individuals, but also seems very individualistic and self-determined. A score in the upper moderate to high range on *Communal* (i.e., 6 or 7), and in the low moderate range on *Agentic* (i.e., 4 or 5), is appropriate.

Example CC3:

I: Are there any social or political issues that you feel strongly about?

R: The AIDS issue. I was working as a home support person and took one day per week off to work on my fundraising project. Then I spent two years full-time on it, I had an office, people working with me...The next social issue I want to work on is a healing centre, 12 steps. I know there isn't any here, so that's my next goal.

I: Is that as volunteer work?

R: Oh, I've done a lot of volunteer work with my AIDS project.

I: What draws you to that?

R: Many years ago I was watching a show on Kubler-Ross, and that's what did it. I wanted to set up a cancer hospice. And then I moved, finished my high school diploma, which I hadn't done, and did first year university. I did some volunteer work with cancer, loved it, and then my mother had a stroke and I went to help her. I saw a special on tv about a black guy dying of AIDS with no social support and I decided that this is what I wanted to do, so I switched from cancer to AIDS, because I saw that there was more of a need there and less money to help them.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: A course on self-esteem. They don't get it from their family or from school. They're just hitting their heads up against a wall. They have no self-esteem. I've done a lot of work with teens, especially kids in care, and they really need some proper care, unconditional love, and good direction.

Example CC4:

I: Do you get involved in social or political issues?

R: Oh, yes, I try not to get too involved but I am interested in political issues. When it comes to advocating people, or trying to help them, there's only two ways, politics or the courts, and agencies often just direct you to another agency and around you go in a circle...I've taken people to alcoholic groups that have had alcoholism in their family and taken them there and sat them down and they've listened to everything. I met learning disabled people and said well did you go to the learning disabled place and they say yes but I didn't get much help, so I go with them again...they have to have someone alongside of them; you see these people really need to be helped. Those agencies don't get around me, let me tell you. You have to help them socially and they have to have support in their job. Most of them are very lonely, alienated people...

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: I'll do my best, because I don't know a lot of young people. Basically, they need a challenge...I see people in the park sleeping, and I talk to them. One is quite young, and I'm worried about him. People gang up on him and beat him up. I tried to get him into a transition house but when I went back he was gone. So many young people sleep in the park. When you get talking to them, you realize they don't have anything, and that's the young people I'm really concerned about. I was talking to a friend who's very political, about putting a big tent over the park, for them to sleep and someone to watch over them so nobody beats them up and picks on them. It's really sad.

Examples CC3 and CC4 seem to be searching for humanitarian causes to which they can devote themselves. There is a sense of pressure to both respondents' volunteer involvements, the defining feature of which appears to be level of need and propinquity. Thus, the respondents move from one commitment to another, as new information comes in about the difficulties associated with various serious illnesses or disabilities. Interestingly, although CC3 expresses considerable interest in her volunteer work, her discussion focuses mostly on her process rather than that of the individuals she has assisted. Both excerpts rate a score in the upper moderate to high range on *Communal*. (i.e., 6 or 7)

Example CC5:

I: Do you do any community or volunteer work?

R: I haven't for - well, I felt good about doing this for you, coming here, helping someone out. When I was walking here I thought, that's it, part of what I'm missing in my life are those kind of connections and the feedback you get from them. I don't seem to be able to get back on track. It's not a time factor so much as that I'm cut off right now from the networks I was involved in. I did things like kids' schools, church, community things, canvassing for Salvation Army, the cancer fund...

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: What do you mean by young people - now you're going to find out about one of my issues. Our whole culture is going through such a chaotic point. The stable family life is missing, and when both parents are working - look where it got me. I stayed at home and now I don't know - at 51, my kids are gone and I don't know what to do. And now that my kids are both fairly independent I don't think about it - well, that's not true. Adolescents? They need a lot of consistent caring from concerned moms and dads.

This respondent seems preoccupied with the lack of people to care for in her life right now, and the "feedback" she derives from those relationships. A useful probe, not made, could have explored what she meant more specifically by "feedback". A score in the high range on *Communal* would be appropriate.

Family:

Family closeness is important, and children may be discussed in terms of how much they need the family for their sense of emotional well-being. It appears difficult for the individual to facilitate the children's independence from him, and at times, helping behavior seems intrusive.

Example CF1:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your children?

R: Very close. No question about that. No hesitation whatsoever. It's nice in that the older they get and the more education they get, and maybe the longer they are away from home, the more they seem to appreciate our family and the home. It's the focal point of their lives, I'm convinced of that. Even though my daughter's married, she still has this very strong attachment to both her father and me. She really sets us up as a paradigm of behavior and social patterns.

I: So you feel that both you and your husband have been influential in your children's development. In what way?

R: Yes, very much so. I think it's because we've had a lot of closeness, and we didn't give them a lot of material things when they were growing up...we took vacations in funny little cabins with holes in the roof and it rained every day and we went fishing. I don't know, I really couldn't tell you what it is, but a lot of outside people have said this to me, your family is almost forbidding to outsiders because we seem so self-sufficient and exclusive in a way. Although we've had a lot of people live in our house over the years - our house has been a second home for a number of teenagers and older who've either been thrown out of their own homes, or...and sometimes they live here for months and months at a time. But they all say the same thing and they all feel it very strongly, and I think the family is certainly the most influential factor in any of their lives.

I: So you've opened your home to a number of people who needed help over the years? What is the satisfaction for you in taking them in?

R: I don't know...because I felt sorry for them. I have one of these problems. I can never say no to anybody even if I really want to. People say, oh, will you do this, and I say oh, yeah, I guess, but eventually - but I always, I quite enjoy them - most of them.

Example CF2:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your son?

R: It's changing all the time. My son and I are very spiritually close - he's almost too enmeshed with me. He still has a need to hide himself, and communicates nonverbally more than anything else, so I stay attuned to that level. I see him as I was as a child; I see a lot of myself in him. It's hard for me to let him be different, but I want to. He's a teen now, and we do things like hiking, camping, family clubs, travelling, swimming...lots of things together. I can see us doing more and more together. We even get sick together!

I: How do you feel about the direction he's going in? And is it what you would have expected?

R: He's chosen such a difficult path. School's been so difficult, but he's extremely bright, although he has a sensory integration dysfunction, and he's played a victim role...He has low self-confidence...sometimes I wish he would have found things easier, for him and for me. He's got skills other kids haven't even touched..I worry about him a great deal because he's so vulnerable; there's a potential there for alcoholism, as he's addicted to sugar. And he steals from my purse sometimes...It's not what I expected, but I think he's doing fine under the circumstances...

In Examples CF1 and CF2, the respondents describe an extraordinary closeness to their children. CF1 prides herself on family representing a "focal point" for her adult daughter, while CF2 appears alternately to idealize or fret over her early teenage son. Neither respondent seems to facilitate their children's independence. CF1 expresses difficulty turning down requests for help from those outside her family. Scores on *Communal* should be in the high range, with low scores on the remaining prototype dimensions.

Example CF3:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your wife?

R: It's a challenge - just another one of those challenges I've been talking about. It's a testing relationship. We're coming up to the 10th anniversary, and I would say that in those 10 years, there've been very few periods of time when I've felt fully comfortable. That it could have gone any time - and it may still go. And that's a challenge. What I've done with the challenge is that I just became a seeker of every communication skill in the world, and I've had to grow because of that...And I think Susie was the impetus that got me out there, to become better at what I'm trying to do. The coral reef off the Australian coastline is a good example. And if you were a deep-sea diver and went down - and I have this on relatively good authority - I understand that if you come down on the outwards side, the ocean side, the colors are absolutely magnificent there, because what has happened is that the waves have crashed up against the coral reef, and whatever the waves do to it, they have brought out the most brilliant colours that you can imagine and it's absolutely spectacular, as you can imagine. And anyone who

dives on that side of the coral reef is awestruck at the beauty of it. When you cross over the reef and come, I guess, to the leeward side, or the quiet side of the rock, it's a white, pulpy insipid - and all that it gets is the occasional ebb and flow of the water lapping up against it, and there's no vitality. And I would say the vitality, if I have any today, is through the relationship with Susie. So rather than see it as a complete negative - it's just forced me, in many ways, to get better. And some would say, well isn't there a time when the end of the 100 yard dash comes? And I would say, yeah, I think I've gone through the 100 yard dash, and the 220; I'm past the 440, and I think I'm learning what it's like to run a marathon. And you know, the truth is that you run many marathons in your life if you're a long distance runner, and that's what I consider it to be now. Not a desperate fight to exist beyond the next marital tiff or whatever, communication breakdown. Now I look at it as a longer term thing, where I just have to get better...

I: Are there any relatives or close friends that you're particularly close to or concerned about these days?

R: My family is a source of concern to me...my role is to blow open the unhealthy secrets that we've been harbouring - not maliciously, but so everyone can feel better...Sometimes people don't agree with opening up these old wounds, and there's still ill-feeling between my sister and I because of a family secret that I chose to reveal. And those ill-feelings still lie there, and I've still got some work to do, but that's just another of those challenges...Joan of Arc had to burn at the stake, for whatever her reasons. You and I, we've got little journeys that aren't likely as earthshattering, but there are those little paths that we walk on...

The respondent has a way of speaking that is eloquent, full of vivid images, and sounds rehearsed. His coral reef analogy is very powerful, and his determination to be a better person through marital adversity are entirely consistent with the *Communal* prototype. A score in the high range would be appropriate (i.e., 8 or 9).

Example CF4:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your son?

R: I left him with my exhusband when he was 7 years old, and I've been trying to do some healing work with him. It's still an incredible block, because I left him, so we're working on our healing work right now.

I: How's that going?

R: Ok. He's not as verbal as I am, and he doesn't communicate feelings as well, so all I can do now is show him by example what I'm doing with my life.

I: What do you do together?

R: He's been looking after his son. He left his girlfriend last year, so...I babysit his son, and umm, just sort of be there in a really positive way for him. He knows he can call me anytime.

I: How do you feel about the direction he's going in?

R: That's another story in itself. It's incredible. I was babysitting one night, and my son went to visit a friend, and they were in a cabin, with all the lights off, shooting a gun out through the doorframe. Another friend came in and my son shot him in the heart. So the healing work I have to do with my son is incredible. And I'm going to be there for him, absolutely. So his direction now is coming back from the walking wounded, and he has a lot of work to do. It's heavy stuff...

I: How do you feel you've influenced him?

R: Over the last few years, I'm really heavy into spiritual stuff, and once again by example. I present tapes to him, and if he wants to listen that's his option, or books - I just leave the material with him, and try to get him to look at it...I'm also doing that with my older brother, who I don't have a good relationship with. I'm working on forgiveness with him. I'm also working on a relationship with a girlfriend; now I have her going to codependent group. She needs to go and is now going, so I hope that will help our relationship...

The respondent is very involved with her son, and is taking on responsibility for the "healing work" that he faces because of the shooting. The respondent is also instrumental in encouraging a friend to join a "codependent" group, at least partly in the hope that this will resolve interpersonal difficulties between them. The respondent's personal reaction to the shooting incident is entirely unclear, other than an immediate reference to her role in processing the aftermath. A score in the upper end of the moderate range on *Communal* seems appropriate (i.e., 6).

Example CF5:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your children?

R: Codependent.

I: How is that?

R: I have a bad marriage, and it always has been terribly codependent, but I've stayed with it, and this has affected my children, so - they don't like me talking this way, when I'm being honest about things that have happened. So we're close in a sense, and yet there's a wall. I don't penetrate it too far because I don't want to face these issues.

I: You mentioned that you were codependent. What does that mean to you?

R: I would like them to be doctors and lawyers, and I get enmeshed with them and when they do anything wrong I take it on, I react. I would like their lives to be perfect because if their lives are perfect it reflects on me as a perfect mother and I allow that to affect me...I don't get involved in their lives but I'm talking about the feelings, like just talking now makes me want to shut up.

I: What kinds of things do you do together?

R: Lately nothing; they're growing up and not living at home. My daughter is married and has five kids. My next son is living on his own. He's 26 and starting to go back to college. My youngest son isn't working, and is married, expecting a child...I worry

about him, and I think I'll be inclined to get very involved once the child's born - they've got to have someone there for them...

The respondent insightfully describes her difficulties separating from her children. However, she seems intent on continuing a high level of involvement when her grandchild is born. She seems distressed by her tendency towards "codependence", and possibly guilty about the effect of her marriage on her children. A score in the lower end of the high range on *Communal* would be appropriate for the excerpt.

Example CF6:

I: What kinds of things do you do together?

R: We go to movies together, we certainly play a lot of board games together, and things like that. We sit and talk a lot, especially on a Friday night, that's her night to stay up late. We sit and talk about a lot of in-depth things. She's very much aware of the AIDS situation, she's very much aware - she's got really high, really high standards, high moral standards, and we discuss that a lot. We go camping together.

I: Do you find that she turns to you a lot for advice, or for information on what's happening in the world?

R: I think so. Yes. She plays ball, and I umpire, or I coach. Whatever she's involved in, I try to get involved in as well. So we - she really - we're very very open with each other. Extremely so...And we do homework together, if she doesn't do it all.

I: How do you feel about the way she's developing? Is she developing in ways that you would have predicted or expected?

R: Yeah. She's a very young 15. She's - in some ways, she's immature. In other ways, she's overmature. I would say she's overmature in her sense of responsibility - when I say overmature, I mean beyond her years. On her jumping in and helping with things. She's much more perceptive of other people, than a lot of people are at that age. On the other side, boys are simply friends to her, she doesn't date. She's not into that. She's not into heavy makeup, she's not into drugs or alcohol or smoking. I don't know if I expected her to turn out that way. I guess I've been pretty tough on her so I guess...and yet trying to give her a little leniency. I find that hard too, to let go...

This excerpt, while largely *Communal* in tone, also has *Conventional* features. The respondent describes a high degree of closeness, tends to idealize her daughter, and has high behavioral expectations. A score in the lower end of the high range on *Communal* (i.e., 7), and in the lower end of the moderate range on *Conventional* (i.e., 4) would be appropriate for the excerpt.

Personal Concerns:

Personal time and relaxation may seem important to him, although other duties frequently interfere. Approach to personal development may seem inauthentic in some important way.

Example CP1:

I: What are your main goals and interests now, and are they different from what they were 10 or 20 years ago?

R: Self-development, I guess, is still high on my list. I love to be able to travel and to find out more about who I am, which seems to sometimes get lost in the way. And then I think to myself, well, is that self-indulgent, do you need this. I don't know...just getting through, you know, living each day the best way you can. And - I sound like a PollyAnna. We've had marriage problems, in our own marriage, in the past year, and so right now one of my priorities is trying to be a better wife. But alot of what led to that, I suppose, was my desire to find out, to search for something for me. Because I feel that I parcel myself out in too many places and that can maybe lead to that kind of thinking.

I: Have there been significant people or events over the years that have helped shape you?

R: Forty was a bad time for me. I just didn't like being forty. I just felt, totally overwhelmed. And I don't really know what that was. I mean there are obvious visible signs of aging that are not very comforting... They say everybody has a threshold or a mark that they don't want to cross over, and that was the one for me.

I: How did you get through that?

