

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

U·M·I

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313 761-4700 800 521-0600

Order Number 9423177

**On being a bright and ambitious woman: Four voices from
upper management**

Dodd, Pamela, Ph.D.

The University of Michigan, 1994

U·M·I

300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

ON BEING A BRIGHT AND AMBITIOUS WOMAN:
FOUR VOICES FROM UPPER MANAGEMENT

by

Pamela Dodd

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Social Work and Psychology)
in The University of Michigan
1994

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Barry Checkoway, Co-Chair
Professor Robert G. Pachella, Co-Chair
Professor Elizabeth Douvan
Professor Don K. Harrison
Associate Professor Edith A. Lewis

To Chris, Kim, Meg, and Sara
and all the other women
whose intelligence and determination
continue to move them beyond
old boundaries

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Producing a dissertation is a monumental endeavor. When it is one which is unconventional by traditional academic standards, it is ever more so. What makes the effort rewarding, however, beyond the fact that it ultimately leads to a degree, is an unwavering commitment to an idea and support from others along the way.

My deepest gratitude goes to four professors who believed in me, even when I was unsure where I was headed. Jerry Starr first sparked my interests in psychology and sociology when I was an undergraduate at the University of Pennsylvania. At Michigan, Bob Pachella provided a welcome haven in his yearly cognition and perception seminar. Don Harrison was both a great listener and a gentle nudge-giver. And Barry Checkoway supplied much needed equanimity, supporting my ideas as they took shape over the years and helping me stay balanced whenever the road got bumpy.

Other who made a difference were Leonard Rico at Penn, Betty Schaub at Marywood College School of Social Work, and Edie Lewis, Libby Douvan, Beth Reed, Mary Lou Davis-Sacks, Peri Weingrad, and Carol Hollenshead at Michigan.

I am also grateful for the support I received from EDS Center for Advanced Research (CFAR), where part of this research was conducted while I was an employee. My thanks to Ron Hudler, Dave Bess, Marcial Losada, Palmer Morrel-Samuels, Beth Noble, Israel Porat, Howard Seidel,

Alex Ho, Rodney Humphrey, Kathy Faissal, and Cliff Elston for their assistance during the study, and to EDS for allowing me to use CFAR's group analysis software and providing me with a copy of the CFAR data.

This endeavor was also made easier by the encouragement and love of friends. Marie Kudrak lent me a transcription machine and her ear, both of which got heavy-duty workouts during the course of my research. Barbara Richardson, herself a PhD, saw me through nine years of graduate study, acting as both academic and personal sounding board. Tom Connellan, also a PhD, thought I was crazy to spend so much time on a dissertation, but he gave me love, laughs, tears and space, all necessary ingredients for a successful dual-career relationship.

My most uncompromising support came from the people who understood the doctoral process the least, my family. Words cannot adequately convey my thanks to my mother, Peg Bell, who was eager to see me succeed and generous with financial support when needed. My older son, Scott Sundheim, was a teenager during much of my graduate years, and no parent could have asked for an easier person to live with. While I was busy with my work, he was busy with his, and we never seemed to get in each other's way. My younger son, Doug Sundheim, who lived with his dad, shared my interest in things psychological in frequent long-distance telephone conversations. We learned through our separation that distance doesn't necessarily diminish love and understanding. As I see these two bright young men begin to make their way in the world, I hope my persevering at something that was important to me has rubbed off on them as well. If so, it will more than make up for all the years they joked about my cooking.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
LIST OF APPENDICES	xii
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of Topic and Question	3
II. PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE AND THE NATURE OF HUMAN EXPERIENCE	7
A Question of Metaphysics	8
Heidegger's Account of Being	15
The Ontology of Culture	29
Language and Meaning	34
Vygotsky's Approach to Language and Thought	39
The Dialogical View of Bakhtin	48
Summary	67
III. LITERATURE REVIEW	69
The Essential Self	72
The Agentic Self	76
The Narrative Self	91
Women and the Workplace	97
Summary	101
IV. METHODS	102
Study Participants	102
Procedures	103
Quantitative Data Collection and Analysis	107
Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis	112

V. RESULTS	115
Individual Portraits from Interviews	116
Sara Tolberg	119
Meg Smoczek	161
Chris Williams	196
Kim Russell	225
Results of Coded Meetings at EDS CFAR	258
Sara Tolberg's Meetings	259
Meg Smoczek's Meetings	272
Chris Williams's Meetings	294
Kim Russell's Meetings	308
Results of the Explanatory Style Questionnaire	328
VI. DISCUSSION	338
VII. CONCLUSIONS	359
APPENDICES	366
REFERENCES	416

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

2.1. Transmission of Information Model	38
5.1a. Frequency Table for Sara's Staff - Session 1	260
5.1b. Frequency Table for Sara's Staff - Session 2	260
5.2a. Average Behavioral Diagram for Sara's Staff - Session 1	261
5.2b. Average Behavioral Diagram for Sara's Staff - Session 2	262
5.3a. Group Eigensystem for Sara's Staff - Session 1	263
5.3b. Group Eigensystem for Sara's Staff - Session 2	263
5.4a. Individual Eigensystem for Sara's Staff - Session 1	264
5.4b. Individual Eigensystem for Sara's Staff - Session 2	264
5.5a. Group Interaction Diagram for Sara's Staff Session 1	266
5.5b. Group Interaction Diagram for Sara's Staff Session 2	267
5.6a. Frequency Table for Meg's Staff - Session 1	273
5.6b. Frequency Table for Meg's Staff - Session 2	273
5.6c. Frequency Table for Meg's Staff - Session 3	274
5.6d. Frequency Table for Meg's Staff - Session 4	274
5.7a. Average Behavioral Diagram for Meg's Staff Session 1	276

Figure

5.7b. Average Behavioral Diagram for Meg's Staff - Session 2	276
5.7c. Average Behavioral Diagram for Meg's Staff - Session 3	277
5.7d. Average Behavioral Diagram for Meg 's Staff - Session 4	277
5.8a. Group Eigensystem for Meg's Staff - Session 1	279
5.8b. Group Eigensystem for Meg's Staff - Session 2	279
5.8c. Group Eigensystem for Meg's Staff - Session 3	280
5.8d. Group Eigensystem for Meg's Staff - Session 4	280
5.9a. Individual Eigensystem for Meg's Staff - Session 1	281
5.9b. Individual Eigensystem for Meg's Staff - Session 2	281
5.9c. Individual Eigensystem for Meg's Staff - Session 3	282
5.9d. Individual Eigensystem for Meg's Staff - Session 4	282
5.10a. Group Interaction Diagram for Meg's Staff - Session 1	284
5.10b. Group Interaction Diagram for Meg's Staff - Session 2	285
5.10c. Group Interaction Diagram for Meg's Staff - Session 3	286
5.10d. Group Interaction Diagram for Meg's Staff - Session 4	287

Figure

5.11a. Frequency Table for Chris' Staff - Session 1	295
5.11b. Frequency Table for Chris' Staff - Session 2	295
5.12a. Average Behavioral Diagram for Chris' Staff - Session 1	297
5.12b. Average Behavioral Diagram for Chris' Staff - Session 2	297
5.13a. Group Eigensystem for Chris' Staff - Session 1	299
5.13b. Group Eigensystem for Chris' Staff - Session 2	299
5.14a. Individual Eigensystem for Chris' Staff - Session 1	300
5.14b. Individual Eigensystem for Chris' Staff - Session 2	300
5.15a. Group Interaction Diagram for Chris' Staff - Session 1	302
5.15b. Group Interaction Diagram for Chris' Staff - Session 2	303
5.16a. Frequency Table for Kim's Staff - Session 1	310
5.16b. Frequency Table for Kim's Staff - Session 2	310
5.16c. Frequency Table for Kim's Staff - Session 3	311
5.17a. Average Behavioral Diagram for Kim's Staff - Session 1	312
5.17b. Average Behavioral Diagram for Kim's Staff - Session 2	312
5.17c. Average Behavioral Diagram for Kim's Staff - Session 3	313
5.18a. Group Eigensystem for Kim's Staff - Session 1	314

Figure

5.18b. Group Eigensystem for Kim's Staff - Session 2	314
5.18c. Group Eigensystem for Kim's Staff - Session 3	315
5.19a. Individual Eigensystem for Kim's Staff - Session 1	316
5.19b. Individual Eigensystem for Kim's Staff - Session 2	316
5.19c. Individual Eigensystem for Kim's Staff - Session 3	317
5.20a. Group Interaction Diagram for Kim's Staff - Session 1	318
5.20b. Group Interaction Diagram for Kim's Staff - Session 2	319
5.20c. Group Interaction Diagram for Kim's Staff - Session 3	320
C.1. Coding Options card in GroupCoder [©]	371
C.2. Coding Form Card in GroupCoder (with coding entry)	372
C.3. Partial Merged Protocol from GroupCoder Loaded into GroupAnalyzer [©]	373
C.4. Frequency Table from GroupAnalyzer	374
C.5. Average Behavioral Diagram in GroupAnalyzer	375
C.6. Example of an Interactive Sequence - Lag 2 Minutes	377
C.7. Eigensystem for the Group in GroupAnalyzer	378
C.8. Eigensystem for Individuals in GroupAnalyzer	379
D.1. TAG Coding Form in GroupCoder	382
D.2. IT Task Coding Form in GroupCoder	384

Figure

D.3. IT Interaction Coding Form in GroupCoder	385
D.4. IT Content-Analysis Coding Form in GroupCoder	386
E.1. Example of a Group Interaction Diagram [©]	389

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix

A. Heuristic Inquiry	366
B. Physical Layout of the Capture Laboratory	369
C. The GroupAnalyzer System	370
D. IT Coding Scheme [©]	381
E. Group Interaction Diagram	387
F. Explanatory Style	390
G. General Interview Questions	402
H. Parents' Interview Questions - Sara Tolberg	406
I. Cognition and the Menstrual Cycle	407

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

My initial purpose in seeking a doctorate was to learn more about how people participate in meetings. After spending years attending meetings where little got done, I was curious to know what it is about these situations that contributes to repeated ineffective outcomes. I fully expected an interdisciplinary program in social work and psychology would allow me to figure this out.

After a year or so of coursework, however, all I had was lots of information, much of it contradictory, and a gnawing in my gut that belied a fundamental inconsistency between what I was learning about human behavior and my own experience. Unable to attribute my discomfort to anything specific, I redoubled my efforts to understand behavior in meetings by going beyond required work in social work and psychology to explore relevant topics in sociology, political science, anthropology, education, women's studies, and communications.

Alas, this new direction resolved nothing. My advisors, impatient with my "fishing expeditions," suggested that what I really should be doing is narrowing my focus to a clearly defined, already established area in psychology in which I could develop an expertise. Their reaction only increased my anxiety and left me wondering if indeed I had what it took to pursue a PhD. If no one could see the value in what I was doing, maybe I wasn't so smart after all. Moreover, my forays into other fields were only

confirming my growing suspicion that nowhere in the social sciences, least of all in psychology, was there a satisfactory account of what it means to be a human!

I was about to resign myself to enduring my unnameable, unresolvable predicament when I happened upon an annual seminar in cognitive psychology which dealt precisely with the issues that had long bothered me. There I learned about the philosophical bases of mainstream science and why what I had been learning about human behavior seemed incompatible with my understanding of experience as I lived it.

At about the same time I began to take a serious look at the philosophy of science, I noticed a curious phenomenon among my female classmates as they completed various milestones on their way to becoming full-fledged PhD's. With each success, many of them became more self-effacing. One would be extremely apprehensive as she worked on a project and utterly astonished when she completed it with honors, as if the outcomes she had achieved were a mystery that had little to do with any effort on her part. Another responded to my congratulations on successfully defending her dissertation by saying, "Thanks. Isn't it embarrassing?" Still others seemed to get constantly sidetracked, as if by gaining more experience and knowledge they would finally be worthy of a doctorate.

Looking back on my own academic successes, I was surprised to realize I shared many of the same misgivings as these other intelligent, competent women. For some reason we believed we didn't deserve what we'd worked so hard for, so we procrastinated, made light of our accomplishments and even put ourselves down. Along the way our self-confidence kept us bobbing like a yoyo, at times stretching us to our limits

only to unexpectedly snap us back in reflexive reaction to our having overstepped some unforeseen boundary beyond which it was unsafe to travel. Bright and ambitious by most outward standards, we harbored a dark and frequently unarticulated secret. We really weren't smart, this was all a hoax, and it was only a matter of time before everyone else found out.

Statement of Topic and Question

Disturbed by what I saw happening in myself and other competent women and eager to find new ways of understanding human experience which gibed with my own experience as I lived it, I decided the confluence of these two concerns would form the basis for my dissertation. My next steps were to find a group of women to study and an alternative conceptual base to the traditional American psychological view of experience.

In thinking about who I wanted to study, I was immediately drawn to women who had made it to upper management in large corporations. Although I didn't personally know any women in these kinds of positions, my reading about successful women in the workplace led me to believe they would be especially aware of being bright and ambitious. Learning how they have managed to succeed in a society which has historically privileged males has important implications not only for work organizations, but for the mental health and education fields as well. In addition, much stands to be gained from learning how women in management handle their personal lives, since many of them are wives and mothers with family responsibilities which often conflict with their work commitments.

Another reason for studying these women has to do with issues of diversity. As women's laborforce participation remains high and the numbers of native-born white male workers drops below 40 per cent (Johnston & Packer, 1987 -- the *Workforce 2000* report), "managing diversity" has become a top priority in many of the nation's business concerns (Geber, 1990). While numerous interventions have been developed to address diversity, many deal with differences at a very superficial level. Looking at the life experiences of highly-placed women seemed a way to broaden the thinking on how differences can be approached.

On a more personal basis, I wanted to use my two years of experience doing observational coding of meetings. Up to the time of this study, most of the groups I had observed had been led by men. I also hoped learning about these women's career pathways would help me understand my own late arrival on the work scene. Moreover, given my long-standing interest in the service sector and its rapid growth in the past few years, I thought it would be useful to focus on women in for-profit service industries.

Given these objectives, my question became: *What is the experience of being a bright and ambitious woman who holds a position in upper management in a large for-profit service organization?*

On a continuum of intellectual ability, I see bright falling somewhere between smart and brilliant. Many people are smart. People have to have "smarts" to be able to survive reasonably well on a daily basis. Few people are brilliant, that rare gift which allows one's thinking to outshine almost everyone else's. In between, however, a fair number of us are bright. We're the one's who fall near the top by most standards of

achievement and success. Because of our abilities, we tend to be ambitious as well. Unfortunately, when ambitious is used to describe an American woman, it usually brings to mind the scheming, greedy bitch, out to get her due, often by steamrolling over others without a second glance. Here, however, ambitious is used in its nonpejorative, literal sense -- as enterprising, energetic and enthusiastic.

My definitions of level of management and size of organization were fairly simple. I looked for women who held positions in the upper ranks of their organizations other than Chief Executive Officer. What constituted a large organization varied by industry; generally I looked for organizations which had no less than 1,000 full time employees and a hierarchal structure from CEO to non-exempt employees of no less than six levels.

My second task, finding an alternative to psychology's traditional view of experience, was more onerous, for it meant going beyond most of the literature with which I was familiar. Fortunately, I had already spent some time studying the ideas of German philosopher Martin Heidegger. Heidegger's thinking led me to two Soviets, developmental psychologist Lev Vygotsky and philosopher of language Mikhail Bakhtin. Together, these three European continental scholars offer a view of lived experience which provides a striking contrast to our American interpretation.

Before presenting the research, we take an important detour in chapter two to trace some of the assumptions in the history of philosophy which have contributed to our Western scientific view of human nature and experience. This provides a background for the second half of the chapter, which presents the perspective of Heidegger, Vygotsky, and Bakhtin (hereafter called HVB). Chapter three reviews selected literatures in psychology to show three ways the discipline has considered the self and

what this means for an understanding of women's experience. Moving to the actual research, chapter four outlines the multimethod approach I used to explore being a bright and ambitious woman. Although I am reticent to give this approach one overriding label, it is philosophically aligned with current postpositivist methods variously called postmodern, poststructuralist, feminist, naturalistic, humanistic, and heuristic. Chapter five then describes the results. Chapter six discusses the findings, and I end with conclusions in chapter seven.

CHAPTER II
PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE AND THE
NATURE OF HUMAN EXPERIENCE

. . . [O]ne cannot understand something unless one has an accurate account of what it is one is trying to understand. Thus, for example, if one thinks of man (sic) as a rational animal, solving problems and acting on the basis of beliefs and desires, as the tradition has done since Aristotle, one will develop a theory of mind, decision-making, rule-following, etc. to account for this way of being. . . (Dreyfus, 1992, p. 1).

Recently much has been made of the so-called "crisis" in psychology. Critics point to its institutional fragmentation into a multitude of unconnected subdivisions and its isolation from other behavioral sciences as major factors limiting its ability to create a coherent picture of humankind (Solomon et al., 1982; Cole, 1985; Harari & Peters, 1987; Mos, 1990; Sexton, 1990; Bruner, 1990; Kozulin, 1990; Wertsch, 1991; Radzikhovskii, 1991; Staats, 1991; Green, 1992; Boneau, 1992). While many reasons are offered for this current situation, few have suggested that it may stem in large part from the discipline's underlying philosophic orientation.

Because inquiry in psychology has traditionally begun with questions of epistemology, or how we know, the field has tended to focus predominantly on isolated aspects of individual functioning. However, when it is assumed that the fundamental question in studying humans is

not epistemological but ontological, or what it means to be, a radically different approach is needed (Vandenberg, 1991).

This chapter presents such an approach based on the thinking of Heidegger, Vygotsky, and Bakhtin. Its purpose is to explain an alternative way of thinking about experience which provides a broader context for addressing all kinds of issues, including epistemological ones. In section one, I focus on two philosophical paradigms -- Cartesianism and positivism -- which have had an enormous influence on contemporary science. Then in the remaining six sections I lay out the HVB perspective.

One caveat is important before we begin. Although this paper considers only bright and ambitious American corporate women, there is nothing about the HVB account *per se* which limits its applicability to particular geographic locations, groups of people, or areas of activity. What it attempts to address are those aspects of existence that are common to the human condition, regardless of its many cultural, economic, and political manifestations.

A Question of Metaphysics

Perhaps the most enduring philosophical questions involve what has been called the mind-body problem. Does the mind affect the body's activities, or is it the other way around? Tied with this are related questions of how we know anything at all. How do we understand what is "out there?" How do we understand each other? And how do we understand our own experience? The beginning of this dilemma can be traced to ancient Greece, when understanding moved beyond mythology to a more rational, systematic approach to knowledge. Plato believed the real

world existed in perfect and unchanging ideas, which were embedded *a priori* in the mind before birth. His student Aristotle argued that true knowledge came from knowing the causes of things (Frost, 1962). Both thought universal principles could only be discovered by detached reflection. These ideas persist today in our beliefs that 1) the way humans relate to things, including themselves, is by having a theory about them, and 2) being detached and objective is better than being involved and practical (Dreyfus, 1992).

A concerted interest in the natural world didn't blossom until the European Renaissance from the late 1400's to the late 1600's, when philosophic truth moved from explanations based on divine revelation and cosmology to the secularized study of political theory, humanism and physical science. Where in the Middle Ages the universe had been understood as hierarchical and divinely-ordained, during the Renaissance it became mechanistic, mathematically-ordered and empirical, or subject to verification by the senses.

Among the notable contributors to this new thought were scientific philosophers Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes, Galileo Galilei, Isaac Newton, and Rene Decartes, the father of modern philosophy. Despite differences among their philosophies, Bacon, Hobbes, Galileo, and Newton believed knowledge was derived from empirical demonstration. In contrast, Decartes believed that reason, the product of an innately rational mind, was far superior to the senses and that mathematics was the only means to absolute certainty and true knowledge about the real world. Contemporary science has become an amalgamation of these two perspectives, although Descartes has had by far the greatest impact.

Descartes based his philosophical system on the "cogito ergo sum" (I think, therefore I am), by which he used the centrality of thought to prove the existence of the I. Since it is impossible to deny one's own doubt, and doubt is a product of thinking, thought itself cannot be denied. To doubt that one exists therefore is a form of thinking which paradoxically proves one's existence (Sahakian, 1968, p. 135). Descartes believed, following Plato, that the *Cogito* was but one of many innate ideas which did not require empirical verification.

The Cartesian universe was overseen by an eternal, all-knowing God, the Creator of all things upon whom the two relative, separate and finite substances, mind and matter, depended. The primary attribute of matter was extension, or occupation of space. The primary attribute of mind was thinking, or consciousness. Although Descartes believed there was a connection between the mind and the body, he was never able to adequately explain how they interacted. What remains from his philosophy which has had the greatest impact on human thought and the development of science in the ensuing centuries is the dualistic split between the conscious, isolated, self-sufficient subject (*res cogitans*) and the objective particulars of nature (*res extensae*) (Heisenberg, 1958).

During the Enlightenment in the 1700's, Empiricism held sway, primarily in Great Britain, as John Locke, George Berkeley, and David Hume sought to show that knowledge is not innate but acquired. Mind according to these thinkers followed the ancient Greek idea of a *tabula rasa* waiting to be imprinted by the sense data of perceptual experience. For Locke and Berkeley, God remained the original source of all ideas. Hume, a Skeptic, saw no need for ultimate causes since he believed the individual consisted of mental activities brought about solely by sense

impressions. This period ended with the critical philosophy of German Idealist Immanuel Kant, who synthesized the Empiricist and Rationalist positions by denying metaphysical dualism. To Kant, even though we can act as if there is a phenomenal world where "things-in-themselves" exist apart from us, knowledge of the world can only arise from the impressions the mind receives from one's experiences and shapes into ideas according to its own nature (Sahakian, 1968, Holquist, 1991).

For two centuries beginning in the 1600's, philosophy and science were closely intertwined as an explosion of scientific discovery led to a concerted effort to codify rational scientific procedures. By the 1800's, most of this exploration was directed toward mapping the formal mathematical propositions of Newton's classical mechanical theory onto newly developing branches of science. However, Einstein's findings on relativity at the end of that century brought to a head long-term questions over the role scientific theorizing plays in making sense of events, processes, and phenomena in nature (Heisenberg, 1958; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1986). A movement to critically reanalyze classical mechanical theory was begun, primarily by those who identified themselves as Positivists.

Positivism evolved in stages, beginning in the Enlightenment with the Empiricist ideologies of Hume, French philosopher August Comte, and another Englishman, John Stuart Mill. Comte, the founder of classical positivism and the father of sociology, saw society governed by natural laws which were the only valid and practical explanations of events. Mill believed there was a uniformity to nature which made all phenomena subject to cause-and-effect relationships.

By the early 1900's, classical positivism reappeared in the work of Austrian physicist Ernst Mach, who thought the world, including the self,

was composed of phenomena which occurred in repetitive and ordered fashion. Knowledge became only that which could be verified by observable experience. Around 1924 positivism coalesced in Austria and Germany as logical positivism. The most well-known positivists were the Vienna Circle, a group of scientists and mathematicians founded by Moritz Schlick who met and published together, seeking to unify the sciences by adhering to a rigorous study of propositional semantics. In their approach, importance is placed on the logic of theoretical concepts and principles, the formal validity of scientific arguments, and the standardization of methods of inquiry. The only criterion of truth is verification by experimental observation, rendering propositional statements which do not meet this criterion (such as metaphysics) meaningless. With the rise of Nazism in the 1930's, the Vienna Circle broke up and many of its members moved to British and U.S. universities.

Today, our primary legacy from positivism and Cartesianism is a dualistic approach to scientific inquiry which assumes a fundamental, pre-given reality which can be separated into parts capable of being studied independently by observers who are isolated from the observed. According to this paradigm, to know means to perform operations with our sense organs on particular properties of reality which then become represented internally in our minds. Behavior is understood to arise from the information we extract from these mental representations. The ultimate purpose of science in this paradigm is to use a hypothetico-deductive net to experimentally test for the predictable essence of experience, the general laws believed to underlie existence (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990; Riger, 1992).

Although this approach enjoys wide support in both the natural and social sciences (indeed, to many it the *only* definition of science), lately many have come to question its applicability in the human sciences, including psychology. Their criticisms of positivism fall into seven areas; I have added an eighth:

1. It leads to an inadequate conceptualization of what science is by allowing verification to take precedence over discovery and by relying mainly on prediction and control (Bakan, 1974).
2. It is unable to deal adequately with the problem of convergence in induction and the "theory-ladenness" of facts (Kozulin, 1990).
3. It is overly dependent on operationalism and thus fails to deal with meanings or implications.
4. It is deterministic and reductionistic (Packer, 1985; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and ". . . attempts to make a world that remains invariant across human intentions and human place . . ." (Bruner, 1986, p.50; Mies, 1983).
5. It ignores the humanness of subjects and perpetuates a mystification between researcher and researched by emphasizing researcher-determined design, analysis and interpretation (Bakan, 1974; Oakley, 1981).
6. It cannot deal with emergent conceptual/empirical formulations from a variety of fields.
7. It assumes that scientific inquiry is value-free (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990). In actuality, however, all scientific theories and methodologies reflect the existing paradigms by which people come to know themselves and the world (Kuhn, 1962; Patton, 1990; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Often the main impetus for choosing one line of inquiry over another is the practical necessity of capturing the interest of the public and one's profession (Gouldner, 1970; Gergen, 1973; Bakan, 1974; Reinharz, 1983; Sherif, 1987; Sankoff, 1988; Ussher, 1992; Riger, 1992).
8. It assumes a reality where humans are distinctly separate from each other and from the world.

In the following six sections, a hermeneutic context of justification based on the primacy of ontology is presented through the ideas of

Heidegger, Vygotsky and Bakhtin. The HVB perspective gives a multi-dimensional picture of reality which acknowledges the inextricable relationship of individuals and the world. I begin in section two with a thumbnail sketch of Heidegger's account of being, an interpretation which flies in the face of our most cherished beliefs about reality. In section three I discuss what I consider to be the overarching theme of the HVB view -- Heidegger's contention that our cultural practices embody an ontology. By the end of that discussion, one can begin to see the importance of language, our primary mode of communication, to how we make sense of human existence. Section four steps back for a brief look at language and meaning since the study of linguistics began in the late 1800's. In section five, I present Vygotsky's sociocultural approach to mind, focusing on two areas of his experimental research -- the development of language and thought and adult-child interaction in learning. These discussions lead finally to Bakhtin's unique perspective on speech in section six.

Realizing the difficulty in presenting a concise, readable account of the thinking of three highly regarded scholars about whom volumes have been written, I used several criteria in deciding what to include as the HVB view. First, because this is a social science not a philosophy dissertation, I included what I thought was enough to do justice to the ideas of these men without getting involved in the current deeper assessments of their work. Second, I included what I thought would provide a solid theoretical base by which to fairly assess the experiences of the women in this study. And third, I included what I felt was necessary to honor my own nascent understanding of what it means to be. My intent is to be thorough but not tedious, to include enough so that the reader can

begin to understand how we might think differently about ourselves and the world in which we live.

Heidegger's Account of Being

The thinking of Martin Heidegger [1889-1976] has had an enormous impact on other highly-regarded philosophers, including Jean-Paul Sartre, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, Jacques Derrida, Hans-Georg Gadamer, Jurgen Habermas, Hannah Arendt, Richard Rorty, and Charles Taylor. Lately, with the publication of secondary interpretations of his thought, interest in Heidegger has also begun to extend beyond philosophy to applied fields such as medicine, nursing, law, computer science, management and education (Dreyfus & Hall, 1992). Still, there remains much about the man and his thinking which many find perplexing.

Part of the Heideggerian mystique arises from the dearth of information about his life. It is known he was born in southern Germany into a poor Catholic family at a time when rising German nationalism, liberalism, and growing Protestantism caused strong anticatholic sentiment. From age 14 to 17 he attended on scholarship a state-run preparatory school, boarding at a Catholic seminary. In 1909, when he was 20, he entered the Jesuit seminary, but switched to studying theology almost immediately and within two years quit these studies, allegedly because of poor health.

Heidegger's first published writing, in 1910, was on the inauguration of a monument to the 17th century Augustinian monk Abraham a Sancta Clara, an influential Catholic preacher of the Baroque era who was

an acknowledged antisemitic and xenophobic critic of contemporary moralism (Fariás, 1989). Over the next three years, Heidegger also published in a private publication of the Catholic Academic Association.

In 1917 he married a Protestant and began teaching theology at the University of Freiburg. About then he is said to have left the Roman Church over a papal decree requiring all clergy and those teaching Catholic philosophy and theology to take a vow against the modernist view of the natural experience of divinity. This turned out to be a wise move in light of subsequent political changes in Germany in the 1920's which shifted authority over appointments of university professors from the Church to the government (Fariás, 1989).

For the remainder of the 1920's and the early 1930's, Heidegger held university faculty appointments in philosophy, first at Marburg and then at Freiburg, where he replaced his mentor Edmund Husserl as chairman. Recently, an international controversy has surfaced over Heidegger's attempts at university reform during his ten-month tenure as rector of the University of Freiburg in 1933-1934 and his membership from then until 1945 in the National Socialist (Nazi) Party (see, for example, Fariás, 1989; Derrida, 1989; Neske & Kettering, 1990); Lyotard, 1990; Wolin, 1990, 1991; Bourdieu, 1991; Rockmore & Margolies, 1992; Rockmore, 1992). Heidegger's critics deny the possibility that his philosophical thought could have developed in a vacuum, given his Catholic roots and the authoritarian, antisemitic, ultranationalistic nature of German politics from the 1920's until the end of World War II (Fariás, 1989). The official view, however, is that Heidegger was a naive opportunist who, when he realized the true nature of the Nazi movement, removed himself from it and later criticized it. This apologist position, long defended in Germany

and given further credence by Heidegger himself through his silence on the matter during his lifetime, sees little or no connection between his thought and Nazism (Rockmore, 1992).¹

Following his departure from the Freiburg rectorship, Heidegger continued to lecture until 1944. As a result of de-Nazification hearings at Freiburg in 1945, which condemned Heidegger's involvement with the Nazi Party, he was stripped of his university privileges and denied emeritus status. However, this ban was rescinded six years later and he resumed lecturing until his retirement in 1959.

As a former convert to Judaism, I am especially sensitive to the current controversy concerning Heidegger's Naziism. So far, however, the debate offers no definitive conclusions. While not denying the seriousness of the matter, I realize all scholarly work is embedded in a cultural and social milieu where theoretical ideas and pragmatics cannot avoid interacting to provide grist for the rhetorical mill. Under the circumstances, I present Heidegger's ideas here because despite whatever shortcomings they may be said to have, I think they offer a more plausible explanation of human experience than does current American social theory.

In formulating his ideas, Heidegger was influenced by the early Greeks, particularly Plato and Aristotle, and by several 19th and early 20th-century philosophers, including Danish theologian Soren Kierkegaard and the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, the

¹Heidegger did offer explanations of his Nazi involvement which corroborate the "official" view in two texts published after his death. One is a 1945 article on his rectoral address, which appeared in 1983. And the other is a carefully orchestrated 1966 interview with the German newspaper *der Spiegel*, which was run in 1976, a year after his death, at his request that it be published posthumously.

founders of Existentialism; and German philosophers Wilhelm Dilthey and Edmund Husserl, the founder of Phenomenology. From these thinkers Heidegger devised a rich philosophical account of what it means to be, an account specifically intended not to be psychological but which paradoxically provides psychology with important insights into the nature of human "being" and reality.

According to Heidegger, we do not fundamentally understand ourselves, other people, and things epistemically, by having a set of theories about them. Rather we "know" ontologically, or through being. All entities have being; the human being way of being is "Dasein." In German, Dasein means both "everyday human existence" and "being there." However, as we shall see shortly, Heidegger does not intend Dasein to refer to a conscious, autonomous, transcendental subject.

Heidegger's main account of what it means to be is found in his most famous work, *Being and Time*, a ponderous and difficult tome in two sections which appeared in German in 1927 but was not translated into English until 1962. Division I of Part One describes the world and Dasein's absorption in it. And Division II of Part One covers Heidegger's existentialist thought and the issue of temporality. A proposed Division III of Part One and all of Part Two were never published. In his account of being, Heidegger used many made-up terms to overcome what he considered the mistaken ontology and epistemology of traditional philosophy and its influence on ordinary language. Many find this terminology disconcertingly obscure, even in the original German, and further clouded by incommensurabilities of translation.

In the United States, much of the work of interpreting *Being and Time* has been carried out in the last twenty-five years by Hubert Dreyfus,

a philosophy professor at the University of California, Berkeley, and a number of his students. For years Dreyfus's revised lecture notes on *Being and Time* circulated underground, finally surfacing in the long-awaited *Being-in-the-World* (Dreyfus, 1992).

In his book, Dreyfus limits his analysis to Division I because he considers it Heidegger's most important contribution and because he has serious reservations about Division II. Apparently, Heidegger had hastily added this latter part in exchange for receiving the German equivalent of tenure. In the years following publication of *Being and Time*, Heidegger shed more light on his thinking about being in numerous lectures and other published works. Dreyfus takes this later Heidegger into account as well, rendering his commentary more than adequate for my purposes.²

Dreyfus proposes we understand Dasein in a neutral way as "human being, that way of being that is [both] characteristic of all people [and] a specific person" (p. 14). Following standard practice he does not translate this word into an English equivalent, mainly because there is none. Dasein's essential way of being is its activity of existing, or "being-in-the-world." To understand what this phrase means, we need to look at its two constituent parts --"being-in" and "the world"-- although of course to Heidegger they are one.

²I am indebted to David Reed-Maxfield for his cogent explanations of Heidegger in his unpublished writing and to Peri Weingrad for her helpful comments on earlier versions of this chapter. To ease the flow of discussion in this section and the next, quotes from *Being-in-the-World* are followed by page numbers in parentheses (e.g., p. 52). Quotes from *Being and Time* are followed by two sets of numbers without the page designation "p."; the first, in parentheses, is the page number from the standard English translation (Heidegger, 1962; translated by Macquarrie and Robinson) and the second, in brackets, is the page number from the standard German. References to other works are cited in the conventional manner.

The Heideggerian world is not a Cartesian collection of objects with intrinsic properties located in an environment we call Nature (Leonard, 1989). Nor is it something we construct individually in our minds. Rather world is a shared background of commonsense, everyday skills and practices, a pervasive, all encompassing milieu in which we live like fish in water. As such, it is hidden (that is, undiscovered) and therefore never explicable, formalizable or representable.

Contrary to Descartes' epistemology, Heidegger says our primary mode of knowing is not by going around as detached observers, collecting information on the bits and pieces found in objective space and processing it in our heads. As a consequence, our activity can not be said to arise from a system of mentalistic beliefs, desires, intentions, etc.

Heidegger's opposition to this traditional view has much in common with that of Michael Polanyi [1962] and Thomas Kuhn [1970]. All three thinkers claim that the theoretical, disinterested knowledge that is correctly described in subject/object terms and has been held up as the best example of knowledge for the last 2500 years presupposes a practical and involved "know-how" that cannot be accounted for in terms of theoretical knowledge. According to these thinkers, theoretical knowledge depends on practical skills (p. 46).

Likewise, the "being-in" of Dasein is not to be understood in the Cartesian way objects are considered to be physically *located in* the world. Dasein's predominant way of being-in the world is not spatial but existential, where the preposition "in" means *involved with*. This is reflected in our saying that a person is in love, or in business, or in a bad mood.

From what we have been saying, it follows that being-in is not a "property" which Dasein sometimes has and sometimes does not have, and *without* which it could *be* just as well as it could with it Dasein is never "primarily" a being which is, so to speak, free from being-in, but which sometimes has

the inclination to take up a "relationship" toward the world. Taking up a relationship toward the world is possible only *because* Dasein, as being-in-the-world, is as it is. (84)[57].

Another way to understand "being-in-the-world" is as "being-amidst" or "dwelling-in." In treating Dasein's basic mode of being this way, Heidegger wants to privilege nonmental practice or "involved acting," (p. 50), not the detached contemplation of subject/object relations.

For Heidegger, practical skills come into play as Dasein constantly makes sense of things through a kind of directed activity Heidegger calls "comportment," a term he uses ". . . precisely because [it] has no mentalistic overtones" (p. 51). Comportment is an adaptable "knowing-how-to-cope" shaped by Dasein's familiarity with the world based on its vast amount of previous experience (p. 68). Dasein reveals the being of things it encounters by its two modes of comportment, "dealing with" and cognition.

Dealing with is a concerned "being-towards" nonDasein entities Heidegger calls "equipment," or the "with-whichs" we use as "things-in-order-to." Heidegger gives as an example a hammer, a with-which we use primarily in order to drive nails. According to Heidegger, Dasein's ordinary comportment with things such as hammers involves no detached thematic awareness. Rather Dasein "discovers" the world by manipulating the things it encounters through concerned coping. Moreover, Dasein's dealing with equipment such as hammers includes a tacit knowledge of the holistic background within which the equipment exists. Hammers are particular pieces of equipment which are situated in or "refer beyond themselves to" an equipmental nexus or whole known as a workshop. This nexus coheres as a referential-whole which reveals significance through the articulation of its constituents parts. In turn,

these nexi intersect with an implicit, already understood context of purposive activity, or an involvement-whole.

Because of this situatedness. . . [our dealing with] equipment exhibits [not only a "with-which" and an "in-order-to", but also] a "where-in" (practical context), a "towards-which" (or goal), and a "for-the-sake-of-which" (or final point) (p. 92).

The interconnections of these relationships [is] "significance." Their unity makes up what we call the "world." (415)[364].