R: Well, I just kept on going. I think I am slowly making the adjustment. I mean, my aging doesn't seem to have any effect on my husband. He was quite willing to accept me as a forty year old. I guess part of it though was a sense of not having accomplished anything as far as career goals. I always thought I'd be someone or something eventually that has some title to it. I knew I never wanted to teach school to little kids - I would have loved to be a university professor, but I didn't have the drive or the stamina for that, I don't think. I mean, I might have got on stride, doing a bit more...I always thought that maybe I was a little too old for everything. I have a friend who is thirty and a single mom. Now she's 34 and she just feels old. Maybe because she has no stable relationship.

It is hard to see exactly what the respondent means by self-development, or how she is accomplishing that, other than through being a "better wife". She seems concerned about the physical signs of aging, but is reassured that her husband doesn't seem to mind. A score in the lower end of the high range on *Communal* would be appropriate for the excerpt.

Example CP2:

I: What are your main goals and interests, and are they different from what they were 10 or 20 years ago?

R: Twenty years ago, my kids were little; 10 years ago, they were teenagers; now I'm in limbo...I don't have alot of meaning in my life right now. When I owned the big house, the kids who rented were part of my life because they were in my house. Now they're out, and I'm wondering what to do with myself. Why am I here - this isn't where I thought I'd be 20 years ago...

I: Do you set aside time for yourself?

R: I went to lunch the other day. I don't think I do, really, consciously. I used to do fitness, now I have time for everything I might want to do, and that's not too thrilling. I would understand that question better 3 years ago when I had all these other people in my life that needed time, and so I...now I have too much time. I watch tv - I'm not happy, as I guess you've noticed...But my youngest daughter, well, she's in a vulnerable position, didn't complete high school and is working as a nanny. That's why I've decided to go back to school and finish my degree - if I have a decent job I can provide backup for her. I don't want to plan her life, but...

I: How's your health generally?

R: Last semester I was very sick with the flu, and then a dog attacked me - that was very exciting, I got alot of attention for that....

I: People often talk about settling down, as something that occurs sometime after age 30. Does that have any meaning for you?

R: I understand the concept. It means getting a routine, having life predictable. It's not a very appealing thing. My concept of what that means (pause). In relation to kids, when the kids grow up and the dog runs away from home...

This respondent is quite distressed by the lack of individuals in her life to care for, and is finishing her university degree with a view to assisting her adult daughter. There is a real edge of bitterness and desperation to her responses. A score at the upper end of the high range on *Communal* would be appropriate for the excerpt.

Example CP3:

I: What are your main goals now, and are they different from what they were 10 or 20 years ago?

R: Definitely. Twenty years ago I was still in motherhood and just thought I'd be a mother, and then I began working here, and my kids grew up and went away, and so I had nothing. Then, about 10 years ago, my granddaughter was born and that's when I thought my goal was to make her perfect, so I got enwrapped in that too, but at the same time wrapped up in my job. I wanted things to be perfect at work and everybody to have this happy life. Then, just over the past 5 years, it's changed, and I don't get as enmeshed as before, but I need a support group to do that...

I: Have there been significant people or events over the years that have shaped you?

R: I think so. My marriage, my kids...triumphs and losses, like most people I guess.

I: Do you set aside time for yourself?

R: I try to. I'm going to take a fitness walking clinic and I've got nine people talked into it - I can really motivate people if I want to do something...It's pretty important to me to have that time for myself.

I: Do you ever experience nonproductive periods?

R: No, I'm generally moving like crazy. And I guess - you see, I've never been a runaround, I've always been the good - what do they call it? Not the scapegoat - whatever - the mascot, maybe. So I've never really had a wild time, or a long period of non-productivity - I've had to be a good person.

This respondent discusses her difficulty disentangling herself from others, but also notes that she has organized nine people into a walking group in which she wants to participate. A moderate score on *Communal* would be appropriate.

Example CP4:

I: What are your main goals now, and are they different from what they were 10 or 20 years ago?

R: Years ago I wanted to fix people. Now I'm through having missions; I'm learning how not to fix myself as much anymore. And that in itself fixes me. I have a unique contribution to make in this world and that's what I want to do.

I: Have there been significant people or events over the years that you feel have really shaped you?

R: My daughter is one of the first ones. When she was little, I read lots of parent effectiveness books, and I've been learning to let go of control and let her have input. I've had good teachers - life teachers. My mother in law - she's an invalid. I always felt that she was patient and accepting, willing to receive my caring...

I: Do you set aside time for yourself?

R: Yes I do. I have a daily program. First I meditate, then I do my affirmation cards, and then my forgiveness list for mistakes, and my gratitude list. It's wonderful to work with good tools, and start the day with that. I listen to spiritual tapes too.

I: Is it important to you to have that kind of time?

R: Oh, yes, it gives me energy.

I: Do you ever experience non-productive periods?

R: Lots of times, but I'm learning that if you want to have a sleep, just say to yourself, it's ok, because you grow subconsciously when you're sleeping too. Everything is a learning experience, and the world out there might think that everything I do is nonproductive, but they don't see what's going on inside of me. I sometimes have a craving to watch movies and be alone. And I ask myself, why am I doing this? Because I'm afraid of people, of taking risks, of looking at myself, and when I'm ready to look at myself, I'll do something about them, take some risks. And I'm trying to allow myself to slow down, and not be so compulsive that I have to rush out the door and do too many things in a day.

Example CP5:

I: Have there been important people or events over the years that you feel have really influenced you?

R: In my early teens, an influential man who got me to be a thinker. About 6-7 years ago I stumbled across a man who was a speaker and came to speak to our group. And he introduced me to reading. Now, when I run into a problem in the business world, I pick up a book that tells me how to talk so others will listen, or how to organize people effectively. He also taught me to keep a journal, which has been important in my life - a kind of confidante.

I: How do you react if you get a cold or the flu?

R: Not very well. I keep tending to think that it's something that I've done to myself. Like I don't think it's a bug out there, I think it's a weakness, either mentally or physically, in something that I've done. Some would say well that's not a bad reaction to have, because in truth you probably did something to cause it. The problem isn't out there, it's right in here. Mainly psychosomatic. So when I get sick I go - NOW what have you done?! Where's your wrong thinking today that you've got a cold. Where was it two weeks ago, or what were you worried about?

Examples CP4 and CP5 both involve individuals who appear to be highly self-monitoring and self-critical. CP4 describes her difficulties "fixing people", and states that she's learning how not to "fix" herself anymore. However, she goes on to list an extensive daily program designed to produce well-being, seems quite introspective and highly self-monitoring. She is grateful to her mother-in-law for "receiving" her caring. CP5 is quick to assume self-blame when ill. Score moderate on *Communal*.

General Comments:

The *Communal* prototype is conceptualized as professing altruistic motivations while appearing to have a strong need to be needed by others. He seems unwilling or unable, in some meaningful way, to provide others with the skills they need to be independent of him.

Conventional

Conventional is characterized by high vital involvement and low to moderate tolerance with respect to self and others.

Work:

Conventional takes pride in his work and in what he has been able to accomplish through the workplace. Work is largely viewed as a way of being responsible, and seen in terms of the security it brings to him and his family. Control is important; there is a certain unease or rigidity around confrontations with someone in a position of authority, or having his authority questioned.

Example CNW1:

I: Do you feel that you've accomplished, or are on your way to accomplishing your career goals?

R: I'm not sure I had any. My goals were more to have a family, and to bring up my children without them getting into any trouble and to be nice people when they grew up. And I've succeeded in that. I guess my career goals are reasonably answered. I could say yes, I'm on my way going up the ladder but who knows, you don't know from one day to the next. I'm in a supervisory position, so if I was the fellow down at the bottom I'd be saying yes, I'm going up, but I may have reached my Peter Principle at this point, I don't know...

I: What are your most valued accomplishments?

R: I guess my most valued accomplishments are bringing up my children and having them be nice people. My family, my kids, they're nice people, and they've never been in trouble. They're good citizens, and I think that's a worthwhile accomplishment.

I: How do you react when someone questions your authority?

R: Oh (pause). I guess I react like other people. If my authority is challenged, the first time I probably try and explain myself to the other person, so I guess I try and explain to them how it should work and how the structure works...And the first time, I try to be patient and understanding with them, but to be honest with you I don't like my authority questioned and I'm sure you don't either. The second time I might get mad (laughs). And I guess if they continued to challenge my authority, I might try to transfer him to another group...I had to fire someone here recently and believe me I don't - it's the first one I ever had to do and I just felt terrible, because I feel that I wasn't able to meet the challenge as well as the employee. However, yeah, I guess that's how I feel about having my authority challenged. Nobody likes it, but you try to get around it somehow.

Example CNW2:

I: How do you feel about the work that you do?

R: I enjoy it. It's challenging, interesting, and I feel I'm accomplishing something. Work is important while I'm there, but I can leave at 5:00 p.m., and that's what I like about it.

I: You mentioned that you feel you're accomplishing something?

R: I'm handed big assignments, nobody supervises me, they're given completely to me, so that feels good.

I: How would you describe your relationship with your boss?

R: Good. I have two bosses. One is a slave driver, and it's stressful if he's around...the other is easy to get along with and we're all good friends.

I: How would you describe your relationship with coworkers, or people that you supervise?

R: Good. They're like friends. I have one person who reports to me, and sometimes I'm motherly to her. Sometimes, she's a friend, sometimes, she's someone I supervise.

I: Do you feel that you've accomplished, or are on your way to accomplishing your career goals?

R: I'm getting to a level I want to be at. I don't want to go too far, so it won't infringe on my private life.

I: What are your most valued accomplishments?

R: Ensuring that my children are safe, loved, and comfortable in their lives. Secondly, my friends, and then my job.

I: What is it about your friends that feels like an accomplishment?

R: I like to do things I enjoy, that's all, and I have friends to do that with.

I: How do you react when someone questions your authority?

R: I don't like to be questioned...I don't appreciate it.

Respondents CNW1 and CNW2 have difficulty when authority is questioned, and CNW1 refers to a structural hierarchy to resolve disputes. Children are an accomplishment for CNW1 because they are "nice" and aren't "in trouble", suggesting a possible lack of tolerance for individual needs and wants that don't meet the respondent's behavioral rules. Both respondents show a moderate involvement with work, although there is no mention of a contribution to others through the workplace. Note CNW1's alignment with the interviewer, in terms of presumed similarity of responses when faced with challenges to authority. CNW2 exhibits some possible *Communal* features, in her description of the "big projects" she's undertaken and the "motherly" relationship with her staff. These excerpt rates a score in the high range on *Conventional* (a 7 or 8 would be appropriate), and scores in the low range on the prototype dimensional scales. CNW2 merits a score at the upper end of the low range or the lower end of moderate on *Communal* (i.e., 3 or 4).

Example CNW3:

I: How do you feel about the work that you do?

R: What I like about business in general is when you can build things up, security for your family, the important things in life. But in private industry - the government's one thing, and competition another - you wonder where you're going. You can do your utmost and circumstances can prevent you from getting ahead.

I: Are you not sure you enjoy much about it right now?

R: Yeah, right now I'm at a point where I have to decide whether to go really intensely into it...or just stay with one major item and add some other stuff, or get involved in a totally different business, even.

I: How important is work to you, in relation to other areas of your life?

R: Work is - straight from the heart - work is important to me as it is satisfying to achieve things, but the most important part is feeling comfortable because of all your work, being satisfied...So it's important to get satisfaction from it, because not working won't satisfy you as a human being. I'm not the type who could do all kinds of spare time work during the day and not work at all. I couldn't do that. I wasn't brought up that way. When I moved here, I should have just sat for a bit, taken some time, and assessed what was the right thing to do. But I couldn't do that, I had to work right away, because that's what I'd always done and it was expected.

I: My next question is how would you describe your relationship with your boss - I don't know if you feel that you have one?

R: My relationship with myself...At the moment I would call it delicate; tentative. Maybe when I've got things figured out, I'll be able to talk about that more easily.

This respondent is clearly involved at work, although there is not much mention of a contribution to others. The respondent would have difficulty allowing himself to spend less time at work because of his upbringing, suggesting internalized rules for work-related behaviors. The excerpt merits a score in the moderate range on *Conventional* (i.e., 5 or 6), and low scores on the remaining prototype dimensions.

Example CNW4:

I: How important is work to you, compared to other areas of your life?

R: It's very important. I have to make a living; survival is important. I enjoy the work and the people, but it's not all consuming.

I: How would you describe your relationship with your boss?

R: Very good, it's a nice arrangement. We have 65 sales people, all independent business people, and we sell mainly houses.

I: Do you feel that you've accomplished, or are on your way to accomplishing your career goals?

R: I hadn't really set any. I got into this career not because I had career goals but as a way of getting out of the house, and having hours to juggle, to be available for the children. And after 15 years, it's difficult to go into anything else. My social life, and other activities, are more important than work.

I: What are your most valued accomplishments?

R: Raising two very nice girls. I designed and built a property myself, that was an accomplishment. (pause) I don't have any other great accomplishments - I'm a good golfer (laughs).

I: How do you react when someone questions your authority?

R: I don't appreciate it. In business sometimes people doubt our knowledge, but I'm dedicated to doing a good job, and I find that irritating. If I've done something wrong, I want to know about it from my boss, but I don't appreciate others questioning me - I know what I'm doing.

The respondent's involvement with her work is minimal beyond the security it provides, and there's no mention of making a contribution to others through the workplace. She prefers that any questions of her authority come from higher up the organizational structure, and is defensive if others challenge her knowledge. A score in the moderate range on *Conventional* would be appropriate (i.e., 6).

Example CNW5:

I: What kind of work do you do and have you done?

R: I was anxious to make some money and go to work, and so I got enticed to go to work, and I got into a very big company with the help of an uncle who used some influence to get me into this engineering company. I was an apprentice for three years, moving through every department. And at the end of two years, the supervisors get together, and look at your aptitude, and ask what department you like most. I liked carpentry very much, and so I was put in that department to finish my apprenticeship...Now, I'm supervising in this same company, and I like my job very much.

I: What is it about your job that you enjoy most?

R: I like the variety of the work, the customers I meet. The environment is good. I see various types of people, and that creates a good atmosphere. I don't see the same people all day.

I: What is it about the people that you enjoy?

R: I like moving around, going to various offices. One day I'm in purchasing fixing their problem, the next day I'm in the cafeteria fixing their problem, and another day in a completely other department.

I: How important is work in relation to other areas of your life?

R: Work is very important. I spend more of my waking hours at work than with my family, and by the time you include travelling time, break time, you're home for how

long? And in the evening, you're home, you've got to go out, take your son to the soccer game, do some groceries...you hardly get two solid hours at home with the family. Then at 9:30 it's time to go to bed.

I: How does that sit with you?

R: It's nice to have a 5 day week but I long for the longer weekends sometimes. Then there's more time with the family. Like my son was telling me yesterday that he needed some coaching in physics, he's not doing as well as he could. So yesterday he showed me his book, and he has a test next week, and I've just barely read about two pages, so I've got to go over that chapter 3, and then go over it with him again. Because I want him to do well, so he can graduate with A's and go on to university. We're hoping he goes to university. So it seems like we're always fighting for time.

The respondent seems moderately involved in his work, and acknowledges that, as maintenance staff, he moves around fixing various technical problems in the organization. As with most of the other excerpts in this section, family figures prominently in responses. This excerpt has a flavour of drudgery, without indications of any searching for alternatives. A score in the high range on *Conventional* (i.e. 7 or 8) would be appropriate, with low scores on the remaining prototype scales.

Example CNW6:

I: How do you react when someone questions your authority?

R: At work, I have no authority, and I don't want it!

I: How come?