Thus, following Dreyfus's example (p. 92), I type *with* my hands on my computer keyboard *on* my desk *in* my office, *in order to* write these words, as steps *towards* explaining Heidegger and therefore completing a dissertation, *for the sake of* becoming a specific kind of credentialed person, a PhD.

Like Dasein, equipment also has being. Equipment's main way of being is "ready-to-hand" (or availableness). When equipment is available, it "disappears," so that "we are not aware of it as having characteristics at all" (p. 64); its presence is unobtrusive or transparent. For example, as a blind person manipulates a cane in order to get around, she

. . . loses awareness of the cane itself; [she is] aware only of the curb (or whatever object the cane touches); or, if all is going well, [she is] not even aware of that, but of [her] freedom to walk, or perhaps only what [she is] talking about with a friend (p. 65).

So too do I, while attaching a shelf to a bookcase I am building, become so absorbed in my activity that I lose awareness of the specific properties of the hammer I am hammering with, of the nail I am driving, and of the wood into which I am driving the nail. From these examples we can see that Dasein's activity in using ready-to-hand equipment is transparent as well.

Dreyfus wants to show that in the ready-to-hand mode, "activity can be *purposive* without the actor having in mind a *purpose*" (p. 93). He gives as examples of this kind of activity such common skills as getting dressed, playing the piano, skiing, driving a car, brushing one's teeth, rolling over in bed, gesturing while speaking, and making a chess move -- all "direct responses to familiar perceptual gestalts" (p. 93) which entail no deliberate, cognitive, self-referential experience of acting. According to Heidegger, we spend a good deal of time in this "mindless" activity.

When Dasein is coping concernfully or dealing with, it grasps its environment by what Heidegger calls "circumspection," a kind of nonmental "sight" grounded in the referential-whole.

My encounter with [a] room is not such that I first take in one thing after another and put together a manifold of things in order then to see a room. Rather, I primarily see a referential whole . . . from which the individual piece of furniture and what is in the room stand out (Heidegger, 1985, p. 187).

My "set" or "readiness" to cope with chairs by avoiding them or by sitting on them, for example, is "activated" when I enter the room. My readiness is, of course, not a set of beliefs or rules for dealing with rooms and chairs; it is a sense of how rooms normally show up, a skill for dealing with them, that I have developed by crawling and walking around many rooms (p. 103).

Thus,

[we] need to be finding [our] way about in the world in order to use equipment, but finding [our] way about is just more coping. Any specific act of coping takes place on the background of more general coping. . . . Our general background coping, then, our familiarity with the world, is our understanding of being (p. 107).

It is within this situated context that we should also understand Dasein's other mode of comportment, cognition. To Heidegger, cognition appears when what has been tacitly available and therefore transparent is

suddenly "disturbed" or "breaks down" and becomes unavailable.

Breakdown affects both the being of equipment and the being of Dasein in three progressively more consequential ways.

First, equipment can become conspicuously unavailable when it malfunctions. If the malfunction is minor so that it can be fixed quickly, there is only a momentary flicker of thematic awareness before Dasein returns to absorbed coping. If, for example, the blind person drops her cane while walking and retrieves it easily, she can continue on her journey without giving further thought to the cane.

Second, equipment can become unavailable by temporarily breaking down, causing Dasein to "deliberate" on how to continue with the activity which has been interrupted. If my hammer handle separates from the head, I can use another hammer if I have one handy. This kind of breakdown does

introduce "mental content," but only on the background of nonmental coping, . . . [in which] the occurrentness which makes itself known is still bound up in the availableness of equipment (p. 76-77).

In the Heideggerian sense, therefore, deliberation does not entail the detached mental reflection of traditional cognition.

Third, equipment can totally break down, in which case it moves from being transparently available to revealing its occurrent nature as an object with intrinsic properties capable of being thought about in a thematic way. If the blind person walking down the street is asked to describe her cane to someone, or if my hammer falls apart and I don't have another one, there is no way either of us can continue with our original activities. Instead, we must stop and reflect on our situation as we consider the once transparent piece of equipment. When this happens,

cognition occurs as the equipment's place within the referential-whole is revealed. In thinking about my broken hammer, I realize I will have to either fix it, borrow one or buy a new one. Simultaneously, I may become aware of the other workshop paraphernalia around me, the bookcase I have been building, the basement floor it is standing on, and the fact that I am hungry because I have been working so diligently I have forgotten to eat. Thus, in total breakdown the final shift to equipment's occurrent mode and Dasein's cognitive mode also discloses the worldly character of activity.

A situated way of being then is fundamental to Dasein's existence. Dasein is never directly in the world, but rather is a "there" which opens on a "clearing" where things show up as mattering. While both its there and the clearing have spatiality, Heidegger reminds us this spatiality is to be understood existentially as a "moving center of pragmatic activity" (p. 164).

. . . [A]lthough each Dasein . . . is its own "there," the result is one shared situation. We can thus distinguish *clearing* as an activity from *the clearing* that results from that activity. Think of a group of people all working together to clear a field in a forest. There is a plurality of activities of clearing, but all this activity results in only one cleared field. . . . That Dasein's current situation can always in principle be shared with others is a consequence of the fact that its intelligibility depends upon shared practices (p. 165).

But this situated way of being does not mean that Dasein is an automaton. For a primary characteristic of Dasein's "being-its-there" is its affectedness, a term Dreyfus uses to signify Dasein's "where-it's-at-ness," or thrownness into a situation where things already matter in some specific way. This refers to Dasein's mood, or tone of being-there, which Dreyfus says can show up in a personal, situational and world (public)

type. For example, not only can we speak of a person being in a bad mood (such as angry), but there can be a mood in a current situation (such as solemn at a funeral), in the culture of an organization (such as secretive), and in the "temper of the times" (such as laid back in the 1960's). Personal and situational moods can vary. Public moods (also called cultural sensibilities) cannot, because they "govern the range of available moods" (p. 169) and are therefore prior to the other two types. Note that we never say moods are in us, but rather that we are in moods, a reversal which reveals the transparent pervasiveness of moods and their public nature as something other than fleeting private feelings.

Dasein's situatedness also reveals another of its essential features, its "projection," or "always-being-ahead-of-itself" by pressing into future possibilities.

What shows up as relevant in my current situation is determined by what I was just doing and what I am about to do. I move from being in one situation to being in the next by shifts in my readiness, which is itself shaped by years of experience with how situations typically evolve (p. 119).

These shifts are always both enabled and constrained by Dasein's "room for maneuver" within the range of existential possibilities open to it. *Existential* possibilities are not all the potential logical or physical outcomes which could conceivably be chosen, but rather specific readinesses-to-cope which apply *in the current situation*. Following Dreyfus, if the blind person stops for lunch, it is logically possible for her to eat rocks, and physically possible for her to eat acorns. However, given her cultural background, her current mood, and her current situation, far fewer options are open to her than one would suppose (p. 190). She's a professor with little time before an important meeting at which she is to speak, and

there are only three restaurants nearby. One she has no experience with as a sightless customer. Another serves only meat and she's a vegetarian. So she picks the third.

As the foregoing description of being-in-the-world indicates, the "who" of Dasein is not an occurrent subject living in a private world of inner experiences but rather the customary comportment to which Dasein conforms in its everyday activities. This comportment has about it a public averageness which Heidegger calls *das Man*, and Dreyfus translates as "the one." For example, a hammer is a hammer no matter who uses it and it has a normative function which can be expressed as "one drives nails with it." "[I]n each culture there are equipmental norms and thus an average way to do things" (p. 153). Without these norms neither the referential whole nor the equipmental whole could exist. Thus, for example, in a culture

[f]or eating equipment to work, how *one* eats, when *one* eats, where *one* eats, what *one* eats, and what *one* eats with must be already determined (p. 154).

It is the one that provides " . . . a shared public world rather than a plurality of individual worlds" (p. 154).

Dreyfus points out that this unique view of the one raises two important issues. The most obvious is the problem of how we know other minds. Heidegger dismisses this as an artifact of Cartesianism, saying "others do not normally show up as minds, and we do not normally have beliefs about them" (p. 150). Usually other people are directly accessible to us. It only becomes a problem in situations of breakdown, when we become unavailable to each other by holding back or disguising our activities and when we take each other to be occurrent entities. This latter

orientation, of course, is precisely what psychology takes to study the human mind.

The second issue has to do with the negative side of the one. Generally, the one functions in a positive way, promoting a conformity which becomes a common source of intelligibility. However, conformity can degenerate into conformism as meaningful differences get suppressed by the norms of the one, a process Heidegger calls "leveling." Leveling occurs because of Dasein's anxiety over knowing that it is self-interpretation and nothing else, that its thrownness into its there means it is fundamentally unintelligible and hence ultimately ungrounded.

In sum, Heidegger's interpretation of the structure of everydayness shows the circularity of Dasein's mode of existence, being-in-the-world. As already in, ahead of itself, and amidst, Dasein comports itself through concerned circumspection within a background of unnoticed everyday practices which depend on Dasein for their significance. Since this mode of being is predominantly non self-referential, the ideas of intention, consciousness, and scientific discovery take on quite different casts from how they are usually thought of in Cartesian ideology.

In Heideggerian phenomenology, one's intention to act is not a mental mechanism of "mind with content directed toward objects" by which knowing is understood to make its way from "inside" the individual's head to purposeful activity in the "outside" world (p. 69). Rather intentionality *is* Dasein's comportment in absorbed coping with things and others in the world.

This does not mean, however, that there are no "contents of consciousness." Heidegger will admit that there are inner experiences, but since they are derivative of Dasein's everyday way of being, he relegates

them to a secondary status. Just because we are able to say what we are doing when asked indicates to Heidegger not that our activity is necessarily arising from a constantly activated self-referential consciousness but that we are good at giving retroactive rationalizations for our actions.

Furthermore, Heidegger's interpretation of existence shows the limited legitimacy of the Cartesian subject/object account of knowing. While natural entities *are* independent of us and can be isolated for deliberate cognitive conceptualizing, there is no intelligibility in itself (and therefore no ultimate reality), because the being of nature depends on Dasein, the only entity which makes sense of things. Since world can never be totally occurrent, science cannot therefore be said to be "converging on the one true account of independent reality" (p. 255). Thus, while Heidegger agrees that traditional science has some utility when applied to the study of nature, he finds its objectifying process of "deworlding" and theoretical explanation through recontextualization inappropriate when applied to the study of humans (See also White & Epston, 1990, p. 77).

The Ontology of Culture

Contrary to the Cartesian *Cogito*, according to Heidegger we do not experience ourselves as "I think, therefore I am" but as "I am, therefore I can" (Kockelmans, 1972). As we have seen, our primordial experience is engaging in practical activity with things. Equiprimordially, we concernfully deal with other humans as well. For "the world of Dasein is [fundamentally] a *with-world*. Being-in is *being-with* others" (155)[118]. By taking this position, Heidegger rejects methodological individualism,

saying "the ultimate foundation of intelligibility is the meaning and organization of a culture" (p. 7).

Each Dasein must understand itself within some culture that has already decided on specific possible ways to be human -- on what human beings essentially are (p. 24).

In American social science, individual humans are thought to be shaped by culture through a process called socialization. In this view, culture is an identifiable, independent milieu into which we drop at birth. However, for Heidegger (and Vygotsky and Bakhtin, as we shall see), individual and culture are simultaneous and mutually constitutive. To wit, we "do not come into this world. We grow out of it" (Watts, 1980, p. 6).

For Heidegger, technically speaking it is not Dasein which *gets* socialized. Humans cannot be said to *have* Dasein until they take a stand on themselves. To take a stand, we need for-the-sake-of-whichs and the involvement-whole of our culture. As alluded to earlier, for-the-sake-of-whichs are "self-interpretation[s] that inform and order all [our] activities" (p. 95). Some common for-the-sake-of-whichs in all cultures are mother, father, teacher, farmer, and carpenter. Dreyfus emphasizes, however, that Heidegger does not intend for these to be thought of as "roles" and "goals."

When I am successfully coping, my activity can be seen to have a point, but, [as we have seen], I need not have any "goal," let alone a long-range life plan "Role" is not quite right either. Role talk is the end-stage of a movement from transparent coping to thematization. If I run into trouble in the way my life hangs together, my for-the-sake-of-whichs can show up intentionalistically as unavailable goals I am striving to reach. I can shift my stance to deliberating about aspects of my life such as my *relationships* . . . , and I can think about my occupation and whether I should change it for another. . . . Only at the occurrent level, however, does one observe, from outside (so to speak), *roles*. These are context-free features of people's lives corresponding to function

predicates describing objective features of equipment, and just as function predicates . . . cannot capture the holistic character of equipment, role predicates cannot capture what one simply knows how to do and be when one is socialized into some of the for-sake-of-whichs available in one's culture (p. 95).

According to Heidegger, babies do not exist (that is, are not Dasein) until they have begun to take over the for-the-sake-of-whichs of their culture.

As soon as the baby is seen as up to something, i.e. its activity can be seen as making sense, then it can be seen as Daseining, i.e. as already projecting on possibilities (p. 187).

Ordinarily, this occurs within several weeks as babies become situated in the world. By the time children have reached three to four months of age, a great deal of cultural learning has already taken place (Caudill & Weinstein, 1972; Lewis, 1976). For the most part, this learning is not overt but comes rather through a subtle process of assimilation. Most important are those people who become a child's most intimate connections -- mother, father, siblings, other relatives and frequent caretakers. As children grow, however, others with whom they come in contact are influential as well.

. . . In all societies, children are particularly attentive to the gestures and postures which, in their eyes, express everything that goes to make an accomplished adult -- a way of walking, a tilt of the head, facial expressions, ways of sitting and of using implements, always associated with a tone of voice, a style of speech and (how could it be otherwise?) a certain subjective experience (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 87).

Much of this learning occurs without adults being aware of imparting it to children and children being aware of acquiring it. An obvious example is communication styles. At no time as a child are we intentionally taught how far we should stand while talking with another person. Nor is it pointed out to us when it is appropriate to look at and look

away from others during conversation, or how loudly or softly we should speak. Yet within every culture children learn to communicate appropriately. Only when we try to communicate across cultures and become uncomfortable when someone stands "too" close, talks "too" loud, or exchanges gazes in a manner we find disconcerting do we become aware of these differences (in typical Heideggerian breakdown, it might be added). So much else is transmitted this way, so much that escapes the rational mind and awareness, that a prescient John Dewey could state seventy years ago that "knowledge . . . lives in the muscles, not in consciousness" (Dewey, 1922, p. 177).

Lately, a number of theorists in various fields have embraced this idea of an embodied mind. For example, in biology Maturana and his colleague Varela (1980, 1987) show how human knowledge results from an ongoing adaptive process made possible by the structural plasticity of the human nervous system. Because of autopoiesis, the paradoxical circular process at the cellular level in which dynamic chemical transformations become essential for the operation of the network which produced them, they see all living unities as autonomous, organizationally closed, structurally determined, and self-referential systems which are structurally coupled to their medium (or environment). For humans, this means our nervous systems do not "pick up information" from the environment; rather as structurally plastic, learning systems they adapt to "bring forth a world by specifying what patterns of the environment are perturbations and what changes trigger them in the organism" (Maturana & Varela, 1987, p. 169; Dell, 1985). Given this interpretation of the human system, "such concepts as *control* and *purpose* are deemed

meaningless except as expressions of an observing system trying to understand another system" (Mahoney, 1991, p. 393; Dell, 1985).

Another example is in the cognitive sciences of artificial intelligence, neuro- and cognitive psychology, where theory has begun to move away from a traditional realist model of mind as computational, rule-driven, and largely unconscious toward an enactive model which acknowledges the self-interpreting, self-modifying, constructivist nature of human experience (Sweetzer, 1984; Watzlawick, 1984; Winograd & Flores, 1986; Bruner, 1986, 1990; Varela, 1984; Varela et al., 1991). Adding support to this conceptual shift is intriguing work in linguistics and the psycho- and physical therapies which demonstrates that the human capacity to "know" can arise from experiences stored as metaphors in parts of the body other than the mind/brain (e.g., Sharpe, 1970; Bateson, 1972, 1979; Percy, 1975; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Johnson, 1987; Grove, 1989; Bagarozzi & Anderson, 1989; Lankton & Lankton, 1989; Siegelman, 1990; Combs & Freedman, 1990; Zuniga, 1992; Griffin, 1992).

What is common to all these lines of thought is the proposition that "organism and environment enfold into each other and unfold from one another in the fundamental circularity that is life itself" (Varela et al, 1991, p. 217). Like Heidegger's existential analytic, these approaches suggest that knowledge of ourselves and the world originates not in detached mental reflection but in the interanimation of human embodiment and cultural practices which constitute our moment-to-moment existence. This idea is summed up best by Bourdieu (1977) when he says

. . . nothing seems more ineffable, more incommunicable, more unimitable, and, therefore, more precious, than the

values given body, made body by the transubstantiation achieved by hidden persuasion of implicit pedagogy, capable of instilling a whole cosmology, an ethic, a metaphysic, a political philosophy, through injunctions as insignificant as "stand up straight," or "don't hold your knife in your left hand" (p. 94).

Language and Meaning

In essence, Bourdieu implies that through the use of language in speech, we find meaning in our lives.³ This further suggests that language, thought, and culture are related in such a way that it is difficult to talk about one without accounting for the other two (Lee, 1987, p. 88). This is an intuitively appealing connection for social scientists, but one which is not easy to support in light of predominant American linguistic trends. A closer look shows why.

The formal study of language began with Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure at the end of the 19th century (1916/1959). Saussure divided language into two parts: *langue* (the social institution of language as a ready-made, timeless system) and *parole* (the individual speech act or utterance). He believed *langue* was immutable and normative and thus capable of being studied objectively. *Parole*, arbitrary and unrepeatable, was not (Voloshinov, 1973; Newmeyer, 1986; Emerson, 1986; Littlejohn 1989).

Leonard Bloomfield (1933), influenced by Saussure's structural approach, set the tone for American linguistics for over thirty years, narrowing the study of language to exclude meaning, or semantics, which

³Meaning is used three ways in this paper. Narrowly, it refers to the dictionary definition of words. Broadly, it refers to our understanding of existence -- ourselves, other people and the things which make up the natural world. In between, in connection with the use of language in speech, it denotes sense, as when I say "I don't get what you mean." This latter interpretation Vygotsky (1986) calls "the sum of all the psychological events aroused in our consciousness by [words]" (p. 244).

he believed was too mentalistic to be explored scientifically. His mechanical procedures for the hierarchical analysis of grammar went unchallenged until the 1960's, when Noam Chomsky resurrected the Saussurrean dichotomy as "competence" and "performance". Chomsky believes the core of every language is an ahistorical, innate, universal grammar by which "ideal speaker-listeners in completely homogeneous speech-communities" gain competence in producing their native tongue (Chomsky 1965, p. 3, 1957, 1966, 1975; Newmeyer, 1986; Littlejohn, 1989). Like Saussure, Chomsky ignores questions of the locus of meaning and social interaction because he doesn't see these as central to understanding how we use language.

Although the more social aspects of language have been studied in the work of anthropologically-oriented linguists (Boas, 1911; Sapir, 1921; Whorf, 1956)⁴ and sociolinguists (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1974), Chomskyan linguistics in particular and a structural approach in general has so dominated the study of language in America that sociological views have achieved only marginal status and humanistic perspectives on language's creative functions have been relegated to university departments of literature. Elsewhere in the world, however, structuralism has not had as strong a presence (Newmeyer, 1986).

In Eastern Europe, with its deeply entrenched Marxist and phenomenological proclivities, linguists have opposed the langue/parole distinction because it locates the analysis of language outside the historical and social forces which influence its use (Williams, 1977; Voloshinov,

⁴The so-called Whorfian hypothesis, that the abstract structure of language determines thought, was popular for years but has now generally been discredited.

1973).⁵ In pre-World War II Germany structural linguistics was deemed too egalitarian and thus incompatible with the Nazi ideology that "the German soul manifested itself in its people's masterful language." And in the Soviet Union prior to destalinization in the 1950's, structural linguistics was actually outlawed because it was thought to represent reactionary bourgeois ideology (Newmeyer, 1986). This, of course, is the historical moment in which Heidegger, Vygotsky and Bakhtin worked. To each of them, meaning is central to understanding the nature of the relationship between language, thought, and culture.

For Heidegger, the ability to manifest the intelligibility of being-in-the-world through language is the one unique capacity of Dasein. His account of language begins with the idea of telling, in both its linguistic and nonlinguistic senses. Nonlinguistically, I can *tell*, for example, the difference between a hammer and a screwdriver. And I can also *tell* time. In this way, I pick out significations as they are articulated within the structure of the referential-whole without attaching words to them. This is the ontological sense of telling, which makes linguistic telling possible.

⁵ Karl Marx (1818-1883) is best known for his philosophy of Dialectical Materialism, an economic interpretation of history which follows class struggle from the dependency and subordination of the master/slave relationship in pre-capitalist society through the capitalist exploitation and alienation of labor to what he saw as the ultimate free social individuality in the communistic society of the future.

Less well known is Marx's social ontology, which was only implicit in his writings (Gould, 1978). Like Heidegger, the fundamental entities to Marx are individuals-in-social-relations who act on their projected possibilities to create their own essence. And like Heidegger, consciousness to Marx is a result, not a cause, of social being. However, unlike Heidegger, Marx presupposes that individuals and the environment are ontologically independent entities. This dualism is necessary to support his claim that a society's culture and social structure are determined by its mode of economic production. To Marx, since individuals create their own nature through their labor to produce valued objects, society is thus a constituted entity. As such, it is open to the social engineering Marx thought necessary to overthrow capitalist domination and establish a classless society where the proletariat owned the means of production.

Linguistically, I can *tell* others about things by pointing out significations through attaching words to them.

. . . Our most general skill for making manifest is our use of language. . . . When what is pointoutable is pointed out, and the sayable is actually said, then telling becomes concrete (Dreyfus, 1990, p. 215-216).

In describing how we establish meaning through language, Heidegger draws a parallel to "seeing."

Just as we do not see pure meaningless sense data which then must be interpreted, so we do not hear pure meaningless sounds (Dreyfus, 1992, p. 218).

What we "first" hear is never noises or complexes of sounds, but the creaking wagon, the motorcycle It requires a very artificial and complicated frame of mind to "hear" a "pure noise." The fact that motorcycles and wagons are what we proximally hear is the phenomenal evidence that in every case Dasein, as being-in-the-world, already dwells amidst what is available within-the-world; it certainly does not dwell primarily amidst "sensations" (Heidegger, 1962, p. 207).

Because of Dasein's situatedness, meaning is a tacit part of the social practices within which we dwell. It signifies the intelligibility of our background familiarity, originating in the connection between Dasein and world that finds its public expression in the interpersonal exchange of language we call discourse.⁶

Heidegger's interpretation runs counter to the contemporary perspective which sees meaning coming from the transmission of information between individuals (Littlejohn, 1989). Following Shannon & Weaver (1949), this is often diagrammed:

⁶Frequently-used synonyms for discourse include speech, conversation, talk, and communication.

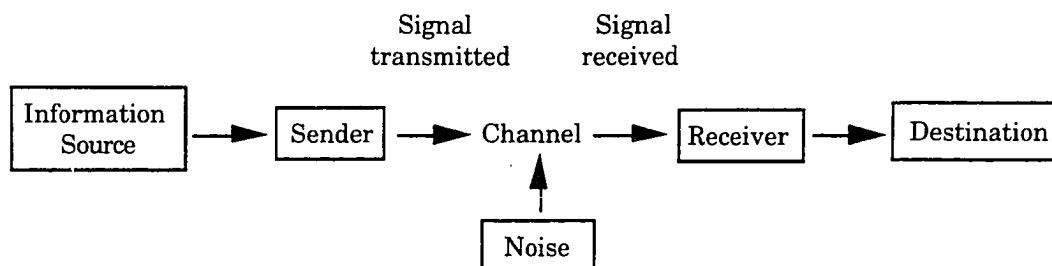


Fig. 2.1. Transmission of Information Model⁷

Based on one of the most prevalent ontological metaphors in English, that of a container (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Wertsch, 1991), this model depicts language as

. . . transferring thoughts bodily from one person to another; . . . in writing and speaking, people insert their thoughts or feelings into the words; . . . words accomplish transfer by containing the thoughts or feelings and conveying them to others; and . . . in listening or reading, people extract the thoughts and feelings once again from the words (Reddy, 1979, p. 290).

In this model, language is considered a neutral, context-free code passed unidirectionally from an isolated active speaker to an isolated passive listener (Taylor, 1985, Wertsch, 1991; Kerby, 1991). Meaning is the single, monologic intent the sender attaches to the message. But as Heidegger has shown, our mutual thrownness always manifests in a clearing or existentially shared public space. Therefore, discourse can never be

. . . anything like a conveying of experiences . . . from the interior of one subject to the interior of another. Dasein-with is already essentially manifest in a co-affectedness and a co-understanding. In telling, being-with becomes "explicitly" *shared* ; that is to say, it is already, but it is unshared as something that has not been taken hold of and appropriated (Heidegger, 1962, p. 205).

⁷From the "telegraphic" model of communication first formulated by Ferdinand Saussure and refined by Russian linguist Roman Jakobson (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 128).

Clearly then, meaning does not begin with individual intentional states and extrapolate to shared public meaning via . . . "a plurality of subjective belief systems including mutual beliefs about each others' beliefs" (p. 144). Nor does meaning originate in the world outside of Dasein, for as we have seen, there is no intelligibility independent of Dasein. Rather meaning is Dasein-related (Taylor, 1992), arising from a tacit agreement in shared ways of acting and judging within the background familiarity which underlies all coping and all intentional states and which allows for Dasein's readiness to discover things, others and even itself.

To Heidegger, the saying of language is the way the "interwovenness" of Dasein and the world is revealed (Kockelmans, 1972, p. 29). "[A person] does not exist prior to language, . . . it is language which teaches the definition of [the person]" (Barthes, 1986, p. 13). Because we are most fundamentally being-with, because language is what we dwell in, we are not merely individual dispensers of monologue; "we *are* dialogue" (Ott, 1972, p. 169, emphasis mine). It is left to Vygotsky and Bakhtin to explain specifically how this is so.

Vygotsky's Approach to Language and Thought

Another continental theorist who believed in the ontology of culture was Lev Semenovich Vygotsky [1896-1934], considered the father of Soviet psychology although he had no formal training in the field. Vygotsky cultivated his broad interests in philosophy, literature, theater, history, psychology, and semiotics mainly through unofficial study because as a Jew he was restricted to studying only law or medicine as a profession.

Vygotsky spent an intellectually stimulating childhood in Gomel, a small provincial town in Western Russia (Wertsch, 1985a). After receiving a law degree in 1917 from Moscow University, he returned home to teach literature. Over the next six years he married and had two daughters, taught psychology at a local teachers college, and read widely in psychology and philosophy, including Descartes, Hegel, Marx, Spinoza, Husserl, James and Freud. Also during these years, his lifelong struggle with tuberculosis began. In 1924, when he was 28, he delivered a brilliant paper to the Second All-Russian Psychoneurological Congress attacking Soviet science for ignoring consciousness, a daring move considering the scientific preoccupation with reflexology at the time, his young age, and his anonymity. Nonetheless, he was soon offered a faculty position at the Moscow Institute of Psychology. His first published writing, in 1925, was his PhD thesis on *The Psychology of Art*.

Caught up in the post-Russian Revolution fervor to create a new society based on Marxist-Leninist principles, Vygotsky spent the next ten years reformulating metatheory in Soviet psychology and searching for practical solutions to problems of massive illiteracy, cultural diversity, and lack of services for the mentally retarded, hearing-impaired, and learning-disabled.⁸ He ventured beyond the orthodoxy of Marxism, however, because he found it generally lacking in concepts suitable for the study of human action and the mind (Kozulin, 1990, p. 122). For much of his theoretical base he turned to the French sociological school, including

⁸Central to Marxist thinking is the unity of theory and practice, which meant to Marxist academicians in the 1920's and 1930's the application of the fruits of scientific inquiry to specific social reforms supportive of the establishment of the socialist state (Newmeyer, 1986). Vladimir Ilich Lenin (1870-1924), a disciple of Marx, believed revolutionary leaps were needed to establish a proletarian dictatorship and that philosophy could actually change the world (Sahakian, 1968).

Emile Durkheim, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, Charles Blondel, and Maurice Halbwachs.

Although Vygotsky's eclectic research approach fell outside the accepted bounds of mainstream Soviet psychology, he nonetheless attracted a dedicated group of students who helped with his clinical work and experimental and applied research.⁹ After his death in 1934 at the age of 37, two of Vygotsky's most famous students, Alexander Luria and Alexei Leontiev, carried on his work, although with substantial deviations due to the Stalinist suppression of Vygotsky's work for over twenty years. By the late 1950's, Vygotsky's ideas had been "rehabilitated" and began spreading to the West. Since the 1970's a handful of American scholars have worked to extend Vygotskian principles to the study of psychology in the West (e.g., Wertsch, 1981, 1985a, 1985b, 1991; Kozulin, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978, 1986).

To Vygotsky, psychology was not an end in itself but a means for investigating the intersection of culture and consciousness (Kozulin, 1986). Like Heidegger, Vygotsky proposed a theory of activity which stressed the importance of people's "living, practical connections with the surrounding world" (Leontiev, 1975, p. 20).¹⁰ Vygotsky saw activity as mediated, not only by "technical" tools like hammers and canes but also by psychological tools, or sign systems, such as gestures, language; mnemonic techniques; diagrams, maps, and mechanical drawings; and decision making systems (for example, casting dice or drawing lots) (Vygotsky, 1978, 1986).

⁹Vygotsky distrusted the classical psychological experiment because he found it an isolated environment unsuitable for studying psychological events such as language (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 211).

¹⁰Although there is no mention that Vygotsky and Heidegger were aware of each other, their complementary approaches to human action probably reflect the considerable influence of Hegel and Husserl on them both.

While technical tools are oriented toward mastering external objects, psychological tools are oriented toward the inner mastery of self (Vygotsky, 1978; Lee, 1987).

Because he focused on mediated action, mind to Vygotsky was something which "extends beyond the skin" (Bateson, 1972; Geertz, 1973) to include other aspects of human mental life, including self and emotion. In all his work, Vygotsky sought to show that higher mental functions (voluntary attention, logical memory, problem solving and consciousness in general) are not just more fully developed versions of elementary mental functions but rather are characterized by specific organizational properties which originate in social activity. His empirical research, which focused on the ontogenesis of mind through individual development in childhood, corroborated his "general genetic law of cultural development," which maintains that

every function in the child's cultural development appears twice; first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first *between* individuals (interpsychological), and then *inside* the child (intrapsychological). This applies equally to voluntary attention, logical memory, and the formation of concepts. All the higher functions originate as actual relations between human individuals (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 57).

The link Vygotsky proposes between the social and the individual levels is the transformational process of internalization, one of the major themes of his work (Wertsch, 1979). Through semiotic mechanisms, external activity is reconstructed internally via a "long series of developmental events" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 57). A good example of this process is Vygotsky's description of the development of pointing.

Initially, this gesture is nothing more than an unsuccessful attempt to grasp something, a movement [by the child] aimed at a certain object which designates forthcoming activity. . .

When the mother comes to the child's aid and realizes the movement indicates something, the situation changes fundamentally. The child's unsuccessful attempt engenders a reaction not from the object he seeks but *from another person*. Consequently, the primary meaning of that unsuccessful grasping movement is established by others. Only later, when the child can link his unsuccessful grasping movement to the objective situation as a whole, does he begin to understand this movement as pointing. At this juncture there occurs a change in that movement's function: from an object-oriented movement it becomes aimed at another person, a means of establishing relations. The grasping movement changes to the act of pointing. . . . It becomes a true gesture only after it objectively manifests all the functions of pointing for others and is understood by others as such a gesture (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 56).

Here we see an important form of semiotic mediation through another person. This reflects the considerable influence on Vygotsky of French psychologist and psychiatrist Pierre Janet, who believed

children begin to use the same forms of behavior in relation to themselves that others initially used in relation to them. . . . A sign is always originally a means used for social purposes, a means of influencing others, and only later becomes a means of influencing oneself (Vygotsky, 1981, pp. 157, 158).¹¹

A parallel position was taken by one of Vygotsky's American contemporaries, behaviorist G. H. Mead, who said

I know of no way in which intelligence or mind could arise or could have arisen, other than through internalization by the individual of social processes of experience and behavior, that is, through this internalization of the conversation of significant gestures, as made possible by the individual's taking the attitude of the other individuals toward himself or toward what is being thought about (quoted in Kozulin, 1990, p. 115-116 from Mead, 1974, p. 192).

Of all the higher mental functions, Vygotsky was primarily interested in the development of language and thought. Tracing the historical development of human consciousness from its roots in early childhood, he

¹¹Janet's theories can be found in Henri Ellenberg, 1970 and van der Veer & Valsiner, 1988.

found that the connection between speech and thought is not a linear unfolding but "a dynamic process full of upheavals, sudden changes and reversals" (Kozulin, 1986, p. xxix). In Vygotsky's model

. . . thinking and speaking do not have common origins
For children, prelinguistic thought is biological . . . and
prerational speech is social and external. . . . A truly critical
moment in human maturation occurs when the child begins
to ask the names of things. At this point, Vygotsky postulates,
thought becomes verbal and speech becomes rational. No
longer is it possible to isolate the two processes because "*the
nature of the development itself changes, from biological to
sociohistorical*" (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 94 in Morson & Emerson,
1990, p. 212).

Vygotsky's unit of mental functioning was word meaning, which he
claimed evolved as children developed, causing thought and speech to
become increasingly more complex and differentiated (Vygotsky, 1986, p.
212-224; Lee, 1987). Echoing ideas presented in the previous section on the
ontological nature of culture, Vygotsky says the speech of adults,

with its constant, determinant meanings, determines the
paths of the development of children's generalizations
The child does not select the meaning for a word. It is given to
him/her in the process of verbal social interaction with adults.
The child does not construct his/her own complexes freely.
He/she finds them already constructed in *the process of
understanding others' speech*. He/she does not freely select
various concrete elements and include them in one or another
complex. He/she receives a group of concrete objects in an
already prepared form of generalization provided by a word . .
. . . In general, a child does not create his/her own speech,
he/she masters the existing speech of surrounding adults
(Vygotsky, 1956, pp. 180-181; emphasis added, in Wertsch &
Stone, 1985, p. 170-171).

Lately, Vygotsky's choice of word meaning as the primary unit of mental
functioning has been criticized based on the subsequent development of
grammatical analysis (Silverstein, 1985) and on the fact that a truly
holistic unit of analysis should arise from practical action (Zinchenko,

1985). However, these criticisms do not detract significantly from Vygotsky's theory of language.

Vygotsky's approach to language can be best understood by comparing it to that of "the major developmental thinker of capitalist Western Europe," Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget (Bruner, 1984, p. 96). Vygotsky takes Piaget to task in his most well known book, *Thought and Language* (1986).¹² Piaget's systematic observations of children purportedly showed that socialized, logical speech appears late in speech development, evolving from early, unconscious, autistic speech and thought through an intermediate, partially unconscious, egocentric phase (Piaget, 1969, p. 208). To Piaget, egocentric speech -- the chants, rhymes, and self-directed "fantasy-talk" of children between the ages of three and five -- was a useless byproduct of their activity. In fact, Piaget thought children before the age of seven or eight were so "unquestionably egocentric and egotistical" (Ibid., p 209) that "there [was] . . . no real social life between [them]" (Piaget, 1959, p. 40). Indeed, he called their early conversations collective monologues and maintained that adult influences on their speech was minimal. By school age, Piaget believed egocentric speech died off as more logical reasoning begins to take over children's thinking and their speech becomes social. Inner speech from that point on is seen as an outcome of newly emerging socialized speech. Thus egocentrism is the backbone of Piaget's entire psychological theory, with the social considered an external force "divorced from the practical activity of the child" which nonetheless eventually overrides the child's natural nature (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 52).

¹²Originally published in Russian in 1934 and in English in 1962.

Vygotsky drew quite different conclusions from his experiments. His studies of the functions of egocentric speech replicated Piaget's, but with added frustrations. In one drawing experiment with young children, paper or a specific colored pencil the child needed were missing. In these cases, the coefficient of egocentric speech doubled as children tried to make sense of the situation and remedy it. One could say in Heideggerese they encountered a breakdown in their ready-to-hand activity and had to resort to deliberative, present-at-hand, verbalized thinking to help them understand what was happening and move on with their assigned task. Breakdown in older children performing the same task was signified by long pauses as they thought silently about what to do. However, when these children were asked what they were thinking, they replied with a line of thought similar to the vocal preschoolers. Vygotsky concluded from these experiments that egocentric speech was not merely a means of expression and tension reduction but "an instrument of thought in the proper sense -- in seeking and planning the solution of a problem" (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 31). In other experiments, Vygotsky varied Piaget's experimental conditions by having a child work with children who were deaf-mute or spoke a foreign language or in situations where loud music was playing or a window to a noisy street was open (Kozulin, 1990, p. 175). In all these instances, egocentric speech virtually disappeared, indicating that rather than being nothing more than collective monologue, this kind of speech has a social component which is suppressed when there is no chance of being heard or understood.