R: As soon as you have authority you have expectations, and people don't live up to your expectations, and so you end up being disappointed in them. It's one of my difficulties in business, I find my clients disappointing and that's frustrating. I guess I don't think of myself as an authoritative person, I see myself as someone who knows, in a very confident way, what's right and what's not, and what needs to be done. I take a position that I'm right and everyone else is wrong - but I'm reasonably flexible.

The respondent seeks to avoid experiencing uncomfortable feelings about others by distancing himself from them emotionally. He has strong views on right and wrong which seem relatively inflexible, despite his claim to the contrary. A score at the high end of the low range, or at the bottom of the moderate range on *Agentic* (i.e., 3 or 4), and a score in the upper moderate to high range on *Conventional* would be appropriate (i.e., 6 or 7).

Community:

He tends to take an active role in the community, particularly in issues seen as most relevant to himself, his family, or a subculture to which he belongs. There is likely to be low tolerance or understanding of groups, individuals, or ideas dissimilar to his own, and a concern that events follow an established and predictable path.

Example CNC1:

I: Are there any social or political issues you feel strongly about, and do you get involved?

R: I don't understand politics all that well, to be perfectly honest...Social issues - do you mean AIDS? Well I think it's disgusting. It's sad the way things are happening. I think people should be more careful with the sexual part of their lives, but social...abortion? Things like that? I feel it's up to the woman to decide...As far as social issues are concerned, I'm illiterate when it comes to reading the paper. I guess it's because of what I deal with, I don't read the paper often, because most of it's bad stuff and I deal with bad stuff all day, so I need to lighter things. I like to read autobiographies. I belong to different organizations and such.

I: Volunteer or community organizations?

R: Yeah, one is the Army Vets. I'm on the ladies' auxiliary for a particular unit, and I do volunteer work with them. That's about it, because of the physical things I can't do. I used to be involved in skiing and teaching kids to ski, but I can't do it anymore because I have medical problems.

I: What draws you to doing the volunteer work with the veterans association?

R: Well, I was born around the WWII stage, and so alot of the people still involved in the club are vets, and they do alot for the local hospitals and I just think it's worthwhile. They helped us, defended our country, and we should help them. I don't do alot, just once a week, but I do as much as I feel I'm able to do.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: A good kick in the ass, if you want me to be honest. In fact, my youngest son, he just turned 29, and he said I'm glad you restricted us mom - at the time he thought I was a total ogre, but he looks back now...Like, they were big guys but I would just sit them down, so that way they were at eye level and I would make them behave. I did it even when they were in their 20's...I never had any trouble with them, and when I see kids today, and the way they conduct their lives, and the way parents don't seem to have any control over them, it bothers me that they don't...They spoil them rotten when they're little, and then they wonder why the kids don't have any respect fo them when they're older...I didn't have any trouble with my two because I was strict with them, and I didn't care if they whined and snivelled and - well I shouldn't say I didn't care, because I would feel guilty, but still - it really paid off, because they really do have respect for me and their dad, even though we're divorced, and that's why they're my pride and joy.

This excerpt reflects moderate involvement and low tolerance. The respondent is categorical about child-rearing practices, but admits to guilt feelings about the strictness she imposed. She has little sympathy for AIDS victims because of the potential implications about their sexual practices. Score 8 on *Conventional.*, and in the low range on the remaining prototype scales.

Example CNC2:

I: You mentioned that young people need support. What kind of support do you mean?

R: Moral support, because it's rough out there...And lots of them are depressed. But my daughter, she's just not that kind of a person. She doesn't get depressed. If she has something to say, she says it. And if she wants to talk about it she tells me. And I can tell if she's kind of holding things in. And I never allow her to go to sleep at night, I never allow her to go to bed or to leave the house when I'm annoyed with her, or when we're annoyed with each other. We have to work it through. And if it means I have to keep her up to 1:30 on a school night if she is down in the dumps - because she doesn't really get depressed but if something's been bothering her or if I've been getting after her for something - if I have to keep her up until 1:30 in the morning to talk to her about something, I will do that, because I don't want her to go to bed with any negative thoughts. I want her to feel good when she goes to sleep.

The respondent's daughter is seen as a "kind of person" who doesn't get depressed. The respondent has specific rules about how difficult feelings should be dealt with and imposes these on her daughter, seemingly without consultation as to the daughter's preferences. Control appears to be important to the respondent, who hopes to benefit her daughter by exorcising negative feelings before bedtime, regardless of the circumstances. A score of 8 on *Conventional*, and 5 on *Communal* seem appropriate for the excerpt.

Example CNC3:

I: Are there any social or political issues that you feel strongly about? Do you get actively involved?

R: I'm very apolitical - as long as there are enough people to vote in the right politicians, then that's fine with me. I have no strong feelings about things most of the time politically. Socially...I have stronger feelings but not enough to carry placards.

I: Do you do any community or volunteer work?

R: Well, about four and a half years ago a friend got me involved in some community work. You see, when I get into something, I don't just touch the surface. There's no middle of the road - I'm either not involved or totally involved, and in order to maintain some degree of control over my life I stay away from a lot of things. So my friend - I'm Catholic - got me involved on the Board of the Catholic Family Services and I found that I liked it and it was worthwhile. I felt I owed the community - overdue, in getting involved, actually. I'd watched my wife be involved and get satisfaction from volunteer work so...I had to be nudged but I was willing to go. So in my second year, I'm the vice president, right? - Now that's fine, but the president gets sick and steps down and all of a sudden I'm the president. I had to hire an Executive Director, I had to fire her, I had to hire another...all kinds of things. Of course, there were others too, on the Board, but it was my responsibility mainly...

I: What do you think young people need?

R: What are young people?

I: It's pretty open-ended.

R: Need? (long pause) Let's talk about my kids...they need to be equipped (pause)...They need a mother. They need a mother and a father to provide an environment, prior to age 12, and through their miserable teen years, that will equip

them with the ability to handle what's in store for them. Young people need good parents, it's the most critical part of a person's existence. I guess my thinking's very narrow, the only young kids I really know are my own. You have to instill a value system - it's all done by the time they're 9 or 10, it's just refinement after that.

The respondent expresses low tolerance for others, through emphasis on the "right" politicians, and his description of children's development after age 10 as "refinement". It seems difficult for him to talk in general about young people, and more easily about his own children. However, the respondent was clearly involved with the question, despite his struggle with its open-ended format, and has been highly involved in his personal interest group. Interestingly, he doesn't mention the work of the organization except in passing, and there is a distinctly *Communal* flavour to his description of his role with the agency. A score of 8 on *Conventional*, and 4 on *Communal* would be appropriate.

Example CNC4:

I: Are there any social or political issues that you feel strongly about? Do you get involved?

R: I voted Conservative because I was fed up with the Liberals, and I'm rapidly coming to the conclusion that all politicians are thieves or fools. I don't trust any of them. Being middle class, we're the guys always getting it stuck to us, carrying the tax burden, they've got to pay the bills. I used to be a member of the Conservative Party, but I turned in my membership. I used to be totally disgusted but now it just amuses me. I was interested in provincial politics but that's a running joke...Provincial politics are a mess, federal politics are worse, the country's coming apart at the seams (laughs)...

I: Do you do any community or volunteer work?

R: I volunteer with the Lions, we raise money, do community projects, help the mentally handicapped, crippled. I've been involved for 5 years in Operation Eyesight, providing glasses to people in third world countries.

I: What draws you to that volunteer work?

R: I got invited to join, and I just got into it. There's fellowship involved, and camaraderie. You don't do the thing for gain - our motto is 'we serve', so there's no particular reward except helping people less fortunate and feeling good about it. We have a good time as well - hide the beer in the coolers, keep it in coke bottles - it's fun.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: Jobs. Probaby what everybody always needed when they're young and they set themselves goals and look ahead. Too many young people - I mean, I was exactly the same way and my son is just like me - you know much better than everyone else what's the best thing to do, and you do it, and 10 years later the light goes on, and the old man was right, but then it's too late to backtrack, so you put up with it. I wouldn't want to be 18 years old now, the economy is so bad. There's all kinds of \$6-\$7/hour jobs but that's all they'll ever be. No career pot...unless you're really highly educated, and can get into high tech. Alot of kids don't have a chance and they don't realize it. They come out of high school and begin working...My son's a case in point. He crashed out of high school, wanted to quit, and I said 'No, you're not, you will complete grade

12'. The resulting family fight...My reasoning was he wouldn't get a job without his high school certificate. He walked in the next morning and said 'I've got a job'. I could have killed the kid. Makes me look like a total idiot. So the kid's got a job and quits school - fine. Now he's just been unemployed for six months. He was persistent, he finally got a job. But the single thing that stopped him from getting 90% of the jobs was no high school. So now father really did know best and the kid's now going to night school taking grade 12...

The respondent is involved in volunteer work, to help others, and also to have fun. He is critical of the political situation but is not actively seeking change. The focus of the response to "young people's needs" is on his own son, who is "just like me" when it comes to school and jobs. Although the respondent and his son disagreed initially about the best course of action, the son came around to recognizing that "father knew best", but not before making dad feel foolish for inaccurately predicting his son's employability. Score 8 on *Conventional*, and in the low range on the remaining prototype dimensions.

Example CNC5:

I: Are there any social or political issues that you feel strongly about?

R: (laughs) There's two things I don't discuss - politics and religion. I learned that a long time ago.

I: You don't have to tell me exactly which issues.

R: Yeah, I feel strongly about certain political issues and social situations we have in our country right now - and I think I'll leave it at that right now.

I: Ok. Do you get involved at all?

R: Not to the extent that I should, no.

I: Do you get involved at all?

R: Not in politics, no. Nor social issues.

I: Do you do any community or volunteer work?

R: Yes. When my son was younger I helped in minor hockey, and since he's gotten out of that I'm now involved with his work's soccer team.

I: What drew you to doing this volunteer work?

R: Somebody has to do it, and we always wanted to help. If our boys are taking part in it, then we've got to do something to help the system, and I tried coaching and I did it for my older son's teams.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: What kind of young people?

I: It's kind of a broad group, just tell me what comes to mind.

R: I don't know how to explain it. I think our young people - the education system might be failing them slightly, not preparing them...to meet the social, or employment needs of their future. Many of our young people - and I hire a lot of young people - approach work or their profession with the attitude 'I deserve it', it should be coming to me rather than I'm going to go out and work for it and earn it. It's partly the fault of the educational system that doesn't establish good...not work habits, but the sense of responsibility is not as strong as it used to be. If a person accepts a duty or a challenge, there's a certain amount of responsibility that goes with that, and you have to see it through, and I think our young people don't have that sense of responsibility...Maybe our social system has a lot to do with it as well. We've created such a socialistic system that it's hard for people to be responsible.

This excerpt shows moderate involvement and moderate tolerance. The respondent seems uncomfortable expressing his political and social views, possibly because of the potential for disagreement. A score of 7 on *Conventional*, and scores in the low range on the remaining prototype dimensions would be appropriate for the excerpt.

Example CNC6:

I: Are there any social or political issues that you feel strongly about, and do you get involved at all?

R: No, I rant and rave like everyone else when I'm unhappy about the world but nothing right now. I'm channelling my energy in different ways and I have trouble staying focused. If I get involved I tend to go whole-hog, and right now I have to let someone else worry about it...

I: Do you do any community or volunteer work?

R: Not for a long time. I'm in sales, and you can't make money doing that. It's terrible the way you change. I used to coach minor sports, but I stopped that 10 years ago - too busy, plus my kids weren't involved anymore. I felt I had to do it because my kids were in it, and I thought maybe I could help a few other kids along the line. I was doing it before my kids were born, and continued it until they were through. Now, I just don't want to do it anymore. I got involved in the politics of coaching kids, and got really disenchanted. I'm fairly opinionated and that can get you in trouble sometimes.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: A kick in the ass. Seriously, a lot more discipline at home, and parents that care. They don't care, or they'd spend more time, and crying that they're both working is a garbage reason. My wife and I both worked and I spent 75% of my free time with my kids. People will say 'oh, you have to have a life of your own', but I say you brought kids into the world and you have a responsibility to hopefully get their heads straight before they get into trouble - no use worrying about it after. Then it's too late and you don't know how it happened, and they don't either...But parents today don't seem to care, and consequently kids today don't seem to care, because where do they get their values? And it's a copout to say you're working so hard you don't have time. You have time to read the paper, watch tv, have a beer, go golfing...

This excerpt is predominantly *Conventional* in tone (score 7 or 8), although there are *Agentic* features (score 4 or 5), notably through the respondent's explanation for not being

involved in social, political, or volunteer work. The respondent tends to make broad, overgeneralized statements about parents and children.

Family:

Family is a high priority, and there is a high level of commitment to child-rearing. Relationships with children are characterized by rules and behavioral expectations. Relations with spouse tend to be role-bound. Children are expected to embrace his values. The *Conventional* individual would likely be somewhat uncomprehending to find his progeny departing from his time-tested ways.

Example CNF1:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your children?

R: I'm very definite in my ways and my thoughts and I want those standards maintained.

I: Which standards are important to you?

R: How a home is kept, educational standards...My son left before finishing high school - he's now 21 - and he's starting to realize that dad was right and he has to get that piece of paper. My daughter's different, she respects me as a person and what I've built or laid out for her in getting to this stage in her life as well.

I: What kind of things do you do together?

R: Dinners out, mainly social with my daughter. My son lives at home but he's never around. He has friends over for dinner, evening kinds of things. I enjoy the outdoors, and we share this interest. We have a family summer home and he goes too, and now owns property there too, so he'll want to build his own place there.

I: How do you feel about the direction they've gone in?

R: I feel terrible about their direction. I wanted them to go to university - it's almost as if our kids reacted totally opposite to what we expected. Who knows, they may go back as mature students.

I: How do you feel you've influenced their development?

R: By example...my work ethic, commitment to employment, being a caring person.

Example CNF2:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your children?

R: My 16 year old daughter was the worst 16 year old on the planet...She was very close to her mother, they're very alike, and she never gave us a day's trouble until she was 16, and then she was rotten for the next two to three years. I kicked her out one night. I told her we have one very simple rule, just be reasonably pleasant - so I kicked her out, and it was raining out, a miserable night, and time went by, and we

wondered where she was, started calling around, couldn't find her...Ask if mom and dad were frantic?! Anyway, she'd biked to a friend's house about 5 miles away...She went away to Italy and came back really changed, she's on her own now, growing up, maturing. I know we don't see all her shtick, but she's open with us about many things.

I: How do you feel you've influenced their development?

R: My wife is the communicator more than I. My son is a great photographer, better than I am. You like to think that your kids will go to university and be lawyers and doctors, that's the expectation. Our expectation superficially was education, but the core expectation is I don't care about marks, I do care what kind of person you are, and our kids are the kind of people we really wanted and expected... You end up with what you want, underneath.

I: How do you feel you've influenced their development?

R: My wife influenced the kids more than I do, a tremendous influence. We spent lots of time communicating, lots of time with them...They are who they are with a lot of influence from us.

I: How would you describe your relationship with your wife?

R: She was 14 when I first took her out - I was 16. We got married when we were 19 and 21. We've grown up together, been together almost 30 years.

Example CNF3:

I: How do you feel about the direction your son is going in?

R: He's ok now that he's got himself back on track. He realized he had to get a better education to function in society, and a job with a company where there's room for promotion, so getting in at an entry level with prospects.

I: Has he developed in ways you would have expected?

R: No. I figured he'd join the military but in the end he wasn't interested enough.

I: How do you feel you've influenced your son's development?

R: I've done a reasonably good job. There's no instruction manuals, you learn about it as you go along. Sure you make mistakes, and you don't like it either. The important thing is the family unit, husband and wife have to be united, get their act together on it. I see so many troubled families, the kid has figured out divide and conquer, down to a science, manipulation all day. Show a united front, and there are things you have to do as a parent that the kid doesn't like. There's no harm in whacking a kid across the backside if he needs it. The psychological approach to children can be misguided. The classic example happens all the time in my store. The kids are a holy terror. And I say 'Ma'am, if you don't control your kid, I'll control your kid'. Tell him to sit and stay, and the problem will go away. It's a common phenomenon: 'Jason, mommy doesn't want you to do that...' It's particularly annoying in restaurants, you're talking reasonably while Jason's throwing his steak on the floor. Belt the kid! You'll only

have to do that once, and then it'll sink in. My wife hit Andrew once, so hard I thought she was going to kill him. He never, ever tried divide and conquer again.

Examples CNF1, CNF2, CNF3 all exhibit a high degree of *Conventional* (a score of 8 would be appropriate) due to their reliance on rules and lack of tolerance of individual differences in child-rearing beliefs and practices. In CNF3, the respondent acknowledges that mistakes are uncomfortable; in CNF1, the respondent cannot understand how his son has failed to follow the path laid out for him. In all three excerpts, a high degree of involvement in the children's welfare and future is expressed.

Example CNF4:

I: How do you feel about the direction they're going in?

R: Quite satisfied actually, sort of disappointed that my oldest didn't get into her teaching when she should have, but then I guess it was a learning experience. And my youngest - I don't know how she and her husband do it, with two kids. I admire a lot of the young people these days, for keeping a house up and working so hard...but I'm quite satisfied with the way they've gone.

I: Is it what you would have expected?

R: Yeah, I think so. I don't know that I ever thought I knew what they were going to do, I'm sure I didn't; probably mom knew more than me.

I: How do you feel you've influenced their development?

R: A lot of what they do now is because of what we did, and the way we did it. They didn't just have the run of the house, but they always appreciated what we did, learned the value of a buck from scratch, put themselves through university...I know I was fairly strict, don't try to get away with anything, but on the other hand, we were always fair, involved, always went on vacations together. We didn't go on adult vacations until they were out of our hair really - even though sometimes we would have liked to...but we involved them in everything we did, and I guess, if you have any influence at all, you hope they take your best traits and try to eliminate those bad ones you have. But I think we gave them all the opportunities in the world but they did learn to be independent - and they learned that from me, although the kids might think something different - oh, no, took nothing from you, dad!

The respondent expresses a moderate to high level of involvement in his children's upbringing, and a continued interest in their activities. His self-deprecating humour about what his children would say they've gained from him suggests a sensitivity to personal flaws consistent with the conceptualization of low tolerance for self. The excerpt rates a score in the lower portion of the high range for *Conventional*.

Example CNF5:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your children?

R: Very good. They have certain rules and regulations they have to abide by. We have a father-son relationship and we have a friend relationship which is as important.

Neither takes precedence, otherwise, whether it's in a family or a society you can have anarchy.

I: What kinds of things do you do together?

R: We play sports, spend as much time together as possible.

I: How do you feel about the direction they've gone in, and is it what you would have expected?

R: Basically what I would have expected - not what I would have wanted, but yes, what I expected. We all set high goals and standards for our family and maybe for the people we're interested in, and maybe they're unrealistically set and too high or unattainable, or it takes a lot of work and sometimes our boys don't put in quite as much effort as we want. But certainly they're going the way I expected and I'm pleased with the way they're going.

I: What are they doing?

R: Well, academics are very high in our family. My wife's a university graduate and a college teacher, and so we place a very high emphasis on academics and they're not achieving as highly as we would have hoped academically. We're working to keep the option of university open to them, and my oldest - he has trouble academically and I think it's partially because of his work habits and his laziness and partially because maybe it's tough...I believe that boys aren't academically interested in public school...boys have more things to do, or get involved in more things, whatever, but academically they don't seem to perform to their standards, right up to the end of high school. Again, there are expectations, especially in some ethnic groups, but my experience is that boys don't perform as well as girls do in public school, and when they get to university it seems to turn around...

I: How would you describe your relationship with your wife?

R: Very good. She's a friend as well as a wife...We don't need other people to be comfortable, in fact we have more fun and enjoy each other more when we're alone.

I: Are there any relatives or friends that you're concerned about these days?

R: You always do...There's a friend who's going through a career change, and we'd like to see him get straightened out. I have a cousin just diagnosed with cancer, and that's a concern...there's always something to be concerned about, although nothing pressing.

The respondent expresses high involvement, and moderate tolerance levels. Expectations are relatively fixed, and there seems to be a script that one should follow in raising children. He and his wife are quite self-sufficient in their relationship. Score 8 on *Conventional*, and in the low range on the remaining prototype dimensions.

Example CNF6:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your children?

R: Good, although not always. They rebelled against the strictness, but have come back now, especially my daughter. Matthew settled very easily, and I see him almost every week. I never believed in pushing my kids toward any particular career, you know, but I always insisted that they take bookkeeping so they would have skills to fall back on. Each year, they had to choose an activity - one year, I think Karen chose skiing - but once they've chosen it, they have to finish the year. No quitting half-way. If you allow children to quit, they become quitters for the rest of their lives.

I: How do you feel about the direction they're going in, and is it what you would have expected?

R: Yes, what I expected, although not necessarily what I'd like to see. Matthew's a young 22 year old and I don't approve of his direction, but he's obviously going to continue it so I might as well stop trying to change his mind. Eventually, he'll probably settle, get some more education. I've raised them to be responsible members of society. And as long as he's not on welfare or drugs, then I'm relatively satisfied. I feel quite strongly that they shouldn't be on welfare, so I would tell them, 'don't tell me about it, just tell me when you're working'. They've turned out alright, but they still have a long way to go...

The respondent seems involved with her children, although the excerpt is too short for a good assessment of involvement. She expresses very low tolerance of any deviations from acceptable behavior by her children, to the point where she would not want to know if government financial assistance became necessary. A score in the high range on *Conventional*, and in the low range on remaining prototype scales, would be appropriate for the excerpt.

Personal Concerns:

He takes care of himself when this becomes necessary; however, he does not believe in "coddling" himself and may be frustrated by feelings of loss of control when sick. His main goals revolve around setting up a secure financial basis for his senior years.

Example CNP1:

I: What are your main goals and interests, and are they different from what they were, say 10 or 20 years ago?

R: You yourself may have a goal, but it will be so insignificant compared to your goals at 45. What kinds of goals do 25 year olds have? Family goals, house, maybe travel. My goals now focus around independence - financial independence, and I'm running out of time. I don't want to have to work at 65. So I look more long term now than at age 25.

I: Who are the significant people, or what are the significant events that have shaped you?

R: Being involved in my kids' development, my wife's development, my in-laws, sister and brother, family, deaths. Leo Buscaglia, at a conference when I was 37, talking about motivating at an inner level, that had a change-making experience. I hate to admit it, because it's scary to think that other people can have so much influence on how you think...Being in the insurance business allows the opportunity for personal

development. I understand things, I don't understand people, as well as my wife does, so I try to think, what would Marg do and intuit the appropriate social response.

I: Do you set aside time for yourself?

R: Yes, that's important. Every morning, I get up early, I think, read the paper, and bring a cup of coffee to my wife in bed - I've done that every working morning since we've been married...

I: How do you react when you get sick with a cold or the flu?

R: I don't get sick. I've been off work 3 days in the last 25 years. Getting sick is a state of mind, and it's controlled by how you perceive it. I had vertigo last year and it bothered me that I couldn't get control of it. That really bothered me.

I: People often talk of settling down as something that happens sometime after age 30. Does that have any meaning for you?

R: Settling down? I settled down at 21 when I got married, had a family two years later. I'm just a settled down person. Since age 40, I'm more settled than before, and focussing on long-term objectives. I've never gone through a period of being not settled.

Control is important to the respondent, and the influence of other people's ideas seems threatening to him. He seems to prefer his life course to be predictable and carefully planned. The excerpt merits a score of 8 on *Conventional*.

Example CNP2:

I: Have there been significant people or events over the years that have really shaped you?

R: I think my father really helped me the most.

I: How?

R: Well, he was a very strong family man, and was very honest. He had a sense of values that I hoped to have, although I'm not always successful, and he was competent at what he did, very good at it, and very respected amongst those who did business with him. People still talk about him, and he passed away 7 years ago, and everyone who knew him thought very highly of him...

I: Do you ever experience nonproductive periods?

R: No, I think that my time - I won't say that it's scheduled, but I can't handle not doing anything. I could never go for a walk, just couldn't do that. I could go for a jog, and enjoy that, but I could never just go for a walk and look at the daisies. I could go out and photograph the daisies, but I just couldn't go look at them.

I: How come?

R: I just don't know, I just wouldn't do that...I have to feel I'm doing something.

I: When you get sick with a cold or the flu, how do you react?

R: Terrible, a real wimp. I go to bed, but I feel very useless, I don't do it very well...I can't do anything so it becomes a very frustrating exercise, and I've tried but it just doesn't work.

I: People often talk of settling down as something that happens sometime after age 30. Does that have any meaning for you?

R: No, I think that my life has not been one of turmoil to begin with so I don't think I've settled down. I think it's pretty much the same thing I practise - I operate the same now as I did at 30, not a big change in my lifestyle.

The respondent finds it difficult to tolerate non-productive periods, or leisurely relaxation. Illness is a time of helplessness, and loss of usefulness. He does not see his lifestyle or values as having changed in the past 15 or 20 years. The excerpt merits a score in the high range on *Conventional* (7 would be appropriate).

Example CNP3:

I: What are your main goals and interests now, and are they different from what they were 10 or 20 years ago?

R: No they're not much different...I guess the only change is that now we have the money, the wherewithal, time and interest to travel and do whatever we want really, whereas before we didn't. I'm getting close to thinking about retiring, so I just want to retire with a good pension, that's my goal right now (laughs). To get as high up the ladder as possible, that's pretty much everyone's goal...but I think my goal right now is just to stay healthy, finish my time, and move one more level up...

I: Have there been significant people or events over the years that have helped shape you?

R: No, I think I'm responsible for what I am. I wasn't particularly close to my parents, and I'm responsible for what I am for better or for worse...No big events that I can think of off the top of my head that made any big changes in my life.

I: Do you set aside time for yourself?

R: No, I don't, because I enjoy the pleasure of my wife's company so we do most things together...we think alike, and that's really comfortable. Don't misunderstand me, we don't see one another constantly - for instance, last night she was out to a movie with her girlfriend, and a week ago she was down in the USA with her sister, but mostly - we just do things together mostly...

The respondent assumes that other people's career goals are similar to his own, and is looking to maximize his pension and "finish my time" before retiring some years hence. He spends most of his time with his wife, a very like-minded individual. A score in the moderate range on *Conventional* (e.g., 6) would be appropriate.

Example CNP4:

I: Do you set aside time for yourself?

R: I try. I jog in the mornings, at that time of day there's nothing else pressing on your time, not work or family. So that's one reason why I did it in the morning. With a house full of kids I couldn't expect to come home from work and take an hour or two to myself every evening. So the morning is my time and it doesn't inconvenience anyone else.

I: Do you ever experience nonproductive periods?

R: We all do, unless we're not totally honest. I don't feel happy about them...unless I'm doing something, being productive, I don't feel good about myself. Those would be the times if I looked in the mirror I wouldn't like what I saw. I believe I'm paid by my company to do a job, and if I'm not productive I'm not happy about that. There may be reasons why I'm not productive at that particular time and I'll look to see what they are, and how I can change them and turn it around.

I: How's your health generally?

R: Very good. I don't get sick, it's not allowed. The last time I took time off work was three years ago...I don't believe in letting little things like colds and the flu stop me. You work through them.

i: People often talk of settling down as something that happens sometime after age 30. Does that have any meaning for you?

R: I guess it could mean a routine, establishing a lifestyle. I think that evolves naturally. I think that for most people there are changes...yeah, I believe that people become more stable at a certain time...

The respondent expresses a moderate degree of involvement and tolerance. Although non-productive periods are uncomfortable, his attitude seems reflective as well as reactive. He does not slow down for illness because it doesn't fit into his notion of how he should be operating. Score in the moderate range on *Conventional* (i.e., 6), and at the upper end of the low range on *Generative* (i.e., 3).

Example CNP5:

I: What are your main goals and interests now, and are they different from what they were 10 or 20 years ago?

R: I golf three times a week - it's good for business, but I also just go by myself. I want to travel, that hasn't changed. Work is not number one - I do it now because I have to make a living, that's different too. With small kids, you're keeping long hours, and I've never had a long break. I need a year or two off - I'll have to find a sugar daddy (laughs)...It was different 10 years ago. Then I wanted to own 5-6 properties. I'd like to quit smoking...I knit, and I garden - as long as you're busy, you're ok, it's when you get stuck watching tv, that's where women get into problems. It's a really negative medium.

I: Have there been significant people or events over the years that have shaped you?

R: My family, mainly, my mom. I have a strong attitude about family, and we were a very outgoing family.

I: Do you set aside time for yourself?

R: Yes. I don't exercise, but I should. I play bridge, golf, garden, knit. You should learn bridge, if you like cards at all, it's a great game...

I: Is it important to have that kind of time?

R: Very important. I could never be a total workaholic - people who do that are missing something in life. You have to have a balance.

I: Do you ever experience non-productive periods?

R: Yes, and I don't like it. I need to be doing something all the time, or I become depressed. Even if it's a hobby. I can't sit idle. I'm very interested in all sports, I play slow-pitch, and I'm an avid hockey fan...I have a boarder, he doesn't understand kids. While they're at home, mom still does 90% of the work. I do all the cleaning and ironing, although I don't clean her room...It's not worth screaming and hollering over - she'll have to find out for herself what it's like after she leaves...It's a wonderful thing, children, a headache sometimes, and an expense, but really wonderful. I don't think anyone should be much past 30 to have kids...

In this excerpt as well, there seems to be a moderate amount of tolerance and involvement. Although she states that relaxation time is important to her, she also acknowledges that she cannot sit idle, and seems to take on most of the housework. Golfing is a way of combining business and pleasure, suggesting a slight leaning towards *Agentic* (although not worth more than a 2 on that scale). A score of 6 on *Conventional*, and 3 on *Generative* would be appropriate.

Example CNP6:

I: Do you ever find that you have non-productive periods?

R: Oh, absolutely. When that happens, I think about my priorities. So I write down a list, and I think to myself, now what has to be done by such and such a date. And sometimes I think - oh, there's so much to do I can't get anything done. And so - my mother's advice, and I guess I give it to my daughter now as well - is do what you can do today, and get that out of the way. And tomorrow do what you can do. And now, I don't find that I am non-productive so much, except my housework. I'm a terrible housekeeper - I used to be absolutely immaculate. I used to wash the floors every day. But now it's not a high priority. Except that it bothers me. So it still must be a bit of a priority. Now I want to make enough money that I can get a housekeeper in. Because I feel that if there's free time, I should be off doing something. I think I should be spending more time with my daughter.

I: How's your health generally?

R: Pretty good, except that I'm overweight. I used to have my weight down because I'd watch it. So I feel guilty about that.