As a result of his experiments, Vygotsky proposed a reverse sequence of speech development to that of Piaget, with talk beginning first as primitive social communication and then gradually dividing between

the ages of three and seven into communicative speech-for-others and egocentric speech-for-oneself (Kozulin, 1986, p. xxxv). This latter becomes the individualized mental function of "thinking words," or inner speech (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 230). To Vygotsky, inner speech is a completely separate speech function, an argot characterized by a condensed, simplified syntax which distills sense to an agglutinated gestalt incapable of being translated into ordinary communicative speech language. Essentially, it is "thinking in pure meanings" (Ibid., p. 249).

Another developmental area important to Vygotsky was the teaching-learning process. Believing that "psychological development . . . does not precede instruction, but essentially depends on it" (Kozulin, 1990, p. 184), Vygotsky conducted experiments on adult-child interaction in formal and informal educational situations.¹³ He found that learning does not result solely from the spontaneous efforts of children to individually establish an order to their disorganized concepts but from their engagement with the systematized and logical reasoning of adults and more capable peers through cooperative problem-solving. This engagement occurs in what Vygotsky calls the Zone of Proximal Development, ZPD or zo-ped, the distance between what a child can do unaided and his or her potential level of performance with the mental assistance of more capable others (Vygotsky, 1978; Rogoff & Wertsch, 1984; Kozulin, 1986, Wertsch, 1991).¹⁴

¹³To Vygotsky, maturation and instruction were "processes that were methodologically independent but still continually interacting, shaping at any given point what the self can do and the patterns of its further dynamic development" (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 211).

¹⁴Recently, the analogous concept of scaffolding has been developed by Wood and Bruner and their colleagues (e.g., Wood et al., 1976, 1978; Wood, 1980; Rogoff & Wertsch, 1984b; Bruner, 1985, 1986).

Vygotsky died before he was able to explore the mechanics of the ZPD. Recently, a number of American psychologists have begun to elucidate and extend this theoretical concept (See Rogoff & Wertsch, 1984; Wertsch, 1985a). Results of this current work offer an important insight into the experiential picture being presented as the HVB perspective in this chapter. In the ZPD the more capable peer or adult teacher serves as a

vicarious form of consciousness until such a time as the learner is able to master his [or her] own action through his [or her] own consciousness and control" (Bruner, 1985, p. 24).

At that time the new function or concept becomes a child's own tool to use. Thus the ZPD is one important place "where culture and cognition create each other," an educational clearing of adult-child collaboration which is constituted by language use in its most familiar form -- dialogue (Cole, 1985, p. 146). To understand the importance of the connection of dialogue to human being-in-the-world, we move on to Bakhtin.

The Dialogical View of Bakhtin

Although his main focus was literary, Bakhtin, like Heidegger and Vygotsky, was interested in how meaning is governed and how it is possible to be a unique self which also incorporates much which is shared with others (Clark & Holquist, 1984, p. 10). To study these themes in novelistic writing, he developed a method of language analysis called metalinguistics, which overlaps with pragmatics and discourse analysis but is not easy to define because it is grounded in dialogue, including the relationship of a speaker to his or her own speech (Bakhtin, 1981; Wertsch, 1991). While a detailed description of this methodology goes beyond current purposes, certain aspects of it will be highlighted in a discussion of the key

concepts from Bakhtin's works that complete the ontological picture we have been considering as the HVB perspective.

The son of a banker, Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin [1895-1975] was born in Orel, south of Moscow, and spent his childhood in two cosmopolitan Russian towns, Vilnius and Odessa. As a *gymnasium* student, he was exposed to ancient Greek, Hellenistic and German philosophy, including Kant, Buber and Kiekegaard (Holquist, 1991).¹⁵ After earning a degree in classics and philology at the University of Petrograd in 1918, he began teaching in a small town in Western Russia to escape the desperate conditions in Moscow brought on by the Civil War. At that time, he also began to participate in study groups exploring the relationship between philosophy, religion and politics. A subsequent move two years later to Vitebsk, an artistic center, brought into his group musicologist Valentin Voloshinov and journalist Pavel Medvedev, principle associates in the so-called Bakhtinian circle who have been implicated in a debate over the authorship of several texts often attributed to Bakhtin (Clark & Holquist, 1984; Morson & Emerson, 1990; Holquist, 1990; Wertsch, 1991).¹⁶

¹⁵During Bakhtin's formative years, he was greatly influenced by the Neo-Kantianism of the Marburg School, founded by Hermann Cohen and including Paul Natorp and Ernst Cassirer. Cohen revised Kant's mind/world synthesis to emphasize the unity of consciousness. To him, the world existed only as the subject of thought. Bakhtin's earlier work was particularly influenced by the desire of Neo-Kantianists to link traditional philosophical problems with the scientific discoveries emerging at the end of the nineteenth century. What especially interested Bakhtin was the physics of Planck, Einstein and Bohr and physiological studies of the central nervous system, areas which brought into question the long-standing binary belief in the materiality of matter and the immateriality of mind. In his own thinking, Bakhtin sought to move beyond Cohen's interpretation of unity, returning to Kant's original approach to the mind/world relationship and the part that the open process of living plays in existence.

¹⁶The primary texts in question are Medvedev's *The formal method in literary scholarship* (1988) and Voloshinov's *Marxism and the philosophy of language* (1973) and *Freudianism: A critical sketch* (1988). Interestingly, the authorship of all three, originally published in the 1920's, went undisputed until Bakhtin became well-known in the 1960's. Bakhtin's American biographers, Clark and Holquist (1984), marshal anecdotal and textual evidence to claim that he was the sole author of the texts. Morson

Most of Bakhtin's career, compared to other intellectuals of his current stature, was anything but illustrious. Continually ill with osteomyelitis, a bone disease which caused the amputation of his right leg in 1938, and lacking credentials in the new political regime, Bakhtin could find no stable employment. Yet, aided by his devoted wife, he was highly productive, working for years without public acknowledgement despite his privations. During the Stalinist raids on intellectuals beginning in the late 1920's, he was arrested for allegedly participating in the underground Russian Orthodox Church and sentenced to ten years in a death camp in the Soviet Far North. Fortunately, through the intervention of influential friends and because of his poor health, his sentence was reduced to six years of internal exile. His most famous essays on the theory of the novel were written while in exile on a Kazakhstan collective farm, where he worked as a bookkeeper and performed odd jobs.

Following his release in the mid-1930's, Bakhtin taught Russian and world literature for a few years at a state teachers college in Saransk, until rumors of new purges forced him to move to lessen his visibility. In 1941, he submitted a major work on carnival laughter in Rabelais for consideration for a doctorate at the Gorky Institute of World Literature in

and Emerson (1990), however, after reviewing Clark and Holquist's assertions and conducting an investigation of their own, can find nothing which convinces them Bakhtin wrote the texts. Their conclusion is based on three main points. One, Bakhtin never confirmed his authorship of the texts when asked. Two, while all the works in question are decidedly Marxist and Voloshinov's book on language is semiotic, Bakhtin was neither a Marxist nor a semiotician (nor a Freudian, for that matter). And three, given Bakhtin's prestige, there are other influential factors which could explain why misattribution would be advantageous, including academic and national politics in the Soviet Union and the United States and the economics of publishing. What is important is the fact that the three authors did indeed work together frequently, influencing each other in ways that show up in their similar perspectives on language (Wertsch, 1991). Accordingly, the discussion in this section is based on various works by and about Bakhtin, supplemented by relevant material from Voloshinov's book on language.

Moscow. Some ten years later, a doctorate was finally granted, but the work, thought to be scandalous at the time, was not published until 1965.

In the 1950's, when Bakhtin had returned to teaching in Saransk, he was "rediscovered" after a group of Moscow graduate students who had read his 1929 book on Dostoevsky learned he was still alive. By the 1960's, as many of his manuscripts finally found their way into print, he gained national acclaim. When Bakhtin died in 1975, he had a cult following in the Soviet Union which subsequently spread to the United States in the 1980's.

Of the three scholars presented in this chapter, Bakhtin is the most difficult to classify. While he referred to himself as a philosophical anthropologist, others have labelled him a philosopher of language, literary critic, sociolinguist, or speech act theorist (Clark & Holquist, 1984; Emerson & Holquist, 1986; Morson & Emerson, 1990). This confusion stems mainly from Bakhtin's radical departure from traditional linguistic thinking, compounded by the facts that his expository style is unsystematic and often repetitious and his influence has varied, depending on the order in which his works has been translated and published in a given country (Morson & Emerson, 1990). Regardless of where one locates him, however, Bakhtin offers an explanation of the complex relationships between language, culture and the self which complements the ideas of Heidegger and Vygotsky.

To begin with, Bakhtin's circle did not subscribe to the Saussurean model, criticizing it for its Cartesian focus on language as a normative system independent of meanings (Voloshinov, 1973). Bakhtin condemned not only Saussure but Freud and the dialectics of Hegel and Marx for their "theoretism," a term he uses to denote the mistaken attachment to

explaining social experience in terms of systems.¹⁷ According to Bakhtin, ". . . knowledge, to be genuine and valuable, does not have to be a system; neither does it have to describe its object as a system" (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 117).

Bakhtin's strong opposition to viewing language as a structural system is based on his observation that this kind of abstraction is not something we actually resort to in the process of speaking. Our attention is rather on what we are currently saying within the current situation we find ourselves (Voloshinov, 1973). In other words, when we understand each other, we do not explicitly or implicitly recognize normative linguistic forms in what is said, but comprehend the meaning of a particular utterance within a particular context. Holquist (1981a) locates this approach to meaning between the Personalists, who believe meaning is internal and owned by the individual, and the Deconstructionists, who see meaning as external and owned by no one. In answer to the question "Who owns meaning?," Bakhtin replies we "rent" it (Holquist, 1981a). To understand what Bakhtin is alluding to, we need to familiarize ourselves with his three key concepts: prosaics, unfinalizability and dialogue.

Prosaics is a neologism Morson and Emerson (1990) coined to refer to ordinary spoken or written language, which Bakhtin focuses on in various ways in all his works. Bakhtin uses the idea of prosaics in two senses. In the first, more narrow sense, it signifies the opposite of poetics in theories of literature. For years poetics, or imaginative metered verse, has been synonymous with literary theory, a situation Bakhtin seeks to reverse by privileging prosaics and the novel. More important for this

¹⁷In later works, he called this error "monologism."

paper, Bakhtin also uses prosaics more broadly to include nonliterary as well as literary discourse.

In real life, we very keenly and subtly hear all those nuances in the speech of people surrounding us, and we ourselves work very skillfully with all these colors on the verbal palette. We very sensitively catch the smallest shift in intonation, the slightest interruption of voices in anything of importance to us in another person's practical everyday discourse. All those verbal sideward glances, reservations, loopholes, hints, thrusts do not slip past our ear, are not foreign to our lips. All the more astonishing, then, that up to now all this has found no precise theoretical cognizance, nor the assessment it deserves! (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 201).

By emphasizing prosaics, Bakhtin wants to elevate ordinary speech to what he considers its rightful place in an understanding of human experience.¹⁸ To do this, he proposes a philosophy of the everyday which comes very close to Heidegger's.

Like both Heidegger and Vygotsky, Bakhtin focuses on the processual nature of living and the interanimation of the individual and the social.¹⁹ Believing humans and social entities such as culture are not independent spatial wholes with internal territories, Bakhtin locates them partially "outside" themselves. This outsideness alludes to something similar to the idea mentioned earlier of mind extending beyond the skin, but in this case it seems to be directed more toward a basic characteristic of the public space (in Heideggerese, the clearing) -- "surplus of vision".

When one person faces another, his experience is conditioned by his "outsideness." Even in the physical sense, one always sees something in the other that one does not see in oneself. I can see the world behind your back; when I see another person suffering, I, but not he, can "see the clear blue sky

¹⁸This approach is very much in keeping with the Russian anti-ideological thinking of writers such as Tolstoy and Chekov.

¹⁹While Bakhtin and his colleagues were aware of Vygotsky's theories -- indeed, Vygotsky's cousin David was a part of the Bakhtinian circle, there is no indication the group was familiar with Heidegger's work (Kozulin, 1990, p. 180).

against whose background his suffering external image takes on meaning for me" (Bakhtin, 1979, p. 25 in Emerson & Morson, 1990, p. 53).

Because we can see things about others that we cannot see about ourselves, we each have a different "surplus". This surplus means that each of us is a singular entity; radically so according to Bakhtin in that we are irreplaceable, i.e., we each occupy a unique place in time and space.

Since this view already sounds very much like Heidegger's, it should be no surprise to learn that Bakhtin also had problems avoiding subject/object linguistic conventions in describing his philosophy. In lieu of Newtonian metaphors of territories, boundaries, and bodies, he uses more abstract words and phrases such as "oscillating fields," "obscuring mists," "elastic environments," and "live media." A typical example is his description of culture.

The realm of culture has no internal territory: it is entirely distributed along the boundaries, boundaries pass everywhere, through its every aspect . . . Every cultural act lives essentially on the boundaries: in this is its seriousness and significance; abstracted from boundaries it loses its soil, it becomes empty, arrogant, it degenerates and dies (Bakhtin, 1975, p. 25).

Fortunately, Bakhtin's metaphysics includes far fewer of these cryptic passages than does Heidegger's.

The most trenchant point Bakhtin makes in discussing the importance of prosaics (in the second, broader sense) is that "the natural state of things is *mess*" (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 30). He posits two kinds of forces in the everyday world, the centripetal ("official") and the centrifugal ("unofficial"). Centripetal forces seek to impose order and centrifugal forces disrupt it, either purposefully or for no particular reason. Since things are naturally messy, there are more centrifugal than centripetal forces, a circumstance contemporary science has yet to come to

terms with. In looking for linear regularities and predictability, science continues to toss off the messy as useless "residue".²⁰ But to Bakhtin, it is the residue which is most important.

What counts to Bakhtin is not the big events in our lives, those that stand out as obvious milestones, but our moment-by-moment effort and the "tiny, tiny alterations" in consciousness that occur without our being aware of them (Tolstoy, 1964). Because the world is messy, with centrifugal forces continually impinging on order to make each act unrepeatable, wholeness is a matter of work, a personal responsibility we cannot avoid. This reflects the centrality of ethics to Bakhtin's prosaics. "We are always creating ourselves and our world. Prosaically, moment to moment, our actions matter and have moral value" (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 171). To Bakhtin, obligation, the "oughtness" of responsibility, does not lie in occasional extraordinary situations such as crises, which tend to dissolve prosaically-constituted personal responsibility in favor of externally imposed mandates, nor in the absolutes of an impersonal system of norms and principles (Morson & Emerson, 1990). Neither does Bakhtin's ethics support relativism, which he sees as the other side of the same coin as absolutism.

In ethics, absolutism destroys the oughtness of an event by replacing it with rules; relativists agree that ethics is a matter of rules but deny that nonarbitrary rules can exist. Neither position is compatible with ethical action as Bakhtin . . . understood it (Ibid., p. 26).

According to Bakhtin, ethics is a matter of unsystematizable wisdom, not generalized, rule-governed knowledge.

²⁰Continued work in quantum mechanics and recent developments in chaos theory are helping to alter this attitude (see Gleick, 1987).

Not only is Bakhtin convinced that the world is messy, he also believes it is inherently open. He captures this idea in his concept of unfinalizability, which he defines as the innovation, “surprisingness,” freedom, creativity, and potentiality that are present in every moment (Ibid., p. 37). Unfinalizability alludes to the quirks and unforeseen, unexpected occurrences Bakhtin found immanent in daily living. It also suggests an absence of closure, where everything remains permanently in the future. Unfinalizability in this sense applies not only to events, which can never be instantiations of underlying preexisting laws, but also to people, who are always in the process of becoming.²¹ Moreover, unfinalizability encompasses an open view of time and space, which to Bakhtin are not neutral mathematical abstractions but qualitative variables dependent on the social activities with which they are associated. The different ways that people and events and time and space are related Bakhtin called “chronotopes.” Much of his analysis of novelistic writing plumbs the rich chronotopes of this genre for what they reveal about the relationship between human action and its context.

Context is very important to Bakhtin, as important as situatedness is to Heidegger and Vygotsky. To Bakhtin, things and animals have surroundings, but only humans can have contexts. And to have contexts requires at least two consciousnesses.

This brings us to dialogue, the third and most misunderstood concept in Bakhtin's work. Of the many ways he uses dialogue, none reduces it to a synonym for verbal interaction between isolated subjects (or monads, as he called them), a common variant of the transmission of

²¹See also Rogers, 1961.

information model described earlier in this chapter. Bakhtin thought the monadic model trivialized the idea of dialogue and revealed the theoretism he so abhorred (Morson & Emerson, 1990).

In its broadest sense, dialogue is a model of the ongoing, unfinalizable world in which self and society are derivative.

The dialogic nature of consciousness. The dialogic nature of human life itself. The single adequate form for *verbally expressing* authentic human life is the *open-ended dialogue*. Life by its very nature is dialogue. To live means to participate in dialogue: to ask questions, to heed, to respond, to agree, and so forth. In this dialogue a person participates wholly and throughout his whole life: with eyes, lips, hands, soul, spirit, with his whole body and deeds. He invests his entire self in discourse . . . (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 294).

Again, we see another view of the "enfoldment" of human embodiment and activity. To Bakhtin,

To be means to be for another, and through the other for oneself. A person has no sovereign internal territory, he is wholly and always on the boundary; looking inside himself, he looks into the eyes of another or with the eyes of another (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 287).

Thus the Bakhtinian self, as the Heideggerian self, is not an isolated subject. Bakhtin's self is an event structured in cognitive time and space which manifests as an ongoing dialogic relation between I and other comprised of three parts: I-for-myself (how I see myself), I-for-others (how I see others) and the-other-for-me (how others see me) (Morson & Emerson, 1990; Holquist, 1991). Each of us continually makes sense of our existence by placing ourselves and others in time and space; however because of outsideness and the surplus of vision, how I see myself will always be different from how I see others, and vice versa.²² And yet "being

²²Central to Bakhtin's theory of the self is aesthetics, which surfaces in the creative act, whether noticeable as a painting or a poem or more implicit in moment-to-moment daily acts. One implicit act we continuously engage in is creating images we hold of each other

[to Bakhtin, as to Heidegger] is a simultaneity; it is always co-being" (Ibid., p. 25). Because of co-being, the self is always in dialogue, which in its narrowest sense is an utterance, a reply, and a relation between the two.

The utterance is the core of Bakhtin's metalinguistics, the place where the relationship between *langue* and *parole* resides. As the only unit of analysis of speech communication, the utterance at its simplest is all that is said during one speaking turn.²³ Isolated words and sentences to Bakhtin are neutral units of language which make up utterances; necessary but not sufficient for understanding the nature of discourse.

Words belong to nobody and in themselves evaluate nothing
(Bakhtin, 1986a, p. 85).

[Literal] dictionary meanings of the words of a language ensure their common features and guarantee that all speakers of a given language will understand one another, but the use of words in live speech communication is always individual and contextual (Ibid., p. 88).

One does not exchange sentences any more than one exchanges words (in the strict linguistic sense) or phrases. One exchanges utterances that are constructed from language units: words, phrases and sentences (Ibid., p. 75).

To understand the significance of the utterance for Bakhtin, we need to examine his central organizing concept -- multivoicedness.²⁴

by utilizing the "surplus". Since a self is always given, it has no choice but to establish a relationship to the world by taking responsibility for the relationship. Those who refuse to find meaning in existence Bakhtin called pretenders, because they live "as if they were characters in a novel" (Emerson & Morson, 1990, p. 181). This self-abdication occurs when they become "soul-slaves," falsely identifying their I-for-myself images in a mirror as the I-for-others. It also occurs to those who live ritualized or "represented" lives, hiding behind their specific roles in society. This self-abdication parallels Heidegger's notion of inauthenticity, where *Dasein* takes on the public roles of the world.

²³Bakhtin preferred the term speech communication to discourse or speech. His use of utterance should not be confused with the way it is used in speech act theory. While both focus on what transpires in speaking turns, Bakhtin criticizes speech act theory for trying to codify context itself (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 58).

²⁴ This has been called variously dialogism (Holquist, 1990), dialogizing (Morson & Emerson, 1990), and dialogicality (Wertsch, 1991). Bakhtin most frequently used the term double-voicing.

Unlike Saussure, who saw parole as chaos caused by an individual's freedom to choose whatever words he or she likes, Bakhtin found patterns in speech communication which limit a speaker's choice of words (Holquist, 1986). This assertion implies something akin to the Heideggerian idea of "room for maneuver," the limited number of existential possibilities open to Dasein in any given situation. In any dialogic context, we as Bakhtinian speakers have room for maneuver within two inter-related linguistic possibilities. Both circumscribe the words we choose and the way we use them.

The first possibility is the particular "stock" from which we "rent" words to construct utterances (Voloshinov, 1973). The stock in this case is owned by other people.

The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes "one's own" only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language (it is not, after all, out of a dictionary that the speaker gets his words!), but rather exists in other people's mouths, in other people's concrete contexts, serving other people's intentions; it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one's own (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 293-294).²⁵

. . . a word presents itself not as an item of vocabulary but as a word that has been used in a wide variety of utterances by co-speaker A, co-speaker B, co-speaker C and so on, and has been variously used in the speaker's own utterances (Voloshinov, 1973, p. 70).

This is where the ontological nature of culture comes in for Bakhtin, through our sharing of language in the development of speech. For

²⁵Here Bakhtin uses "the word" to mean the utterance or words-in-use, which includes their appropriated social meanings.

Bakhtin, "to learn to speak means to learn to construct utterances"
(Bakhtin, 1986a, p. 78).

I live in a world of other's words . . . and my entire life is an orientation to this world. . . . Everything that pertains to me enters my consciousness, beginning with my name, from the external world through the mouths of others (my mother, and so forth), with their intonation, in their emotional and value-assigning tonality. I realize myself initially through others; from them I receive words, forms, and tonalities for the formation of my initial idea of myself. The elements of infantilism in self-awareness . . . sometimes remain until the end of life . . . Just as the body is formed initially in the mother's womb (body), a person's consciousness awakens wrapped in another's consciousness (Bakhtin, 1986a, pp. 143, 138).

The second linguistic possibility in any dialogic context comes from the fact that utterances are not completely free combinations of forms of language; they are not purely individual acts (Holquist, 1981b). What truly limits our choice of words are typical forms of utterances called speech genres, extremely heterogeneous ways of using language based on spheres of human activity which impose "normative restraints" on how and what we say (Bakhtin, 1986a, p. xvii). Speech genres include, for example,

short rejoinders of daily dialogue, everyday narration, writing, the brief standard military command, business documents, broad social and political commentary, scientific statements, and all literary genres (Bakhtin, 1986a, p. 62).

Each genre implies a set of values, a way of thinking about kinds of experience, and an intuition about the appropriateness of applying the genres in any given context (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 292).

We speak in diverse genres without suspecting that they exist . . . We are given these speech genres in almost the same way that we are given our native language, which we master fluently long before we begin to study grammar. . . . If speech genres did not exist and we had not mastered them, if we had to originate them during the speech process and construct each utterance at will for the first time, speech communication would be almost impossible (Bakhtin, 1986a, p. 78).

Speech genres constitute the wisdom of daily life and are central to what Bakhtin calls the "prosaic intelligence" or "prosaic vision" of human existence (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 292). As repositories of historical experience, they are unpremeditated, unsystematized adaptations of linguistic change, constantly shaping past purposes for present use. They are also part of what Bakhtin calls heteroglossia, the centrifugal speech styles of different language groups, cultures, and classes which are always present in every society. Not only are we each constituted by at least one national language (e.g., English, German, Spanish, etc.), we also become immersed in the social languages of the strata in society to which we belong at any given time (e.g. class, vocation, age group, geographic region, etc.) (Morson & Emerson, 1990; Wertsch, 1991).²⁶ These different languages, with their "specific way[s] of conceptualizing, understanding, and evaluating the world" then become interanimated, or dialogized, as we switch between them without being aware we are doing so (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 141; Holquist & Emerson, 1981). This coming together is not a random process, however, but one which follows learned patterns of privileging reflecting the vested interests of contemporary institutional powers to prefer one "language" over another (Wertsch, 1991, p. 126).²⁷ Contrary then to the static transmission model of communication, this heteroglot perspective sees the utterance as a battle zone where extralinguistic centrifugal forces of opposition and difference constantly prevent any lasting unity.

²⁶Wittgenstein's (1972) similar notion of "language games" also suggests the variety of ways language is used within one seemingly homogeneous national language.

²⁷Think, for example, of the asymmetry of teachers' speech and that of students in classroom discourse, or the privileging of official scientific language in Western societies.

What distinguishes Bakhtin's theory of language are these multivoiced, multileveled qualities, loosely subsumed under the rubric "dialogue" as it is continually framed in the utterance. His metalinguistics dissolves the traditional langue/parole binary opposition by acknowledging the importance of active knowing through the moment-to-moment joint creation of meaning. That this is actually how we communicate can be better appreciated by looking at the four constitutive features of the utterance.

First, utterances have addressivity. Because we use words for specific purposes in specific situations, what we say always has an intended audience. Most often this audience is one or more co-speakers in the immediate speech situation. Unlike in the transmission model, however, these others are not a passive, abstract ideal but active listener-speakers who also populate their words with intention. In addition,

. . . speakers always shape an utterance . . . according to the particular image in which they model the belief they will be understood, a belief that is a priori of all speech. Thus each speaker authors an utterance not only with an audience-addressee, but a superaddressee in mind (Bakhtin, 1986a, p. xviii).

The superaddressee is an invisible third party (e.g., God, the public, one's contemporaries, science, etc.) which "embodies a principle of hope" (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 135). For example, I might say, "Would you listen to her!" while in a heated discussion with one other person, indicating a parenthetical appeal to a reasonable but absent judge who if present would corroborate my side of the argument.

Second, utterances have expressive intonation. Intonation reflects the emotional-evaluative context of consciousness; without evaluation, understanding is impossible (Bakhtin, 1986a, p. 142). Because words are

polysemantic and can refer to contrasting contexts, their evaluative accent can change, so that it is possible for two verbally identical utterances to mean different things (Emerson & Morson, 1990, p. 126). For example, how I say "Watch the cat" as we sit in a room where the cat is playing with a piece of string is completely different from how I say it when someone is about to unknowingly sit on the cat as she sleeps on the sofa. Moreover, frequently what determines tone is

not . . . the referential content of the utterance and not . . . the experiences of the speaker, but . . . the relationship of the speaker to the individual personality of the other speaker (to his rank, his importance, and so forth) (Bakhtin, 1986a, p. 154).

Thus the tone I use to express my displeasure over a work situation in private with a friend would certainly be different from how I express it to my superior at work. Clearly then, "tone belongs to the utterance, not to the [actual] word" (Ibid., p. 86). In fact, often intonation is the only thing an utterance conveys.²⁸

The third feature of utterances is their assumed responsiveness.

As a relation, the utterance is a "two-sided act,"

. . . determined equally by whose word it is and for whom it is meant. As word, it is precisely the product of the reciprocal relationship between speaker and listener, addresser and addressee I give myself verbal shape from another's point of view" (Voloshinov, 1973, p. 86).

²⁸As an example, both Voloshinov (1973, p. 103) and Vygotsky (1986, p. 241) recount a real-life story told by Dostoevsky of having overheard a "conversation" among six inebriated men in which only one word (a common Russian obscenity) was used by each in turn to convey a range of feelings, including disdain, doubt, anger, ecstasy, disapproval, and indignation. This is reminiscent of an American comedy routine from the 1960's where a man and a woman, saying only each other's name ("John" and "Marsha"), were able to affect a hilarious sequence of appropriate and completely understandable rejoinders by varying only the tone of their voices and their nonverbal behavior.

Even with utterances as short as one word, such as "Right!", or one sentence, such as "Here's the pencil," something must have been added to it to make it an utterance.

Someone must say it to someone, must respond to something and anticipate a response, must be accomplishing something by the saying of it (Bakhtin, 1986a, p. 126).

Any utterance . . . makes response to something and is calculated to be responded to in turn. It is but one link in a continuous chain of speech performances (Voloshinov, 1973, p. 72).

Two factors which enter into responsiveness are who we are addressing and what we are talking about. When we speak with other people, we always have a sense, even if only tacit, of their familiarity with the topic of conversation and how receptive they might be to our remarks given their own particular orientations (Bakhtin, 1986a, p. 96). In addition, we take into account our own responsive relationship with the topic (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 137). Because we exist in a world that is "already-spoken-about," where topics are "overpopulated" with other people's utterances about them, our words have a "stylistic aura" irreducibly composed of remembered earlier contexts capable of being reaccented in the present (Ibid., p. 139).

Every time we speak, we respond to something spoken before and we take a stand in response to earlier utterances about the topic. The way we sense those earlier utterances -- as hostile or sympathetic, authoritative or feeble, socially and temporally close or distant -- shapes the content and style of what we say. We sense these alien utterances in the object itself. It is as if the object were coated with a sort of glue preserving earlier characterizations of it (Ibid., p. 137).

The last feature of utterances is their authorship. The concept of authorship ties together Bakhtin's various theories of language, the novel, and the self by focusing on the ways we as embodied speakers create

utterances through an explicit or implicit voice. This sense of voice goes beyond mere vocal-auditory signals to encompass the active speaking consciousness and "the broader issues of a [speaker's] perspective, conceptual horizon, intention, and world view" (Wertsch, 1991, p. 51). Every utterance we encounter, whether oral or written, is always "heard" as being voiced by someone. Usually that someone is a person with whom we are engaged in a face-to-face verbal conversation. Often too it is the author of a text we are reading or a character within a novel. Frequently, however, the voice is a past speaker of some assimilated authoritative discourse or an absent other whose words are being passed on to us. These latter voices suggest a third way Bakhtin uses dialogue, to indicate how individuals "ventriloquate" by using one voice to speak through another voice or voice type (Bakhtin, 1981; Holquist, 1981a; Wertsch, 1991).

The idea of ventriloquation is based on the fact that to Bakhtin, (and to Voloshinov and Vygotsky), psychic life *is* inner (dialogic) speech. This approach to mind goes against the systemic, finalized view proposed by Freud which has dominated psychological thought for almost one hundred years. In all their writing, Bakhtin, Voloshinov, and Vygotsky avoid invoking an unconscious. They

. . . argue instead for a richer, more varied, and more diverse picture of *consciousness*. Where Freud describes a conflict between the conscious and the unconscious, Voloshinov and Bakhtin describe a complex dialogue among the numerous, diverse, socially heteroglot voices present in inner speech. (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 175).

Bakhtin and Voloshinov identified numerous kinds of discourse, many of which involve ventriloquation. Two examples germane to this paper are authoritative discourse and innerly persuasive discourse. In

authoritative discourse, ventriloquation is impossible because this type of discourse does not allow for interanimation.

. . . [I]t binds us, quite independent of any power it might have to persuade us internally; we encounter it with its authority fused to it It enters into our verbal consciousness as a compact and indivisible mass: one must either totally affirm it, or totally reject it (Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 342, 343).

Bakhtin cites as examples of authoritative utterances religious, political, and moral texts and "the word of the father, of adults, of teachers, etc." (Wertsch, 1991, p. 78). We've encountered the effects of this kind of utterance when we've said something only to be immediately (and often disconcertingly) aware that the words and the tone we used sounded exactly like one of our parents. It is then we are reminded of old allegiances and the impossibility of completely eliminating these lingering authoritative voices from our speech. However, such is not the case for the innerly persuasive utterance, which also bears the authority of someone else's voice but has been interanimated with one's own voice as well. In this instance there is room for growth and change and the possibility of moving away from what we no longer find influential.

The process of distancing innerly persuasive voices is of great importance in psychic and ideological development. . . . One may suppose that it is often painful to encounter a reminder -- an old letter, old notes, a diary entry, something that brings to mind an intense inner argument -- of how one used to orchestrate inner dialogues, because we recognize how large a role was played by voices and perspectives that we have since rejected or outgrown in ourselves and criticized in others (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 222).

Perhaps the best illustration of ventriloquation is reported speech, which Voloshinov (1973) defines as

. . . speech within speech, utterance within utterance, and at the same time also speech about speech, utterance about utterance (p. 115).²⁹

An example of reported speech is my saying in the midst of a conversation, "Karen said, 'This will never work,'" or "I told the man parked in my driveway, 'You'll have to move your truck. I need to use my car.'"

Indirectly, I could report these same incidents by saying "Karen said it would never work" and "I told the man parked in my driveway he'd have to move his truck because I needed to use my car."³⁰

Both Voloshinov and Bakhtin provide extensive classifications for the various ways reporting and reported contexts can interpenetrate given how we hear the words of others. This type of utterance provides a fitting conclusion to this section on Bakhtin because it shows that to some extent all speech is reported speech. Forever the "reenter," we use language to make present the past by reaccenting the words of others. This is why the answer to the classic Bakhtinian question, "Who is doing the talking?" is always -- at least two voices.

Summary

The main contribution of the HVB perspective is its dissolution of traditional Cartesian dualisms of self/other, individual/society, and language/speech -- all reifications, according to Bakhtin, which mistake "analytic categories for actual, existent entities" (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 192). In the HVB view, our being unfolds moment by moment within a meaningful, socially shared background as we involve ourselves in practical activity and the prosaics which constitute our daily inner and

²⁹Bakhtin's analogous category is double-voiced speech.

³⁰As a side note, my "reporting" of examples in this paragraph might be considered triple-voiced speech.

outer dialogue. Most of our waking hours our activity moves us through seamless situations, projecting us into the "surprisingness" of every next moment by shifting our readiness to whatever shows up as mattering, to whatever is relevant for the public stand we take on ourselves as Dasein. Occupied by transparent coping where we understand things and other people directly through our comportment with them, we "know" *a priori* detached mental reflection. In the HVB view, knowledge is our familiarity with the world, the prosaic intelligibility by which the fundamental circularity of human existence is continually revealed.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

To exist is to take a stand on what is essential about one's being and to be defined by that stand. Thus Dasein is what in its social activity, it interprets itself to be. Human beings do not already have some specific nature. It makes no sense to ask whether we are essentially rational animals, creatures of God, organisms with built-in needs, sexual beings, or complex computers. Human beings can interpret themselves in any of these ways and many more [T]o be human is not to be essentially any of them. Human being is essentially simply self-interpreting (Dreyfus, 1992, p. 23).

For most of the Western world, selfhood is understood to be integral to human consciousness. Because we humans are language users who can think and speak reflexively in lived time (Gergen, 1982; Bruner, 1990; Kerby, 1991), we are beings for whom a sense of a predictable, continuous self is important (James, 1890/1950; Josselson, 1990; Kerby, 1991; Baumeister, 1992). How we construe the self, however, is another matter.

As we saw in the last chapter, the HVB self has no meaning apart from the particular moments and unrepeatable circumstances of daily existence (Morson & Emerson, 1990; Cushman, 1990). Always-already-given as a result of its situated thrownness, the embodied self remains in a state of becoming, or "creative flux" (Theriot, 1990), as it constitutes and is constituted by its being-in-the-world through the meanings, languages and practices of the cultures in which it dwells (Leonard, 1989; Cushman, 1990; Griffin, 1992). This of course is not how most Americans have

traditionally thought of the self.¹ Rather we have assumed we are isolated subjects located "somewhere between our eyes and our ears" (Watts, 1980, p. 3), who possess a body and assorted attributes, act mainly by rational choice, and are independent not only from our ends and purposes but from other people and the objective world "out there" (Leonard, 1989). It is this construal of self, Nietzsche's (1968) "doer before the deed," which psychology has embraced in its study of human functioning.²

In this chapter we explore the topic of women and competence by looking at three ways the self has been treated in psychology -- as essence, as agent, and as narrator. Each of these perspectives tells us something different about how gender is construed, and therefore what it means to be a capable female.

The first section discusses the essential self, an interpretation which considers innate biological factors to be the underlying delineator of behavior. Competence according to this view is influenced to a great extent by specific factors in people's physiological makeups which are believed to predispose them to behave in certain ways.

¹Westen (1992) notes the problems with using "modern" and "Western" to describe the contemporary self in technologically advanced societies. He questions whether the alternative to Western is Eastern? Or Third World? Or perhaps rural Western? Because of this confusion, I restrict my comments to the American self, although what can be said about this self is certainly applicable to how the self is construed in many other countries.

²One notable exception is Skinnerian behaviorism, which dominated psychology for almost 50 years beginning after World War I. Behaviorism denied behavior was determined by a conscious, autonomous self. Rather it was understood to be the result of a lifelong history of rewards and punishments originating in a person's environment (see, for example, Skinner, 1938, 1957). In this regard, Skinner's view of experience is close to Heidegger's in that, as nonCartesians, both emphasize a situated way of being and point out the weaknesses of intentional explanations of behavior (Skinner, 1990; Baum & Heath, 1992). However, their epistemologies differ significantly. For Skinner, people's recollections of past events are all that is needed to explain their present behavior. For Heidegger, being-in-the-world includes not only having-beeness but also being-amidst and being-ahead-of-itself (projection into future possibilities). For Skinner, the empiricist, "brute data" explains behavior (Taylor, 1985a, p. 122). For Heidegger, the existential phenomenologist, hermeneutics is paramount.

Section two looks at the agentic self. Agency in Heideggerian terminology is one's perceived ability to comport oneself with what one encounters. A more situated view of the self, this interpretation takes into account our interactivity with the world. Still, competence is thought to be largely dependent on internal characteristics under individual control.