I: When you get sick, say with a cold or the flu, how do you react?

R: Sometimes I have a bit of a flu bug, but mostly...I guess, I really try to work anyway. Except if I'm too dizzy to drive. Then I don't go. If I get that bad, my eyes hurt, and I'm dizzy and I don't want to drive the car. I think alot of it is mental, not all of it, but alot of it - if you think you're sick, 'oh, I don't want to go to work today', it won't take very long before you convince yourself you can stay home.

Again, a moderate amount of tolerance and involvement is expressed. The respondent acknowledges some discomfort around housecleaning, and guilt about her weight, although not to an excessive degree. Unless incapacitated, she continues working, and believes that if she makes a conscious decision to work, then usually she will be able to. A score of 6 on Conventional would be appropriate.

General Comments:

The *Conventional* prototype is primarily role-bound or culture-bound, and is most concerned about taking care of "his own kind". He has internalized relatively inflexible criteria by which he measures appropriate child-rearing practices and occupational goals, and tends to assume that others espouse or ought to espouse his set of values. He is the keeper of tradition and the status quo. Security and control are likely important to him.

Stagnant

The *Stagnant* individual is characterized by low vital involvement and, generally, low tolerance with respect to self and others. He may exhibit high tolerance; however, this will be in the form of a laissez-faire attitude rather than a thought-out position. There is a feeling of little movement, little give to the world or satisfaction with oneself.

Preceding psychosocial resolutions are often fairly evident in the case of *Stagnant*. Identity diffusion, in the form of vague self-definition, is a frequent theme in interview responses containing high levels of stagnation, and these individuals also often seem quite isolated from others. Laissez-faire tolerance most typically characterizes the individual's approach to caregiving generally, and involvement may seem rather purposeless and inconsistent. These respondents rarely pose rating difficulties.

In other cases, a respondent may appear to have firmer personality "structure", or self-definition, while maintaining a largely *Stagnant* approach to generativity issues. These individuals tend to display low rather than laissez-faire tolerance, and may express some desire for involvement. However, these intentions are more likely thoughts of action rather than actual action. In terms of rating, the challenge with these respondents is to distinguish between the *Conventional* and *Stagnant* voices. Level of involvement, more than tolerance, will often be the deciding factor in determining the strength of affiliation with *Stagnant* and *Conventional* profiles, as intolerance is a feature of both status profiles. *Conventional* implies definite, genuine involvement, through expression of concern, and at least a modicum of action taken towards that concern. For responses to reflect *Stagnant* rather than *Conventional* attributes, there will be limited activity beyond the minimum required to live and function.

Careful application of the scoring criteria will assist raters in similarly identifying and distinguishing *Agentic* and *Communal* voices from that of *Stagnant*. In extremely rare situations, the interview may seem to merit a moderate score on both *Generative* and *Stagnant*. Although highly unusual, these evaluations should not be discarded because of their seeming incompatibility, but rather scored as observed.

Work:

If he is working, there is little investment of personal energy in the work, coworkers or staff. Work may be "busywork", to fill time, or work in which no real joy is taken.

Example SW1:

I: So you're into something new now. How important is that to you?

R: Not terribly, as long as it continues to be interesting. And at some point in time, if I feel I can earn a living, and it's something I enjoy doing, well, I will continue. But if on the other hand, either of those change, then I wind it down. I thought I'd give it a year, then I'd evaluate. If it's indicated that I should go on, then I will. If not, I won't.

I: When you were involved in your previous work, how did you feel about it?

R: My work wasn't all that important, and maybe that's one of the reasons I wound it down. The making and acquiring of money was important. And it was a good means of going about that. And I acquired quite a bit. I suppose I achieved all the goals I set out to achieve...financial success, and I found it very wanting, very dry. So I sold the business, started to look around for other means to achieve or to find peace of heart, which had escaped me to that point..I devoted alot of time to the pursuit of status. I don't know if power's the right word. Certainly financial security, but not just

security, more. In some ways validation. Through the acquisition of things, it was a way of keeping score, a measurement of where I fit in the social scheme of things...The making of money was fine, but not in a quiet way. I had to do something that was significant enough that people could see it as an accomplishment. Maybe that was even more important. Something I had put a mark on, on the landscape.

In this example, we see clear indicators of stagnation, with some evidence of previously more *Agentic* approach to generativity issues. There is no genuine commitment to his new career direction, and disillusionment with his former pursuits.

Example SW2:

I: How do you feel about the work that you do?

R: It's near the bottom of priorities. If it weren't for the money, I wouldn't miss it, although I like the people.

I: What is it about the people that you like?

R: Oh, my boss isn't like a "boss-boss"; everyone knows what you're supposed to do. I go ice skating with others in the office in the winter. It's a good place to work.

I: Do you feel that you've accomplished or are on your way to accomplishing your career goals?

R: No, I'm not on my way to accomplishing my career goals. I wanted to teach Yoga in my basement, but I had a car accident and so I'm back to step one. I'm still hoping though. If I'd known what was going to happen to my life, I would have gone into business machines. More opportunity for jobs than in stenography.

I: What are your most valued accomplishments?

R: Staying physically active, I guess. Being a mother, keeping up with different things. I haven't accomplished very much right now.

I: What is it about being a mother that you find rewarding?

R: Oh, I'm not sure...just seeing them grow up, I guess.

I: How do you react when someone questions your authority?

R: I don't use my authority, I don't have any authority. I don't tell anyone what to do. (long pause) I would listen, maybe I'm wrong, then I'd change it. But if I didn't agree, I didn't agree. To each his own, you know.

The tone of this excerpt is uniformly vague and empty. The respondent is unable to indicate, other than in a most superficial way, why she enjoys working with people, and provides no real sense of what others in her life might be like. She sees herself as having limited authority, and appears to deal with conflict in a passive manner.

Example SW3:

I: What kind of work do you do?

R: I've been self-employed most of the last 10 years in accounting.

I: How do you feel about the work that you do?

R: At times, I'm bored, but other than that I'm happy.

I: How important is your work in relation to other areas of your life?

R: It's not very important. I enjoy the freedom of self-employment, it doesn't matter when I start or stop something as long as the work gets done.

I: Do you feel that you've accomplished your career goals?

R: I don't have any goals, things just seem to happen for me...I'm not unhappy, I have a fairly nice lifestyle. (pause) I'm not trying to achieve anything or be anything workwise. I'd rather just enjoy what time I have.

I: How do you react when someone questions your authority?

R: Ok. (long pause) That's hard to answer. It wouldn't come up at work, and my daughter - she's of an age where she doesn't question. When she was younger, I would get upset. I'm not sure how I'd react - probably get a headache. I tend to walk away from confrontations, not too good at arguing or fighting, I don't like it.

The respondent is not engaged in her work. She seems rather aimless, avoids confrontation or demands on her authority, and tends to somaticize her distress. She does not include others in her responses, nor does she seek for herself avenues of greater fulfillment.

Example SW4:

I: How do you feel about the work that you do?

R: I like it. I'm learning all the time. Teaching fills most of the things I like in a job. It's pretty much the major thing in my life right now.

The excerpt begins with an expression of some involvement in the respondent's work, in terms of what it brings for him.

I: How would you describe your relationship with your coworkers?

R: It's cordial; we could cooperate more, but we're in touch almost daily. It's pretty easy-going. (pause) I find teaching a solitary profession, you're in class with the students. Getting this job was a real achievement, but it could go on for 20 years with no advancement. It isn't leading anywhere, and while there are little niggles of discontent that will have built up and need some attention down the road, I don't plan a change in the foreseeable future. I'd like to move more in the direction of people-oriented things.

A later question tells a somewhat different story: the respondent feels unconnected with his students and "stuck" in his position. He does not see his teaching work as people oriented, and possibly believes that his difficulty connecting with others lies with his career.

Example SW5:

I: Do you feel that you've accomplished or are on your way to accomplishing your career goals?

R: No (laughter, then long pause). I didn't have any - it was always an 'as it came' situation, nothing really defined. When I started getting more into directions, I started getting the 'too old' messages from the company. That kind of puts you off - I know the company's going towards people younger than I, and I know it's difficult to move anywhere at my age in the company so I just want to get out, when I get out I want to set myself back into the same income I'm at now, probably working for myself, maybe real estate, or owning my own business, I'm not sure; it's not defined yet. Right now my job just fills in time that would have to be filled in otherwise, and it brings in money.

I: What are your most valued accomplishments?

R: Survival (burst of laughter). That's a tough one (pause). I couldn't put my finger on anything that I really value in terms of accomplishments - I've just been comfortable most of my life, got along with people most of the time, nothing stands out.

I: How do you react when someone questions your authority?

R: (laughs) Depends on how - generally, I'm fairly passive and maybe a little self analytical in terms of am I right or not. I get a little angry inside, try not to let it become a major thing and explode outside but...probably I react fairly passively.

This respondent appears to have some specific ideas about how to improve his work experience, although further probing would be necessary to discover how concrete these are. His job has become a way to fill time, he can see no accomplishments in his life beyond survival, and he reacts passively to confrontations.

Example SW6:

I: How important is your work to you, in relation to other areas of your life?

R: It's not important, not as important as it should or could be. I'm a fairly social person and my social happiness is as important as my work happiness. If I live here I have to make a decision about my career - the area I work in has got good potential but it's not in this city.

I: How would you describe your relationship with your boss?

R: He's an easy-going guy, no problems.

I: You mentioned that you have employees reporting to you. How would you describe yourself as a boss?

R: I've changed, mellowed a bit, as I've gone through life, I've become a bit more flexible, easier to get along with, not as demanding. There may have been frictions, but basically I just explain to people what I can and cannot do, and that solves the problem.

It is difficult to determine the level of vital involvement and tolerance here, because the respondent does not provide a great deal of information; however, he appears to minimize problems and does not include others in his responses. Further probing is needed to distinguish between *Conventional* and *Stagnant* leanings. Later questions revealed that he has been ambivalent about his job for many years and that his relationships with others tend to be highly superficial and avoidant of intimacy. There are no indications, in this excerpt or later, that the respondent is involved in the development of others or sees himself as an individual possessing skills from which others might benefit.

Community:

He is not interested in politics or social movements, except perhaps to voice his discontent with the way things are managed. He does not express a responsibility to take any action or to promote the growth or well-being of the community. He may feel he lacks knowledge about what young people need, or be somewhat broadly disparaging.

Example SC1:

I: Are there any political or social issues that you feel strongly about or get involved in?

R: I'm a little bit removed from the area of politics. I'm not apolitical. There's not a hell of a lot I can do about conditions, political conditions. Social issues, again, I'm not unaware of social issues facing us today - probably the one I'm most interested in is the aspect of the environment. I'm very aware and concerned about our responsibility there. Insofar as being active and doing anything about it, someone in a better position than I could influence. I voice my concerns. So that is, it's not something - I'm not rabid about it, but I'm concerned.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: I perceive today there's a tendency to indulge young people for some reason, and I think that that contributes a great deal to a lack of purpose and a sense of not being, really cared for, and not belonging, not fitting in, and kicking up their heels and doing the funny things that they're doing...I get the feeling that young people today generally are saying, well, what the hell, we don't have a hell of a long time here, anyway, so who cares, who cares?

In this example, we see aimlessness and a lack of self-definition; in terms of generativity, the individual appears to have few resources to assess what others might need from him, or how to approach generativity issues on the community level. One gets the sense that the respondent is referring to himself, in terms of lack of purpose and belonging, as much as he may be referring to young people generally.

Example SC2:

I: Are there any social or political issues that you feel strongly about? And do you get involved?

R: I don't know what you mean...I feel strongly about love, joy, peace, contentment...if everyone loved everyone the world would be a better place. I'd like to have more laughter out there.

I: Do you do any volunteer or community work?

R: Not now. I went through that when my kids were growing up...up through that period, brownies, guides. Now...I make food for my women's group; they ask you to bring goodies, it's a service you do. They have juice after the meeting, and one or two people bring the food for that night. They'll ask you to bring flowers, to hostess.

I: What drew you to doing the volunteer work with brownies and guides?

R: It's actually quite boring...it's something you feel you should do, because your kids are in it.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: More touch, loving, caring. Bring spirituality into the schools, help them deal with problems that come up. (pause) Am I answering these questions right?

This individual offers vague cliches in response to the questions. Volunteer work consists of bringing food as assigned to social meetings. There was little genuine involvement with previous volunteer commitments, merely a sense of obligation. The respondent is uncertain of what is being asked of her. This is also a frequent characteristic of individuals with a strongly *Communal* orientation, although *Conventional* also sometimes has difficulty with the open-ended nature of the questions. Probing could be undertaken to obtain a fuller sense of the degree of affiliation of this respondent with the *Communal* profile. However, this excerpt suggests a strongly *Stagnant* resolution in the community area, and any *Communal* leanings would likely be low to low-moderate, inconsistently present, and lacking in vitality.

Example SC3:

I: Are there any social or political issues you feel strongly about?

R: (heavy, dramatic sigh) Politics, as with everything else, annoys the hell out of me. I could go ranting and raving on about this, that and the other; social issues, I don't know...I suppose if one were to get into a specific discussion about something I could hold a discourse with you, on women's rights, or native affairs, or TAXES (his emphasis) - taxes really drive me right around the wall. When I get my T4 slip and see what I've contributed to the nation and I still haven't got the Order of Canada yet ...I get very easily bothered by things, read something in the paper, or overzealous religious people, right to life people, sitting outside abortion clinics having to be dragged away by police who have better things to do...now that really just steams the hell out of me, you can go pray and be religious all you like but don't shove it down my throat...

I: Do you do any volunteer or community work?

R: I was out selling poppies the other day; yeah, do that every year for the legion. I don't get involved with big brothers and all that kind of thing though.

I: What draws you to selling the poppies?

R: I just respect what these people did for us during the war, and it's the least I can do is raise money for the legion, it does good work, and through my heavy drinking I may contribute to their coffers so they can buy a detox centre, or some hospital...I can't say

I'm a great one for getting out there with big brothers and that, no, not too involved, but I might give someone a hand here and there, though not in an organized fashion.

I: Can you give me an example?

R: Don't get me wrong, or nothing...some old fellow wants a ride home from the legion, I'm happy to run him home, but I'm not out there in the community...

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: A good smack in the ear (laughs). Well I think they need parents who do them a bit more of a favour; we see alot of them in our job, loutish, ill-mannered, ignorant, couldn't care less, it's all pervasive. Of course there are the good ones, young ladies who dress sensibly, the young lads who look decent when they're going to school, but I don't know what it is, but I tend to see - not that I'm looking - tend to see an awful lot of ignorance out there, couldn't care less attitude, but that's the parents. I don't know, I could spend the whole day trying to lecture the little bastards, but if it's not coming from home...I shudder when I get a load of young kids on the bus, I'm very intolerant, I try to ignore it, because I know if I start, I won't stop, but I don't allow myself to be around them at all.

In this excerpt, the respondent shows low involvement in and tolerance for others. Attempts to probe for specifics, and to get beyond his caustic sense of humour, confirm that he is minimally committed to assisting others. He mentions a heavy drinking habit; in itself, this is not indicative of stagnation, but his cavalier attitude towards his substance use suggests possible low tolerance and involvement for self.

Example SC4:

I: Are there any social or political issues you feel strongly about?

R: (pause) I used to be more politically attuned when I was younger; as I get older, I'm not - a few, one is - I'm doing alot of kayaking now, I've seen alot of the clearcutting, and I can see why alot of people are agitated with forestry, because...one issue is better controls, I'm not a believer that there's the proper conservation.

I: Do you get involved?

R: No. In recent years I haven't pursued any political activities or joined any political parties, which I used to do in the past. Partly it's because as a civil servant, you have to keep a lid on your political involvement.

I: Do you do any volunteer or community work?

R: No, not really.

I: Have you ever done in the past?

R: No.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: Good question...not being a parent, that's a hard question...(pause)...that one's difficult, I don't know, the ones I meet from school here at work in our coop program seem well adjusted to me, they've got their act together. I don't know if that's true across the board or (pause)...difficult question, I can't answer it.

Although the individual expresses some concern over environmental issues, there is no action taken towards that concern. While he is somewhat hampered in this by the requirements of his job, further questioning reveals a consistent lack of involvement in the community generally. He seems puzzled at what young people might need, and does not attempt the question for any length of time.

Example SC5:

I: Are there any social or political issues you feel strongly about?

R: Well, I think abortion should be up to the person and their doctor. I'm concerned about all the wars in the world. And we should do something about the people who are starving in South America.

I: Do you get involved in social or political issues?

R: I've often thought about it, but I'm too involved trying to do my crafts - it's enough for me to handle. I'm doing my best now, and I want to keep going...Mom's alive at 97, and if longevity is in the family, I've got to do something...

I: Do you do any community or volunteer work?

R: No. We just do the best with what we've got.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: They need things to do. If things don't work out, it's because of their rebellious nature. They'll get in with the wrong crowd if they don't have attention, though. They won't understand when moms don't have time - you can't afford to be tired; you've got to pay attention, get involved with them.

In this excerpt, although the dominant voice is strongly one of *Stagnant*, there are elements of *Communal*, and possibly *Conventional* as well. There is little involvement with others, and she seems to be trying to find things to do with her time, but is exhausted by the process. Her thoughts on young people are vague. There is a underlying tone of desperation in her responses; life seems to stretch forward unendingly for her. She is not involved in social, political, or community issues, but is rather just trying to survive herself, and unsure of her ability to do so.

Example SC6:

I: Are there any social or political issues you feel strongly about?

R: Our government needs to do more about providing lower class housing - there are so many single parents, we need to give the women a break; the men come off smelling like a rose. I don't think any man is paying child support what it would cost them if they were living in a house, taking the kids on holidays, maybe buying them a computer - that's certainly the case for me, anyway...The Goods and Services Tax is a

big joke too - how do they justify these things? Last year I got parity wage but they didn't take enough off, I encouraged the kids to work, and now I owe \$1200 in taxes which I don't have. There's something wrong with the whole system.

I: Do you get involved?

R: No, I don't. I should have done something earlier - we're really held at ransom.

I: Do you do any community or volunteer work?

R: Starlight theatre called me recently, but I had company. It's a two way street, I help them out but basically I get to see the shows for free. I help organize in the ticket booth.

I: What drew you to doing that volunteer work?

R: Oh, a friend from Toronto phoned me and said we'd have to join. And I canvas for the Cancer Society.

I: What drew you to doing the canvassing?

R: Someone phoned me and said would you mind - I don't know how these people get your name.

I: What do you think young people today need?

R: I don't know - they have so many things - everything is organized for them, they don't have to use any imagination. Of course, tv is a big problem; my kids are always saying 'I'm bored' - I don't know what the answer is. When I was growing up we had to amuse ourselves - played games, baseball, now everything's organized. I really don't know what the answer is.

There is a tone of bitterness throughout this excerpt. The individual evidences extremely low tolerance for others, and shows little involvement with her volunteer work beyond what it can do for her. She is quite disparaging about young people and gives the impression of helplessness with her own children. Because there is some involvement in volunteer activities, a score at the high end of the low range on *Conventional* may also be considered.

Family:

There is a sense of isolation from the family. Family activities are likely to be those of the *Stagnant* individual's preference, or he may simply "go along" with what's happening. He may be unsupportive or indifferent to children's choices and directions.

Example SF1:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your children?

R: Well, not bad. My eldest daughter is in San Francisco, so we talk every week or two, and we have developed a close relationship, a close, trusting relationship, from a distance. The kids here...I'm not satisfied, I'm not happy with what I've been able to

share with the two here. From the point of view of being a father. Or as an example, what I'm trying today to make up for, what I couldn't or wouldn't or didn't, or whatever, do in the past. That's the relationship. I'm told that they're really fond of me, but sometimes I find I really don't understand...

I: What kinds of things do you do with them?

R: I take my boy fishing. I used to do alot of fishing, I still go fishing, although I like to go hunting, I like to camp. It's interesting, you know. It just seems times change, and you're not aware of it yourself, to find things out, to develop a certain reverence for life...But anyway, I took them hunting, fishing, and so on, whatever they'd like to do. We're evolving, our relationship - with my son it's still somewhat touchy-feely, feeling our way and trying to trust...let me give you an example. He got a job recently. He's been a bum - I shouldn't say that. He hasn't worked a great deal. There was a time not long ago, when if he had got a labouring type job, I would have been on his back, in some way pushing him to advance himself more. Now I was quite proud of myself, this time, he told me and I said, son, I'm delighted. I think it's a construction job. And there was an interesting response. He said, dad, I'm delighted you're delighted. I use that as an example of how they help me grow.

In this excerpt, the individual expresses dissatisfaction with the relationship he has developed with his children, and regrets about his past involvement with them. He refers to his adult son as a boy. The respondent has considerable difficulty supporting his son in work decisions. He appears more concerned about what his children can do for him than what he can do for them.

Example SF2:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your children?

R: I really don't know how to describe our relationship...disappointing, heartbreaking at times, definitely a sore point in my life. When my marriage broke up, my relationship with my kids broke up...

I: What kinds of things do you do with them?

R: I'm good with kids, babies, and dogs. I help, I looked after the baby when my daughter moved, and I cleaned. I go at a slow pace but I get things done. I do whatever they ask.

I: How do you feel you've influenced their lives?

R: I was always there at night. Everything was clean, they had good meals, someone to chat with. They're on their way.

I: How do you feel about being single now?

R: (long pause, heavy sigh) You've hit me going through a phase. I need to learn alot and grow alot. I feel ok about being single. I'm mad at myself for not seeing things in my marriage, for putting up with things that weren't satisfying. My marriage ended six years ago, and I've had a new relationship since then - now I have anger and grief over the two. I should have seen what was going on.

This individual is clearly dissatisfied with her relationship with her adult children, and her activities with them seem confined to the performance of small tasks, as directed, to assist them. There is a pervasive sense of loneliness and puzzlement about how to contribute to others in ways that are meaningful both for her and for them. Intimate relationships are not fulfilling, and the *Communal* theme of self-sacrifice is present in all her descriptions of interpersonal interactions. However, the limited energy she appears to have for others precludes more than a low score on the *Communal* dimension scale (eg., a 3 would be appropriate), while the rating on the *Stagnant* scale should be in the high range.

Example SF3:

I: How do you feel about not having children?

R: Feel? If I had the opportunity I would do it still.

I: Are there any young people or children that you are close to?

R: No, I don't think so.

I: It's just something you'd like to do?

R: Well, that's a possibility, I would never want to close the door on it, but it's different being a man than being a woman, when a woman gets to my age, biologically the door is shut but for a man it's a little different.

I: Are you in a relationship now?

R: No, but if I could find the right person...

I: Do you have friends you are close to, spend time with?

R: A group of friends, yeah.

I: How would you describe your relationship with them?

R: I'm trying to think...I have my watering holes, and my acquaintances there, so some of these people are friends, I see them on a regular basis, so those are the people I would usually sit down and talk politics with, or sports, relationships, whatever, life in general, so yeah, I have a fair amount of people to talk to - I guess shoot the shit with, that's the word, but talking true friends...close friends...ummm...let's see there's one, another one, sort of share mutual interest in social type things...I've got good friends but not friends that I confide in. I don't confide...well, I'm not the type of person that tells everybody what their problems are, keep some of that in, I think that's true for most people...

I: Are there any relatives or friends that you're particularly concerned about these days?

R: No, my parents have passed away, and an uncle died just recently; everybody's pretty well bitten the dust...just one aunt left, got some relatives in the USA but everyone's doing ok. My immediate family's narrow, I have a brother and sister back east.

Although he says he'd like to have children, probing reveals considerable ambivalence, and no connection to other young people. His interpersonal relationships seem superficial and he keeps himself distant from intimate exchanges. There are no indications that he extends himself for others, or for his own development.

Example SF4:

I: How do you feel about not having children of your own?

R: I don't miss it. I don't think I had a great paternal instinct. Maybe it has something to do with my upbringing. I had a very disparate family, the great family thing was not the deal. No, I don't miss it, I don't look at other people and say gosh aren't they lucky they've got kids. It doesn't affect me one way or another. I'm very neutral about that.

I: Are there any young people or children that you're particularly close to?

R: So far as people being younger than me, yes, I know a few, but I think - as you get older...you know, my brother was six years older than me for the longest time but now he's the same age as me. But I don't mix with young kids. Friends of mine who've got older teenage kids, I get on well with them, but only because I know the parents and therefore I know the kids.

I: Do you spend time together just you and them?

R: No, because I don't get to see them that often, I can't say, well I'll take the boys and you go off and we'll do something, like go to an ice hockey game, no nothing like that.

I: Are you in a relationship now?

R: Yes, I have a lady friend, we don't live together or anything. But for the time being, we're together. I have had relationships that don't seem to work out terribly well, I'm hard to get along with, and the longer I'm single the tougher it is for the next young lady that comes along to...I'm very comfortable with my own company, close the door and pull the phone off the hook and I could stay there a week. My present lady is very understanding, she doesn't crowd me but she certainly would like more.

I: How often would you see her, in a week, say?

R: Oh, maybe five or six times in a week. In terms of spending alot of time, maybe two to three times in a week, she might come down for an hour and sit with me, then go home again. Maybe twice a week we'll make a day of it.

I: Are there any relatives or friends that you're particularly concerned about these days?

R: I've got a brother in Seattle, yeah, I'm concerned about him, life to him seems to be something of a battle, he's married, but...just never seems to get it all together, oh, he's doing alright, but I just wish sometimes that he'd be a little more organized in his life. I'm concerned to a degree. I don't see alot of him, although he's only a few hours down the road. A good friend of mine has recently been through some heartache with a ladyfriend who turned out to be an absolute viper - I'm concerned that he keeps his chin up and doesn't do anything stupid - not that he was emotionally overwrought,

he was very angry about some stuff that happened...I worry alot about everyone else - far more I make sure you're alright you - need a buck here's a buck. Always been my downfall in relationships with women, they see me coming. But I am concerned about other people's wellbeing, if I'm alright everybody else's going to be alright, I've always been that way, always giving pocket money to beggars, so always been that way inclined towards people but can't say I get overly consumed by it, it hasn't been all that close to me.

One wonders, in the last portion of the excerpt, whether or not the respondent is seeking to place himself in a good light with the interviewer, rather than expressing genuine concern about others. There appears to be little real commitment to others, and he is vague about helping behaviors. He shows no genuine interest in family issues, and his girlfriend has to accommodate his needs. Note, however, that he actually spends considerable time with her, despite his assertions about independence, suggesting that he is possibly more vulnerable in interpersonal relationships than he lets on.

Example SF5:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your children?

R: Good, not as close as many because I didn't have the knowhow to put it together. I remember saying to my daughter, 'I don't know how to achieve what I see other moms doing' - they say it's natural, I say it isn't, it isn't happening for me. But it's probably better than many - I've been straightforward and honest, and they've always been their own people so they haven't had trouble cutting the apron strings.

I: How do you feel about the way they've developed, the direction they've gone in?

R: Very happy, they're doing quite well.

I: Have they gone in directions you would have expected?

R: Oh, the eldest did much better than I expected, now very much a career girl. But I don't think I had expectations - it's their life, not mine, these are their choices. You support them, perhaps knock them into shape...My youngest, basically she had grand ideas of mother funding her through Harvard last year (laughs), 'no, mom isn't selling her house and she's not putting you through Harvard - we'll bypass that one'.

I: How do you feel you've influenced their development?

R: By being who I am, and saying this is my right, which gives you the right to be who you are. I expected them to be honest - the whole truth, because one little lie and I fall on my face...

Although there appears to be some involvement in her children, the respondent brushes off her daughter's request for help in financing her education, and shows no genuine concern about what her daughter's goals might be or how these could be attained without causing financial hardship for the respondent. Tolerance is more laissez-faire than punitive or restrictive.

Example SF6:

I: How would you describe your relationship with your teenage son?

R: Not good. I have no control over my son - he's a loner, lazy, unmotivated. He argues about everything. Sometimes I want to walk out...It's always a hassle at the dinner table too...I'll be glad when he leaves - he's too hard on the nerves. Although he's not doing drugs or stealing - yet. He's at an age where he doesn't want to be bothered with mom and dad - kids nowadays have no respect for their elders - no way would I have talked to my parents the way he talks to me.

I: How do you feel about the direction he's going in?

R: He seems to be growing up so fast - it's kind of sad in a way. You can't tell kids anything anymore...it bothers me that the family structure is eroding, and my son won't have the ties with relatives that I have had. My son is missing all those wonderful times with family gatherings.

I: How do you feel you've influenced his development?

R: I stayed at home with him when he was younger - then I had a job and could see him off in the morning and be back after school...I'd like to see him have a religious education - I believe I failed him there when he was younger, but lately I've asked again and he didn't seem opposed so I'll have to go and see about it with the minister and maybe start going in the fall. But if it's a hassle every Sunday then I'm not going to do it.

There are both *Conventional* and *Stagnant* tones in this excerpt, although *Stagnant* clearly predominates. The respondent offers glimmers of involvement, but then backs off, and seems unable to really make a commitment. She appears to harbour considerable guilt and frustration with herself, in terms of what she has been able to provide for her son.

Personal Concerns:

Stagnant comes across as lethargic, and may be apathetic about taking care of himself. He tends to dwell on the past, often with regrets. Personal values and philosophy may be expressed, but often in vague terms, with little indication of how they would be translated into action.

Example SP1:

I: What are your main goals now, and interests?

R: I would say growth, spiritual growth. Learning, expanding. I can't say on an intellectual basis, through the sense of the intellect - you expand in other ways, emotional, spiritual understanding, you could say seeking serenity. In a manner of speaking, not alone, because I don't think serenity is a full time deal. I think it's something...but it has to be part of everyday life to be enjoyed and to be appreciated. The conditions of life go on, regardless of what they may be, joy, sorrow, but misery is an option.

I: Have there been significant people or events over the years that have helped shape you?

R: Parents, I guess. Father. Relationships, the times there's a woman in my life. I've been married three times and had other significant relationships over time. This helped

shape my thoughts. Children. Events? Hmmm. Major successes and major failures. Both of them have been learning experiences.

I: How is your health?

R: Physically, pretty good, except for a bad back.

I: How do you handle that?

R: Not well. It's one of those things. You take it a day at a time. I just had a CT scan, and X-rays done, to decide if it's operable, and I'm inclined to think, if it's a viable option, I'll have the surgery. There's a lot of things I want to do. I ride motorcycle, and love to go sailing - it's frustrating to have my activities curtailed.

I: When you get sick, how do you react?