In the third section, the idea of the narrative self is examined. This approach emphasizes the storied nature of human existence (Sarbin, 1986) and our use of symbolic modes of being, especially language, to construct social reality. Like the HVB account, social constructionist theories acknowledge that we do not simply behave in static situations but actively create our world as we give meaning to our lives (Gergen & Gergen, 1984). Competence according to a narrative perspective is not merely the possession of a certain amount of ability and knowledge nor how we comport ourselves with others and our environment, but how we construct our worlds from our experiences, especially in novel situations when we don't already know what to do (Holt, 1964; Valsiner, 1984; Morson & Emerson, 1990). Central to this interpretation is Bakhtinian dialogicality, which introduces the idea of voice as the major parameter of self.

The chapter ends with a brief discussion in section four of women and the workplace. Here we see how all three views of self play out, especially for the bright and ambitious women who have moved up the organizational hierarchy. Questions of competence in this context become much more complex, revealing a host of factors with major implications for voice.

The Essential Self

To answer the fundamental question "Who am I?," we construct boundaries across our field of experience, symbolic categories which allow us to organize our world by assigning names to things (Wilber, 1979). This ability also gives us the power to manufacture opposites (e.g. up and down, good and bad, true and false, masculine and feminine). But here is where we often get ourselves into trouble, for "the world of opposites is a world of conflict" in which we tend to assume opposites are fundamentally irreconcilable (Wilber, p. 18; Thiele, 1986). Such is particularly the case with the category "gender".

The belief in the existence of an essential, gendered individual with identifiable asymmetric sex specific traits is a Western invention which emerged in Europe over two hundred years ago with the shift from a religious, moral view of the nature of male and female to a secular, medicalized view (Connell, 1987). This change was supported by the political and economic upheaval of the Industrial Revolution, beginning early in the 1800's as Europe became increasingly less agrarian and more mercantile and subject to a mechanistic, irreversible conception of time (Verhave & Van Hoorn, 1984; Watts, 1980; Taylor, 1985; Cushman, 1990; Wertsch, 1991). During this period, a physical and psychological split took place in the relationship between home and work (Oakley, 1974). Where once men and women had worked side by side, participating equally in the domestic and economic well-being of the household, soon their labor became nonoverlapping spheres of competence, with women responsible for the care of the family and home and men responsible for work away from home (Miller, 1986; Thiele, 1986; Connell, 1987; Goldner, 1988; Tavris,

1992; Griffin, 1992). It wasn't long before many came to believe that this sexual division of labor reflected innate qualities which justified the "naturalness" of women's place in the private domain of the family and men's place in the public domain of politics and work (Kessler & McKenna, 1978; Elshtain, 1981; Siltanen & Stanworth, 1984; Tavis, 1992).

While arguments for this division of labor have been made on economic grounds alone, this structure has primarily served as a political means to institutionalize androcentrism, the privileging of male experience over that of females (Unger, 1979; Thiele, 1986; Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990; Riger, 1992; Tavis, 1992, Bem, 1993). In androcentric societies (which for centuries has been most societies around the world), male represents the positive and neutral or unmarked human type, the universal reference point, while female is the negative and marked type, the "other" (Beauvoir, 1911, Eisler, 1987; Bem, 1993; Fasold, 1990). In America, an androcentric bias pervades all our institutions, including our scientific ones. Such is particularly the case in the social sciences, where one would expect more sensitivity to this issue (Thiele, 1986).

For years, psychological theory was said to reflect the universal human experience, although most psychologists were male and the research they conducted in support of this claim used predominantly white, middle-class, college-age male subjects (Parlee, 1979; Sherif, 1979; Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990; Phares, 1992; Yoder & Kahn, 1993). When in the 1960's women finally did become visible as subjects of inquiry in psychology, it was not so they could be understood in their own right, but so their differences from the androcentric norm could be mapped out (Kahn & Gaeddert, 1985; Nicolson, 1992; Riger, 1992; Bem, 1993).

Much of the justification for sexual inequality came from biological explanations which first appeared in the late 1800's. As a result of work by noted scholars such as Edward Clarke (1873) and Herbert Spencer (1873), women of that era were dissuaded from engaging in too much intellectual activity for fear of depleting their limited supply of energy and thus compromising their reproductive organs and health in general (Barnett, 1978, Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990; Bem, 1993). Women were also enjoined from extending themselves outside the private domain because of their supposed less evolved mental faculties, assumed to be a result of evolutionary selection as proposed by Charles Darwin (1871) and others (see Geddes & Thomson, 1890). Even as recently as the 1970's, an evolutionary rationale has been used by sociobiologists such as Edward O. Wilson (1975) and David Barash (1979) to argue for a universal genetic basis for male dominance and autonomy and female passivity and nurturance (Nicolson, 1992).

In its desire to emulate the natural sciences, psychology too turned to biological explanations to explain individual differences. For years, the two most popular biological explanations for women's moods, illnesses and behavioral instabilities have been their "raging hormones" (Delaney, Lupton & Toth, 1976; Beach, 1981; Feder, 1984; Meany, 1988; Spencer & Snyder, 1984; Fausto-Sterling, 1985) and genetic differences in sexual development, including differences in brain structure and function (Fausto-Sterling, 1985; Tavris, 1992). In contrast, men's moods and unstable behaviors have seldom been attributed to their biology (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990).

These interpretations have been buttressed by Freud's (1925, 1931, 1933) psychoanalytic theory, based on females' supposed genital inferiority

to males. In Freud's view, girls' identify with their primary caretakers, their mothers, while boys do not. Thus while boys are learning to see themselves as separate individuals, independent of others, girls are learning to understand themselves connected and embedded in webs of bonds with others (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1986).

This developmental fact of continuity with others [is believed to explain], in part, girls' greater capacity for empathy and their greater preoccupation with relationships with others (Josselson, 1990, p. 170).

It is also thought to explain the subsequent traumas girls endure because of their assumed lack of individuation (Chodorow, 1978; Josselson, 1990).

Influenced by these essentialist theories, much of the psychological research prior to the feminist movement in the 1960's supported the stereotype of women as innately intuitive, emotional, nurturing, peace-loving, self-effacing, childlike, and illogical (Barnett, 1978; Nicolson, 1992), qualities deemed unsuitable for negotiating the challenging world of work outside the home. Along with these beliefs came a parallel stereotype that intelligence, strength, and seriousness were associated with the "normal," thin, muscular male body configuration (Tavris, 1992). To be round and big-breasted, like most women, was deemed a sign of softness, passivity, and incapacity (Silverstein, Peterson, & Perdue, 1986, Tavris, 1992).

Remnants of these stereotypes persist today, played out by a society obsessed with weight and body shape. Daily, an unprecedented number of females put their health and lives at stake as they binge, purge, diet and seek risky surgeries in order to comply with the mixed and frequently fluctuating messages in American society about how they are expected to

look and fit in (Jordan et al., 1991). Still the "other," today's women are under constant pressure to accept definitions of their bodies and minds, and therefore their behavior, as abnormal, deficient, and diseased (Koeske, 1981; Laws, 1983; Fausto-Sterling, 1985; Ussher & Wilding, 1991; Tavriss, 1992).

The ultimate crux of the essentialist argument, however, is not whether biological differences explain anything important about male and female behavior, but whether such ". . . differences [can ever] justify the sexual inequality that has, for centuries, been a feature of human social life" (Bem, 1993, p. 38). Many psychologists, believing such not to be the case, have moved away from an essentialist stance to explore other ways of viewing the individual that account for situational factors as well. One such approach is based on the self as an agent.

The Agentic Self

The agentic interpretation considers what individuals do rather than who they essentially are. That agency is important to an American sense of self is not surprising given our liberal Jeffersonian democratic ethos, our capitalist economy, and our Judeo-Christian heritage (Seligman & Miller, 1979; Bellah et al., 1985; Peterson, 1991a; Bem, 1993). To be a good citizen in this country has always meant, above all else, to be active, independent, capable, and in control (Robertson, 1980; Lea, 1982; Polanyi, 1989; Cushman, 1990; Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990; Josephs et al., 1992; DeAngelis, 1992; Baumeister, 1992). Prime examples of this line of thought in psychology come from three well-known cognates in the

social psychological literature -- locus of control, self-efficacy, and learned helplessness.

Locus of control (LOC) is a "generalized, pervasive and consistent response tendency of individuals that influences their ability to cope across a wide range of situations . . ." (Lee, 1984, p. 38; Rotter, 1954, 1966). It is thought to manifest itself in one of two mutually exclusive orientations -- internal or external. Those with an internal locus believe their outcomes are caused by their own actions, while those with an external locus believe their outcomes are due to luck, fate, chance or powers outside their control (Strickland, 1989). The large LOC literature purportedly shows how important locus of control is in explaining how individuals "construe their world, plan their activities, and regulate their behavior in a wide variety of situations (Strickland, 1989, p. 7; Hale & Cochran, 1986). In this country, having an internal locus is considered the normal and hence desirable state.

Self-efficacy is a person's perceived ability to execute specific behaviors in specific situations (Bandura, 1977; Lee, 1984). It is believed to include a constellation of cognitive, social and behavioral skills which function to determine not only what activities an individual will or will not engage in, but "how much effort [he or she] will expend and how long [he or she] will persist in the face of obstacles or aversive experiences" (Bandura, 1982, p. 123, 1989). One's level of perceived self-efficacy has been found to be important in a number of domains, including intellectual achievement (Farrari & Parker, 1992; Zimmerman, et al., 1992), career development (Betz & Hackett, 1981; Betz, 1992), bereavement support (Zambelli & DeRosa, 1992); physical endurance (Weinberg et al., 1979), immune function (Kiecolt-Glaser & Glaser, 1992), and post coronary

rehabilitation (Ewart et al., 1983; Terry, 1992). Again, high self-efficacy, or the perception that one is capable and in control, is the desired state.

The most recent of the agency cognates is learned helplessness (LH), which is a performance deficit resulting from an expectation of uncontrollability, or response-outcome noncontingency. The original learned helplessness hypothesis arose from experiments on dogs given an inescapable aversive stimulus in a learning situation (Seligman & Maier, 1967; Seligman, 1975). Those which became passive and fearful in subsequent trials and exhibited no sign of learning were said to demonstrate LH. Analog studies of humans showed similar results, with some helpless subjects exhibiting poor motivation, cognitive disruption, and emotional disturbance, including low self-esteem and reactive depression (see, for example, Sue, 1977). However, these studies also showed wide variability in human reactions to uncontrollability, leading to a reformulation of the original LH model in the late 1970's (Abramson et al., 1978; Buchwald et al., 1978; Peterson, 1991a).

The reformulated model includes the causal attributions people make for their helplessness.³ These attributions were found to vary along three dimensions: internality vs. externality, stability vs. instability, and globality vs. specificity. People whose explained their helplessness as internal ("It's me"), stable ("It will last forever"), and global ("It will

³Causal attributions and causal explanations are used in this paper synonymously, as they are in much of the literature dealing with attribution theory (Heider, 1958; Kelley, 1967). However, Hilton (1990) presents a strong argument for distinguishing between the two. His point is that attributions are made without engaging in conversation. Explanation, on the other hand, always involves someone explaining something to someone, i.e. social interaction (even, not coincidentally, if it is inner speech, a view compatible with Vygotsky's idea of the internalization of interpersonal functions). Although an indepth discussion of this difference is beyond the scope of this paper, it does indicate there remain conceptual and methodological problems with attribution theory, long considered an important contribution to social science.

undermine everything I do") have been found to be more susceptible to depression than people who make external, unstable, and specific attributions (Abramson, et al, 1978, 1980).

Lately, this attributional, or (as it is becoming more commonly called) explanatory style has been extended to reflect the habitual ways people explain the causes of any event in their lives, good or bad, not just their helplessness (Peterson & Seligman, 1984; Peterson, 1991a). This line of thinking has induced some to consider explanatory style as a measure of optimism and pessimism (Peterson, Seligman, & Vaillant, 1988; Seligman, 1991). Optimists look at the good things that happen to them as internal, stable, and global and attribute bad events to external, unstable and situational factors. Pessimists, in contrast, do the opposite. Whether one's explanatory style is optimistic or pessimistic has been shown to affect academic performance (Peterson & Barrett, 1987), athletic performance (Seligman et al, 1990) productivity and quitting at work (Seligman & Schulman, 1986), and physical health (Peterson & Seligman, 1987; Peterson, 1988; Lin & Peterson, 1990).

Of particular relevance for this paper is evidence that parents' explanatory styles influence children's explanatory styles and behavior. With spontaneous explanations occurring on average once a minute during adult speech (Seligman, 1991), children have ample opportunity to learn how to explain the daily misfortunes, great or small, which befall them and those closest to them. In a study of academic performance, for example, Vanden Belt & Peterson (1991) found that "[t]hose children whose parents attributed bad events to internal, stable, and global causes tended not to fulfill their potential in the classroom" (Ibid., p. 331). These researchers presume that parental beliefs, especially about bad events, are

internalized by children, who then act in accordance with them. In a review of a number of studies of this phenomenon, Turk and Bry (1992) show that the origin of children's explanatory styles has been found to come variously from 1) parents' self-statements about their own experiences of bad events (Fincham & Cain, 1986), 2) parents' explanations of bad events about the children (Fincham & Cain, 1986; Parsons, Adler, & Kaczala, 1982), 3) mothers' explanations of bad events (Seligman et al., 1984; 1991), 4) fathers explanations of their children's failures (Fincham & Cain, 1986), and 5) fathers' attributions for school performance for their daughters (Cashmore, 1982 in Bird & Berman, 1985). To reconcile these disagreements, Turk & Bry (1992) conclude that further research is needed and suggest that perhaps other socially significant variables should be taken into account in understanding the relationship between parents' and children's attributional styles.

The most striking finding of all the agency research, regardless of which agency construct is measured, is significant gender differences in perceived agency. In general, females tend to be more external than males (see, for example, Sweeney, Moreland, & Gruber, 1982; deBrabander & Boone, 1990). In school, boys tend to have little difficulty in taking personal responsibility for their successes, while girls have been found more likely to attribute their successes to luck or other external causes and their failures to a personal lack of ability and other stable, global factors (Dweck, 1975; Dweck & Licht, 1980). Girls and young women have also judged themselves less efficacious in mastering the math and science prerequisites necessary for traditionally male-dominated careers (Bandura, 1984; Church et al., 1992).

Other studies of agency have found no significant difference in agency between mother- and father-identification college men, but a greater sense of agency in college women who identified more with their fathers than with their mothers (Brannigan & Horn, 1985). College women were also found to score more external than college men on a success in life factor, suggesting that the women believe success in life is not contingent on their own efforts (Lopez & Staszkiwicz, 1985). There is also a large literature which shows that a low sense of agency is a critical variable in depression, a mental health problem which strikes women twice as often as men (Walford-Kramer & Light, 1984; Baucom, 1983, Baucom & Danker-Brown, 1984; Baucom & Weiss, 1986; Sweeney, Anderson, & Bailey, 1986; McGrath et al., 1990).

Not surprisingly, the most prominent explanations for this gender gap in agency are biological, especially where depression is concerned. Nolen-Hoeksema (1987), in reviewing research on sex differences in depression, sites two explanations in this regard. One is based on evidence that significant fluctuations in hormone levels strongly affect women's feelings of control. And the other rests on findings that affective disorders are hereditary, meaning women may have a genetic predisposition to depression and feelings of hopelessness. Nolen-Hoeksema (1987) concludes from her extensive reviews of these studies, however, that they are built on weak, inconclusive, and often contradictory data.

Another popular explanation for the gender gap in agency focuses on sex-roles (Baucom, 1983, Baucom & Danker-Brown, 1984; Baucom & Weiss, 1986; McGrath et al. 1990).⁴ According to this argument, women's

⁴Parsons & Bales (1955) label the masculine and feminine sex-role orientations respectively "instrumental" and "expressive." And Bakan (1966) calls them "agentic"

self-esteem takes a potentially threatening header when they experience failure in interpersonal relationships. However, this would mean that when men fail at work, their sex-role baliwick, they should also be vulnerable to a dangerous dip in self-esteem, which has not been demonstrated (Seligman, 1991).

Lately, two other theories have been proposed to account for the gender differences in agency. The first involves learned helplessness and explanatory style. And the second looks at rumination.

The helplessness argument is based on the observation that women in American society, as in many other androcentric societies, have a great deal of "helplessness training" over the course of their lives (LeUnes, Nation, & Turley, 1980; Seligman, 1991). For example, Maccoby & Jacklin (1974) found that boys' behavior is frequently praised or criticized by parents and teachers, while girls' behavior is often ignored. Parents and teachers also tend to give boys more messages than girls that their ideas are worth listening to (Sanford & Donovan, 1984). Indeed, schools have always been androcentrically-based "feminine places" (Bardwick & Douvan, 1971) where teachers, who are overwhelmingly female, tend to pay more attention to boys, ask them more questions, and give them more time to answer (Spender, 1982; Clarricoates, 1983; Stipp, 1992). Boys have also been found to dominate classroom conversations, monopolize computers and scientific laboratory equipment (Sadker, 1986), and, in the absence of adult supervision, resist attempts by girls to influence them (Maccoby, 1990). Moreover, on average girls continue to be directed toward and choose low-status, traditionally female occupations like teaching,

and "communal" (Bakan; 1966). Again, we see the supposed mutual exclusivity of male and female ways of being.

nursing, and clerking (Barnett, 1978), despite evidence that their math and science abilities are no longer so significantly different from those of boys (Hyde & Linn, 1986, 1988; Skaalvik, 1990; Tavriss, 1992; Stipp, 1992). With repeated experiences with helplessness, however, it's no wonder many girls have little ambition to move beyond the bounds of traditional low-status gender roles.

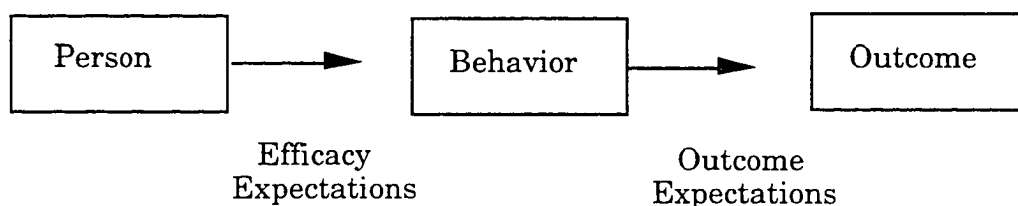
The newest explanation for gender differences in agency looks at how individuals respond to their own feelings of helplessness. Preliminary work indicates that when men experience mild to moderate depressive symptoms, they respond by taking action to distract themselves. When women experience such episodes, they ruminate about the causes and implications of their moods, a strategy which frequently amplifies and prolongs their depressive state, sometimes to the point they must seek professional help (Zullow, 1984; Nolen-Hoeksema, 1987; Seligman, 1991). This difference has also been documented in childhood. Studies have found that depressed boys tend to be active, whereas depressed girls tend to evaluate themselves negatively and become self-preoccupied and lonely (Dweck & Gilliard, 1975; Nolen-Hoeksema, Girgus, & Seligman, 1986). The origin of these response styles is thought to be sex-role stereotypes and their reinforcement by parents and significant others in a child's life -- boys get rewarded for being active and ignoring their mood and girls get rewarded for being emotional and passive (Nolen-Hoeksema, 1987). In addition, boys get punished for being a sissy, i.e. being like girls (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974).

Recently, support for this ruminative rationale has come from some who attribute the increase in feelings of helplessness, hopelessness and depression in contemporary American society to our current configuration

of the self (Cushman, 1990; Seligman,1991). According to this view, the masterful self which arose after World War II has now become an empty, narcissistic, improvable self, ever in need of being filled up in a consumer society where people have an enormous number of choices, a desperate need to rely on experts, and little sense of community (Lasch, 1979; Trow, 1981; Cushman, 1990; Seligman, 1991). In essence, the modern self is more susceptible to learned helplessness (Seligman, 1991, p. 70).

Interestingly, in all their musings about the probable causes of feelings of lack of control and helplessness, few agency researchers have considered the possibility that their findings may to a degree be an artifact of their own concepts and methodologies. If one takes a closer look at some of the agency literature, one can find embedded within it assumptions about the nature of performance which bypass inequality as a salient factor. Five examples are cited here.

First is the assumption that efficacy and outcome expectations can be conceptually and empirically separated (Seligman & Miller, 1979; Maddux et al., 1982). Schematically, this debate can be illustrated as:



Efficacy expectations answer the question "Can I perform the behavior?"(Bandura, 1977, 1984). Outcome expectations answer the question "How likely is it that performing the behavior will lead to a desired outcome?" (Bandura, 1977; Saltzer, 1982; Lee, 1984). While many believe it is empirically possible to distinguish between the two, others

argue that conceptually both expectations are confounded, making it difficult to assess which expectancy is more important for performance (Kazdin, 1978; Teasdale, 1978; Wortman & Dintzer, 1978; Weisz & Stipek, 1982; Eastman & Marzillier, 1984). If both are important, one could well imagine another set up for learned helplessness. Take a number of people equally capable of performing the same behavior. Systematically ignore, discourage or ostracize one group for it. What happens when this group learns that no matter what they do, the probability of reaching their desired outcomes is low? They lower their outcome expectations which causes them to reassess (and lower) their efficacy expectations. And voila! They see themselves as less competent, act accordingly, and thus confirm to themselves and others that indeed they are less competent.⁵

Second, inequality as a salient explanatory variable in agency is also overlooked in the assumption that the causal attribution process is a stable and consistent pattern used by everyone in the same manner (Peterson, 1991a). While there is some evidence that one's explanatory style is stable across the adult life span, especially for negative events (Seligman & Elder, 1986; Burns & Seligman, 1989), recent studies have also demonstrated that some people are not consistent in their attributions (Compas et al., 1988; Peterson, 1991a; Hammen, 1991; Brewin, 1991), and that there are cultural and historical differences in the kinds of attributions people make (Miller, 1984; Peterson, 1991a, 1991b).

Third, the agency literatures tend to assume one's actual performance, not situational factors, has the most influence on how one experiences and explains outcomes and controllability (Wortman &

⁵This process of expectancy confirmation, a variant of the self-fulfilling prophecy, has been described well by Darley & Fazio (1980).

Dinzer, 1978; Winefield, 1982; Rosenbaum & Jaffe, 1983, 1985; Bandura, 1984; Marzillier & Eastman, 1984; Matherly, 1985). However, there are indications that performance can also be influenced by, among other things, 1) the presence of a highly confident person, 2) being assigned an inferior label, 3) hearing others' interpretations of one's performances, and 4) one's physical and psychological condition (including the presence of anxiety or fear) (Bandura, 1977, 1982, 1984; Langer, 1979; Kirsch, 1982; Eastman & Marzillier, 1984; Brewin, 1991). All these situations indicate that perceived inequality could affect a person's performance, especially that of someone in a low status position.

This ties in with a fourth erroneous assumption common to the agency constructs -- that control over outcomes indicates a person has power (Wrong, 1979). But as a number of scholars have noted, power is often about controlling agendas, not controlling outcomes (Parenti, 1978; Lacey, 1979; Pfeffer, 1981). This point is explained well by Lukes (1974) and Foucault (1980).

Lukes (1974) proposes a three-dimensional view of power. In the one-dimensional view, power is assumed to belong to those who prevail in interpersonal decision-making situations where there is conflict, defined as a difference in people's conscious preferences as exhibited in their overt behavior. This is the classic A-B model discussed by Dahl (1957).⁶ Here people's interests are assumed to be what they say they want or prefer.

The two-dimensional view includes the A-B model and a second face of power, which Schattschneider (1960) calls "mobilization of bias" (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962). Mobilization of bias refers to

⁶The A-B model is based on Weber's (1947) idea that actor A can be said to have power over actor B if he can influence B to do something B would not otherwise do.

a set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals, and institutional procedures ("rules of the game") that operate systematically and consistently to the benefit of certain persons and groups at the expense of others More often than not, the "status quo defenders" are a minority or elite group within the population in question (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962, p. 4).

This view presumes that beneath what people say they want or prefer there may be deflected, submerged, or concealed wants or preferences which have been "suffocated, kept covert, or killed before they gain access to the relevant decision-making arena" (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962, p. 44).

While this two-dimensional view gives a more comprehensive picture of power, Lukes (1974) finds it inadequate for three reasons. First, by continuing to focus on individual behavior in decision-making, it excludes the "socially structured and culturally patterned behavior of groups, and practices of institutions, which may be manifested by individuals' *inaction*" (emphasis added, p. 22). Second, it does not take into account manipulation and authority, two kinds of power which do not involve conflict and yet can shape people's preferences. And third, it equates the absence of grievance with genuine consensus. But assuming this

is simply to rule out the possibility. . . that people have been prevented from having grievances through the shaping of their perceptions, cognitions, and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they see it as natural and unchangeable, or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficial (Lukes, 1974, p. 24).

Because of these deficiencies, Lukes (1974) offers a three-dimensional view of power, which focuses on decision-making and nondecision-making, observable and latent conflict, and subjective and real interests. His view acknowledges that people's interests

. . . may themselves be a product of a system which works against their interests, and, in such cases, relates the latter to what they would want or prefer, were they able to make the choice (emphasis added, Lukes, 1974, p. 34).

This constitutive effect of power is also emphasized by Foucault (1980). He believes our lives and relationships are shaped by what he calls "normalizing truths". Normalizing truths are not objective facts but "constructed ideas that are accorded a truth status" and become privileged knowledges which dominate the cultural discourses in a society (White & Epston, 1990, p. 19; Bem, 1993). The power of normalizing truths subjugates subordinate individuals into "docile bodies," causing them to unwittingly take an active role in their own subjugation, and subjugates and exiles once erudite knowledge and the "local, popular, indigenous knowledge located at the margins of society," such as the family (Hartman, 1992, p. 483; Riger, 1992). This is possible because to Foucault power and knowledge are inseparable. We are all caught in a web of power/knowledge, ". . . simultaneously undergoing the effects of power and exercising this power in relation to others" (White & Epston, 1990, p. 22). Those in subordinate positions, however, suffer the subjugating effects of power the most (Foucault, 1980; Tavis, 1992).

What Foucault (1980) and Lukes (1974) describe is similar to Heidegger's notion of "room for maneuver," or Dasein's readiness-to-cope in a current situation. In psychology, Gergen (1982) echoes this idea in pointing out how agenda control influences people's perceptions of alternatives for action by delimiting the realms of possibility open to them.

This power argument can also be used to counter a fifth erroneous assumption of an attributional approach to agency -- that we always know the reasons for our actions. But as was noted in the last chapter, just

because we are able to make retrospective attributions for our actions doesn't necessarily mean they are the real reasons for our behavior. To the extent that we are unaware of how our behavior has been shaped by the normalizing truths of privileged knowledges, our responses may reflect social convention more than anything about us as independent thinkers and performers.

This latter assertion has important implications for how we think about competence. For it indicates that far from being an exclusively individual characteristic, a sense of competence is derived from our collusion in the social constructions we use to understand ourselves, including our constructions about inequality (McDermott & Tylbor, 1987).

Social constructionist interpretations of self and world have existed in the social sciences for well over fifty years (Bem, 1993). Only recently, however, has psychology begun to acknowledge this perspective as a legitimate and valuable means to understanding the self. This is due in large part to work by feminist psychologists, who have taken the discipline to task for generally ignoring the social, historical, and cultural influences on individual functioning (Cross, 1992; Kitayama, 1992; Brown & Gilligan, 1992) and for particularly engaging in gender theorizing which has perpetuated female oppression and male power (Maccoby, 1988; Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990; Riger, 1992; Tavris, 1992; Bem, 1993).

A social constructionist view of gender shows that in every society there are "myths, rituals, customs, laws, traditions, and religious teachings which contain explicit instructions about how to treat [males and females]" (Lewis, 1976, p. 154; Eagly, 1987; Tavris, 1992). These exert their influence through different and unequal gender-stereotyped "climates of expectations" for males and females, starting at birth (Olsen,

1978, p. 28). As a result, males and females assume conventional gendered identities which assign them to

. . . different and unequal positions in the social structure. That different and unequal assignment constrains both children and adults psychologically, by channeling their motivations and their abilities into either a stereotypically male or stereotypically female direction. It also constrains them more coercively, by restricting their ability to step outside their assigned positions should they be motivated to do so (Bem, 1993, p. 135).

According to a constructionist view, the sexual division of labor reveals less about the nature of males and female than about how society values being male or female. Just because women have traditionally been responsible for caring for and monitoring relationships does not mean they are naturally more empathic or caring than men, only that they are accorded ample opportunity, usually by default, to exercise these capacities. Nor does it mean that attachment, intimacy, and relatedness are necessarily more important to women than autonomy, separation, and self-development. These are not questions of inherent difference. They are questions of accepted style and expression.

A social constructionist perspective also allows us to see that the public/private dichotomy has served to protect the illusory image of the family as a benign and sacrosanct "haven in a heartless world" (Lasch, 1977). Over the past 25 years, research on families has shown that significant elements of public life have their analogs in family life as well (see, for example, Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Pogrebin, 1983; Walters et al., 1988; McGoldrick, Anderson & Walsh, 1989). Indeed, we are immersed in the political phenomena of living from the day we are born (Lane & Sears, 1964; Renshon, 1974, 1975; Dalton, 1982; Coles, 1986; Wertsch, 1991; Griffin, 1992), our sense of who we are and how we negotiate the world coming to

us through the family's two superordinating/subordinating categories -- age and gender (Miller, 1986; Hare-Mustin, 1987; Luepnitz, 1988; Nock, 1988; Goldner, 1988). As the HVB account has shown, the medium for this shared understanding is, of course, the language in which we dwell.

This brings us to the third and most recent way psychology has treated the self -- as narrator or storyteller.

The Narrative Self

Unlike the essentialist and agentic views of self, the narrative view, as a social construction, acknowledges that we all co-participate in inventing reality (Mancuso & Sarbin, 1983; Gergen, 1983; Watzlawick, 1984; Sarbin, 1986; Bruner, 1986, 1990; Kerby, 1991; Hermans et al., 1992). In the narrative mode, the "doer" and "the deed" are not isolated from the referential-whole, nor from the inherent dialogicality and temporality of human existence. Like the HVB account, this interpretation assumes that we exist from birth in a languaged world where we are thrown into ongoing situations within a shifting horizon of cumulative meanings (Sass, 1988; Kerby, 1991; Dreyfus, 1991; Hermans et al., 1992), our every present moment suspended in the "accumulated significance" of our having-beeness and our yet-to-be (Kerby, 1991, p. 22; Gergen & Gergen, 1984; Leonard, 1989; Bruner, 1990). These latter are the past and future selves, or the many "I" positions, open to each of us as the narrator of the story of "me" (Hermans et al., 1992).⁷

⁷The idea of the selves we might become (possible selves) was first mentioned by William James (1890/1950, p. 309ff) and recently has been treated extensively by social cognitivist Hazel Markus and her colleagues (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Oyserman & Markus, 1990; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Cross & Markus, 1991; Ruovolo & Markus, 1992).

Narrative skill is a developmental function which emerges from social processes early in childhood, as parents read stories to their children, tell about themselves and others, and generally facilitate their children's "readiness to explore and understand the social world" (Dunn, 1988, p. 142; Gergen & Gergen, 1983; Coles, 1989; McCabe & Peterson, 1991). Through social interaction with adults and peers, children learn to use their self-narratives to understand themselves, their relationships with others, and the continuity of their existence (Robinson & Hawpe, 1986, p. 115; Gergen & Gergen, 1983; Kozulin, 1990, Kerby, 1991). In this respect, ". . . all persons are embedded in their own 'stories' and come to a reading of other narratives via perspectives shaped by that story" (Jonnes, 1990, p. 244).

Here again we see the importance of language to a sense of self. More specifically, we see, as was mentioned in the last chapter, how voice (in both inner and outer speech) reveals the active speaking consciousness.

Voice, as the reader may recall, always has about it a heteroglot quality; that is, the words one chooses reveal one's reciprocity with those in one's past, present, and projected future. This heteroglossia does not function willy-nilly, but reflects learned patterns of privileging some "languages" over others (Wertsch, 1991). This, of course, is another aspect of agenda control. Indeed, there is ample evidence in the scholarly literature on language to show that language use and institutional access and power are interanimated in most cultures (McDermott & Tylbor, 1987). Therefore no consideration of women's competence is complete without an understanding of the connection between language use and voice.

A substantial body of work in linguistics and sociology has shown that many languages give preference to the unmarked sex, male, and

exclude the marked sex, female (Thorne & Henley, 1975; Thorne, Kramarae, & Henley, 1983; McConnell-Ginet, Borker, & Furman, 1980; Gradoll & Swann, 1989; Fasold, 1990; Lakoff, 1990). Examples in English include use of the generic masculine "he" and "man" for general reference and of semantically inequivalent sex-paired words which often impute sexual immorality or incapacity to the woman's referent (e.g. bachelor/spinster, governor/governess, sir/madam) (Fasold, 1990; Lakoff, 1975).⁸ Naming conventions like the use of the male's last name for married couples also favor males (Gradoll & Swann, 1989). And our English lexicon appears to systematically slight women's experience (e.g. there are few verbs to refer to women's sexual experience) (Stanley & Robbins, 1978).

There is also a growing literature on cross-gender conversation which shows that women and men use language differently. Compared to men, women in mixed conversation tend to talk less (Bernard, 1972; Edelsky, 1981), ask more questions (Lakoff, 1975; Fishman, 1980, 1983), use positive minimal responses (like "mm hm" and "right") as back channels to indicate attention to and support of what is being said (Lakoff, 1975; Fishman, 1980), explicitly acknowledge the presence of other speakers (Hirschman, 1973), interrupt less (Zimmerman & West, 1977), and speak more politely, indirectly, and deferentially (Tannen, 1986; Lakoff, 1990). Men, in contrast, tend to make more statements, dominate air time, interrupt more (Kollock, Blumstein, & Schwartz, 1985), and use minimal responses to resist acknowledging topics being developed, especially by women (Lakoff, 1975; Fishman, 1980, 1983). In general, men's language is

⁸Schultz (1975) notes there are more than 500 slang terms in English for "prostitute" but only 65 for their customers. Most of the female terms are pejorative, while most of the male terms are not.

direct, clear and succinct, while women's language is indirect, imprecise, and uncertain (Lakoff, 1990).

Some have suggested these differences are due solely to the different sociolinguistic cultures men and women inhabit in their same-sex groups growing up (Harding, 1975; Maltz & Borker, 1982). But the majority of the explanations implicate gender, sex-roles, or power differentials, or an interaction of the three (Lakoff 1975; Kollock, Blumstein, & Schwartz, 1985; Graddol & Swann, 1989; Tannen, 1986, 1990). This latter rationale would explain why women, as the low status group, have been found to do more of the work necessary to keep cross-gender interaction going smoothly (Fishman, 1983; Kollock, Blumstein, & Schwartz, 1985; Fasold, 1990). It's one strategic way they have to get their needs met and survive (Lakoff, 1990).

In the past ten years, women's voice has become the focus of studies which attempt to show the positive aspects of women's ways of knowing, as opposed to seeing them as deficient compared to male ways (see, for example, Belenky et al., 1986). Much of this work is based on psychologist Carol Gilligan's (1982) study of women's development, which found that a woman's voice is relational, based on a morality of responsibility and care. Recently, Gilligan, along with psychologist Lyn Brown, has examined this relational style further in a study of 100 students at a private American midwest girls' day school (Brown & Gilligan, 1992). A description of their findings illuminates the importance of voice to the development of a female sense of self.

Using a narrative methodology developed after the girls sabotaged the initial positivistic research design, Brown and Gilligan (1992) were able to capture in the girls' stories how the trivialization and devaluation of

voice as they develop encourages them to make "psychologically debilitating moves" which prevent them from "moving freely in the world" (Ibid., p. 21). From ages seven to eleven, girls are able to maintain a healthy resistance to losing voice by actively taking on the role of whistleblowers, calling others on violations such as interrupting, hurting others' feelings, and ignoring others. However, as they approach adolescence, many feel increasing social pressure to not know what at a younger age they have so clearly known. Intensely aware of needing to be polite and nice, they dissociate from their thoughts and feelings and become more willing to stay in hurtful relationships to avoid conflict with others if they speak up. An important transitional year seems to be fifth grade (ages ten to eleven), when girls begin to experience developmental gains and losses as they struggle to figure out how to reconcile what they know through their own experiences with what they are supposed to know according to the often conflicting "wall of shoulds" dictated by their peers and the adult world.

Much of the trauma of preadolescence for American girls has to do with their experimentation with the image of perfection. Popularity becomes the main mode of authority within their peer culture, as those who rise to the top become doted on, envied and even despised. Eager to try out different ways of expressing who they are, girls are angered by adults, especially adult women, who frequently cut off girls' opportunities to negotiate their own relationships and disempower them by not listening and by condoning concealment of thoughts and feelings. Adult intervention becomes even more problematic as mothers and teachers step in to mediate girls' disagreements, preventing the girls from "enacting" their own solutions. As girls learn to anticipate what adults want to hear and see, they begin to replace their own voices with "voice-overs of adults, their

feelings and desires with others' wants and expectations" (Ibid., p. 86). To avoid the anxiety of being excluded, they work to become calm, controlled, quiet, and acquiescent, assuming the "docile bodies" of "good" girls on their way to becoming the "good" women they see around them.

By age thirteen, girls are becoming astute at reading subtle social cues about what it takes to be an acceptable female in society. Frequently overwhelmed by the voices of others "shoved" into their brains, they often feel mindless as they struggle to remain visible as unique individuals. They see and hear hypocrisy around them but are unable to speak openly about what is happening. For some there is a deep cynicism as they watch the power games their parents play. Gaining new skills in abstraction and generalization, they can see for the first time the whole socially constructed framework of relations between people.