R: Like a baby. I get frustrated. For example, two weeks ago I was flat on my back on the carpet for ten days. I couldn't move, my back was in bad shape, that was right after I moved into this new apartment. And right after I moved, I went on a five day motorcycle trip. And at the end of the day, I couldn't get off the motorcycle. Stuck. Finally got in a motel for a day and a half...massages, hot baths, and I had visions of taking the bus back and having the motorcycle shipped. But I got back. The back just continued getting worse, and I ended up for ten days lying here, and I just about went nuts...I got emotionally strung out near the end.

I: Umhm. That sounds like a really difficult experience. (pause) People often talk about settling down as something that happens sometime after age 30. Does that have any meaning for you?

R: I'm inclined almost to think that that's a kind of social imposition.

I: In what way?

R: It's almost like you have a licence to be free and enjoy life up to 30 and then all of a sudden it's got to stop. I think you should go on and continue to do the things you enjoy in life for as long as you can do them...I guess it's because there are so many sort of traditional, social dictates that we fall into, and I don't buy it. Screw settling down, or slowing down, at 30 or 40 or 50. Get out and live. So far as I know, this is not a dress rehearsal. A one shot deal. Get as much out of it as you can.

The respondent has difficulty taking care of himself and accommodating his physical limitations. Although he expresses an interest in spiritual pursuits, his description of his efforts seems vague, and ill-formed. Although he mentions others, they are rather peripheral and shapeless to the interviewer.

Example SP2:

I: Do you ever experience non-productive times?

R: I don't know if I've produced much of anything. I think I could do a lot more. I'm reminded of a cartoon: 'If I don't get off my ass and do something soon I'm going to die'. I feel like I'm going to have to get doing something soon...I've had setbacks, disappointed myself, which is ok, I don't mind being disappointed, that takes us back

to the beginning - whether I should go into this or this or keep working part time and start - whole plan of going about things...maybe I've had enough lonerism, solitude - it's a big change - I can see myself in the picture whereas before I couldn't.

I: How's your health generally?

R: As I sit here my back's aching. I've always been athletic, but now I have disc problems and they don't know why. I've always ignored pain but I can't right now. It will never heal, they say. Today was difficult at work. I didn't want to let on because there's no point - I took a kid to a park, and part of my connection is picking them up in and out of the bus to get them to trust me. One kid is really overweight, puts a big strain on my back...

I: People often talk about settling down as something that happens sometimes after age 30. Does that have any meaning for you?

R: I don't feel that - I didn't think I would live to be 30 - I was a really bad drunk, living on borrowed time, and was supposed to have died of an incurable disease. I am not like other people. I am spiritual, I don't connect the same way other do - like you'd be hurt if your friend got killed in an accident. Well, I'd be hurt in the same way but would feel as if I wasn't all there - a very unusual state of things. Some people would call it a copout...alot of life never surfaces, you know.

Although there are *Communal* aspects to this excerpt, there are also clear indications of stagnation. The respondent seems isolated and unsure of what impact he can have on the world. As we near the end of the interview, he mentions a serious back problem that is affecting him as we speak. His involvement with the children he works with, to the detriment of his physical wellbeing, suggests a score on the *Communal* dimension at the upper limit of the low end of the scale; if other information continues to corroborate this theme, then a higher score on *Communal* will be justified. This excerpt, however, warrants a score in the high range on the *Stagnant* scale.

Example SP3:

I: What are your main goals and interests now?

R: I'd like a better social life, more music - the theme I'm wanting to create is more music and love this year. These things have been in the back of my mind for so long, it's painful to look at them. I had a goal to be in this city, and I was ecstatic to get the transfer. I don't really have many major goals left; it's hard to say what my goals are. Some aspects of my work are boring; I'd like to change that.

I: Have there been significant people or events over the years that you feel have really shaped you?

R: People...a neighbour of mine was very influential as I was growing up. He always encouraged me to do my best and praised me. The people I work with are thoughtful, energetic, mature people...I had a good friend who really opened me up. Events...major illness a few years back - that was thought provoking. I was in a stressful job, was going along a dull route - why wasn't I going for the things I wanted?

The respondent has some global objectives this year that involve more happiness. However, as the interview continues, it becomes apparent that these have been long-standing goals and that he has had difficulty for years making progress with them. It is difficult, from this excerpt, to determine the level of involvement with or tolerance of others; more probes may help determine the extent and quality of their involvement in his life.

Example SP4:

I: You mentioned that your son's family might be moving up north?

R: Yes, it'll be difficult but I'll manage, because the main thing in my life right now is my grandson. I'll visit, but...I sure wish I'd spent the time with my children as they were growing up. I support my son in making the move to improve their lifestyle of course, and it's rapidly becoming impossible here to make a living for someone without high school education, so...unless you have a fair amount of money you have to be prepared to rent for the rest of your life. After my marriage broke up and we sold the house in the interior, I haven't tried to buy anything out here...I would maybe be interested in trying to get transferred in my own department and maybe out to the Fraser Valley, or some smaller area.

I: Is that something that you're working towards?

R: Yeah, I would say so.

I: Are there other goals you're trying to reach as well?

R: Well, my daughter and I keep looking in the paper for business opportunities, hoping in vain, because I think it's in vain, that something will come up there,. I'd like to run a little country store up there, I know it sounds silly but I think it would be neat...have a little lunch counter, something like that, nothing concrete, but I have no money, so that's not a very realistic goal. But my daughter and I, we talk about it - before it was kind of a pipe dream but now that my daughter's right here, it's become more of a...not just reading in the paper for business opportunities, it means really pursuing it, and I think when I start doing that I realize how little I have behind me, what have I got to do that with, and that's kind of bothered me recently...I'd like to purchase a small piece of property, I could maybe manage that, buy a trailer, that's just - a foggy area out there, but I find that I don't try to look forward too much now, used to always think well eventually I'll do this or that, trying right now to enjoy the time right now.

This individual clearly has some involvement with her grandson, and the rest of the interview might provide more detailed information regarding the quality of this involvement, as well as with her family generally. She regrets that she did not spend time with her children as they were growing up, and will likely be somewhat at a loss if her son moves out of town, as she appears to be building much of her life around her grandson. Although she has dreams for herself, the proximity of her daughter has forced her to realize that these are unlikely to occur, and she seems to have little conception of how she would actualize the changes she would like in her life.

Example SP5:

I: Do you ever experience non-productive times?

R: Oh definitely, lots of times. Lots of times I have to make myself do things, or meet deadlines or whatever. I work much better, as I'm sure most people do, under pressure. But a lot of the time I feel quite unproductive.

I: How's your health generally?

R: Good, excellent. Last year I had cancer totally out of the blue, but I am healthy and fit, I had surgery and came out of that, and as far as I'm concerned it's over and done with. That's a closed chapter in my life. I was born fit, and I play tennis, but I don't really work at it, I don't particularly watch what I drink or eat; I'm fortunate that I've never had a weight problem.

I: If you get sick with a cold or the flu, how do you react?

R: I rarely get anything, but if I have a cold, I feel very sorry for myself, and I like being looked after, sounds ridiculous I know, but I do. If I get a cold, I think poor me, and I am looked after by my husband, but if it's the reverse (laughs) - I'm just - well take an aspirin, and get on with it. Which isn't very nice but that's how I am.

Example SP6:

I: Do you set aside time for yourself?

R: No, I can't - I can't even take a bath without my daughter wanting something. Go outside and play, I used to say, when she was a kid - next thing she's in the bathroom with the neighbourhood kids. Let me have a bath in peace.

I: Is it important for you to have time for yourself?

R: Yeah, especially when I've been working. I just want to say hello and have a few minutes of peace, but she pounces - 'I haven't had any supper, what are you making?' Hell, I'm not making anything, at your age...It's just constant, then at 11:00 p.m. she'll come in with homework problems - she's a master harasser - just pushes the button all the time. I do go out more often than I used to, although I do feel a bit guilty, maybe I should be at home with her, but then I tell myself she's old enough to look after herself.

I: Some people talk of settling down as something that happens sometime after age 30. Does that have any meaning for you?

R: No. I felt settled when I got married. I hate the feeling of uncertainty that, now that I'm single again, maybe I won't be able to keep the house. Let the government take care of me, why should I work two jobs just to pay all this income tax? People abuse the system all the time - more immigrants create more taxes for services. If I'm not worried about me, nobody else will. Why should I be thankful that my ex-husband makes his payments? She's his daughter too - too bad men can be such shits about it. Life isn't fair. You lose your ambition to get out of the hole when the government takes it all away... Like, I would like to have a holiday, nice things other than just surviving, but who's going to provide that? My daughter wants her driver's licence, 'I'll use your car mom' - oh, no you won't. If you put gas in, maybe. But I can just see a whole other big set of problems, the cost of insurance...White people are being

beaten out of jobs and places to live by the Chinese - more and more are getting in, it's such a drain on society...

General Comments:

Stagnant is inactivated in generative concerns. There is a pervasive sense of impotence in his life, and inconsistency or contradictions in responses, particularly in statements of well-being, which often sound cliché. Others figure only peripherally.

GENERATIVITY RATING SHEETS

Date: _____ Rater: _____ Participant: _____

W O R K										
Vital Involvement										
Self	Active Concern	Responsibility	Reliability	Overall score						
Others	Active Concern	Responsibility	Reliability	Overall score						
Tolerance										
Self	Authority	Expectations	Caregiving Scope	Overall score						
Others	Authority	Expectations	Caregiving Scope	Overall score						
Prototype Ratings (circle one for each prototype)										
	Generative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Pseudogenerative-Agentive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Pseudogenerative-Communal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Conventional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Stagnant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

C O M M U N I T Y										
Vital Involvement										
Self	Active Concern	Responsibility	Reliability	Overall score						
Others	Active Concern	Responsibility	Reliability	Overall score						
Tolerance										
Self	Authority	Expectations	Caregiving Scope	Overall score						
Others	Authority	Expectations	Caregiving Scope	Overall score						
Prototype Ratings (circle one for each prototype)										
	Generative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Pseudogenerative-Agentive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Pseudogenerative-Communal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Conventional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Stagnant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

GENERATIVITY RATING SHEETS

Date: _____ Rater: _____ Participant: _____

F A M I L Y										
Vital Involvement										
Self	Active Concern	Responsibility	Reliability	Overall score						
Others	Active Concern	Responsibility	Reliability	Overall score						
Tolerance										
Self	Authority	Expectations	Caregiving Scope	Overall score						
Others	Authority	Expectations	Caregiving Scope	Overall score						
Prototype Ratings (circle one for each prototype)										
	Generative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Pseudogenerative-Agentive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Pseudogenerative-Communal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Conventional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Stagnant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

P E R S O N A L										
Vital Involvement										
Self	Active Concern	Responsibility	Reliability	Overall score						
Others	Active Concern	Responsibility	Reliability	Overall score						
Tolerance										
Self	Authority	Expectations	Caregiving Scope	Overall score						
Others	Authority	Expectations	Caregiving Scope	Overall score						
Prototype Ratings (circle one for each prototype)										
	Generative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Pseudogenerative-Agentive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Pseudogenerative-Communal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Conventional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Stagnant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

GENERATIVITY RATING SHEETS

Date: _____ Rater: _____ Participant: _____

O V E R A L L										
Vital Involvement										
Self	Active Concern	Responsibility	Reliability	Overall score						
Others	Active Concern	Responsibility	Reliability	Overall score						
Tolerance										
Self	Authority	Expectations	Caregiving Scope	Overall score						
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	Pseudogenerative-Communal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Conventional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Stagnant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

FINAL STATUS RATING: _____

Comments: _____

APPENDIX B
Demographics Questionnaire

1. How old are you? _____
2. What is your marital status? _____
3. What is your educational background? _____

4. *How many years of formal school training have you had? _____
5. What is your occupation? _____

6. Do you have any children? _____ If yes, what are their age(s) and
gender? _____

*Time 2 only

APPENDIX C

Generativity Status Self-Report

Instructions: Please read each of the following descriptions, then indicate which one you think MOST resembles you.

Style 1:

I am quite involved in the growth of young people, my chosen work, and building the future of society. I see myself as a guide to young people, because of my general life experience, and because of particular skills I have learned. Other peoples' ways of doing things are interesting and educational to me, even when I don't choose to copy them. I take care of myself, and I balance my leisure and work activities with time for family and friends.

Style 2:

I feel a strong sense of responsibility for leadership. I have important goals I am trying to accomplish that require a high level of focus and commitment. I bring the resources of others together to work on a common project, and I prefer to just stick to the task in my relationship with them. Sometimes, I try to do so much that I am spread a bit thin. I really don't have much time for leisure, and my friends and family often have to take a back seat to other priorities.

Style 3:

I am a real people person, and I enjoy helping others. I make myself available for others as I am needed, even though that often requires me to put aside my own concerns. I like to take a supportive rather than leadership role generally, except when it comes to decisions about what is best for those I care about or feel responsible for. In those situations, I put my full resources at their disposal, and I like to know that they appreciate my concern and efforts.

Style 4:

I work hard to provide for those I care about, and to build security for my family. I take an active role in community issues of particular concern to myself or social groups I belong to. When in a position of authority, I feel responsible for helping others make good career and life decisions, through giving them my opinion on what they should do. Usually, time-tested ways are best, and young people need firm guidance in making the right choices in life.

Style 5:

I am currently rather withdrawn from involvement with other people, and work isn't usually where I get my main satisfaction in life. I do not seek opportunities to teach other people what I've learned from life - I'd rather just "do my own thing". It seems to me that society's values are all wrong, but I'm not sure I'm the person to fix things. I often wonder if I've made the right decisions for myself in life.

Please circle the style that most resembles you. **CIRCLE ONLY ONE STYLE.**

Style 1

Style 2

Style 3

Style 4

Style 5

APPENDIX D

The Loyola Generativity Scale

Instructions: The following questions are presented in the form of statements. We would like you to indicate how often each of these statements applies to you.

Circle "0" if the statement never applies to you.

Circle "1" if the statement only occasionally or seldom applies to you.

Circle "2" if the statement applies to you fairly often.

Circle "3" if the statement applies to you very often.

1. I try to pass along the knowledge I have gained through my experiences.
2. *I do not feel that other people need me.
3. I think I would like the work of a teacher.
4. I feel as though I have made a difference to many people.
5. *I do no volunteer to work for a charity.
6. I have made and created things that have had an impact on other people.
7. I try to be creative in most things that I do.
8. I think that I will be remembered for a long time after I die.
9. *I believe that society cannot be responsible for providing food and shelter for all homeless people.
10. Others would say that I have made unique contributions to society.
11. If I were unable to have children of my own, I would like to adopt children.
12. I have important skills that I try to teach others.
13. *I feel that I have done nothing that will survive after I die.
14. In general, my actions do not have a positive effect on others.
15. *I feel as though I have done nothing of worth to contribute to others.
16. I have made many commitments to many different kinds of people, groups and activities in my life.
17. Other people say that I am a very productive person.

18. I have a responsibility to improve the neighborhood in which I live.
19. People come to me for advice.
20. I feel as though my contributions will exist after I die.

* Indicates reversed scoring.

APPENDIX E

The Ochse and Plug Erikson Scale

Instructions: The following questions are presented in the form of statements. We would like you to indicate how often each of these statements applies to you.

Circle "0" if the statement never applies to you.

Circle "1" if the statement only occasionally or seldom applies to you.

Circle "2" if the statement applies to you fairly often.

Circle "3" if the statement applies to you very often.

Subscale 1: Trust vs Mistrust

1. *I feel pessimistic about the future of mankind.
11. I feel I will achieve what I want in life.
21. *When I am looking forward to an event, I expect something to go wrong and spoil it.
31. *I feel people distrust me.
41. I feel the world's major problems can be solved.
51. *I feel low spirited (depressed).
61. I am filled with admiration for mankind.
71. *I feel there is something lacking in my life.
81. People can be trusted.
91. I feel optimistic about my future.

Subscale 2: Autonomy vs Shame and Doubt

2. *I have a feeling that I would like to "sink through the floor" or become invisible to those around me.
12. When people try to persuade me to do something I don't want to, I refuse.
22. *After I have made a decision I feel I have made a mistake.

- 32. *I am unnecessarily apologetic.
- 42. *I feel someone will find out something bad about me.
- 52. *I worry that my friends will find fault with me.
- 62. *I feel frustrated if my daily routine is disturbed.
- 82. When I disagree with someone I tell them.

Subscale 3: Initiative vs Guilt

- 4. *I feel guilty when I am enjoying myself.
- 14. I am prepared to take a risk to get what I want.
- 24. *I feel hesitant to try out a new way of doing something.
- 34. When I compete with others I try hard to win.
- 44. I am confident in carrying out my plans to a successful conclusion.
- 54. I am curious or inquisitive.
- 64. I make exciting plans for the future.
- 74. I feel what happens to me is the result of what I have done.
- 77. *When I have difficulty in getting something right, I give up.
- 84. I enjoy competing.

Subscale 4: Industry vs Inferiority

- 5. I make the best of my abilities.
- 15. *When people look at something I have done, I feel embarrassed by the thought that they could have done it better.
- 25. *I lack the energy to get started on something I intend to do.
- 35. I get a great deal of pleasure from working.
- 45. *I lose interest in something and leave it unfinished.
- 55. *I feel too incompetent to do what I would really like to do in life.

- 65. I feel the thrill of doing something really well.
- 72. *People think I'm lazy.
- 75. *I avoid doing something difficult because I feel I would fail.
- 85. I feel competent.
- 89. I have a sense of accomplishment.

Subscale 5: Identity vs Identity Diffusion

- 6. *I wonder what sort of person I really am.
- 10. *People seem to change their opinion of me.
- 16. I feel certain about what I should do with my life.
- 20. *I feel uncertain as to whether something is morally right or wrong.
- 26. Most people seem to agree about what sort of person I am.
- 30. I feel my way of life suits me.
- 36. My worth is recognized by others.
- 40. *I feel freer to be my real self when I am away from those who know me very well.
- 46. *I feel that what I am doing in life is not really worthwhile.
- 50. I feel I fit in well in the community in which I live.
- 56. I feel proud to be the sort of person I am.
- 60. *People seem to see me very differently from the way I see myself.
- 66. *I feel left out.
- 70. *People seem to disapprove of me.
- 76. *I change my ideas about what I want from life.
- 80. *I am unsure as to how people feel about me.
- 86. *My feelings about myself change.
- 90. *I feel I am putting on an act or doing something for effect.
- 93. I feel proud to be a member of the society in which I live.

Subscale 6: Intimacy vs Isolation

- 7. *I feel that no-one has ever known the real me.
- 17. I have a feeling of complete "togetherness" with someone else.
- 27. *I feel it is better to remain free than to become committed to marriage for life.
- 37. I share my private thoughts with someone.
- 47. *I feel as though I am alone in the world.
- 57. Someone shares my joys and sorrows.
- 67. *I feel nobody really cares about me.
- 87. *I feel embarrassed when people tell me about their personal problems.

Subscale 7: Generativity vs Stagnation

- 8. *I feel that, in the long run, children are more a burden than a pleasure.
- 18. *Young people forget what one has done for them.
- 28. *I feel that I have done nothing that will survive after I die.
- 38. I help people to improve themselves.
- 48. I enjoy caring for young children.
- 58. *I feel my life is being wasted.
- 68. I enjoy guiding young people.
- 78. I have a good influence on people.
- 88. I do something of lasting value.
- 92. *I take great care of myself.

Social Desirability Subscale

- 3. *I hide the fact that I have made a mistake.
- 9. I am completely honest with everybody.
- 13. *I compare myself favourably with someone else.

19. I am equally polite to everybody.
23. *I take a dislike to someone.
29. I am able to like people who are unkind to me.
33. *I criticize someone behind his or her back.
39. *I feel that someone is less worthy than I am.
43. I have kind thoughts about everyone.
49. *I am pleased when people get into the trouble they deserve.
53. I see only the good in people.
59. *I feel jealous when someone succeeds where I have failed.
63. I consider others before myself when making a decision.
69. *I tell a lie when I want to get out of something.
73. I am glad when people point out my faults.
79. *I exaggerate when I describe someone's faults.
83. *I try to impress people.

*Indicates reverse scoring.

APPENDIX F

NEO-Personality Inventory: Openness to Experience

Instructions: For each statement below circle the response to the right which best represents your opinion.

Circle "0" if you strongly disagree or the statement is definitely false.

Circle "1" if you disagree or the statement is mostly false.

Circle "2" if you are neutral on the statement, you cannot decide, or the statement is about equally true and false.

Circle "3" if you agree or the statement is mostly true.

Circle "4" if you strongly agree or believe that a statement is definitely true.

Facet Scale 1: Fantasy

1. I have a very active imagination.
4. *I try to keep all my thoughts directed along realistic lines and avoid flights of fantasy.
7. I have an active fantasy life.
10. *I don't like to waste my time daydreaming.
13. I enjoy concentrating on a fantasy or daydream and exploring all its possibilities, letting it grow and develop.
16. *If I feel my mind starting to drift off into daydreams, I usually get busy and start concentrating on some work or activity instead.
19. *As a child I rarely enjoyed games of make believe.
22. *I would have difficulty just letting my mind wander without control or guidance.

Facet Scale 2: Aesthetics

2. *Aesthetic and artistic concerns aren't very important to me.
5. I am sometimes completely absorbed in music I am listening to.

8. *Watching ballet or modern dance bores me.
11. Certain kinds of music have an endless fascination for me.
14. *Poetry has little or no effect on me.
17. I am intrigued by the patterns I find in art and nature.
20. Sometimes when I am reading poetry or looking at a work of art, I feel a chill or wave of excitement.
23. I enjoy reading poetry that emphasizes feelings and images more than story lines.

Facet Scale 3: Feelings

3. Without strong emotions, life would be uninteresting to me.
6. *I rarely experience strong emotions.
9. How I feel about things is important to me.
12. *I find it hard to get in touch with my feelings.
15. I experience a wide range of emotions or feelings.
18. *I seldom pay much attention to my feelings of the moment.
21. I seldom notice the moods or feelings that different environments produce.
24. I find it easy to empathize - to feel myself what others are feeling.

Facet Scale 4: Actions

25. *I'm pretty set in my ways.
28. I think it's interesting to learn and develop new hobbies.
31. *I like to follow a strict routine in my work.
34. *Once I find the right way to do something, I stick to it.
37. I often try new and foreign foods.
40. *I prefer to spend my time in familiar surroundings.

- 43. *On a vacation, I prefer going back to a tried and true spot.
- 46. *I follow the same route when I go someplace.

Facet Scale 5: Ideas

- 26. I often enjoy playing with theories or abstract ideas.
- 29. I enjoy solving problems or puzzles.
- 32. I enjoy working on "mind-twister"-type puzzles.
- 35. *I find philosophical arguments boring.
- 38. *I sometimes lose interest when people talk about very abstract, theoretical matters.
*I have little interest in speculating on the nature of the universe or the human condition.
- 41. I have a lot of intellectual curiosity.
- 44. I have a wide range of intellectual interests.

Facet Scale 6: Values

- 27. *I believe letting students hear controversial speakers can only confuse and mislead them.
- 30. I believe that laws and social policies should change to reflect the needs of a changing world.
- 33. *I believe we should look to our religious authorities for decisions on moral issues.
- 36. I believe that the different ideas of right and wrong that people in other societies have may be valid for them.
- 39. *I believe that loyalty to one's ideals and principles is more important than "open-mindedness".
- 42. I consider myself broad-minded and tolerant of other people's lifestyles.

45. *I think that if people don't know what they believe in by the time they're 25, there's something wrong with them.

48. I believe that the "new morality" of permissiveness is no morality at all.

*Indicates reversed scoring.

APPENDIX G

The Life Experiences Survey (modified)

Instructions: Listed below are a number of events which sometimes bring about change in the lives of those who experience them and which necessitate social readjustment.

Please check those events which you have experienced in the recent past and indicate the time period during which you have experienced each event. The time periods listed are 0 - 6 months ago; 7 months to a year ago; and 1 year to two years ago. Be sure that all check marks are directly across from the items they correspond to.

Also for each item checked below, please indicate the extent to which you viewed the event as having either a positive or negative impact on your life at the time the event occurred. That is, indicate the type and extent of impact that the event had.

A rating of -3 would indicate an extremely negative impact.

A rating of 0 would indicate no impact either positive or negative.

A rating of +3 would indicate an extremely positive impact.

1. Marriage
2. Detention in jail or comparable institution
3. Death of spouse
4. Major change in sleeping habits (much more or much less sleep)
5. Death of close family member:
 - a) mother
 - b) father
 - c) brother
 - d) sister
 - e) grandmother
 - f) grandfather
 - **g) child
 - h) other (specify)
6. Major change in eating habits (much more or much less food intake)
7. Foreclosure on mortgage or loan

8. Death of close friend
9. Outstanding personal achievement
10. Minor law violations (traffic tickets, disturbing the peace, etc.)
11. Male:wife/girlfriend's pregnancy
12. Female: pregnancy
13. *Change in hours or conditions in present job
14. *Promotion
15. *Reduction of responsibilities at work
16. *New job in same line of work
17. *New job in new line of work
18. Serious illness or injury of close family member:
 - a) father
 - b) mother
 - c) sister
 - d) brother
 - e) grandfather
 - f) grandmother
 - g) spouse
 - **h) child
 - i) other (specify)
19. Sexual difficulties
20. Trouble with employer (in danger of losing job, being suspended, demoted, etc.)
21. Trouble with in-laws
22. Major change in financial status (a lot better or a lot worse off)
23. Major change in closeness of family members (increased or decreased closeness)

24. Gaining a new family member (through birth, adoption, family member moving moving in, etc.)
25. Change of residence
26. Marital separation from mate (due to conflict)
27. Major change in church activities (increased or decreased attendance)
28. Marital reconciliation with mate
29. Major change in number of arguments with spouse (a lot more or a lot less arguments)
30. Married male: Change in wife's work outside the home (beginning work, ceasing work, changing to a new job, etc.)
31. Married female: Change in husband's work (loss of job, beginning of new job, retirement, etc.)
32. Major change in usual type and/or amount of recreation
33. Borrowing more than \$10,000 (buying home, business, etc.)
34. Borrowing less than \$10,000 (buying car, TV, getting school loan, etc.)
35. Being fired from job
36. Male: Wife/girlfriend having abortion
37. Female: Having abortion
38. Major personal illness or injury
39. Major change in social activities, e.g., parties, movies, visiting (increased or decreased participation)
40. Major change in living conditions of family (building a new home, remodeling, deterioration of home, neighborhood, etc.)
41. Divorce
42. Serious injury or illness of close friend
43. Retirement from work

44. Son or daughter leaving home (due to marriage, college, etc.)
45. Ending of formal schooling
46. Separation from spouse (due to work, travel, etc.)
47. Engagement
48. Breaking up with boyfriend/girlfriend
49. Reconciliation with boyfriend/girlfriend
50. *Immediate family member starts drinking heavily
51. *Problems related to alcohol or drugs
52. *Increased or decreased consumption of alcohol and drugs
53. *Infidelity of spouse
54. *Extra-marital sexual affair
55. *Increase in community involvement (volunteer work, politics, etc.)
56. *Decrease in community involvement (volunteer work, politics, etc.)
57. Other recent experiences which have had an impact on your life. List and rate.
 - 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.

* Items added from The Life Events Inventory (Cochrane & Robertson, 1973).

** Items added by the investigator

APPENDIX H

Inventory of Interpersonal Problems - Circumplex

Instructions: Here is a list of problems that people commonly report in relating to other people. Please read the list below, and for each item, select the number that describes how much of a problem that item has been for you.

Circle "0" for not at all problematic.

Circle "1" for a little bit problematic.

Circle "2" for moderately problematic.

Circle "3" for quite a bit problematic.

Circle "4" for extremely problematic.

1. Domineering

- 52. I try to change other people too much.
- 57. I manipulate other people too much to get what I want.
- 50. I try to control other people too much.
- 45. I am too aggressive toward other people.
- 44. I am too independent.
- 17. Hard to understand another person's point of view.
- 59. I argue with other people too much.
- 31. Hard to take instructions from people who have authority over me.

2. Vindictive

- 40. I fight with other people too much.
- 64. I want to get revenge against other people too much.
- 56. I am too suspicious of other people.
- 22. Hard to be supportive of another person's goals in life.
- 28. Hard to put somebody else's needs before my own.
- 1. Hard to trust other people.

- 24. Hard to really care about other people's problems.
- 31. Hard to feel good about another person's happiness.

3. Cold

- 27. Hard to give a gift to another person.
- 36. Hard to forgive another person after I've been angry.
- 16. Hard to get along with people.
- 11. Hard to make a long-term commitment to another person.
- 23. Hard to feel close to other people.
- 20. Hard to experience a feeling of love for another person.
- 15. Hard to show affection to people.
- 60. I keep other people at a distance too much.

4. Socially Avoidant

- 35. Hard to open up and tell my feelings to another person.
- 14. Hard to socialize with other people.
- 33. Hard to ask other people to get together socially with me.
- 7. Hard to introduce myself to new people.
- 55. I am too afraid of other people.
- 3. Hard to join in on groups.
- 18. Hard to express my feelings to other people directly.
- 62. I feel embarrassed in front of other people too much.

5. Nonassertive

- 39. Hard to be self-confident when I am with other people.
- 8. Hard to confront people with problems that come up.

- 5. Hard to let other people know what I want.
- 13. Hard to be aggressive toward other people when the situation calls for it.
- 12. Hard to be another person's boss.
- 6. Hard to tell a person to stop bothering me.
- 19. Hard to be firm when I need to be.

6. Exploitable

- 10. Hard to let other people know when I am angry.
- 25. Hard to argue with another person.
- 42. I am too easily persuaded by other people.
- 61. I let other people take advantage of me too much.
- 2. Hard to say "no" to other people.
- 34. Hard to feel angry at other people.
- 38. Hard to be assertive without worrying about hurting the other person's feelings.
- 53. I am too gullible.

7. Overly-Nurturant

- 28. Hard to let myself feel angry at somebody I like.
- 21. Hard to set limits on other people.
- 46. I try to please other people too much.
- 51. I put other people's needs before my own too much.
- 54. I am overly generous to other people.
- 63. I am affected by another person's misery too much.
- 37. Hard to attend to my own welfare when somebody else is needy.
- 49. I trust other people too much.

8. Intrusive

- 41. I feel too responsible for solving other people's problems.
- 43. I open up to people too much.
- 58. I tell personal things to other people too much.
- 4. Hard to keep things private from other people.
- 26. Hard to spend time alone.
- 30. Hard to stay out of other people's business.
- 48. I want to be noticed too much.
- 47. I clown around too much.