It is interesting to compare these findings with those of Seligman (1991), which show that an individual's explanatory style crystallizes in elementary and middle school. Up to puberty, girls have been found to be much more optimistic than boys, although both appear to be immune to hopelessness. Seligman speculates that for evolutionary reasons prepubescent children need to be psychologically buffered from experiencing the deleterious effects of negative thinking. However, he notes that "something happens" at puberty to cause this pattern to reverse, with boys becoming more optimistic and girls becoming more pessimistic (Seligman, 1991, p. 149). What Brown and Gilligan (1992) offer is a compelling explanation of what that something is for girls -- a loss of voice due to social pressures to not talk about what they know from their own experience.

Through the remainder of their teen years, most girls continue to subscribe to the prevailing conventions of relationships based on a feminine ideal of self-silencing, self-sacrifice, purity and perfection and a masculine ideal of self-aggrandizement and domination. Discouraged from seriously testing themselves, many of them

do not take [their] own needs seriously, to explore them, to try to act on them as . . . full-fledged person[s]. [They are] enjoined from engaging all of [their] own resources and thereby prevented from developing some valid and reliable sense of [their] own worth (Miller, 1986, p. 18).

Even in college, women must continue to deal with a white, middle-class, patriarchal ideology which counts attractiveness as their only commodity in an ongoing "sexual marketplace" and their only measure of prestige (Holland & Eisenhart, 1990). Connell (1987) and Bem (1993) see this heterosexual success and hegemonic masculinity as the dominant devices of social life in a sexually dichotomized world. For many women, the long-term results of unwitting collusion in this cultural dance can be devastating. Vulnerable to a "race-marked, class-marked, age-marked form of beauty" [which] pits white against [people of color], wealthy against poor, and young against old," they are left "on their own to develop, or not, in careers and to prepare themselves well, or not, as future breadwinners" (Holland & Eisenhart, 1990, p. 225, 223; Lakoff & Scherr, 1984).

Women and the Workplace

Women's experiences in the world outside the home and family were given no serious consideration until the 1970's, when, as a result of significant economic and social changes in the preceding decade, women began joining the workforce in dramatic numbers. This trend is projected

to continue, with 64% of the net new entrants to the American workforce between 1985 and 2000 expected to be women (Johnston & Packer, 1987). In the 1990's, women employed outside the home are making substantial economic progress. Their median income as a percentage of that for men has jumped in 20 years from 59 to 72 cents on the dollar, the barriers to sex segregation by occupation have begun to budge, and they are completing undergraduate and professional degrees in far greater numbers and gaining more job experience by working fulltime and staying in the workforce after childbirth (Nasar, 1992; Fisher, 1992). Certainly, with the passage of time, women have shown they can function well in the public world (Fisher, 1992). However, these facts hardly begin to reflect women's experiences in the workplace. For while women may have been moving *into* the world of work, their moving *up* in it has been another story.

Currently, although almost half of the full-time workforce is women (Dole, 1992; Schwartz, 1992; Fisher, 1992), most of them are still clustered in low-status, low-paying, traditionally female jobs (Dipboye, 1987; Catalyst, 1990; Noble, 1992). For those with more education and experience, some jobs have opened up in lower and middle management. But there the progression stops. Surveys of America's 1,000 largest industrial and service companies have found that women hold less than 5% of upper management positions and less than one-half of 1% of the highest positions, CEO's and directors (Devanna, 1987; Fierman, 1990; Dole, 1992). The figures for women in management in government and educational institutions are similar (Morrison & Glinow, 1990). The picture for women of color is even more dismal.

In the late '70's and early '80's, the rationale for women's slow ascent was primarily essentialist and agentic. Many said they were too

sensitive, emotional, and not logical or knowledgeable enough to manage other people (Hennig & Jardim, 1977; Catalyst, 1987; Milwid, 1990). By the end of the 80's, however, some were noting that women's interactional, participative style of managing was equal to or even better than men's transactional, command-and-control style (Bass, 1985; Loden, 1985; Catalyst, 1987; Rosener, 1990; Helgesen, 1990). Others, however, have found evidence of more similarities than differences in how women and men lead (Donnell & Hall, 1980; Morrison, White & Van Velsor, 1987; Howard & Bray, 1988; Freeman, 1990; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; Eagly & Johnson, 1990). And yet despite their proven competence, women still are not reaching the upper echelons of most organizations.

Today, the main reason for women's lack of upward organizational mobility is social constructionist, attributed to a transparent barrier of discrimination dubbed the glass ceiling (Morrison, White & Van Velsor' 1987; Milwid, 1990). Producing this barrier are biases towards and stereotypes of women (Kanter, 1977b; Dipboye, 1987; Powell, 1988) and an organizational mind-set about power which tolerates a considerable gap between espoused theories of equality and organizational policies, practices, and behaviors which perpetuate discrimination based on categorical group membership (Alderfer, 1986; Argyris, 1990, 1993). Both explanations directly reflect the androcentrism and gender polarization of the larger society (Burke & McKeen, 1991; Bem, 1993).

Beyond outright sexual harrassment, what the glass ceiling has meant for women is 1) fewer training opportunities, 2) problematic mentoring relationships (Noe, 1988; Thomas & Alderfer, 1989; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990), 3) restricted access to information channels and other resources of power (Fisher, 1992; Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989), 4) an

expected adherence to a narrow band of acceptable behavior containing often contradictory messages (i.e., take risks, but always be outstanding; be tough, but don't be like a man; be ambitious, but don't expect equal treatment; and take responsibility, but follow the advice of others (Morrison, White, & Van Velsor, 1987), and 5) and less pay and perquisites than their male counterparts (Gordon, 1992; Moses-Zirkes, 1993). On a day-to-day basis, this restricted room-for-maneuver plays out most frequently at the group level, where performance expectations based on a person's status characteristics (e.g. gender, race, age, wealth, and skills) and the influence of majorities over minorities have their greatest impact (Bales, 1950; Sherif, 1952; Kantor, 1977a, 1977b; Bales & Cohen, 1979; Aries, 1982; Humphreys & Berger, 1981; Berger & Zelditch, 1985; Frable & Bem, 1985; Wood, 1987; Webber, 1987; Ridgeway & Berger, 1988; Milwid, 1990). No amount of brightness, ambition and technical competence will compensate for being ignored, talked over, and having one's contributions frequently go unrecognized or be incorrectly attributed to men (Kollock, Blumstein, & Schwartz, 1985; Lakoff, 1990). Tired of having to work twice as hard as men to prove they are competent and deserving (Berger et al., 1980; Morrison, White, & Van Velsor, 1987; Bem, 1993) and of being paid less than men and passed over for promotions and raises, many talented women are leaving organizations to start businesses of their own or move into more woman-friendly environments (Moses-Zirkes, 1993). This exodus is causing a brain-drain in today's corporations at a time when they can least afford to lose good people, regardless of gender. And it is providing a disheartening message to a new generation of women just beginning their careers. Women have come a long way since the women's

movement began in the 1960's, but thirty years later many of the barriers for women are still firmly in place.

Summary

Where women's sense of competence is concerned, the political aspects of voice cannot be ignored. For they have a far-reaching effect on women's sense of self and hence on the stories told by and about them. If from birth the subtle (and not so subtle) message is that males and females are best suited for engaging in activities which fall into the traditional areas of the public/private dichotomy, then society's narratives will tend to justify that inequality. And women's narratives will reveal their frustration with trying to "make it" in the public world historically associated with the work men do (Lakoff, 1990). Basically, males and females differ in two fundamental areas -- reproductive physiology; and power, status and access to resources (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990; Tavris, 1992; Bem, 1993). Nowhere has it been shown that the former prevents women from functioning effectively, inside or outside the home (Sommer, 1981, 1992; Ussher, 1992). The same cannot be said of the latter, of course.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS

If we adopt uncritically the framework, the tools, the scholarship created overwhelmingly by and for men, we have already excluded [one half the human race]. . . . We are being forced to try to discover new intellectual constructs because many of those we have don't fit our experience and were never intended to (Minnich, 1977, p. 53).

Study Participants

The primary participants in this study were four white women in their late thirties to late forties who held upper management positions in a hospital, a bank, and two technology companies. The hospital and bank managers were among one or two other women one level below a male chief executive officer in their organizations. The technology managers were four levels below a male chief executive officer in their companies, with several women in positions one level above. Three of the managers headed units directly involved in service delivery and one led a staff department.

The managers' teams, those people who report directly to them, were secondary participants. Including the managers, one group had five women, another had six women and two men, the third had four women and four men, and the fourth had four women and five men. All team members were white. Only one, a German man, was not a native English speaker.

Also participating to a limited extent were the managers' family members and the members of my own family, all of whom were also white. The inclusion of relevant information on myself and my family, while unconventional by traditional Western scientific standards, follows the methodology of heuristic inquiry, a phenomenological approach to discovering the nature and meaning of human experience in which the self of the researcher is present throughout the investigation (Moustakas, 1990; see Appendix A).

Procedures

All four managers were located by networking. Because the major focus of this research was not comparative, no attempt was made to obtain a representative sample. As it was, it took over seven months to find four women who, despite busy schedules, were willing to make time to participate in the research. After initial telephone contact, I met with each woman at least twice before the research began, once to discuss the purpose of the study and how I envisioned it being carried out and a second time to answer further questions the manager and her team might have about their participation. In one case this involved meeting with a management team at their weekly staff meeting.

The study followed a multimethod approach. Quantitative data were obtained from observational coding of three meetings of each management team and from a questionnaire measuring attributional style (Seligman, 1991), self-administered by the managers, and in some cases, by their team members, their parents, and their immediate family members. Qualitative data were derived from discussions with the managers and their

team members about the results of the coded meetings and from semi-structured interviews with each manager about her experiences when she was growing up and as an adult.

Two important assumptions of this methodology (by whatever postpositivistic designation -- i.e., postmodern, poststructuralist, feminist, naturalistic, humanistic, or heuristic) are that 1) knower and known are interactive and inseparable, requiring an investigator-participant relationship which is nonhierarchical, nonauthoritarian and nonmanipulative (Johnstone, 1980; Reinharz, 1983; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Packer, 1985; Mishler, 1986; Moustakas, 1990; Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990; Riger, 1992) and 2) the many multiple realities and various value systems involved interact in unpredictable ways to influence the outcome, making it impossible to develop an adequate research design *a priori* (Bakan, 1974; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Moustakas, 1990). Thus from the beginning, the collaborative nature of the study, its evolving design, and its grounding in everyday experience were emphasized. Each woman acted as a co-researcher in two ways: 1) by setting some parameters for how the research design unfolded for herself and her management team and 2) by critiquing and commenting on the investigator's written treatments of her interviews and her group's coding experience. Conducted this way, the research was meant to affirm the very topic being studied -- the brightness and ambition of women.

Although I was familiar with a number of literatures in psychology, sociology, political science and organizational behavior, no literature review was conducted prior to data collection to avoid self-fulfilling prophecies (Reinharz, 1983; Packer, 1985). This seemed mandatory in light of my deep-seated reservations about the underlying ontological

assumptions of most social science theory. Instead, theory was allowed to emerge from the data, with a review of pertinent literatures occurring after all of the data had been collected and the actual writing of the dissertation had been in progress for a number of months (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Most of the data analysis were carried out inductively. This allowed for multiple realities to be identified, values to be an explicit part of the analytic structure, and the investigator-participant interaction to be explicitly recognizable and accountable (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Analyses of the findings do not privilege the interpretation of data obtained quantitatively over that obtained qualitatively. Because this study focuses mainly on description rather than comparison, the criteria for judging its validity are based on trustworthiness, which includes issues of credibility, transferability, and dependability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 1990; Yoder & Kahn, 1993).

The most important criterion in assessing the findings of any research endeavor is credibility (Cronbach, 1982; Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990; Bruner 1990). In this study, the credibility of the results is enhanced by three techniques: triangulation, prolonged engagement with the data, and "member" checks. Triangulation allows for the verification of the analysis through multiple techniques (Patton, 1990). In this study, the data were triangulated three ways: by methods (both qualitative and quantitative), by data sources (validating information across co-researchers and across time), and by multiple analysts (using several coders for the observational part of the study). Prolonged engagement allowed for extended time to build a trusting relationship between researcher and participants and to more accurately and comprehensively

judge and interpret the experiences being studied. Verification of the raw data, analytic categories, and investigator interpretations and conclusions for accuracy and fairness was done through continuous reflection and repeated checking with the co-researchers (Moustakas, 1990; Patton, 1990).

Blanket statements regarding the applicability of the findings are not possible because representativeness in sampling was not a criterion of this study. The positivistic notion of external validity, or generalizability (the production of time- and context-free, nomothetic truth statements that can be applied anywhere at any time), arises from the assumption that there is an ultimate reality toward which scientific inquiry is converging. Since this was not an underlying assumption in this study, the criterion was one rather of transferability, or extrapolation (Patton, 1990). Since the HVB orientation is social constructionist in nature, and hence idio-graphic, the researcher's responsibility lies in providing sufficient "thick" description so that those interested in other applications of the findings can make their own judgments about contextual similarities (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 298).

Likewise, the criterion of dependability replaces the conventional concept of reliability. Because there is no unchanging "out there," there is nothing to which replication can refer.

If the thing "out there" is ephemeral and changing, noted instabilities cannot simply be charged off to the inquiry procedure; they are at least as much a function of what is being studied as of the process of studying (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 299).

Guba (1981a) suggests that dependability is best determined by an inquiry audit, where a qualified person outside the investigation makes a detailed examination of the process and the product of the inquiry. Since an audit

was not possible in this study, the dependability here must rely on the several techniques of credibility listed above. While Lincoln & Guba (1985) consider these weak indicators of dependability, they appear to be more than sufficient given that the main thrust of this study is heuristic discovery.

Ultimately, the trustworthiness of the findings rests on the credibility of the researcher. Much weight is put in heuristic inquiry on the skills, insights, capabilities, and integrity of the investigator, including her ability to engage fully in a process which is balanced and fair (See Appendix A). This includes the reporting of "any personal and professional information that may have affected data collection, analysis, and interpretation" (Patton, 1990, p. 472). The final product of such an inquiry is not something static, a lifeless butterfly pinned for eternity to a museum display box. Rather it is a reflection of what is important about people's being-in-the-world, the prosaic intelligibility which moves them from one moment to the next to fashion a life.

Quantitative Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection began with observational coding of managers' team meetings held at the two sites of EDS Center for Advanced Research (CFAR). Two groups were coded at CFAR in Ann Arbor, Michigan and two at CFAR in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The sites have identical electronic meeting rooms, called Capture Laboratories, which allow researchers to develop and apply various technologies for enhancing productivity in work groups.

The Capture Lab is an ergonomically-designed conference room with a large table in which eight Macintosh monitors are recessed (see Appendix B). These computers connect to a publically-shared large screen at one end of the room, which is a ninth computer. Lining the upper half of the walls around the room are mirrors. Eight video cameras behind a smoked-glass soffit and four microphones in the ceiling send information from the Capture Lab to an adjacent observation room with one-way mirrors. Five computer workstations in this room can be used for recording data on groups meeting in the Capture Lab. At the time of this study in 1991, data on over 100 meetings had been collected and analyzed by CFAR researchers using various off-the-shelf and CFAR-designed software applications. The most extensive experience, however, was with CFAR's computerized group dynamics coding, analysis and feedback system called GroupAnalyzer (Losada & Markovich, 1990).

GroupAnalyzer is two integrated HyperCard® applications which can accommodate any act-to-act observational coding scheme for small groups (from four to ten people) (see Appendix C). The smaller application is used for coding and the larger for analysis and feedback. Results from coded data are calculated primarily in GroupAnalyzer for graphic feedback to groups using the public screen in the Capture Lab. What distinguishes CFAR's study of group dynamics is the fast coding, analysis and feedback which can be accomplished with the GroupAnalyzer system and the in-depth picture of how group members' interactions are influencing each other based on time series analysis.

Coding and feedback took place between March and October 1991. In order to contribute to CFAR's baseline data on meeting behavior under nontechnology conditions, computer use was not a requirement of this

study.¹ Managers were told they could hold any business-as-usual meeting at CFAR that they normally conducted in their organizations, as long as it provided at some point unstructured group interaction for at least 50 minutes (the minimum needed for time series analysis). The managers and their groups also understood that since they were among the first to be coded more than once at CFAR, their feedback on their CFAR experience was important as well.

All four managers chose to hold regular staff meetings. Groups met primarily in the morning, two from 9 am to noon, and one from 8 am to 10 am. The fourth group first came from 9 am to 1 pm, but extended their second two visits until 3 pm so they could take advantage of the Capture Lab's collaborative capabilities. Although group members had given their informed consent to be videotaped and coded, they were not aware of when coding actually occurred. In eleven of the twelve meetings, it was possible to identify at least one segment where there was extended group discussion suitable for coding.² In the twelfth meeting, guest presenters took up most of the meeting time, so no session was coded.³ Time varied between coding sessions for each group, with most of the repeat coding occurring at intervals of three weeks or more.⁴

All coding was done by two members of CFAR's group dynamics team who had graduate degrees and almost two years' experience using GroupAnalyzer. A third, less experienced graduate student coded several

¹Two groups did choose to use CFAR's brainstorming application for about an hour each near the end of their meetings, after they had been coded.

²The group which came from 9 am to 3 pm was coded twice their last meeting, once in the morning and once in the afternoon, for a total of four coded sessions for the study.

³This group therefore had only two coded sessions for the study.

⁴With the exception, as noted above, of the group which was coded twice in one meeting.

meetings before resigning from CFAR in the middle of the study. The coding scheme used in this study was the Interaction-by-Task (IT) scheme (see Appendix D). IT was originally designed to measure three domains -- Task, Interaction and Content Analysis. For this study, only the Interaction domain (Assured/Tentative, Expressive/Reserved, and Supportive/Confrontational) was used because there were not enough coders to individually code all the domains. This did not prove a drawback, however, since pilot studies had indicated the Task and Content Analysis domains were not yielding useful information anyway.

Analysis of the coded data included frequency counts, bubble diagrams and lag sequential time series analysis (See Appendix C). Also produced was the Group Interaction Diagram (or GID), a pictorial representation of the time series data (Losada et al., 1990)(See Appendix E). At the beginning of the second meeting for three groups, the coders for the study gave feedback on the results of the first coded session. Feedback for the fourth group was given only to the manager at her request, mainly because she felt her group's hearing it might exacerbate an existing behavioral problem she had been handling with one of her team members. This circumstance is explained further in the next chapter when we meet this group.

Although I was equally experienced with coding, analysis, and feedback, my participation in this phase of the study was minimal to reduce the chances of biasing the findings. I scheduled each of the meetings, acted as sponsor during the time the groups were on CFAR premises, and provided technological support in the observation room by preparing computers for coding and running the video cassette recorder.

The second quantitative measure, on attributional style, was collected during the interview segment of the study using Seligman's Explanatory Style Questionnaire (ESQ; 1991)(Appendix F). My purpose in examining explanatory style was threefold: 1) to identify possible differences in explanatory style by age, gender, and organizational hierarchical status, 2) to identify similarities and differences between the women manager's explanatory styles and those of their parents, immediate family members, and work team members, and 3) most importantly, to determine the soundness of this construct as one indicator of a person's competence. My choice of Seligman's ESQ was based on my familiarity with the extensive literature on attributional style and on the fact that the instrument was part of a recently published book in the popular press readily accessible to anyone in the study who wanted to explore the topic further.⁵

Each of the managers completed the ESQ. It was left to them to decide whether or not to have their parent(s), spouses, children, and/or work teams also answer the questionnaire. Five of the six surviving parents filled out the ESQ, as did one of the three spouses and three of the eight children (each manager had two children). A fourth child answered the children's version of the instrument (see the second half of Appendix F). Only two of the work teams answered the ESQ. The other two teams

⁵My assumption in using this questionnaire was that it was psychometrically sound and represented the latest version of attributional style measurement to come out of Seligman's laboratory. It wasn't until near the end of the study that I learned I was only half right. When I could find no published data on the reliability and validity of the questionnaire, I contacted Seligman's office directly. There I was advised that the instrument was in development and in its present iteration showed only meager reliability and validity and therefore was not recommended for research purposes. Consequently, results of the ESQ in this study should be considered additional commentary on the problems with measuring explanatory style (see Reivich, in press, for further thinking on this topic).

had recently completed exercises in their organizations which their managers felt were too similar to the ESQ to warrant asking their staffs to participate. Of these latter two groups, one was the team which did not receive coding feedback as a group.

My family and I also filled out the ESQ. While I was familiar with attribution theory in general, I had never studied nor scored myself on any of the available attributional style instruments. To be as objective as possible, I postponed reading Seligman's book until it was appropriate to begin this phase of the study. Then when I filled out the ESQ, I did so within the context of the way Seligman presents it in his book -- after introducing relevant background information on learned helplessness but before actually explaining his explanatory style theory. My family, including my significant other, two sons, mother, stepfather, brother, sister-in-law, and niece, also completed the questionnaire.

Statistical analysis of the ESQ data included principal components analysis, multivariate and univariate analyses of variance, Pearson's chi-square tests, and correlation studies.

Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis

Several weeks after all the observational coding had been completed, I met with three of the teams in their organizations to present a comparative wrapup on all their coded data. As mentioned above, the fourth wrapup was given only to the manager.

All wrapup sessions were audiotaped and transcribed.

Two to three months after the coding wrapup sessions, I conducted semi-structured interviews with each manager focusing on her

experiences in her family of origin, in her present family, and in school, religious and work settings. Consistent with the HVB perspective, interviews were conducted not as traditional stimulus-response events but as conversations which valued personal responsiveness and involvement as "the conditions under which people come to know each other and to admit others into their lives" (Oakley, 1981, p. 58; Mishler, 1984, 1986a, 1986b; Moustakas, 1990; Bruner, 1990; Reinhartz, 1992). A standardized list of open-ended questions was sent prior to the first interview so each manager would have ample time to think about her answers beforehand (see Appendix G). Although the questions were listed in an intuitively obvious order, they were intentionally not numbered to avoid an assumed linearity in how they were to be answered. This was meant to allow for digressions, so that each participant would have as much leeway as possible to express herself in her own way, to give voice to her own conceptual horizon and intention (Wertsch, 1991, p. 51), in essence, to "name" her own world (Freire, 1970).

Each manager was interviewed at least twice for about two hours a time. In the second interview, several additional questions were asked, including person-specific questions to clarify information from the first interview and general questions which had arisen from an initial analysis of the first interviews (see the "General" section of Appendix G).

The parents of one manager were also interviewed for one-and one-half hours in person (see Appendix H).

All interviews were audiotaped and transcribed.

Analysis of the wrapup and interview data involved editing the transcripts to reveal the autobiographical, narrative nature of the women's experiences (Sarbin, 1986a; Bruner, 1990). Specific attention was

paid to preserving each person's voice (i.e. not only what was said but how it was said) and to minimizing my voice as the interviewer. To avoid abusing the power to name and control meaning, I explored the meaning of my own feelings and thoughts about the women and their stories (Brown & Gilligan, 1992, p. 27). I also thought about my own experiences compared to those of the women. And I asked each manager to make comments, additions and corrections to the written interpretations of her material. Copies of revisions were sent to each.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

What is so astonishing about putting one's life into words, about telling a story, is that certain aspects of being are not only revealed but come to exist fully for the first time (Griffin, 1992, p. 358).

Voice to me was an abstract concept when I started this project. This is because like many other academicians I equated it with disembodied vocalized thought and held it at arms length so I could reflect on it, unhampered by the messiness and unfinalizability of the human lives to which it belonged. But when I began working with Sara, Meg, Chris and Kim,¹ the four co-researchers in this study, my understanding of voice and its connection to a sense of self began to take on deeper, more personal meanings.

In this chapter, we explore these four women's experiences of being bright and ambitious through several modalities. We begin in the first section with their individual portraits, in their own words, of growing up and moving into adulthood and the responsibilities of work and establishing their own families. These pictures are drawn exclusively from the qualitative individual interview data in the study. Then in sections two and three respectively we look at the results of the two quantitative measures in the study, the coded meetings of the managers' work teams,

¹The names of the coresearchers and other participants in this study have been changed to maintain their confidentiality.

including the qualitative data from the coding wrapup sessions, and the Explanatory Style Questionnaire.

Individual Portraits from Interviews

Before we hear the women's stories, an explanation of my approach is in order. As anyone can attest who has ever tried to make sense of recorded conversations, prosaics is messy. Our natural speaking style in everyday discourse tends to be choppy, and our grammar is frequently "atrocious" (Patton, 1990, p. 380). Also, as Griffin (1992) observes

[i]t is a delicate balance, telling someone else's story, entering another life, identifying, feeling as this other might have felt, and yet remaining aware that a boundary exists over which one cannot step (p. 316).

In editing the over 150 pages of interview transcripts for each woman, I tried to preserve each person's speaking style while reducing the redundancies of speech which I thought added little to the understanding of their experiences. I relied on two main criteria in constructing the individual portraits which follow. One was my own gut feeling that I had fairly captured what I thought was the essence of each person as I had come to know her through the many months of the study. The other was the women's own confirmations that indeed my treatments were a true reflection of how they each remembered our conversations.

Initially, reading their own words made the women feel extremely vulnerable. Several wanted to edit the stories to make themselves appear more articulate. These sentiments are echoed by the girls in Brown's and Gilligan's (1992) private school study, who felt "helplessly self-exposed" by seeing what they had said in print. One woman in the present study even remarked that had she known how I was going to put together her

interviews, she never would have told me some of the things she did. However, once we had talked through feelings of vulnerability and she and the other women understood that ordinary conversation is rarely eloquent, and that I wanted to preserve how they spoke because I thought others could benefit from hearing their stories in their own words, the women were more comfortable with my treatments. It also helped when we altered some of their demographic data so there was less chance they could be identified.

In the stories which follow, it is important to pay particular attention to three questions: What is each woman's life orientation?, Who is doing the talking?, and What are the similarities and differences between the women's experiences? Each area provides insights into what it is like to be a bright and ambitious woman and gives useful contextual information for understanding the results of the observational coding and the ESQ presented later.

1. Life Orientation

There is a certain tenor which characterizes each of our lives, whether or not we are consciously aware of it. Norton (1989) calls this our life orientation, and it can be found most readily in speech -- the way we organize and talk about our experiences, the metaphors we use, and our particular stylistic choice of words (Morson, 1986). There are at least four indicators in these portraits which provide clues to the life orientations of the women in this study. One is my introductory impressions of how they spoke and interacted in the interviews. Another is the places in each story where I've included parenthetical statements about paralinguistics (in most cases some form of laughter). A third is the tone and pacing or tempo of each woman's utterances. Not only did I read the original transcripts repeatedly to piece together the stories, I also listened a number of times to the original interview tapes to get a sense of how each woman spoke. While it is difficult to convey intonation and tempo in written

transcripts,² I've tried to show speech styles through punctuation, using three periods to indicate an unfinished thought or a brief silence, single hyphens to end words that were cut short, commas where I heard customary pauses, periods and other end punctuation where I heard stops. Strong emphasis is signified by the capitalization of whole words. The fourth indicator of life orientation is the content of the women's answers to the interview questions, including one which specifically asked them to complete the statement "Life is _____".

2. Voice

Listen for the multiple voices in what these women say. Most obvious is their use of reported speech (either quoting something they themselves said or thought or what someone else said). I've included this aspect of their speech in quotation marks for emphasis. But also listen for other ways they exhibit double-voicing. See if you can discern how the women's words are interpenetrated with the words of others.

3. Similarities and Differences

The most obvious similarity is these women's brightness and ambition. How this has played out in their lives, however, differs for a number of reasons which are revealed in their stories. Another similarity is that each is the mother of two children. But though the women's ages are relatively close (37, 42, 46 and 48), their issues relative to their children intersect and diverge in interesting ways. Other places to look for similarities and differences include their relationships with their parents, siblings, extended family members and husbands or significant others, and their experiences in the U. S. educational system and in the workplace.

In each portrait, I've kept my own voice to a minimum to allow the women to speak for themselves. To make the narratives clearer, I've italicized interview questions I asked, comments I made, and my synopses of unquoted information. Explanatory descriptors indicating, for example, laughter or long pauses, are in parentheses. And my substitutions and

²There are elaborate notational systems for indicating tone and tempo, but I felt using such a scheme would interrupt the flow of the narratives and divert the reader's attention from the stories being told.

additions of words and phrases which make the women's texts more understandable are in brackets.

Sara Tolberg

We first meet Sara Tolberg, 37, whose major work responsibility is setting high level direction for a large Midwest technology company. Sara grew up on a potato farm in a tiny town in the Pacific Northwest. There were six children in the family, not including a boy who died of crib death in infancy. Sara, a college math major, is the oldest. Jim, 36, is learning disabled and works on the family farm. Mike, who died in an automobile accident at 21, had an associate's degree in welding and would have been 33. Tommy, 31, has his own farm. Barbara, 29, majored in business in college and works in procurement for the U. S. government. And Valerie, 27, has an undergraduate degree in production and technology and is in production engineering for an aerospace company.

Sara handled her interviews in a business-like fashion with a minimum of digression. Speaking in a steady and sure voice, she smiled a lot and frequently capped the points she was making with a chuckle which had a slight nervous quality about it. A unique opportunity to get to know Sara better arose one cool November afternoon when, at her suggestion, I interviewed her parents, who were visiting Sara and her husband and two young children. Otis Tolberg, 62, had a gravelly voice which was slow and spare, and he often deferred to his wife to flesh out responses. Although Mae Tolberg, 56, willingly accepted this task, neither seemed to assume it was her permanent prerogative. Her voice was more animated than her husband's but shared a similar well-seasoned patience. Like Sara, Mae's

speech was often punctuated by a self-conscious laugh. Frequently her comments tended to trail off at the end, as if there was more to say but she couldn't think of anything else. At times, the couple relied on each other to reconstruct family memories, answering simultaneously, overlapping each other's speech, and completing each other's sentences. A fitting introduction to the Tolberg family is provided by two amusing snapshots of Mae's and Otis's own fathers.



Otis's parents came to the United States with their respective families from the German side of Switzerland in the 1920's. His father was a logger who turned to farming. His eighty-year-old mother is still living. Mae's mother came from Germany as a young child. Her father, of English background, worked in construction all his life.

Mae: My father built houses after work.

Otis: He built two houses, he never even had a skill saw. The last house, he bought a skill saw. He was a real worker.

Sounds like it! This is by himself or with help?

Otis: Oh, hell. You couldn't work for him! (everyone laughs) You couldn't move fast enough. My dad, he worked for this woman, widow woman and she went and got a guy to help [Mae's dad]. And the hired man asked, "What do you want me to do?" And [Mae's] dad says, "Just follow me." My dad got the biggest laugh out of that. No way he can follow (chuckling). You know he expected you to know what he was participating [anticipating], but he was so far ahead you couldn't participate what he was going to do, you know. I don't think anybody ever worked with him or for him.

So he did a lot of it himself?

Otis: Oh, yeah! He did it ALL himself.

Mae: Yeah, I don't know how- he must have had some help to do the things that he did. I don't know how he framed it by himself but

Otis: he did.

Mae: Momma helped some. She could kinda help him but . . .

Otis: No, he'd get up four o'clock in the morning and work on the house and then go home and eat breakfast and then go to work, and after work he'd work on the house. . . Well, your brother helped him on one house,

Mae: Yes, that's right. When Ronnie got out of the service, they helped him there, that's right . . .

Otis: My father worked in the woods till he lost his foot and then he became a farmer. He farmed all his life.

Did he have a prosthesis for his foot?

Otis: Yeah.

Sara: Yeah. His wooden leg,

Mae: (laughs) Yeah.

Sara: which he could remove. (chuckling)

Mae: That could start a whole can of stories. (chuckling)

Sara: It was good for keeping our dogs away. Remember Charlie, the little dog?

Mae: Yeah, the little dog that bit, Grampa would always put his foot out.

Sara: He'd tease the dog until it bit his wooden leg. Poor dog!

So it sounds like he had a sense of humor about his foot.

Otis: Oh, yeah. My dad had a good sense of humor. I guess he was, my uncle that just turned eighty-nine last Sunday talked about my dad being ornery when he was a kid.

Sara: I thought it was Uncle Pete that always told the stories about Grampa being ornery.

Mae: Yeah, well they both did. But Uncle Pete he was so much younger. He's only eighty-five. (everyone laughs)

The logistics of a large family didn't seem to faze the Tolbergs. Otis, Mae and Sara talk of taking ten kids to Disneyland, of spending Thanksgivings with some or all of Sara's almost 30 cousins, and of eight people living in a house with only one bathroom.

Mae: We had to be fair to the kids, that's one thing they learned. They learned to be fast in the bathroom. That's why they could get along good at college, I think. They learned that you don't mess around in the bathroom. If you want to fiddle with your hair, you go someplace else.

How did you work that out?

Sara: I never remember it being a problem.

Otis: Well, there was no system, I don't think.

Sara: I still remember going back to college, back to the dormitories, which are renown for being noisy, to get some peace and quiet. There was always a pretty constant noise level at home. One way or the other, something happening, something going on.

Mae: Yeah, when you get that many kids, and then there's always somebody crying, or else going someplace. I don't know how we did it.

What responsibilities did your children have as they were growing up?

Otis: Well, I don't think I had any set of responsibilities for 'em, did I?

Mae: Well, just that they had, they all helped on the farm and Sara had to baby sit . . . a lot. Since she was the oldest. She had to baby sit when Valerie had the chicken pox, that time we went out for dinner, wasn't it? Sara wasn't very old then, to have that responsibility.

Sara: If Valerie was two, then I was eleven or twelve . . . But I remember working in the cellar. We had a truck driver come one time to pick up potatoes, and he was complaining about not being able to get his kids to work, and here it must have been a Saturday, 'cause all six of us were out in the cellar doing something. He was amazed we had all the kids working and he wanted I think to send his own over.

What was your philosophy for raising your children?

Otis: (laughs) I don't know. DO what I say or suffer the consequences, that was it I guess. (everyone laughs) [Addressing Mae] What was yours?

Mae: I don't know. I don't know. We just, I learned when I became a parent. I . . . I, I don't know how to say that. I don't know how good I was or . . .

Otis: Well, all of our kids liked to go to school and I hated to go to school. I don't know. Maybe it was so bad at home, that they wanted to go to school.

Mae: Well yo-, I'd say Otis more than me, you expected them to do everyth- well, like you say, do it.

Sara: Yeah, [to her father] tell about my grade in typing. Don't you remember your reaction to my grade in high school? It was a C-minus.

Otis: No, I don't remember that (laughs).

What was his reaction?

Mae: He wasn't happy, evidently.

Sara: That's right. He had a fit about a C-minus in typing that was [lowering her voice to imitate her father] "below average, and how could I possibly have below average?"

Otis: Oh, maybe I liked typing when I was in high school, but I didn't get a very good grade (chuckles), but I liked to do it. Because I figured something I liked a little bit she should have excelled, but I don't remember.

Sara: You could say it left an impression on me.

Mae: I remember your unsatisfactory in citizenship. That was the one that killed me.

When was that?

Sara: It was in junior high.

Otis: Well, didn't you go to the teacher on that?

Mae: I went to the teacher! Yes! They had teacher conferences. I said "What did she do?" I thought

Otis: And they said, "That's no big deal."

Mae: Mr. Nichols says, "Well, it was no big deal. She just," . . . like you were talking when you shouldn't have. Some stupid thing. I said, "OH!" I was upset with him. I says, "My gosh, when you put something like that down. I thought she spit on the flag or something." Or I don't think I said that, but it was something similar. Because that was really, that upset me. I remember that. 'Cause at first I thought, "My God, what is she doing?" Sara always did real well, all except Mr. Whitmore.

Sara: Yeah, the sixth grade teacher.

You and your sixth grade teacher didn't get along well?

Sara: Not at all.

Mae: Our house is within walking distance of the school, and this one time this teacher jumped in his car. He had to drive out the highway and down and around to get to our house, and he came roaring up. He wanted to beat Sara home from school. And then he told me that he was having a terrible time with her, that all the other kids were on Sara's side and he says, "I just can't have her manipulating the class" or something like that. He said you were going to have to stay home from Camp Woodley, if you didn't straighten up, and I told him, "Oh, do whatever you have to do." I don't know what he wanted me to say. I guess he just thought maybe I was encouraging you or I don't know.

Sara: I can't even remember what the conflict was. I remember I didn't get along with him. I think maybe he was a little bit insecure and I challenged him. And he probably didn't like that from a sixth grader.

Otis: Yeah, that's what the head teacher told me.

Mae: Oh, Mr. Carr. Yeah.

Otis: He told [Mr. Whitmore] that that kid was smarter than he was, so just to leave her alone. He told me this just about a year ago. I was brought up the teacher was right even if he was wrong. I guess my Dad, when he got a spanking at school, he'd get one at home. And that's about the way I raised the kids. But I don't think any of them were in any trouble real trouble. Sara probably was the worst one.

Like most families, the Tolbergs have had their share of adversity. Theirs seems to have come in the form of automobile accidents, including the one that claimed the life of Mike. There was the time Otis greeted Sara

at breakfast with a black-and-blue, bloody face the morning after his car ran off the road; the time Tommy's pickup was hit by someone running a stop sign and flipped into a drainage ditch, breaking his pelvis; several other fender benders -- and Sara's serious accident about seven years ago. She was driving her grandmother Tolberg, neither wearing seat belts, in an ice storm on a freeway where they don't salt the roads. Travelling about 25 miles-per-hour, a gust of wind suddenly sent the car spinning.

Sara: A semi truck was behind us and hit on my side of the car right at the door frame, kinda made the car into a vee. Gramma wasn't wearing her seat belt and the odd part about it is the skull fracture was on her left side, which if she was on the passenger side, you wonder what she hit inside the car to cause that, but things just happen and you don't know. The only thing I could think of was the shifter.

Mae: Or if she flew up enough to hit the mirror, or it had a big hard frame too. It's hard telling what.

Sara escaped with minor injuries. But her grandmother can no longer talk. When asked where she is now, Otis replies she's with his two sisters, although privately Sara indicates her father and one of his sisters have not been communicating well because of a disagreement over their mother's care, and so Sara's not sure where her grandmother is actually living. She thinks it's somewhere in California.

Mae: She's healthy, healthwise, but she can't talk. She can sing, it's really weird. Otis had a birthday party a few years ago and she was there and this man from Switzerland was there with a guitar, and he sang and she could sing everything. She sang "Happy Birthday." She sang in German. Everything. But she talks, she says, "I remember."

Sara: That's the only thing she says. To anything, that's her response.

Can she write?

Otis: Nope, she can't write. Well, she's paralyzed on the right side.

Do you know if she knows you?

Otis: Oh, yeah.

Mae: Well, we think she does. I mean I thought, "Wow, she really knows us and everything." She hugs you and kisses you, but then a stranger walks in the room and she does the same thing. So you don't know.

There are also concerns about brothers Jim and Tommy. Tommy's potato farm has recently fallen on hard times, Jim, who can't read, is accident prone and sometimes, as Mae says, "does crazy things."

Mae: Now I think Tommy wishes he had gone to school because [being a potato farmer] is a terrible life (chuckles nervously). He has to borrow so much money and then you never know if you're going to make enough to pay it back. He's just thirty this year and he had to borrow over a million dollars! I just can't fathom that. And then if the crop doesn't turn out, you've lost everything.

Otis: Yeah (said forcefully with a big sigh), he had a lot of pressure on him for about three months. You get a potato contract, it doesn't mean anything if there's something wrong with the potatoes, they can say we don't want 'em. And you have to find another market. When there's an overproduction, there's not many markets to go to.

Mae: The girls used to entertain people in college with Jim stories. One time he was pacing through the house. "Billy did it again. Billy did it again." And then he said, "Do you think [our next door neighbors the] MacBrides would mind if I called them?" And he didn't like to use the telephone. I said, "Why?" Because I wasn't paying that much attention.

Otis: It was after dark. And Jim said, "Well, Billy did it again!" He'd spilled on his motorcycle and he got underneath it and he couldn't get out and it was runnin'. And Mike opened the [front] door, and here the kid was out in MacBride's yard hollering, "HELP! SOMEBODY!"

Mae. "HELP. SOMEBODY, HELP." I can hear that today. A big kid. And Mike was so small, but he was older and he went and lifted the motorcycle up. But Jim could have done it.

Another Jim story came up when the Tolbergs were asked what they used to talk about at dinnertime at their house.

Mae: Well, it wasn't like what you hear about the Kennedys, that they had their nice political discussions at the table. It wasn't any deep environmental concerns or anything. Probably just things with the kids.

Would you have talked about the farm?

Otis: Probably what I had to do.

Mae: (in a high voice) Or, "Why weren't you home?!" (then in a normal voice) "We've been waiting for you." 'Cause we always waited for Otis. No matter what, that probably was it. I was always probably testy. My mother was that way too. She hated waiting for my dad. She was such a good cook and she wanted her food to be good. Not that mine always was good, but when I did make something good,

Sara: You wanted it to be at its peak.

Mae: Yes. And we had to wait for [Otis] a lot of times. Now its a lot more relaxed. I'm not so stressed out, although sometimes I am. Just lately I had something R-E-EALY good! I thought you and Jim were coming right in.

Otis: Well, I had him call you and tell you we wouldn't be there for an hour, so you cooked dinner, you figured we'd be right there.

Mae: He never said anything about not being there in an hour. He just said, "We're at the farm." He missed the point.

What phrase or motto or saying do you think would best describe how your family got along together?

Otis: I don't know.

Mae: I always think of "all for one and one for all!" I mean everybody fought to some extent but boy, if somebody from the outside attacked anybody, everybody would close ranks.

Sara: Yep.

Mae: "Dirty rats over there," or something (laughing).

Sara: That sounds about right.

Mae: 'Course Sara was just that much older and . . .

Otis: I think Sara was about four years old when Mike was born, and the doctor asked Sara, "What do you think about havin' a baby brother?" "Oh," she says, "Daddy always gets what he wants."

Sara: That was Tommy. His birthday's Halloween. And I was in first grade. We were going around the gym in our Halloween costumes, and my first grade teacher pulled me out of the parade and said, "Sara, I have exciting news. You have a new baby

brother." And I started crying. I was so upset. I wanted a sister. And I told her, "My Daddy always gets what he wants."

Otis: But I thought it was Dr. Osterfel.

Mae: Didn't you say the same thing to Dr. Osterfel? Because he said it to me, he said "Sara wasn't very happy about it."

Sara: So I didn't take all those brothers well.

How would you describe Sara when she was a child?

Mae: Well, she was dependable. Smart.

Otis: Yeah, school was easy for her.

Mae: That's a fact. It seemed like it was easy. She had not a lot of friends but what friends she had were good friends. Where it was kind of hard too, this place where we came to farm opened up for irrigation and it was in an area where there was already dryland wheat farmers, and most of the dryland wheat farmers had money, had nice houses, had everything. And when we came in, we had not very much, I mean I say everybody. At the time nobody said it much, but they called us "mud farmers." (chuckles nervously) And they always acted like we were second class citizens. It was hard for these kids.

What did Sara do that would make you angry or upset?

Mae: Probably used her own mind.

Otis: I can't think of anything. She could probably tell you a lot better than I can.

Mae: I know she had her feelings hurt easy a lot. Birthdays, she always ended up crying, and of course Mike teased her.

Otis: Well, we had, this is a story. We used to take a little vacation and my folks or her folks would come up to watch the kids. And her grandmother on [Mae's] side gave her this silverware.

Mae: It was back when the service stations gave you a free set of silverware.

Sara: (groans) Oh, no. I know what this one's about.

Otis: So she had to have that silverware to eat. Well, Mike set the table. And my dad sat in a certain place on the table, so he put this silverware at his place. My dad said she came out of the bedroom and just started bawling. My dad didn't know what the heck he'd done, and Mike had put the silverware on

Mae: To be mean

Sara: Intentionally. It was not an accident at all.

Otis: And of course it didn't make any difference to my Dad what he ate with.

Mae: But Mike knew that Sara wouldn't go in and try to take the silverware from Grandpa. But

How old were you then?

Otis: Eighteen.

(Everyone bursts out laughing)

Sara: It was more like ten or twelve.

Mae: Yeah. But I don't know what used to make us mad. I know she made us mad different times, and we made her mad, but I guess your mind dulls.

Otis: Sara was never a cheerleader.

Mae: Oh. No.

Otis: And Mae here says, "It's not fair! It's not fair being a cheerleader more than one year." So what happens? Valerie and Barbara get to be cheerleaders (chuckling) for two years.

Mae: Yes, but I said they OWED it to us! (She and Sara go off into a gale of laughter).

Sara: I never made it. What was known as the also ran.

Mae: Ooooh! It was horrible, and she was better than a lot of them. I think I was as crushed as Sara.

Otis: (imitating Mae) "And it's not FAIR that there was more than two years."

Mae: I wasn't as bad as that lady in Texas though (laughs).
[referring to the jealous mother who allegedly put out a contract on
the mother of her daughter's cheerleading rival].

How would you finish this phrase, "Life is _____?"

Mae: I'm not good at thinking.

Sara: Well, I could tell you what I learned when I was in ninth
grade. Life isn't fair.

Mae: Yeah, that's right.

Otis: Yeah, that's your favorite.

Mae: Yeah, that is my favorite saying, come to think about it. Life
isn't fair. I'd say that all the time. Why couldn't I-, what did you
say? Life is?

Or life isn't, as the case may be. Life is not fair.

Mae: Yes, life is not, that's what, it threw me off. Yeah, I do say
that all the time.

How about you, Otis?

Otis: Well, they used mine up.

So that would be yours also?

Otis: No, I don't know what I'd say. (chuckling) She complains all
the time, I don't know why.

Mae: Well I do.

Otis: Life could be a lot worse than it is, I'd say.

And Sara?

Mae: You probably do have a better outlook than I do.

Otis: Yeah, it's not fair to have the cheerleader

(Everyone laughs)

Sara: Probably the same as Mom. I tell that to people even now.
People worry about making sure everything is perfectly fair. Life is

never going to be fair. If you keep thinking that you're going to get to everything being perfectly fair, it's not going to happen.

Sara's individual interviews took place two months after the conversation with her parents. We retraced some territory through her childhood and then moved on to her work and her present family (husband Dick Anderson and children Corey, 4, and Lynn, 2).

Family

I learned a strong work ethic. I attribute it to growing up on a farm, knowing that everyone had to play their part. Even though we didn't have livestock, we had things that needed to be done twice a day and if they didn't get done, things would not go well. The crops would die or whatever. So we grew up with a lot of responsibility.

As the oldest, did you feel you had more responsibility than the rest of the kids?

Probably. But I never thought about it in a comparative sense. It was just what I was supposed to do.

As far as people in the family with the most power, I don't know if it comes across in the discussion with my parents, but my dad was pretty much, what he said we did. If you got out of line, he set the tone so you'd know that if you got out of line again what would happen to you, so he never had to say much after that. When I grew up, we always had to have potatoes [for dinner]. If there was ever a night, though, that dad wasn't home -- which wasn't very often -- then we could have rice. But we could only eat certain things based on my father's preferences.

I would describe my mother's role as the translator, the intermediary. I know there's times when she's been incredibly frustrated, "Why don't you tell your father directly?" "No. You do it."

So most of the messages to your father went through your mother?

The hard ones. The ones that we didn't think would go over well. It seemed that she was always easier to deal with, less threatening, less concern of reaction.

As far as hopes, desires, and expectations of my mother, it's hard to say. Some of the things I know she encouraged me to do were things she would have liked to have done herself. So in some ways it may have been the classic living vicariously through your kids.

I tried out for Miss Bartell [the nearest town] when I was a senior in high school. I was interested, but I think Mom was really interested in seeing me compete for that. I didn't do well. But I learned some things from it. Since I don't do things musically or piano or any of that sort of stuff, I ended up for my talent competition reading a poem, and I didn't do well on that part at all. So I learned about speaking and reading and knowing what it felt like to do horribly. It helps you to learn to do better later on.

How would you characterize your parents' relationship with each other?

If you asked my husband that question, he thinks my mother waits on my father hand and foot. I'd say it's a good relationship. I don't think either one of them holds anything back, which at times can cause some fireworks. They're fairly vocal and they're not afraid to speak their minds. You know where they're coming from and you know what things are going on. But I also think they're very dependent on each other.

Did you have any secrets you couldn't share with your family?

When you live in a relatively small house with one bathroom, there's not a whole lot of secrets.

What did you have to do to be loved by your siblings?

I guess get along. Not offend people. "All-the-Things-I-Needed-to-Know-in-Life-I-Learned-in-Kindergarten" kind of things. I don't know if there was anything that I needed to DO specifically that I can identify.

When I look at the question, the person you liked most while you were growing up, I don't know. I can't think of someone that I liked more than someone else. If you talk about "least," my brother Mike and I seemed to not get along. It's not that I didn't like him, but we just didn't get along well. In retrospect, probably the "why" was because I was the oldest; he was four years younger than me and challenged my authority as being the oldest in the family. I mean he was always "No, let's go do this." [And I would say,] "Well, I

said do this." We were constantly at odds from that perspective. There usually would be two or three [of the six kids] following Mike and two or three following me.

So you consider the silverware story is really a symbol of your relationship with Mike?

Yeah. We were constantly picking on each other. From my perspective, it just seemed like Mike was always finding ways to irritate me or to whatever. And he was very good at it.

Is there anything you couldn't talk about in your family?

Not really. Again, when you grow up in a certain family, you think that's the way everybody operates, so when I married Dick, it's interesting comparing and contrasting his family. [In my family,] anything is fair game, which can, to an outsider not used to it, look terribly cruel. We've always been very open with our feelings and with people. There were no holds barred. People were teased unmercifully. It was tease or be teased yourself. We were never crude and rude, (laughs) down and dirty, but in terms of thoughts and feelings, there really wasn't anything that wasn't put out on the table for everyone to see, and if someone didn't see it, someone else would make a point of making sure everyone saw it. One time we caught Tommy and his friend down at the park experimenting with cigarettes. From that point on, we'd see a cigarette commercial on TV, we harassed Tommy beyond belief. "Oh, there you go, Tommy! There's one!" From that point on he wouldn't even consider touching a cigarette. Dick thinks we're incredibly rude to each other. The way he grew up, there was much more decorum, they were more concerned about each other's feelings and certain things are just not spoken.

How have you worked it out with Dick, coming from these two backgrounds?

I've pretty much adapted to his, which sometimes causes a lot of frustration because I'm used to people saying what they think and not having to interpret for them, and I want people to express their opinions. I mean don't expect me to guess. He expects me to guess sometimes.

Do you remember any experiences of being ridiculed or teased?

When you see it on the page, it says "ridiculed" per se. It sounds cruel and heartless, but that was what we did. Ignored and

rejected, I don't think we were. Maybe there were times when we wished we were ignored, but not really rejected.

Is there anybody who you feared when you were growing up?

I feared retribution of my father if I ever got out of line. I knew what would happen and it would not be pleasant.

What would you do when you got angry at your dad?

Probably sulk and be quiet. If I got really angry, sometimes I would make noise. I would argue out loud and state my opinions. But most often it was a nonconfrontational kind of a reaction. I mean there was one point I was angry at him over a situation having to do with some land that he sold. I think I was living in Oregon at that time. A family friend of ours was getting married, and I just refused to go to the wedding, I was so mad. I stayed away.

How about when you were angry at your mom?

Probably the same way, although I think if you were to contrast the levels of anger, they would be more intense towards my dad than my mom. I was probably more apt to speak up right away with my mom than I was with my dad.

How about with your siblings? Especially Mike.

No delay time.

What would your mother have said about you if I talked to her when you were about fifteen years old?

She probably would have told you I had always done real well in school. I wasn't somebody who was a social butterfly and had a lot of friends and stuff. I had a few close friends and that was about it. I was involved with a number of extracurricular activities like 4H, I think eight or nine years in 4H, which is quite a bit. I had done sewing projects all the way from the beginning on up. My friends and I were friends because we had like interests, but none of us were that interested in boys per se. I still remember we all went to the same grade school and then we went to junior high and really being upset because we couldn't wear shorts underneath our skirts when we went to junior high. [We'd ask,] "But what happens when we go out on the playground and hang upside down on the monkey bars?" [And we'd be told,] "They don't have recesses in junior high." [Our reaction was,] "No!" Whereas the girls from Bartell

knew about boys and it was like [when they watched us on the monkey bars], "Ohhhh, what are they doing?" So we weren't real into those kinds of skills either early on.

Your father would have said the same thing about you at age fifteen?

I would say so.

What about your family that played an important part in shaping who you are today?

I think a fair amount of openness and understanding. I worked on a contract [on the West Coast] where some of the folks were very hard to deal with -- unreasonable, and I just dealt with it. I gave my dad a hard time [about it] because I said, "You prepared me well for this job." I think he took offense. But in reality I wasn't coddled or brought up to believe that everything is peace and beautiful and wonderful. I guess I understood a lot about diverse opinions and approaches. Dick's mom was really funny. When we told them that we were engaged and she realized that I came from a large family, her reaction was, "Good, she knows how to share." We had pretty strong values and morals [in my family] in terms of what we should and shouldn't do. It was not an option as far as church, whether we would go or not. It was, "Why aren't you ready yet?" The option was, "You're going to wear pants? They don't wear pants to church in Switzerland. You cannot wear pants." So I understand structure. I can deal with structure.

Are you and Dick religious now?

I am but he is not, which is challenging to an extent. He grew up Lutheran, if I'm not mistaken. It's not that he doesn't believe, he's not agnostic or anything, but he's just not active. Whereas I still try to be. One time I took both [my kids] to church with me alone. One or the other works out; because when they outnumber you, it's challenging. But it's not something that's an important part of [Dick's] life.

Your kids are Catholic?

Yes. It'll be an interesting as they grow older and start wondering "Why isn't daddy involved?" But that's something we'll have to deal with when we get to that point. [Religion] gives you a safe place to go back to, a good basis. I think it bothers my mother that Dick isn't Catholic and goes to church. My mom was raised Lutheran and converted to Catholicism after she married my dad. She is every bit as devout as he is. Once it used to be that if you have godparents for a child, both of them had to be Catholic. I had asked my sister and

brother-in-law to be godparents for Lynn and my brother-in-law isn't Catholic either. And my mom didn't say anything to me, but she was worried. "Is this going to take? Is it okay for him to not be? Is he qualified to be the godfather?" She was real worried about it. Barbara told me later that mom was checking with [our priest], "Is this okay for them to do this?"

Is there anything you'd change about your family?

I'm not sure that I would say I would change anything. I was frustrated with some of the control, with my father's "you'll do it my way or no way." But looking back on it, it wasn't so bad as it seemed at the time. When you talk about having a chance to do it over with your own children, it's scary. You find yourself saying those things that your parents always said to you and you wonder how they came out of your mouth. You listen to some of these comics like Bill Cosby and you laugh at the things that you say, but you say them anyway. "Don't let me see you do that." "Fine. I'll do it behind the closed doors." "If I catch you." "Well, don't catch me." But, we all do them. When I had my first child it lent a whole new respect to what my mother went through. If I think about what she dealt with in terms of six kids within nine and one-half years, I don't know how she did it. Granted my lifestyle is somewhat different from hers, but I just would be going crazy.

So you're not planning on having six kids?

No. My best friend in high school had just one brother. So they got more individual attention from their parents and they could afford to do other things and there were times when, "Well, gosh, they get to do that. Wouldn't it be nice if we could?" But on the other hand, just having that many friends from the family, that amount of support, it's unfortunate that my kids won't experience the same thing.

Wouldn't it be difficult to be where you are and potentially going if you had six kids?

Yes. I think so.

I guess there are a number of men managers with six kids.

We went to a class offered outside of [my company] where there were a number of people from other places, and one of the assignments was to tell a story about your family. I know at least one of the men

said something about he had six kids. "How do you manage?" And again, just talking to him it sounded a lot like when we were growing up. But I don't believe his wife works outside the home.

Education

What did you do with your high school friends?

I guess why anybody has friends probably is because there's common interests and needs. They consolidated two elementary schools when I was in third grade. I think there were only two girls out of twenty kids in my entire grade school class at that time. And I was thinking, "Oh, when they bring in [the other school], there will be more girls and that'll be good and I'll have more people to play with." Well, there was only one, and that was Sue Ellen. I was real good friends with her from fourth grade all the way through and in fact still keep in touch with her today. She was a real good student as well. So I guess some of the things we talked about was probably more related to the academics at school and what was going on in that regard. We were both majorettes at the same time.

I also participated in things like 4H and Future Homemakers of America. I was the president of FHA when I was a senior in high school. We grew up in a farming community, so the boys vocational education was either shop or agricultural sciences. They decided when I was senior to offer a version of that for women, because they had done a boy's home-ec[onomics] class. So my friends and I all took this vocational education in the agricultural side of it for one quarter. And most of us came from farming backgrounds except for one of my friends. She grew up in town. And we just laughed the whole time at Marlene. "You don't know what that is? Come on." It was pretty easy for us. "Oh, yeah. I know about that." I went to all the football and basketball games with my friends, and even went to some of the school dances, although, mom was always encouraging me to "You should get to know Arty Thompson better." Or "Why don't you do this with so-and-so?"

I remember the FFA [Future Farmers of America] /FHA joint dance. A friend of the family who was a ninth grader wanted to go really bad, and I was a sophomore. My and his mom were good friends, so Cullen and I went together. And his mom drove us. (laughs) When I was a senior, I was dating this guy and we went to the Senior Prom, the Homecoming, and all of those ones.

How long did you date him for?

Most of my senior year. When I went off to college, I guess I was practical at that point. It was like, "Well, it's been nice, but I'm going to college." He stayed. I don't think he even went to college at all. He just stayed and farmed. And I kept in touch with him, but there was no expectations that we would continue dating. It wasn't a big emotional event. It was just, "See ya! It's been nice. I'm

moving in this direction and you're moving in that direction. Good luck!"

I didn't run around with the popular crowd, so I guess there was a certain amount of stress or disappointment related to that, but on the other hand it's not overwhelming. There were some folks that, as any high school, that kind of pictured themselves as being better than the rest. I was never part of that. But, c'est la vie. Life goes on.

Sue Ellen stays home with her three sons. She lives in a rural community, and her husband works as a supervisor in a potato processing plant. I think she works part time when she can at the day care center keeping their books. Before she was married and had children, she worked for a credit institution. Another friend worked for some time before she was married, again in a retail store in the accounting area keeping books. She's got two children. She quit at some point and she was glad to quit. Then the last I heard from another one, she was working as an assistant to the mayor in Seattle, so, more of a professional career path.

What do they all think about what you're doing?

Probably they don't really know. When I'm at home and visit with them, we don't talk about work. We talk more about how's the kids, what's going on and those types of things.

There's an infamous story about me. When I was in 4H, I was the president one year. And I can't even remember what it was for but there was a present we had to give for somebody, and I was in a snit because I was supposed to wrap this present and I was running around going "Well, presidents don't wrap packages!" My mother still goes "Presidents don't wrap," like you're being too arrogant.

My father never graduated from high school. I think he's a very intelligent person, but economics at the time he was in high school said, "quit, go home and work."

My mom did very well academically when she was in high school. She was salutatorian or something. Granted, a very small high school, but she always had a very good academic record. So I guess some of the academics pretty much came naturally to me. I think maybe it was one of those things that you do well, so it reinforces it, so you enjoy it, so you just keep going, but it's something that never was much of a struggle. I still remember one test I took. One of

these standardized tests that they give kids all through grade school. I must have gotten a hundred percent on one of them, and I can still remember the teacher. She came back and said, "Did you really know this answer? Or did you guess?" So she went back over the test. I remember I had done really well on it, and she was just astounded that I had.

School was something that came rather easy and something I enjoyed. I won the math-science award when I graduated from high school. When I took chemistry in high school, ninety percent of what the chemistry teacher was teaching was math formulas, and that was so far behind me in terms of the things that I was doing in the other math classes. I sat in the back of the room -- the teacher condoned it -- with two other folks and played pinochle. If they would have allowed it, I could have tested out of it. It was a waste of my time to be in the class, but I went through it. All of us in the back got A's without even breaking a sweat. There were some folks who were struggling with it, and we helped when we had study times, but during the lecture there wasn't much to do. They didn't have any advanced placement kind of things, so I went through it.

Probably the closest thing to "didn't like" was the physical education stuff because I don't consider myself terribly coordinated and it's somewhat frustrating. But I won't say that I didn't like it, it's just one that I didn't do well. That and typing.

My mom got married right out of high school; that was the thing to do when she was growing up. Even with that background, that was never implied to me that that's what I ought to do. There were a lot of folks that I knew in high school who did that, who didn't go on to college. But on the other hand, it wasn't unusual for a woman to go off to college even from the school that I was in. It may have something to do with the farming community where I grew up. Women were always involved in the effort to provide food for the family, were full partners in the farm.

What thoughts did you have about your adult life when you were a teenager? I don't know that I really planned that far ahead. I guess I had a desire to be independent and that's probably the underlying thing that motivated me to want to further my education.

When it came time to thinking about going off to college, how was that decision made?

As far as whether I'd go or not? I think my parents must have always assumed that I would and should and that that was the right step. It's kind of interesting to look at it. My dad's sister has seven children and five of them are girls, and their attitude was why waste the money on college on the girls, so none of the girls ever went. But my parents never had that kind of an attitude. It was "you ought to go on. That's how you're going to get a job." I had applied to a number of different schools in [my state]. Probably the thing that influenced me the most was my high school math teacher. Because I had done well in math and the sciences, he encouraged me to go to the school where he went to. He knew the math department there and felt that I'd do well. So I went there and was not sure what I should major in. The counselors in college suggested I go with a dual major -- math and physics. So I ended up starting out that way, but unfortunately, I had gone to a real small high school that didn't have a very developed math curriculum. We didn't have any calculus. Well, you need calculus to do physics. I was taking my first calculus course at the same time trying to take a physics for majors class. I would be just barely getting the math concepts when I'd need them for the physics. Didn't work. My dad had heart failure when I dropped physics. His perception was that I could get a job if I had a physics degree. I couldn't get a job if I had math. That probably comes from a shirt-tail relation who was a physicist, and so my dad's perception is "Floyd has a good job. He's a physicist. He's got this degree, so if Sara could do the same kind of thing, she can get a similarly good job." I ended up taking summer school that summer because I came back after school was over [in the spring] and told him [I had dropped the physics], and he just hit the ceiling. And it was like, "Well, I guess I don't want to be around here this summer. I think I'll go back." I think his concern was making sure that I had the education behind me in order to get gainful employment afterwards, which, thinking back, especially when I talked to [my administrative assistant], my parents' attitudes were a lot more progressive. [My admin] did well in high school, but her comment to me was, "When I graduated, nobody ever did anything. You went to school and you were either a nurse or a beautician or whatever." Well, that was never the attitude where I was growing up. It was "do what you can. It's not the fact that you are a woman or you're not a woman. Just do it."

Do you keep in touch with any of your college friends?

I ended up being the only one from my high school to go to the particular college that I went to. Of my four roommates, two of them selected each other for roommates. Like, "I don't want to be put in with somebody else. I'm scared." My roommate and I just went potluck. So I ended up with Pat, who I've remained real close with even over the years. She was maid of honor at my wedding,

which was well after college graduation. She was a lot different from me. Social things were important to her. She was a cheerleader in high school. And she ran for homecoming queen at college. She was not academically strong. But on the other hand she was just a real friendly, outgoing kind of person. None of us had the same majors or the same classes together at all, even as freshmen. What did we talk about? Everything. We talked about boys, worried about who was seeing who and who was doing what, this person or that person and that sort of thing.

Doris was another roommate. There was a photographer from the local paper who had seen her in the student union building and taken her picture, and they would periodically come back and have the cute little co-ed from whatever on the front page of the paper "as she ponders her next class." She was very into looks and that sort of stuff. From an academic standpoint, none of them were as academically oriented as I was. A polite way of putting it. Of all of my college friends, Pat graduated with a degree in education and is currently teaching. Shirley got married when she was a junior and I think she dropped out then. I think Betty probably did graduate, but I'm not sure. And Sarnoff, I know she didn't. That was my first exposure to someone who was Jewish. Poor Rachel. Hers was the only Jewish family in this whole small town area, and her parents had these expectations that she would marry someone Jewish. Well, if you're the only family in that community, there's not a big selection. I don't know where they thought they would find someone for her. But she was a riot. She was just a real fun loving character. My first recollection [of her] is the first day of school, a drizzly, raining, kind of yucky day, and I'm riding up in the elevator, not knowing that she's going to end up being my next door neighbor, and she's standing in the elevator going, "I'm doomed. I'm doomed, I'm doomed." She had naturally curly hair and it was frizzing all over.

Did you also meet people who were more academically inclined in some of your classes?

Majoring in math and physics, the majority of the folks I had class with were men. It was me and Laverne. She was married and- was she older? Here we are the only two women in this program in the same year and the same track, and we both ended up being at the top of our class. But, again, the college I went to was relatively small. I think total enrollment was 7,000 people. And understandably, especially when you get into math, some departments were pretty small.

Do any of your professors stand out as people that you especially liked?

There were a few. Being that small a school, I had a chance to develop a relationship with them and get to know them. One of the things I did for money while I was going to school is grade papers. So I spent time hanging around the math department. They were all real nice people. In fact, a couple of summers ago my sister Barbara and I wandered around campus and tried to see if anybody was around. Actually went up and talked to a couple of the professors that I had and told them to tell the rest "hi." They were real supportive.

I went to the placement office when I was a junior and said, "Look. I don't want to be a teacher. What do people do with degrees in math?" And he said, "Well there's this company that hires a lot of math majors. They're interviewing next week on campus. You should maybe go talk to them." So I talked to a recruiter from [my present company], and he explained to me what the company was about and told me I should take a couple computer classes, see if I liked that kind of stuff and told me he'd talk to me in a year. He came back and talked to me the spring [of my senior year], and I was hired straight out of college. My professors were real excited to see somebody get a job from their department. I still remember. I had raced into the beginning of a class and dropped off papers I had graded for one of the professors and then left. I knew somebody in the class, who told me that after I left [the professor] said, "And she has a job. She majored in math and she has a job."

When I went to college it was one of those times where sororities were on a downhill slide. It was not a status thing to belong to a sorority, and homecoming queen was almost a joke. I guess the closest thing to anything of status was the student government kind of things.

What were your views on issues when you were in college?

I was in college from '73 to '77. It really wasn't a tremendously tumultuous time, like the '60's were. The guys in my high school class just missed the draft. Gosh, politics! From a growing up standpoint, my mom was always involved with politics in general. In a small town, you need people who sit at the polls when you have an election. My mom for as long as I can remember always did that. The voting machines we had back then were the kind that record the votes on paper. And they'd need to pull out those strips of paper and count up the votes. We'd get to draw on those big pieces of paper. I still remember Mom coming home late when the polls

closed, ten, eleven o'clock on election day. It was it always a significant event. Mom was also a Democratic precinct committee-woman and the mayor of [our town] at one point, so she was involved in local politics. I haven't continued that per se. On the other hand I take it seriously in making sure that I go vote. When I was in [one of my first jobs], just to get out more into the community, I thought it would be a good idea to be a campaign worker for one of the local politicians. There was a United States congressman who I thought, "I'll go help him in his campaign." He was a Republican and it about killed my mother. I don't recall politics affecting me significantly.

Did you have anybody that you dated steadily in college?

They were different guys off and on. I wouldn't consider any of them a real serious relationship.

After college and before meeting Dick, I did have a couple of different serious relationships, but none of them ever came to the point of being engaged. There was one that would have liked to have [gotten engaged]. It was like "I'm going to [another state for my company's training] and I'm not coming back here because the job that I'm going back to is not here." And I think he expected me to say, "Fine," quit and stay with him. And it was not an option, in my opinion. Then there was another one I considered a real close friend and still would except when he got married, his wife is an incredibly jealous person and would not allow me to stay in contact with him. He stayed a real close friend for a long time. It's too bad, but I didn't want to make waves with his situation.

On both my Dad's and mom's sides of the family, I think I'm the first of my cousins that got a degree. Some of my older cousins went to college for a little bit but didn't ever finish.

It's interesting that you and Valerie and Barbara went to college and your brothers did not.

I have to give credit to my parents. I think they were sensitive to our individual needs and desires. They didn't insist that my brothers go to school. If you look at Tommy, school was always a struggle for him. He hated being in the classroom, and he enjoys what he's doing now farming. So they didn't try to artificially push him. Now, even today, though, every so often [they say to him], "You could always go back. Why don't you try doing this?" Although after he

got married and started a family, it makes it very difficult for him to go back and pursue an education and stop his current livelihood.

Your mom seemed concerned, too, with the huge sums of money he has had to borrow, and that he didn't know what was going to happen as far as potato contracts were concerned.

They've always been concerned about any of their children and the fact that Tommy lives so close to where they are just kind of intensifies it. When my brother Mike was killed in a car accident, Tommy would have been 18. The fact that Mike was gone and there wasn't anyone else to carry on with the farm, perhaps somewhat in the back of his mind, Tommy didn't want to leave. That could have had some influence on what he was thinking.

The two-year period where my brother was killed was just terrible. In that same two years, my mom's mom died, my mom's brother died, and my dad's uncle passed away. And my dad's uncle was the youngest of my grandfather's brothers and so much closer in age to my dad, and close geographically. Going through all of those things was incredibly traumatic.

You were how old then?

About twenty-five.

Where were you living?

In California. I was flying back and forth so many times. And that's one of the neat things about [my company]. I still remember when Mike died, I got the phone call at 3 am, and I got up and went into work the next day, because it didn't do me any good to sit at home, and I had things to do. I was just methodically going through things. And when I went to my manager and explained what had happened, he says, "Get out of my office before you start making me cry. I'll come back in a minute and talk to you." He walked down the hall, cleared it with some folks and came back and says, "Alice will make your airline arrangements. We're paying for your ticket. Get out of here. You need to take off whatever time you need. We'll handle things." I flew out the next morning. They were very, very supportive of the whole situation, which was nice.

After I got off the airplane, the seven of us went together, first to the cemetery to pick out the gravesite. It wasn't just my parents who said, "You guys sit at home and stew while we do this." Then we went from there over to the funeral home and picked out the casket together. Valerie was fourteen. She wasn't young, but on the other hand she was very impressionable, I'm sure. I think it was very

positive, being involved in the process. I don't think that they didn't shelter us enough from the reality of death. We had a situation recently at work where people criticized this individual for getting his children involved in a serious illness of his wife. His wife could have died. She was seriously injured in a car accident, and it was touch and go at points. And he brought the children into the hospital and told the children, "She may die." Some people around here thought, "You can't do that. You can't tell a fourteen-year-old and a sixteen-year-old that your mother may die." I disagree. I think it may sound cold and cruel, but that's the facts. And what happens if she did die? And you tell them then its been okay all along? You've just lied to them. I don't criticize that one bit.

[The time of Mike's death] was a period of change and trauma, but on the other hand, it wasn't like I was real depressed or anything. It was right at the period where I was taking the first job as a supervisor as opposed to an individual performer. So I was going through a lot of things that in hindsight probably were distracting and didn't allow me to dwell on what was happening with my home and my family. I guess I probably funnelled a fair amount of energies into work as a distraction, as a let's-keep-going-on-something-else kind of a situation.

I ended up [going back to work] within a week. [When I called] the people at work, they said, "Are you sure you don't need more time?" I said, "If I stay here much longer, they'll put me to work. It's time to plant potatoes and I don't need to be here."

Work

I started working in the state of Idaho. [After completing my company's training program,] I went to California. I was [there] for four years. From there I went to Oregon for a year. Then when we closed down that account, I went to New England for a year.

What do you do for a social life when you're in these places for such a short period of time? You just work?

Most of the people who worked on the Oregon account had moved up from California. When I went to New England I didn't know anybody. The only people I knew formally were at work. I was in charge of [an office of 40 people]. I got to know the people in the condominium complex where I lived and joined a health club and just did different things. An older couple in my condo complex ended up practically adopting me. She would be watching and checking any time I went out with someone and "Who's this? What's going on?" And they'd invite me down Friday afternoon to have refreshments and we'd sit and talk. I still try to keep in touch with her. When I was in New England this past summer, I stopped

by and saw her. Her health wasn't real good. Her husband has passed away since. But she's hanging in there. She was a typical New Englander. It takes a while to break through the exterior, but once they take you in, they're friends for life.

I met Dick in August '84.

Were you giving any thoughts at that point to marriage and a family?

All along I knew that was something that I wanted, but things just never worked out before. Failing anything working out on the romantic side of the house, there was always my career that would keep me going.

How did you meet?

We were both at the same meeting. We ended up working on a different task force that summer. And we just started developing a relationship from then. We got married in July of '85. I don't have patience. [One of my new secretaries] is engaged and they're not getting married until a year plus past their engagement. It's like, if you're going to do, do it. All this planning and stuff.

Your approach seems like your father to me. It's just the way it's going to be. If it's going to work out, it's going to work out.

That's my husband's observations. He thinks I'm too much like my dad.

How long have you been in your current position?

About two years. When I came back from maternity leave from Lynn, I anticipated coming back to my [old] position. My old boss called me at home and said, "Well, Sara, I just traded you." I said, "Matt!. Like a baseball card." It worked out okay.

How many other women are at your level that work for [your boss]?

Two others. One has responsibility for engineering business systems; the other is my boss's administrative manager. She's got some folks that handle human resources kinds of things he needs.

What's it like to be a female manager in your company?

In all honesty, I think I've been treated very fairly, based upon my abilities, not on anything else. I think I was fortunate starting in the high tech business when it was a relatively new industry and there wasn't the whole seventy-five years of history and hierarchy there. Plus, the industry that I started supporting was health care. And health care traditionally has been more open to females than say, manufacturing. So in my formative years, I didn't have some of the roadblocks from a customer perspective that I see others having.

I know another woman manager [in my company who] has an entirely different perspective. She started [working in another company] in a manufacturing/consulting arena. She dealt with all of those early on male-don't-let-me-in things, even to the point where her company had some big meeting at [a men's athletic club].

Where women weren't allowed.

Yeah. She naively walks right in the front door, and these guys about had heart failure when they saw her. They practically grabbed her and said, "You cannot go in there." She says, "But [my company's] having a meeting and I have to." "No!" She ended up having to sneak around the back door, do something ridiculous. But to think that they didn't have the sensitivity for a meeting selection sight. That was just amazing. I never ran into any significant situations like that. There's only one point that I would even say remotely, maybe, I don't know if it had to do with female or if it had to do with other things. When I first was promoted to be a supervisor, I was part of a team of six people. On that team was a woman who had been with the company two months longer than I had. We were in essence peers. When they chose me to lead the group, she felt she should have been chosen. She said, "Well, I've got two months' more seniority." I mean, get serious. But she couldn't handle it. And she quit. Now, I don't know if the two months' more seniority was covering up the, "I don't want to work for her as a woman" or "I just don't want to work for her." I don't know what the real root cause was.

Later on when I was on the West Coast, I started out as one of the managers with responsibility for a section of a contract. The account manager of that group had to deal with the state contracting officer. The people from the state were very difficult to deal with, very unreasonable, very, "I'll sue you for this. I'll sue for that." In two years we went through FIVE account managers. I ended up being the fifth one. At one point, my predecessor had a meeting with them, and he came back and said, "This is it! I'm outta here." I was real concerned for him because he was overweight and had

high blood pressure. I thought, "my God, he's going to pop a gasket here." He called his manager at the time, who said, "Calm down, Jake. Take thirty days off and get out of here." His manager then flew in, had a meeting with the customer, and said, "I'm going to put Sara in charge. Jake is out of here. He can't handle it physically. This is what you've done to him. He'll be back in thirty days." Customer said, "No. I don't want her." I am convinced the primary reason is because they didn't want to deal with a woman. The whole staff on the customer side was male. And being from that part of the country, I can say they're rather parochial. So my manager backed down and [put two other men in charge]. [He said to me,] "Do you have a problem with this?" I said, "I understand. I can accept that. I'm just going to show them that I can do the job where I'm sitting. I'm not going to worry about it." Jake comes back. It isn't two weeks before things blow up again. He came storming back again, and he says, "I'm outta here, I'm not coming back." And he left. This time when he left, I took the position. They didn't ask, I just did it. I have not yet run into a customer who has used the unprofessional, foul language this individual [used]. Totally inappropriate, just horrible. But that kind of language doesn't bother me. So what? I mean, big deal. Doesn't rattle me. But it kind of intimidated this guy a bit. The first thing he said to me is, "Sara, you're gonna have to learn a new vocabulary." I said, "No, Barry. I know what those words mean. Trust me. I just don't want to use them." With my four predecessors, all male, he'd find their buttons and send them off the wall, and I wouldn't. I'd listen to him talk and go through all his tirades and when he was finished, it's like, "You're finished venting now" -- I wouldn't say that to him per se. And he didn't know what to do with somebody who wouldn't react to that stuff. It was a design-develop-implement-and-walk away kind of contract, so we delivered the product as specified and I was the one that finally put the lid on it and finalized the delivery and walked away from it. But he was just terrible. He was a nasty person to deal with. But I handled it.

Another situation, again, with a customer. [I once worked with a group of senior male managers] who had twenty-five, thirty years of experience and were probably in their fifties. And I was the only woman that walked into this situation to sit down and talk strategy with them. Most of them kinda looked at me like, "Okay, I've related to women in my life. My daughter, my wife, my secretary, my mother. Which one does she fall into? Even at lunch, one of them always felt compelled to relate stories about his daughter to me. "Well, she's in school, and she's doing this. What do you think about it?" I wasn't offended. Nobody ever had the audacity to ask me to make coffee, thank God. But they'd kind of look at me when it was time to take notes. Do I look like I have a steno pad with me or what? I think it was hard for them to understand and deal with me. That

plus my age. I'm sure that didn't help either, in terms of, "God, how do I deal with somebody who's under forty?"

How are you seen by others in the organization?

I'd like to think that they see me as positive, being confident, able to do my job.

Who's been a model or a mentor for you as a manager?

I don't know that I've had any consistent, over time mentor. There's a lot of people that if I needed advice on something, I'd feel comfortable going to, all the way back to the manager I mentioned on the West Coast. Folks like [my present boss], who I worked with when I was in New England. I guess I'm rather well connected in terms of being able to talk with a number of the folks who are in leadership positions, if I really needed their help or advice, or if I got into a situation I didn't feel comfortable with. If I was not doing a good job, I think those guys would take me under their wing and say, "Sara, clean up your act here. You really screwed up. You need to fix this."

What do you enjoy the least about your job?

You could summarize anything that I dislike as big time wasters. Time is a very precious commodity to me, and when I deal with people or organizations that don't immediately understand or respond to what I'm asking for or what I need, that is probably the most frustrating thing I deal with. It's like "This is a precious commodity. You're taking it up. You're not helping [the company]. Get out of my way." (laughs) It could be an employee who just hasn't figured out the seventeenth time you've told him the message you're trying to get across. I don't mind having challenging or tough discussions with people, whether they're performance or career related. It's when I have to do it the seventeenth time, that's what irritates and frustrates me.

What do you enjoy the most?

I like working with people. I like seeing them develop. I like seeing results. I like seeing the company grow and anything that looks like progress.

How do you know when you're being an effective manager?

When I don't get a lot of phone calls from my boss, "Sara's screwing up." (laughs) I know I'm effective when we are meeting some of the objectives we've set, we got a major project going and we're hitting the milestones that we're supposed to be hitting, and the customer is smiling. When we're acting as a team, when we're contributing to the growth of this organization in terms of people development, knowledge, and understanding. When I'm able to take people out of this organization and give them up to some place else, to me that's being successful.

I assume the opposite, when you're not being effective is when those things are not happening.

True. And my accounts are complaining that I'm not meeting their needs.

Have you ever been discriminated against in any position you've held?

I don't know of anyone in my company who I would say has discriminated against me. The situations I related earlier with the customers, perhaps.

What gets you upset or irritated?

I guess if you want to get down to the rudimentary, basic, what upsets me the most, it's things that are in conflict with my values. I am aware of a situation [at work] where a manager went out and bought \$75 poinsettias for each of five administrative staff. How does that fit with [the company's current push for fiscal restraint]? That angers me, it upsets me, and it frustrates me. I think being an employer and an employee is a two-way street. I expect to treat people with respect and I think that people should treat me with respect. [Another instance is] where an individual is milking the system for whatever she can get out of a disability situation; the only root I can get to is her values are different from mine. Has doctor's notes that says she needs to be in bed, and disability, and we have people running into her at [the store]. That's inconsistent and frustrating. And to me, that one is tantamount to lying to me. And I don't like to be lied to.

Is there anything you can do about that?

In that case, it was time to bring in the independent physician to evaluate her case, and the independent one has come back and said

there's no merit. So the benefits will stop and we'll go from there. Based on the fact that she's lied to me in other situations, I do not have a position for her. End of story. I would never in a million years recommend her to anybody else based on that history. It's touchy because you don't want to appear to discriminate based on a physical disability, but I don't think it's discriminatory. I think she was not upfront with us. It is not dependent upon her physical ability. What it's dependent upon is her honesty and straightforwardness and dedication to the job. Those things frustrate me.

How do you handle these frustrations?

Ever since I was young, the thing that relieves stress [for me] is doing things with my hands. I like to do counted cross stitch, so if I'm stressed out, it helps me to just pick up something like that and just start concentrating -- I guess it's maybe the accomplishment of small things that helps relieve it somewhat. I remember when I was growing up sometimes when I'd get stressed out just by the pure noise and frustration level at home, I would crochet. I haven't had time to actually lay things out and sew much recently, but I used to sew a lot when I was single -- make a blouse or do something and again people tell me "that would create stress for me." But just doing something like that helps me.

How many hours a week do you usually work?

I work hard at trying to make sure I'm as productive as possible at work, so I don't really go much over say 50 hours a week. The standing arrangement I have with the babysitter who comes to my house is that she's there at 7:30 in the morning and one of us will be home at 5:30 [pm]. So I stick pretty close to that, and I'm almost always the one that leaves last and gets home first. Part of it is [work's] only two-and-a-half miles from home. So it's a ten-minute commute.

Dick's got more like a 30-45 minute drive to work. It gets old sometimes, but I just have to keep reminding myself it's 10 minutes versus 45. So I'm almost always within those bounds.

How about Dick's supportiveness of your career?

It's challenging sometimes. Overtly, he's very supportive, to the point I remember one conversation he had with a person he worked with. "My wife has got better career opportunities than I do. I'm not interested in [transferring]. You need to understand that." On one side he says, "Well, I plan on retiring. A couple more raises, some good bonuses, I could retire." He laughingly says that. But on the

other hand, I think it really deep down bothers him, because every time we fight it comes up. And it's like, "Wait a minute. How did this fight- How come this always comes up every time?" I can understand some of the things that would come up where we're disagreeing and it would be a part of it, but it always ends up getting there. I think it's coming from "I'm supposed to be the primary wage earner here. Why am I not?"

Who makes more money?

I do. When we first got married, we were pretty much close to the same. I think he made a little more on a regular basis, but then I don't think he got bonuses the same amount that I did, and so it came out fairly even. But today, both on a regular salary basis and then when you add salary plus bonus, I make more than he does. Deep in his heart I think it rubs him the wrong way. He tries to overcome that, but I still think it bothers him. You've got to hand it to him. It's not the way he was raised. It's not the expectations that were set for him or his peers, the folks that he works with. He is not the norm, and it's understandably difficult to deal with.

How do you work out your home responsibilities?

The person who's been watching my kids was looking for some more money, so I said, "How would you like to start cleaning the house as well?" That's been a major relief.

Had you been doing it up until then?

We've both been trying to, and living with the results when it doesn't get done. As far as other things like cooking and that sort of stuff, Dick cooks a fair amount. When I have time and I'm not rushed I don't mind cooking. It gives me something to relieve some of the stress sometimes. The other responsibilities we can pretty much split -- you know, taking care of the children, although in the wintertime it gets kind of busy. I decided I wanted at least one night out, so Tuesday nights I bowl. And he plays basketball at least once a week. But most of the time, I'd say we're both around. When it comes to taking kids to doctors' appointments though, I think I've had more than my fair share. Both of them have had ear problems, so there's been running back and forth to have the ear infection diagnosed, getting the medicine, and then ten days to two weeks later, taking them back to have it rechecked. I try to structure it so I minimize it, but I end up taking time off [from work]. In all fairness, it is a little easier for me because they're at home and it's only two miles and the pediatrician's maybe six or seven [miles away].

So when they are sick the sitter stays with them?

Right. That's the nice thing about having somebody at the home. Now, when she's sick, that's another challenge. But, knock on wood, we've been pretty fortunate. She hasn't had many times when she's just not able to work. In that case, if it's only going to be a day or so, then one of us will take a day off, or if things aren't working out, Dick's parents will help out in a pinch.

General

My sister Valerie told me something interesting [recently]. All of us three girls are working. Three different jobs. And Valerie said, "Yep, Dad thinks that Barbara has the best job." And I said, "Barbara? Why Barbara?" "Well, Barbara works for the government. She has a full time, permanent, never-will-be-laid-off job." I asked Valerie, "Well, why do you think he say's that?" Because I think she's got a lot of security. I think she's making good money with minimal stress. Not zero, but it's not like she's in a position where she has to every day confront challenges. It's get the job done, do a good job, but not an overly responsible job in terms of having a stressed out kind of a position."

It sounds like all the things your father didn't have?

Yeah. I thought when Valerie told me that, "What in-? How--?" (chuckles) That was interesting.

It's only been the last couple of years that I've really gotten to know my sisters as adults. I left home when they were kids. Valerie and I look the most alike. And we have similar tastes. We laughed one of the times I was home. She has purchased the same clothing I have -- totally unbeknownst to each other. I was wearing a pair of shoes and she says, "I got shoes like that." And shirts and pants. It's amazing how our tastes are the same, not being close to each other to necessarily influence each other. We turn around and there's other things that -- physical things -- that we're alike other than just appearances. I think I'm mildly hypoglycemic, so I get crabby and I get light-headed if I haven't eaten, and she has the same problem.

I've always been very healthy. Aside from going through childbirth, I've never been in the hospital. [As for the hypoglycemia,] I haven't gone to a doctor and said, "Here, test me out," but I know if I eat, I'm okay.

Do you exercise?

No. Sadly. I used to. When I was in New England, that was probably when I was in the best shape. I've gone downhill from there, significantly.

Added significant responsibilities to your life also. Not just Sara anymore.

Yeah. About the only formal exercise I get is chasing the kids. We have an exercise bicycle that's got dust on it.

So Dick doesn't use it either?

No. He's going downhill in terms of staying in shape as well. Although he plays basketball one night a week in a men's league. I wish he would exercise more at home, because I'm afraid he's going to hurt himself just exercising sporadically.

Do you get a chance to spend time alone?

Every so often, and it feels good, but it's not very frequent. When I was a kid, I had that luxury to be able to go in my room and close the door. So I did probably more so as a child. I spent a lot of time alone before I was married. I just read an article about these two sisters who decided to trade places for a week. One was single, lived in New York, no kids, no husband. The other one was married, had small kids, lived in Atlanta. So they traded places and it was interesting the feelings that they went through. The one from New York said, "Gee, it would be good to be around some people." Well, she got her fill. She realized that there was no privacy. And the other was saying, "It was wonderful to take a shower by myself and go to the bathroom and not have everybody saying, 'What's going on?'" When I listened to the one about how she spent a week by herself, I was like, "Oh, Gosh," maybe not a week, but sometimes there's been a day that Dick's taken the kids away and I'm all by myself in the house alone. Just luxurious.

How are your views about raising children the same or different from the way your parents raised you?

I would say I'm more discipline-oriented than Dick is. Even to this day with Corey, the four-year-old, I will tell him nicely or ask him nicely to do something. "Get up to the dinner table, it's time to eat. Get up to the dinner table, it's time to eat. PLEASE get up to the . . ." Over and over and over again. Finally I said, "Corey, I'm going to count to three and if you're not at your chair, you're timing out." I

start counting, one, two, and he's there. Dick doesn't do the same thing. He'll ask him please about seventy-nine times. He has a much higher threshold of patience than I do. I can't take it more than four or five times. It's like, "Listen, kid. I asked you nicely three times. I'm fed up. Move it." So from the standpoint of insisting on discipline and respect it's very similar [to my parents' style]. There's going to be some things that are going to be dissimilar, because I'm NOT going to have six kids. So the responsibility isn't going to be the same for my oldest, although I want them to have responsibility for their things. Trying to make Corey understand that if he breaks his toys, they go into the garbage, and we don't just go to the toy store and buy another one drives me crazy. He has this perception, "Okay, we'll just buy another one." "No, we're not. I don't care whether we can afford it or not, we're not gonna go just buy one so you can break it again." Trying to impress that value on him is probably not dissimilar to my parents. Theirs was probably need-based. They probably couldn't afford to buy another one. Whereas I have the luxury to be able to, but I don't want to. I think that's an important value for kids to learn, respect of your own property and others. I read Parents' magazine. Some of it confirms what I do, and some of it doesn't. C'est la vie. But to say I picked anything particular to try to follow along. It's more what feels right from a parent's standpoint.

Do you think it's the same for Dick?

Yes. I don't see his parents as being real disciplinarian people. They're sweethearts. They're really nice people and stuff, but they had some pretty firm convictions on values, and how you should respect and those kind of things. And those come through loud and clear with Dick. But I don't think they were as necessarily direct as I am.

How do you think your sense of independence developed?

Probably as a reaction to my dad's control. If I were to think back, one of the motivators for my independence in having a job was I wanted to be able to stand on my own and not depend on him. I didn't like the dependency that seemed to mandate his control over what I did and thought. To me the way out was a responsible position that I could be independent financially. I suppose that probably carries on throughout my relationships. If the situation were with my husband that I wasn't independent financially and with a career, I suspect I'd have a hard time dealing with that, being a hundred percent dependent on him.

When's the first time you remember having the sense that this independence was important to you?

You would think it would be before I started college. Because I mean why would you go to college otherwise? I had no desire to stay at home, after I graduated from high school, and just work locally. Of course, my dad made no bones about it that I wasn't going to be allowed to do that when I turned eighteen. I still remember when I graduated from high school. The night of graduation, it's traditional that the seniors go out and party. So that's the first time I stayed out all night. We went as a group to somebody's house and celebrated and ended up driving about twenty-five miles away and having breakfast at this restaurant. It was maybe five o'clock in the morning when I finally got home, got to bed, and I was exhausted. An hour later my dad comes and gets me out of bed and says, "Mrs. So-and-So couldn't make it to sort potatoes. You're sorting potatoes today. You're an adult now." I still remember those words, "You're an adult now. You gotta get up and do this." [And I thought,] "Like get serious. I didn't get any sleep. I'm gonna be real good sorting potatoes with my eyes closed." He insisted that I get up and go work and sort potatoes that morning. I can't believe he did that.

And your mom didn't say anything?

I don't think she disagreed with him.

She didn't say, "Oh, let Sara sleep. She just had a big night."

Maybe she did, but I don't remember her saying that. So my dad insisted that we be responsible and independent from that perspective as well. It wasn't necessarily a hundred percent of my own volition that I had the sense of responsibility, so that's pretty indicative of just the general attitude that everybody pulls his share, is responsible, you gotta do something. And, again, just to be able to set my own priorities, what I want to do and how I want to do it and when and how late I got to sleep in. I had a motivation to get out and do something. Plus, going on to college based on my academic performance in high school made logical sense. There was not a great deal of question in my mind that I could do well in a college situation. I can't think of one particular incident [when I first had the sense that independence was important to me]. If anything comes close, it would be when I told him I wasn't going to major in physics anymore, and he hit the ceiling and I said, "Fine." It was almost "You can't get a job in math." "Watch me!"

What approach do you take to understanding the world and your place in it?

I don't have the time (laughs). When you talk about the world outside of work, I'd like to have the luxury of reading newspapers and magazines, and those kinds of things. My husband somehow manages to buy them and read them someplace. The closest thing when I'm driving around in my car, I like to listen to National Public Radio. I listen [mostly] to hard news things, things that keep you aware of [what's] happening. Human interest types even. If anything, I'm not very well connected to the rest of the world, other than what I see via work. But those are related more to the high tech industry as opposed to the world at large.

If we move away from the world at large and just say you've got a world that's however you've put things together, how do you understand how you're choosing to live your life?

I try to listen, try to understand whatever I'm exposed to. There's a person named Stephen Covey who's written a book about the seven habits of highly effective people. Seek first to understand. That is excellent advice. And I try to do that before I react. I use that as a motto in terms of approaching things. Understand first before you react.

Did you have any doubts as far as your personal life has been concerned?

I wouldn't necessarily term most of my personal life before marrying Dick as being terribly successful. I've had different periods when I've had no relationships whatever and there's been relationships that didn't work at all and some of them emotional and some of them kind of c'est la vie, and some of them ended up friends and it didn't work.

But it doesn't sound as though you weighed those things on the same scale as work.

It was a challenge. My identity was wholly as an employee, career-oriented. So to shift into the serious relationship with my husband and to think of myself other than that was a challenge. Perhaps some of it is epitomized by the fact there's the Tolberg for work and the Anderson for home. At first I had considered not even changing anything. And I give my husband a lot of credit. He's very understanding and very flexible and not having a problem with me using Tolberg at work. But I think it was little bit much for him to have it on our checking account as Dick Anderson and Sara Tolberg. He didn't bring it up. That's not his style. He's not a confrontational

kind of a person. He didn't come out and say, "That bothers me." But from side comments, I think it did bother him for a while. And there's a certain amount of early on even before we were married, I perceived he felt there was some competition with him versus my job. I tried to explain to him that "No, those two can't compete. They're different things entirely." There may still be some of that latently hanging around every now and again.

When I buy things, I sometimes have to look at what name's on the credit card to make sure I sign it right. They probably think, "Oh my God, a forgery." But you learn that certain things go together. I go by Tolberg [at my doctor's] because my health insurance is Tolberg, because work is Tolberg, so everything connected with [my company] is Tolberg. With the exception of depositing the checks. That's where the bridge happens, into the checking account. And then the rest of the stuff is Anderson. Because if you think about it, you write a check and they look for your ID, they're going to want the driver's license to match the check. If you get car insurance, they want it to match your driver's license, so you have to have the car registered under that name. But my lawyer said as long you're not trying to defraud someone, it doesn't matter what name you use.

What does this do for your identity?

I guess I have multiple identities. It's not really something that's a concern. Sometimes when I'm signing stuff [at work] I have to stop and think, "Okay, yes, don't sign it Anderson." Especially coming back from the holidays for two weeks, I was signing things Sara P. Anderson.

Do you consider yourself Mrs. Richard Anderson?

In certain situations, sure. I go to the Christmas party with Dick's staff. I expect them to know me as Anderson, which again is an interesting irony because a couple of them I'll run into through various situations workwise and it's a different name. All of a sudden I'm Tolberg.

Do you know any other women who do that?

There is another who uses her maiden name, and she is married and I know they have children. But what her driver's license and all that stuff says, I've never asked her. I should ask her one day, just out of curiosity.

What doubts have you had about your career?

The closest I came to failure in college was one math course which was designed to be a watershed for math majors. I'd done real well, mostly A's, in all of the math courses I'd taken, and I hit that one, and it was just a challenge. I got a C in it. It was like, "Thank God I got that." That one was really a struggle. But I learned a lot and understood it was a lot of new concepts that were just a new way of learning how to think and to look at things in perspective. It was tough.

I've had a healthy dose of insecurity all through my career in terms of can I really do this? Maybe it's not been obvious to the people around me, but I felt it, all through a number of different situations. Most recently, when I moved from the position I had to this one, talking to my manager [in my old job] and discussing what I'd done before and what this position involved, he had every confidence in the world that I could handle it. Deep inside of me, I'm sitting there going, "My God, I'm going from managing eighty people to six hundred. My God, that's a leap." And I felt a little bit of can-I-really-do-this insecurity going into it, but on the other hand, I didn't let that get in my way. I said, "Fine, I'm going to do the best I can and just see how it works. And if I'm not doing well, they'll tell me, I'm sure. They'll do something about it." But in retrospect, there were a lot of doubts and a fair amount of fear and insecurity at that point, but I think I've handled it well. And if you talk to my present manager, I think he'll tell you that it's not been any kind of a concern or problem on his part.

So you don't feel as though their expectations for you or your expectations for yourself are too high that you can't within a fairly short period of time meet them?

Right. I think that's an accurate statement. There's a number of situations and next steps that I can envision being real possibilities and there's a certain amount of, can I get back into and do that again? There's always a fear of failure on my part. Hopefully, it will never come to pass in a significant way.

Other than Miss Bartell.

Yeah, Miss Bartell and the Wheat Queen. There were two people trying out for Wheat Queen. I didn't get it. I should say I was first runner up. I have a nice little charm bracelet to show for that.

How do you think about your deservingness in all that you've achieved?

It's kind of funny. Dick and I talk about that periodically. If you look at his siblings, his sister is a teacher doing well for herself and her husband [has a managerial position] as well. But his one brother is a sheet metal worker. This last year's been rough. From a financial standpoint, they're nowhere close as far as being well off. And I struggle in some ways. I definitely do not want to come off as I'm-better-than-you kind of a thing. They're wonderful people, and I don't want to put them off or make them feel uncomfortable. But on the other hand, you sit back and you think. Dick's in this situation, and he's very successful on his own. And you look at his brother and it's a totally different lifestyle. Do you attribute that to luck? Or do you attribute that to being in the right place and time? Or do you attribute that to hard work? I mean his brother is not a slouch. He works very hard. But he just chose a different path. Do they look at us as being just incredibly lucky? I think that we've worked really hard for the things we've achieved, even from a material standpoint. On the other hand, I don't think other folks don't work hard. Were we beneficiaries of being in the right place at the right time? To a certain extent, sure. And certainly blessed by both of our talents. Dick did very well academically likewise. So he has the same type of skill sets that I have. So deserving? I think we've worked hard to get [where we are]. I don't think it was just by luck that it happened.

So you deserve everything that you've got?

Yeah, right.

How's that fit with the idea of life isn't fair?

Fairness to me denotes that somehow you are owed something. That you can sit back and think that you can passively not do anything and life will just be fair, and things will happen to you. That's not true. It will never happen. There are going to be situations where if you look at it from a big picture standpoint, that person got screwed. Or this person shouldn't have gotten this, but it happened. So "accept that and get on with it" is the whole connotation there. Do I care about making sure that things are just and the right thing is done by people and as fair as I can possibly make it? Sure. But I know that it's not perfect. There's things that you will never have control over. It probably started out when I was in high school in either biology or chemistry. Had a very young teacher. It was maybe his first or second year out of college. There was a woman in my class who was an overachiever. But she got a C in biology. Her father was on the school board and came in and said, "My daughter is not a C student. I want her grade changed."

The teacher changed it. And the rest of us in the class are going, "It's not fair! She didn't earn a B. She earned a C." Life is not fair. For me and the rest of the folks in the class to get all wound up about it and attempt to do anything about it or to get distracted by it was not productive. That was probably a good lesson I learned early on.

Meg Smoczek

At the time of the study, Megan Smoczek, 42, had recently taken over as manager of a group responsible for support and development of products targeted at retail service companies for a large East Coast technology company. Meg moved a number of times when she was a child because of her father's jobs as a foundry manager. Born in Massachusetts while he was finishing a metallurgy degree at MIT, she then lived in Maryland (where one brother was born in 1953), Iowa (where her other brother was born in 1960), and Virginia. After Meg left home, her family moved to Oklahoma, back to Virginia, to New Jersey, and finally to Oklahoma again. Meg and her husband of twenty years, Jan, have a son who is 16 and a daughter who is almost 13.

Meg is an intriguing combination of quiet assuredness and ingenuous enthusiasm. Her confident manner conveys a focused determination to meet matters head on, while her quick, friendly wit seems to say, "Hey, isn't this fun! Let's not take this all too seriously!" This paradox plays out in her mellow tone of voice and the staccato way she often speaks in short phrases and succinct sentences to get her thoughts across quickly.



Family

My parents married very young. They're in their early sixties. My mother stayed home when the three of us were growing up.

My Dad will be retiring in about two years, and they're looking to go back to Virginia. My two brothers are in Virginia. There's lots of pretty country there. My brothers work for the same corporation, which manufactures pumps and mechanical kinds of things, transmissions and that sort of things. Tools. They're mechanically oriented -- the three of them always have liked electronics and machinery. They share a love of target shooting. I think the fact that my two brothers are there and I'm relatively close -- I mean right now you can't drive to Oklahoma for a long weekend, but you can drive to Virginia. So there's some sense that [my mother] wants to be a little closer to her grandchildren and children.

My mother's parents have lived with my parents for the past twelve years. My grandmother's in her late 80's and my grandfather is in his early 90's. My mom worked for a number of years when they lived in New Jersey, but when they moved to Oklahoma and my grandparents moved in, she stopped working and stayed home.

My mother's grandparents came from Germany. So my grandfather, who currently lives with them, spoke some German in the home when he was raised. He was the first generation of the children born in this country. He was the oldest and only son in his family, and a chemist by trade. My grandmother, who was a nurse, stayed home when the children were little and then when the children left, she went back and did some nursing for a doctor in a private office. My father's grandparents came from Ireland. His parents met when they were going to high school together and got married. They were divorced when my father was nine and -- that's interesting because when you track back events in your past generations that have a definite impact on how the family is structured, that's one of them. I think they had five children. The oldest son was angry, left and they never saw him again. There was no contact with any of the other siblings. Never saw his father again. His mother destroyed all the pictures of the father. Then his mother, for a period of time, in order to support and take care of the children, had to farm the children out to her sisters, and she went to work as a bookkeeper.

Where did your father go?

He went with one of his sisters to one of the aunts. I have never seen a picture of my grandfather. I have never seen a picture of the uncle that left. I have no knowledge of whether they are living or dead. My mother says that some of the family members say my youngest brother resembles my dad's father, but none of us know.

And what is your father's reaction to it?

Oh, as a result for sure he is extremely protective of his family. It was very traumatic for him. Not only did he lose his dad, but I think it was probably very traumatic for him to have been put into a position of having to live with an aunt. He worked at a very early age. He's a very bright guy. He was very rebellious and, which, gosh, I guess I can see why. Very much his own person. But once he had a family, he was very protective of that family. And that's really come through very strongly in all of us. But it's also interesting -- his relationship with his mother is not particularly good either. He's not seen her in a number of years. All of her other children are on the East Coast where she is. It's sort of an odd -- he's very protective of family and yet he doesn't spend a lot of time with his family. I haven't seen my grandmother in about sixteen years.

Do you send her Christmas cards and things like that?

Sure. Yeah. But she's not a particularly, she's not a grandmotherly type. She does not do well with children, is not going to bounce you on her knee. She's very interested in classical music. At one point, she had a living room that had piano in it, an organ, and she was also taking guitar lessons. Very much her own person. I always admired her, but she's not a very loving and warm person. And you never got a real sense of what she was proud of, what her family had done. She's just a character, she's herself. My other grandparents are very warm, very supportive, very loving, very sort of traditionally grandparentish.

My husband is the oldest and only son of people from Poland. The [Second World] War really wreaked havoc with these people. When she was very young, his mother, his grandmother and his uncle were sent to Siberia. His grandfather was imprisoned in Germany. So there was this long saga of years where the family was separated. I guess the turning point was when Russia and Germany then became enemies as opposed to allies. Then his mother lied about her age and was allowed to join the Polish Free Forces in the Middle East; met back up with her father. Her mother and her brother somehow escaped from Russia, went to India, ended up in Mexico, and came via some contacts [to the United States] until, over time, everybody came back together.

My husband's father was in the Polish equivalent to West Point. When the War broke out, all of these Polish officers were captured and imprisoned. Some German nurse helped him escape to the Middle East and all of the rest of the officers were killed or shipped off somewhere. Jan's father and mother met up in the Middle East

somewhere. She was driving trucks and he was an intelligence officer and -- I don't know if they were married in Italy or if they were married in England -- but after the war they went to England and they were given a choice then of going back to Poland, which was under the Russian Communist rule; they didn't want to do that -- or staying in England or emigrating to the United States and, because her mother was in the United States, they emigrated to the United States. When my husband was three, they got on board a ship and came to this country and moved in with his grandmother and the grandfather finally joined up with them. All lived in one house together while they struggled to learn the language and struggled to get some money and struggled to get a house of their own. And other Polish people were boarders, so by the time he went to school, [Jan] still spoke no English. He remembers the feeling of not understanding what was going on. Not being able to read. Not knowing ABC's; not knowing all of those things that children know. He's been real influenced in how he grew up because of that.

What does he do now?

He's the homemaker. We met when I was going to college and got married in 1971. He sort of went to school and worked on and off the first four years we were married. I worked the whole time. When I was pregnant with our first child, he decided he wanted to get a degree in psychology, because he had been working at a hospital on the mental health unit and discovered what he was good at. He got his degree in psychology and went on to get a master's in social work. We split our days so I could work second shift while he was at home, and I'd be home while he was at school. One of us was always with the child. Then after he got his master's degree, we had a second child and he worked for a while, but our sense was we really wanted to take care of the children, have one of us there, and we sort of compared pay checks and dispositions and it made more sense for him to stay home. So he's done that ever since, and I've continued to work ever since. And I would say, I'm the better person for it, and our children are better people for it, and I think he's had an opportunity to do some things that he's enjoyed. He does a lot of volunteer work. He's done a lot of work caring for his mother. His father died two years ago.

[The situation of being in a reversed role has] been very difficult, but I think Jan's done very well with it. The expectation was there that as the eldest son he would be the provider of the family. He was in a position to do that. He was educated and [so they said] "Why is his wife working?" His dad and mom had a tough time with that.

Oddly enough, my father had a tough time with that as well. Couldn't understand why I was still working. And to me that still

remains a mystery. Why he would have any difficulty understanding that? I mean I am the product of how he talked to me and how he taught me and how he treated me. We worked on cars together. He was always talking to me about science things and math things. My sense of myself is I was always an independent person. I was always different. I was always the brightest kid in the class. I had some struggles with "how come I'm not popular, how come I don't like this, how come we don't do that." And my dad was always the one who said "You don't need to be; you can be independent." So for him to then, when I am independent and working, to question why am I doing that, why am I not staying home, it was like "But Dad, why do you have difficulty with this? Why is this a surprise?" My sense is they would have been all right with it, it would have been odd, but they would have been all right with it as long as we didn't have children. But I think they were really concerned about how were we going to be able to have children and raise effective children? What's this going to do? I think over time, as they've seen the children be extraordinarily well adjusted and very self confident and, actually I would say, much more traditionally role oriented, both our families have looked at the kids and said, "Okay, the kids aren't too screwed up, it must be okay." People have sort of come to accept in value what we're doing. But I don't think I could be doing what I'm doing today if he had not stayed home.

How do you and your husband handle housework responsibilities?

He does the bulk of what needs to be done. Our definition of what needs to be done differs substantially. He does all the grocery shopping, does the meal planning, does the cooking, cleans up the kitchen. He does all the maintenance around the house in terms of things that are broken. Those are more traditional things. He takes care of doctors appointments, chauffeuring the kids around, kind of keeps the glue together. The area that we differ on, and we just have had to agree that we're different, is the standards for what means cleaned up. Typically if there is someone coming over or we have a social event planned at the house, I'll say "Boy, it would be good if you could get the house cleaned." And then the house gets cleaned and it's really nice. And he will do that. He does the kitchen floor, cleans the bathrooms, vacuums, dusts, the whole nine yards. I would like the house kept that way ongoing and it's not. And I simply can't do it and he doesn't recognize that it's a thing that he feels needs to be done and so doesn't.

What responsibilities do your kids take around the house?

They do dishes, take out garbage, do [their own] laundry occasionally. My son was responsible for cleaning the bathroom that the two

of them use once a week until we determined that he had allergies and it was not really feasible to have him continue to do that. He's also gotten out of vacuuming for the same reason. It's dust mites that he's allergic to, so we can't have him vacuum.

My husband and I are such complementary personalities. I have learned just extraordinary amounts from him. Jan is able to explain people's behavior to me in a way that I can understand. That's something he is very interested in and very good at, meeting people and understanding their motivation and understanding their behavior and finding things out about them that I wouldn't necessarily read. He can start socializing and talking to people instantly, anywhere, anybody. I am I would say probably more judgmental, and there will be people that I'll say I have no interest in talking to this person. There's nothing we would have in common. And obviously, as a manager of a group of people, you cannot do that. You must be interested in people who work in your organization. He's taught me a lot about questions to ask, how to listen to the answers, how to understand what might motivate people. He's been able to help me learn how I can ask questions where he might not need to ask them. He can pick them up from conversation. I need to be more direct. He's taught me a lot about people that I wouldn't necessarily have even thought that I needed to be interested in knowing about. If I hadn't learned those things from him, I don't think I would be as effective as I am today in the workplace. So it has worked out well for everyone.

Do you use him as a sounding board?

Absolutely. Any of my difficult people situations I will disguise the names and just touch base with him. In the past year I have had two or three where I have just talked to him once or twice and said, "Here's what I'm thinking." And in one case it was enough for him to just say, "That sounds right. I wouldn't do anything any differently." And in another case it was, "Boy, I would like to understand more." And we talked about it at much greater detail. And then he gave me a couple of suggestions. There was no resolution, but he suggested a couple of things to keep an eye on or if I saw this or that happening, then I maybe ought to get interested in it again. He's also helped me learn about the impact of my style and what my earlier self had on other people. I had no clue that I scared people. I was pretty much as I am now but probably much more abrupt, much less socially-oriented. If I didn't see any need to make eye contact with someone or start a conversation, I wouldn't. Not that I was trying to pass any kind of judgment or exclude anybody on purpose, but if they weren't pertinent to what I was doing, I just didn't pay any attention to them. And so what he helped me see was that people were afraid of me, which just never

crossed my mind. I could understand somebody being afraid of a person if there was towering rage being expressed, but just to be afraid of somebody because they were being ignored I thought was interesting. And that I was overpowering. I do have a pretty confident style, and so if I believe I'm right, then that's what I believe in. That's the way I'll act. And I would take that to the end. Where I would say now what I tend to do is, I know what I believe, I'm confident of it, but I am a little more open to listening to what other people have to say. And it's the openness that I think is different, and I would attribute that to feedback that Jan's given me about how I come across. Not only developing our relationship but also parenting with him has been good in getting me feedback about what's my impact. I can see it on the children.

Do you get angry?

Oh, sure. You bet. But again, that's something my husband has sort of talked to me -- he has a theory of energy conservation -- you have a certain energy level, you ought to spend it on those things that are important to you. I don't have any problem getting angry and I don't have any problem expressing it, and I don't have any problem controlling and channeling it. But I also don't just get angry either.

How was anger handled in your household when you were growing up?

It was definitely expressed. My parents got angry with one another. There was not name calling, there was never a sense of imminent violence, there was never a sense that "That's it. The marriage is over." You always knew the marriage was there. You always knew there would be a resolution to this. You always knew that there was an underlying respect. You were free to express it, you were free to go to your room until you got over it, you were free to go outside, but certain things stayed. You were going to stay a member of the family. You weren't going to get to call people names. You weren't going to get to hit people.

When your parents would have an argument, was it likely that either one or the other of them would win out, or was there a compromise?

Overtly, my dad never abandoned his position. Privately, he would, as I found out years later. Overtly, my dad always ended up being right.

How does it work for your husband and your kids now?

The rules are the same. The marriage will last. You will be a member of this family. People do not call each other names. You don't curse and swear and carry on. There's no sense of imminent violence. And it is a sense of behavior-focused as opposed to personality-focused. As far as do I always win or does my husband win? No. I have no problem expressing myself overtly. He used to have a problem. [I think I've helped him] connect with what he's feeling and if he's angry to say it as opposed to being as concerned about, "Boy, if I express any kind of anger at all, people won't like me and I'll be unlovable so I have to be pleasant all the time." He used to gunnysack grudges and grievances and then there would be an eruption of towering rage for things from way past. And so together we've worked on a lot of that. I would rather be -- just confront me right now. I'll love you no matter what. I think I have taught him that he is lovable, he is worthy, capable of being loved and valuable and that he needs to express his feelings much more directly. He's learned to speak out and hold a position. So I would not say that either one of us dominates in the sense that I used to see my father being the dominant figure. And it isn't through lack of me trying (laughs). But it's just more fun to have equal members there. And we really don't have any core issues of fundamental disagreement. Both of us are focused on we're a unit, we're a family. So in that sense that's an extension of the way I was raised. He's much more social than I am. He's the part of us that connects us to the community, to the neighborhood, to the social structure, and I sort of get connected through him, which is fine by me. That's our view of the way it works.

I'm not particularly a socially oriented person, and that is definitely a product of my background. Definitely.

Where does that come from in your background?

My father. I'm much more inwardly focused.

Protectiveness?

You betcha. I am loyal, honest and true, but the people that I love spending the time with are my family. I do not have what I would consider to be best friends or outside social activities, and I have NO trouble spending time by myself. I enjoy that. I value that. I look forward to it. So it's a little bit odd when I'm in a work situation where what I'm doing is managing larger groups of people and trying to socialize -- I mean that's work for me. It isn't something that comes naturally. I think there are people who have an innate talent and ability to socially connect. And I do not feel that I have

that. It is work for me. I need to think about it, but I enjoy the results of it, which is where I can make a connection for someone or with someone where we can be effective. I enjoy that. Absolutely.

Do you have a sense of any models that you would have been following?

No, not women models. Just some sense of admiration of my grandmother, my father's mother, for having gone out and worked and taking care of her own, but it's mostly my dad. I identified very, very strongly with my dad, and in temperament I am probably most like my dad.

Are your brothers similar to your dad also?

No. Not in temperament. Although I'd have to say maybe as they get older I see more of it. They're much more social beings, much more like my mother and my mother's side of the family, and I am by temperament much more like my dad. I've always admired him, always thought he was just wonderful, knew all the answers. I can remember, and I've talked to my mother about it, I can remember in high school saying to myself, "I do not understand why a guy like my dad would marry someone as boring as my mother. I just don't understand it." With time I've appreciated her abilities and her talents a whole lot more than I think I ever did when I was a teenager. And I don't have any sense from her that I was mean or evil to her or anything like that, and I don't recall it either. I just remember thinking, "Boy, she's just boring. She's just got a really boring life, and what a shame."

When I was in college around 1969-1970, my father made a decision to try going into business for himself. And so he incorporated and bought a foundry in Minnesota. It was extremely stressful time for my brothers and my mother. My dad allowed himself a year to either make it or get out of the business, because he didn't want to jeopardize everything they had. He just wanted to give it a good shot. And he didn't make it. So at the end of the year he got out of it. At that point they ended up owing the federal government and the state of Minnesota large sums of money. Because my father had been spending a lot of time in Minnesota and my mother had to stay [in Virginia] with my brothers, she went back to school and got a two-year associate's degree and began working as a secretary in a laboratory making household cleaning things. Then when they moved to New Jersey, she got a job as a legal secretary. I think the original getting a job was she needed some things to do. The New Jersey job I think had more to do with it being a good idea to have a source of income that the federal government didn't count. It took them a long time to pay everybody off. Then when they moved from

New Jersey to Oklahoma, she's not worked since. Part of that has to do with my grandparents living there, part of it I think has to do with the fact that all obligations have been paid off.

What was your father's reaction to his not being able to make a go of the foundry?

He was pretty straightforward about it. They went into it with their eyes open. So it wasn't devastating. He would have enjoyed it if they'd made it. My personal sense is if he had been able to stay in it for another year, he might have made it. But he had set a target up front and stuck to it.

What was his reaction to your mother's working?

That was a difficult thing for him to adjust to because her life had been spent orbiting around his. Lunch was when he wanted lunch and dinner was when he wanted dinner, and lots of that changed when she started working, because she wasn't home for lunch. And when she came home from work to fix dinner, it wasn't the same sort of dinner that he had been accustomed to. So there was some adjusting going on, and he did all right. I think he's happier now that she's not working again. I would say his adjustment was more adjusting his expectations. I wouldn't want to say that he filled in or assumed some of the things that she had been doing, because that's not true. He does more of that now than he did before. He's sort of mellowing. I think he's thinking more now about how life is going to be when he retires.

What were your thoughts about your adult life when you were a teenager?

One of the key things that happened to me was when I was in high school between my junior and senior year, I went to [a university in the East] for six weeks as part of a National Science Foundation summer institute in mathematics, and up until that time, I had thought, "Boy, you know, I'm the brightest thing going, I am a genius, I could probably do work like Albert Einstein." A lot of that was youth, but a lot of that was I had never run into anybody who was any smarter than I was. And in that six-week timeframe I ran into a whole ton of people that were a lot smarter than I was in key areas. It was just an outstanding experience for me. [The university] was cool because my grandparents lived [nearby], so they were very close. It was a time to learn how to budget money, to deal with being on my own and taking care of my own wash and doing that kind of stuff. Groups of us went to New York City, so I got to experiment with some places I had never been before and do some things that I hadn't done before. It was just a marvelous

opportunity. Because what it made me do was -- "Okay. Got it. I understand. I am not willing to give up all these other things to be single-minded and do important research in this one area. Just not willing to do that. I'm interested in too many other things." That was a real growing up experience for me. When I went to college, I was going to major in mathematics, which I did. I wasn't sure whether I was going to teach it, what I was going to do with it. I really had no specific goal in mind, other than I knew I'd work. I knew I'd get a job and I'd support myself and I'd live on my own. Never thought I would get married. In fact, I just didn't think about it one way or the other. I wasn't opposed to it, but just couldn't visualize the kind of person that I could be married to. I just always saw myself as independent. Had not run into anyone in high school, saw no one that I was connected enough with that I could say I could live the rest of my life with. So it was a shock to meet this guy. I met my husband on a blind date. It was not love at first sight. Not anything like that at all. It was sort of over time, and I think it was his persistence more than my real initial interest. He was just an interesting person, and it took a long time for us to decide that this could be something that we could be married together and that we were interested enough and we could do this. But I never saw myself as a traditional sort of wife-mother, just couldn't visualize it based on my own knowledge of my personality. I am not somebody that people tell what to do, and that was my sense of how it was in my family. What my father wanted was what happened. He had a tough enough time telling me what to do, much less me picking to marry somebody who would do that. So that wasn't my vision. Not at all.

How would you characterize your relationship with your mother?

I think she was always very proud of me and very supportive of me. She was just wonderful to me, as she was to all three of her children. I never got a sense of me more than anybody else. Her husband always came first. They never took a vacation without us, and fun things were always things that we all did together. I think it was a healthy relationship. I loved and cherished her, and there was always a lot of physical affection in my family. It was really only when I was in high school that I began to look at her as boring, and then that went away when I was in college. We're really good friends now. Very different lifestyles, and we're able to talk about it. Some of the constraints that are part of her life that she's chosen because of the relationship she has with my dad, there's still no way I would do that. She will not come and visit us by herself. Always has to be with my dad, and he's not interested in doing a lot of that, and so it doesn't happen. She's missed a lot of the things with the grandchildren. There's a lot of things that Jan and I do apart that makes perfect sense to me. Every year he goes to Mardi Gras by

himself. We have a friend who lives in New Orleans. She can't understand him going to Mardi Gras for a week and a half and I have no problem with that. She can't understand me going off on a business trip and he stays at home. So we talk about that. We also talk a lot about the relationship between herself and her parents, especially now that they've been living with her and how she feels about that and what she wants for herself, and what [my parents] have done so that they won't ever have to live with us. That's not always been pleasant for her, and I think that probably I'm the only person that she talks about some of these things with. So I would say now we are like excellent friends. We spend lots of time on the phone together. And we would see each other much more often if we could. She's been much more accepting of what I do than my father which, like I say, really surprises me.

And you still feel your father's resistance now?

A little bit. Less so. On the one hand he's very proud of what I'm doing and really enjoys the fact that we can talk about some issues, but then, it's like all of a sudden he realizes that I'm a female and maybe I shouldn't, and I'm his daughter, and gosh, I should be talking about cooking and sewing and stuff. It's got to be really strange for him.

That he has this switch, where all of a sudden he realizes that he should be relating to you some other way?

Some different way, yeah. We'll go along and we'll talk about business and we'll talk about what's going on and share some things, and then it's like, "But wait a minute." It's very odd. I mean he's a lot more open to talking about it now than he was, but I still think it's just difficult for him, because he just doesn't understand it. I don't know how else to describe it. I've been working for twenty years. I've done well. Continued to move along. Continued to grow. Continued to get more responsibility. Initially, it was more technical knowledge and technical responsibilities. And then, over time, assumed people responsibilities, and Dad's always been very proud of me for that. I always felt like they rejoiced in the fact that I was successful. I don't know how to characterize what happens in his head. I really don't.

And what do you do when that happens?

Well, nothing. We just keep talking. It just cracks me up. I mean, there's no point in confronting him about it, so I don't. It's an attitudinal thing and I don't know if it comes from how he views women in his work place, or -- I think maybe some of the reason why he's a little more accepting of it now is he's got women supervisors and managers who work for him in the plant and, in

fact, they have an annual meeting in New Jersey, and one supervisor won some sort of award. So she traveled with my father and mother up to this meeting and he's introducing her to the muckety-mucks of the corporation and she gets this award and then the three of them traveled around. So in some sense I can almost see him making a connection like, "Okay, there are women who work and it's okay." But in some sense it's like "But not for my daughter." He just goes back and forth.

Well, you can image how difficult it is for someone his age, too.

Absolutely. Absolutely. So I don't try and make him learn anything any differently because it doesn't matter to me. I have approval from him, I have approval from my parents, my grandparents, my in-laws. We're all okay, and the kids are great, and I'm happily married, and all of this works. So I don't need to re-educate or reprogram anybody.

What kind of an influence do you think this has on your kids, especially your daughter?

That's not clear yet. My husband said he was talking to one of the teachers at her school who commented that my daughter really admires me and really wants to be like me. And it just threw me back. She takes my business cards and she's written "Megan, Jr." on them. She has one of my old nameplates. She has a briefcase. When he said that, I started thinking about these things. On the other hand, I would say she is much more socially oriented. Academic work is much more of a struggle for her. It's not awful, but it's not something she enjoys. I always enjoyed it, and I was always very competitive. She's okay with it, I mean I keep hammering that people need to know how to communicate effectively and there are certain things you need to know and this is your job right now, so you must do this. And if you like it that's great, and if you don't there are still certain things you have to know. But she's much more off-the-wall creative than I am. Just extraordinarily so. She plays a couple of musical instruments. She's much more socially astute and socially involved. I don't know what she'll end up doing with her life. She's a very loving person, and I keep expecting there to be this terrible teenage stuff and a distancing, and there's not. Sometimes she's pretty adventuresome and tries new things and sometimes she retreats and is a little shy. It's just hard for me to say. She used to always say she wanted to grow up and own her own bar and be a bartender. I don't know where that came from. Absolutely have no idea. I don't know why she thought that would be good. And we've asked her, "Well what do you like about it?" "Well, there'd be a lot of people around and I'd have my own place." Then she's going to have a swimming pool in this bar because she likes to swim. Now she says maybe she'd like to

be a teacher, which I see as more of a traditional thing. But, it's still okay, and we're saying, "Geez, that'd be fine. We could see you being good at that. Good at anything." With my son, it's a little more clear. I would say he's open to a lot of different possibilities, but I think he sees himself as working. He's also very bright and doing well in school, involved in a lot of things. He's very socially connected, so his temperament is more like his dad although his interests are more like mine. But I would suspect that he will be more open to a variety of roles, as a result of having been raised in our family. And I'm going to guess our daughter will be as well. And that's all we've tried to do. They both have been aware that most families aren't set up like ours. They both have really enjoyed being the only kid who has their dad come to school and do things, and go on field trips, and be a room parent. It's worked for us.

Was there anything that you couldn't talk about in your family?

Didn't ask my dad about his father. You know, that's funny, as I think about it, I don't remember, I'm sure we would have all connected with -- mom has a mom and a dad, and dad must have had a mom and dad and where is that dad?

We didn't talk about the divorce, and I'll tell you another thing -- although we talked about religion and we never went regularly to church, I didn't find out until after my son was like five or six and my daughter had been born, that my father was Roman Catholic, had been raised Catholic, was an altar boy, was all of this stuff up until the divorce, and then wasn't. Which just floored me. I think over time my dad started thinking about things in his background and he's a little more comfortable talking about that, but not a lot. It's still not a real open subject.

He's still not religious or goes to church?

No.

And your mother doesn't either?

No.

Where did you go when you went? The local Catholic church?

No. NO! NEVER! Went to a protestant church, but NEVER, you WOULDN'T go to a Catholic -- I mean that's the sense that I got. And never knew why. I went to Sunday School for a while at an Episcopal Church only because one of my friends did. I remember my mother going to the Methodist Church and I went. In fact, I went through the confirmation process there, and was a member of the church and sang in the church choirs. I can remember my

parents met singing in a church choir, so my dad must have gone to church, other than the Catholic church, when he was in high school. But I think it was more from a social perspective. And I married into a family who is strongly and devoutly Roman Catholic.

Are you raising your children in any religion?

None. We've talked about religion a lot. My husband, having been raised Catholic and having gone to Catholic grade school and high school, felt fairly stifled by the system. And so he's pretty opposed to raising the children in any kind of religion. Our emphasis through discussion has been -- it isn't whether you go to church, it isn't whether you believe in a particular thing, it is how you behave morally and ethically in the world. And going to a particular church doesn't give you a license or some kind of card that says you are now a moral and ethical human being. My son did get involved in a Lutheran youth group last year through some of his friends in school. Went on a religious oriented weekend trip [about five hours away] on a college campus. He had taken a big aluminum cooler from our house on this trip and neglected to bring it with him when he came back from the church. And when he went back to youth group meetings, he couldn't find it. When he finally found it, it turned out someone in this group who knew it belonged to [my son] had been using it. When it was returned, it was dented up and he made some comment about it later that he was disappointed in the kind of people that he found there. So my sense is he finally understood what we were trying to tell him, which was no one religion has a lock on people who are moral, ethical and do well. So we neither encourage or discourage any participation there. We just sort of asked him to question what he's going for. With our daughter, coming up on her teen years, it hasn't come up as an issue yet, other than just the family discussions we've had. She has not asked to go to church or why we don't go to church. And what's interesting is of my husband's family, his mother is the only one who regularly goes to church. None of his siblings attend church anymore.

Do you remember having any secrets that you wouldn't share with your parents?

Boy, I sure don't. None. None. They were the people that I'd talk to about things.

Again, the family being the place where you had this kind of protection?

Mm hm. You bet.

What phrase, motto, or saying do you think best describes how your family functioned as a unit as you were growing up?

Eww! I would say, a phrase? Boy. I mean I can think of several adjectives. Tightly knit, strongly supportive. A lot of value on being the best you can be. Being honest. Working hard. Doing things right. Telling the truth. Sort of traditional values.

Can you remember any experiences of being ridiculed, teased, ignored, or rejected as a child?

As the kid who always was perceived as the smartest in the class, I felt some sense of isolation from that.

Right from, say the first grade, second grade right on?

No. Not that early. I would say probably fourth, fifth, sixth grade -- in there. "Boy, you're always the smartest, you always do this and you always do that" -- and just a sense of being different in that respect. I was not interested in doing certain kinds of activities and much more interested in doing other things that girls weren't interested in doing. I was a real tomboy. Did not do a lot of playing with dolls. My recollections of play are roaming around the neighborhoods and playing cowboys and Indians with sticks and climbing trees and playing baseball and football. Being really active. Riding my bike all over town. Messing around down by the river and just doing those sorts of things, and then doing really well in school. Not interested in being popular, primarily, I think if I had been, I would have been interested in it. You know what I mean? I think it was my dad who said "You don't have to be. You don't have to be like anybody else. There's value in being different." That was a real STRONG lesson I remember him teaching me at about that time -- about the fourth, fifth and sixth grade time frame. I would say fifth grade was a really dark year for me.

What do you mean, "dark year?"

I wish I could connect to it more directly to know more what was going on because it would help me understand my daughter. I think what it was was I saw lots of my peers, girls in the fifth grade, begin to move away from the kinds of activities we had done before and be concerned about being popular, liking boys, having boys like them. So they moved into different areas, and I wasn't interested in doing that, and so I felt sort of rejected by the group. I had to kind of come to grips with my interests were different than my peers, the girls I had played with. There was also sort of a dawning awareness that my parents had an expectation of my ability to perform in

school that didn't seem to be like other kids. I was able to do that, so there was some awareness that maybe I had interests in school that were different from other girls too, because girls weren't necessarily interested in doing well in school.

And how do you see your understanding of that helping with your daughter now?

She's in sixth grade. Just so that I might know what kinds of things are going on. I don't see her like me in that sense. She's not interested in reading the newspaper, she's not interested in reading magazines. She does school work because it's expected but it's not of interest to her. What's of interest to her are the clothes, being well-liked, so I see her as like the girls that I was different from when I was her age. My husband's and my prediction is that she and I are going to have a tough road to go as she works her way through puberty here. My greatest fear is, I mean we've talked about what does she want to do. And she has a sense that she'd like to be self-supporting. So I don't hear her saying things like, "Well, I'm going to get married and stay home." And we've talked about how we set up things around our house and why. And she's aware that that's not the way it worked for my parents, so she has a level of awareness on that. My greatest fear is I don't want her to think that she has to be like me in order for me to approve of what she does. So I have to find things of value in her choices. And yet they are the very things that I don't value. So it's going to be difficult for me. I can like her, but I also need to like and admire and respect the things that she does and the choices that she'll make. And I have this real sense that they will be choices that I didn't make, because I didn't value that way. So I need to get ready for that.

Meg also speaks of her concerns about her son, recalling a recent incident when he came home later than expected.

[When he came home,] we sat down and he said, "Well, there was some confusion about the time." And we wouldn't let him get away with that. We said, "That's bullshit. There was no confusion. We didn't specify the time. You told us what time you would be home. And you said seven. So there was no confusion about that. You knew you said seven, we heard seven, we all heard seven and yet you decided eight. What caused you to do that?" And it took off from there and I heard my husband saying, "You're almost a man, and here's what it is to be a man." And it was like (snap) a different ear perked up because I was hearing from my husband, here's what it is to be a man. It is doing what is necessary. It is staying up and walking with the baby, back and forth on the floor even if you have to get up and go in to work the next morning. It's fixing something. It's taking care of business. And I have never heard him say here's what it is to be a man to our child before. I have heard him say

here's what it is to be a real human being. And all of a sudden, THIS conversation there was a discussion of a man, as separate from a woman. I haven't said anything to Jan about it because none of it was the wrong thing to say. It was all good things to say. And my son will be a man as opposed to a woman. And nothing there was exclusive. But the thing I found myself asking is, "Okay, if that's what it is to be a man, what is it to be a woman? What do you think it is to be a woman?"

The teen years are very interesting years. I think they're much harder on parents than they are on kids. I think all of the battles go on within the parents and between the parents. It's probably more in terms of letting these people go, letting them be who they're going to be. I'm worried that the finished product is just about ready to go out the door and there's a number of things that haven't been done. "Oh, I need to do this now! There's another year and a half? That's it? Its going to be over? Oh my God!"

And we gotta make you know all this stuff before then?

That's right.

The fundamental thing we're trying with my son is health. He needs to be the one to learn how to regulate and balance his activities so that he doesn't get sick. "We're here and we look at you and ask you how are you're feeling, and we take care of you and we take you to the doctor. A year and a half from now you will have to be responsible for that. And you need to start doing that NOW."

If I could have talked to your mother when you around fifteen, what do you think she would have told me about you?

I think she would have felt is that I was bright, that I was well adjusted, I was mature, reliable, dependable, had a sense of responsibility, that I was loving. I don't know what else she would have said.

How about your dad? The same thing?

Yes. I always had the sense that my parents were very proud of me. That they were very pleased with me. That they thought I was good. They liked me. It felt good. As I look at how we're doing with our own children, that's the most important thing to us as well -- that there is some sense of we need to make these two feel good about themselves and do well.

Education

From what you've already said, I assume education was important in your family.

Knowing now what I know about MIT, I'm much more impressed with my father's background. He did well there. My dad has always been interested in electronics and so he does a lot of home studies. He studied and got his ham radio operator's license and has taken some Department of Defense courses. And he subscribed to book clubs that were science oriented and always did a lot of reading. My mother always did a lot of reading. So not only was it important from a formalized perspective but it was a part of what we did. My mother when she grew up said she wanted to be a kindergarten teacher and I think she would have done very well with that. She sort of channeled her energy into us, I guess. I went to college with a major in mathematics; did not get a diploma. So I have not officially graduated; don't have a bachelor's. I was some number of credits shy when I decided we could get married and we could go ahead and work. If I could undo something in my past, I would have finished that. And I still may do that at some point. Although I don't know how critical it would be for any kind of work-related success. It might be a thing that would make me feel better. It's just a question of where does it fall in my priorities right now. It's not the highest thing. My husband is the most formally educated of all of us. We still do a lot of reading in the house, still talk about things.

Who were your friends in high school?

Primarily boys. The guys who tended to do really well, who were bright, who were in classes with me. I don't remember having a lot of female friends in high school. People we hung out with, yeah, but there was not a confidante there -- my best friend was a guy. After I graduated from high school, I went to college, my family moved, and I have not seen any of those people since.

Haven't been back to any reunions?

No. Actually, they don't know where to find me.

Do you want to be found?

Well, my 25th reunion will be this year, so I've decided I may be found. In fact I just went to the library over the weekend and looked up the address of the high school and I'm going to write them a letter and, as it turns out, I think the guy [running the reunion] is

my best friend, still lives in [Virginia]. So I thought I'd write him a Christmas card and say, "If you are who I think you are, keep me in mind as you organize the reunion. If not, Merry Christmas, anyway, and please forgive the mail." I did that before to a girl that I knew in Arkansas, that had been my friend for a long time and I always had a good time with her. My mother had somehow gotten her address, and so I wrote her a Christmas card and one time when we were driving to Oklahoma we stopped off there and met her at a MacDonald's and talked for a little while. She's a nice person and it was good to do that much, but I'm not going to establish a relationship. It was just okay to see her.

What didn't you like in high school? Sounds like you liked everything.

Yeah, I liked everything. I did a lot of stuff. When I was a freshman in high school we moved from Arkansas to Virginia. It was a good move for me. It was not traumatic at all. I have the feeling it was probably more traumatic for my middle brother. Tenth grade year I bloomed. Because I had transferred in from out of town, they didn't put me in any of the honors classes, and so the [ninth grade] year was not tough academically for me. Tenth grade year I was in all honors classes and it was a much more difficult year. Eleventh and twelfth grade, again, strong academically. I was on a debate team, I was in forensics, I loved extemporaneous speaking, I was involved in all kinds of clubs and I was involved in the intramurals. Was physically very strong then and very into being physically active. Was not into cheerleading, pep clubs. I saw that as just a TOTAL waste of time. I was into the other things.

What colleges did you apply to?

Actually, I applied to [Logan State] and went to [Logan State].

Did you have a particular reason for choosing [Logan State]?

Yep. Although, probably not one I'd recommend to my children to think about. They had invited me to come and take a scholarship test, which I guess is probably their way of recruiting people. Based on testing scores, they invited you there and showed you the campus and they talked to you about the programs; and they had started a program that was the small residential sciences program -- you live in a residence hall and take most of your classes there. And that was just really appealing to me. It was a new thing, really focused on the sciences, even to the point where they had their own English class that was a science orientation, science literature -- so it

sounded like a good thing for me and I applied and was accepted and went there.

Sounds like you've also always known what it is you wanted to do.

At the time, I guess. But I wouldn't say necessarily that I am the type of person who has an objective that's out there. I'm not a person who knew in ninth grade I wanted to be a doctor and planned everything to being a doctor -- not at all. But, when confronted with, "Okay, you're going to do this or you're going to do this," I don't have any problems making up my mind, and living with that. It's a no regrets kind of thing. I expressed it to my mother one time and it took her back, but I think then she thought about it and understood what I was saying, but I said, "You know, my motto is 'if I did it, it must have been right'." Because, at the time, I would make the best decision with what I knew at the time and there's no point in second-guessing, there's no point in trying to worry about would I have, should I have, could I have, because, sure, now that I know something more I might make a different decision. But at that time I didn't know it, so it's like, okay, I will forgive myself, I will move on, I have a lot of confidence in what I do. And that's been there for a long time; a sense of I know what I'll do and what I won't do.

Where do you think that sense comes from?

Just me. Just character. Self confidence. I'm sure I learned it as a result of the things that my dad told me -- "Have a lot of confidence in yourself. Make your own decisions. Don't care what anybody else thinks. If it's right for you, it's right for you. Believe in yourself" -- I mean, all of that contributes to that.

Do you see your brothers in the same way?

No.

Why not?

I DON'T know. I don't know if it's a difference in their core personality, or if it's because they are the second and third children and there were some differences in the way they were raised. I honestly don't know.

In the residential college and the courses you were taking, were most of the people males or was it a fairly even mix of males and females?

I would say it was more male-oriented, although it wasn't anything like 70% male; it was closer to maybe a 60-40 kind of thing. I think

they tried to do that on purpose as a part of their admission policy as well. I have that sense. There is a person that I met in the residential college that I formed a strong relationship with. We still correspond. I still love her like a sister, although, in terms of confiding, I don't know that I would confide in her to the same degree I would in my mother. But I was able to form one strong female friendship, and probably more because of HER personality than mine. She's a very loving person, very giving, very interested, very open, very accepting, and we had just an enjoyable time together. She's married and living out West and we still correspond periodically and she's a person that I would say is still a friend from college. But no one else. She's married with three boys, relatively closely spaced. They did essentially the same sort of analysis my husband and I did which was one of us will take care of the children and she did that. She's very interested, would go back to work, I think, at some point and may have already this year. She was talking about it. But she's definitely not like me.

Was there anything you didn't like in your course work in college?

I've taken humanities courses, social studies courses, language, writing, English. I find something interesting in anything I've ever done. So, no, there was nothing I didn't like. I took enough phys ed classes that they wanted to know was I a phys ed major. I liked the reading and writing classes. I took philosophy classes. I took economics. I enjoyed all of them. Still would. I could continue to go to school.

How about social life in college?

Had lots of people I was friendly with. Those of us who shared interests tended to sort of congregate together. I was a resident hall advisor, so had some responsibilities for people in the dorm. Some connectivity there, but I started going out with Jan when I was a freshman in college.

He was a student?

No, he was not. He was driving his best friend's girlfriend up to a basketball game and they needed to set him up with somebody to go to the game. So I got set up. It was just a connection through a connection.

In terms of extracurricular activities, boy, you know, I went to school and I worked as this resident hall advisor and that was pretty much it. I did a lot of swimming. Swimming has been sort of a constant through my life. I still swim and love it. When I stopped

being a resident hall advisor, I worked in the women's intramural building as a lifeguard and office worker so that I could be with the pool and swim. That pretty much chewed up my time.

Did you join a sorority?

No. Saw that as much like pep clubs, much like cheerleaders, much like something that was a waste of time to me. Just had no interest in that at all. None. I guess, essentially, it was just the same sort of style in a different place.

What were your views on contemporary political issues when you were in college?

Boy, that's a reach. It's a time when I know there were a lot of demonstrations against the War in Vietnam. That's the single biggest issue I can recall, and civil rights. I would say I was not particularly political. I didn't connect with it. Didn't connect to the free love, hippie movement. I would say at my core I'm probably pretty conservative, as far as that goes. I tend not to get involved in causes. In terms of political discussions [in my family now], we talk about issues. We talk about war. We talk about economics. But we talk about it not from a party perspective, but from a human being perspective. What is the impact? What is going on in the Soviet Union? What is it like really for these people? What are they facing? That's the level that we talk about.

The war with Iraq was an interesting one for us to talk about because my son came home from high school pretty pumped up. They were collecting pennies and sending things off in support of the war, and letters and so forth. And what we tried to talk about with him is, who is responsible for the decision to go to war and who is bearing the consequences? What were the issues that lead to war? Why was it decided that that's what needed to happen? How could we treat other people that way? And how can you be capable of treating a human being that way? The point that we are trying to get across is, if you recognize that someone is like you, you cannot treat them that way. And so you find things that separate people, whether it's religion, whether it's race, whether it's the country that they live in, the customs, whatever it is, and that's what allows you to treat them as other than like you and then it's okay to maim, to murder, to starve, to do whatever. That's really a flavor of the kinds of discussions we have.

Work

How did you end up in your first job?

Well, here was the plan. The plan was we'd get married. I finished the fourth year [of college], but was seven credits short of graduation. So, we said, well we'll go ahead and get married. I'll work for a year, we'll save some money, then I'll go back to school, finish that and get a master's. That was the plan. Good plan. I was willing to take whatever job. My sister-in-law at the time knew of an opening in the keypunch department [where she worked] and I said "Great." I had keypunched before and I know how the machine works and I can do this. So I applied, was hired, and, heck, for a year you can do pretty much anything. It made me crazy. It's not a job I would do. So I'm ready to leave and at about that time the National Labor Relations Board got very interested in [the company's] practices with respect to women and minorities. I didn't find that out until a little later. They sent an educational coordinator who interviewed all the women in the data processing organization. What was your educational background? What were you interested in? What was your prior work experience? And as I talked to him about my educational background and some of the additional classes I had taken, the guy's jaw just started to drop. I didn't think a lot about it. I mean it was an interview, right? He went away and then very shortly thereafter I was offered a job with much increased responsibility and scope working with the card sorting and collating machines. This is a definite move up, because that has been a traditional male kind of role, and the guy who was the manager of the department said, "We're taking a real chance on you in this. Want your assurances that you will not get pregnant and . . ." I mean all of this stuff.

Illegal stuff now.

Right. And I remember saying, "Yeah, yeah. Right. Won't get pregnant. No problem," knowing that I will get pregnant if I want to, and we'll do what we need to do around that. Worked there for a year. Was an operator of a remote job entry station, taught myself some programming languages and some mainframe utilities. The guy that had been the manager of the department retired, I got pregnant, had a child, came back to work. So things went on. What really happened was I got more and more responsibility. I found things that would be interesting and I had taken computer programming classes and was interested in computers as well. So it was sort of natural, began to be in positions where I could utilize that and just sort of stayed. And then subsequently got a letter from the federal government that said, "What are you doing? How much are you paid? And do you think you've been promoted just like anybody else?" In essence, they're trying to gather information

about have I been discriminated against and am I paid equivalently for equivalent work kinds of things. In retrospect concluded that [my company] did some things and that was a break that I got that I wouldn't have gotten had the federal government not been interested. From that point forward, I would say my sense was what I got I earned. There was nobody saying you need to promote her because she's a woman. It was I clearly mastered the work content and performed it very well and was best at what I was doing and so the assignments were logical and ordered and there was no question about who was the best qualified. Then, when I [transferred to a place within that company where] it's a bigger population and older men, then there was some sense of the things that happened to me might have happened because I was sleeping with somebody. And you know, that just pissed me off, and I'd go confront the people who said that. I'd say, "You know I heard you said this about me. Is that really what you wanted to say?"

Pick up on rumors?

Oh, you bet.

And what kind of response would you get?

"Well, I didn't mean anything. I was just kidding around." I said, "Well, you need to stop that." I don't have a real strong sense that there was anything working against me. I have a feeling had I not moved to [my present company], I might have been approaching a place where being a female would have worked against me.

[My present company] has opened up a whole 'nother set of opportunities. I feel just terrific about the things I've been able to do here. I would say there may come a time here, and I almost have the sense like I did in [my former company], I could almost see a stopping point. Not necessarily because I'm a woman [per se], but because I'm a woman, I haven't had some sets of experiences that make me qualified for other positions. Almost like I'd have to go back and get a whole set of experiences or do something different. So it's not clear how this is all going to hang out in the next twenty years or so I'll be working.

Do other women at your level have that same sense?

Yes. There is a sense that what you see is a broad population of women equally represented, until you get to a certain point. And it may be about here, or it may be a level up from me in terms of responsibility. And then the population just isn't there anymore.

So would it be fair to say this is where you think [your company's] glass ceiling is? If there is such a metaphor? Or is it more nebulous than that?

Well, I'll tell you what. If I were to consider that the next level of responsibility I would have is VP level, I would say, yeah. I think you can add all those [women at that level] up on maybe less than five fingers. So, whether there is a glass ceiling or not, the facts are they aren't there. Now there may be a whole lot of reasons why they aren't. And it may change over time. I don't have a sense that there's an active conspiracy to prevent it from happening, but I also don't have a sense that there's any real recognition of why it is that it has happened, so that if there's a wrongness associated with it or a miss or an overlook or "Geez, something we didn't think about," that that could be fixed. I mean I just don't see it.

I've taken [my company's] diversity class, and I was very frustrated in that class. Because I had a set of expectations about what I needed to learn to manage diversity in my organization, which is to say, I don't believe I have any difficulty at all in managing women. I've been successful in that, had a number of women work for me who have moved on to become peers and a number of women working for me now. My sense is I probably needed to be more sensitized to other minorities. I probably needed to understand what are cultural stereotypes at work for Asians, for blacks -- to talk about that and learn about that and put some knowledge in my head. But when I went to that class, I was used as a classroom example and got very little personally out of the class. So I found myself very irritated and very frustrated.

And how about your ability to manage men, minorities or not?

No problem. There are men who have worked for me and coming into it I know that they're uncertain and then over time as we establish a rapport and we establish a professional relationship, they are able to tell me they had some fears early on, they had never worked for a woman before, were entirely comfortable now. As long as what we're doing is professionally oriented, I can do that. I do all the things that a manager needs to do. So as long as there is not an attitude on the part of the men working for me that women are not supposed to do this kind of work, we do just fine. At least two men who worked for me really struggled with that.

Did you discuss it with them?

In neither case did I. In one case, I walked into an assignment, was going around introducing and meeting the people who would work for me. We introduce ourselves to one another, sit down, and

he says, "I want you to know right off the top, I have no problem working for a woman." So immediately I say this guy has a significant problem working for women. Because I didn't ask him that question. So that was my first assessment, and over the course of our conversations, absolutely he had trouble with women. He was very patronizing towards all of the women in his unit. Very patronizing towards his wife, very patronizing towards his three daughters -- that was his whole mindset. And he ended up telling me that he preferred to have an opportunity working on an account and we made that happen. That was the best thing for him to do anyway, in terms of his career objectives. He moved to a different unit [in the company] altogether. Had that not been the best thing for his career, it would have been interesting to see what we ended up doing. It would have been very difficult for him. He was older than I and pretty firmly entrenched. Some of those things are pretty difficult to uproot. The other gentleman who worked for me didn't report to me directly. I recruited him into the organization, and it was fine when we were part of different units; he could deal with me very effectively as a female manager. Once he came into my unit, he had difficulty, and it was very apparent. But he didn't report to me directly. He reported to a male manager who reported to me. So it was okay.

What made it apparent that he was having trouble?

Again, a sense of patronizing attitudes, questioning decisions, questioning judgments, and yet I could hear the same words coming out of his male peers' mouths and he had no trouble with them at all. Those were the sorts of signals that I picked up. And again, he did not approach me directly, and he did not work for me directly, and I had recruited him in. He had a lot of talent as a manager. Had I known he had that kind of difficulty with women, I may not have recruited him.

How can you tell that ahead of time?

I don't know that you can. I don't know. In this case, I couldn't. And it's one of those things. Like I said, I can't second guess myself. I looked at his qualifications . . .

How are you seen by others in your organization?

I get a pretty good sense the people who work for me like what I'm doing. I feel pretty comfortable that what I'm doing is right. In terms of how my peers see me, I don't have a good feel for that yet. It may be too soon. And it may a function of several of my peers are new to this unit as well. And there's been lots of turmoil and lots of change. So I don't have a good feel for that.

Has there been anybody who's been a model or a mentor for you as a manager?

Not that I could single out. I would say it's probably been my dad, if anybody. But not anyone in this particular business.

What do you enjoy the most about your job?

The variety, the responsibility, being on my toes and not knowing what's going to come up next. The ability to make differences over a long term. The ability to do well.

What do you enjoy the least about your job?

I guess the more rule oriented, trivial, administrative sorts of things. I don't get a lot of enjoyment out of that. The other thing, I don't play games, so I just don't appreciate politics in the workplace. I think we all ought to have out in front of us here's what were trying to do and work together to do that. That's my vision of how it works. And to the extent that people maneuver around for personal gain at the expense of others, I abhor that.

How do you not play games?

I refuse to be sucked into them. And when it appears to me that that's what's going on, I typically go in and be open about "here are the things I thought we were doing, here's what I see you doing, and I don't understand how that works together. You need to help me understand." So I would put myself in a position of saying, I don't understand, and you need to help me understand how this is a reasonable thing to be doing.

And does that usually stop the game playing?

Yes.

How's it been for you since you've been in you new position?

It's been good. I would say the big equalizer here is "Have you had past experience in the organization?," not "What sex are you?" That's the real differentiator and over time that will go away. I have really good feelings about all the people on my staff in terms of their ability to function professionally. I am not certain of all my peer group members. I don't spend a lot of time with them. The ones I

spend most time with I'm real comfortable that from a professional perspective there's the appropriate respect and we're doing the job right and we're carrying on. As far as my [boss when I first had this job], I didn't have real exposure to him to be able to form a judgment about could he have been a good advocate for me in my career. Did he understand me? Did he understand where I was coming from? What I want and what I needed to do? [My new boss] has been here a couple of months. And I guess I'd have to say I'm still not certain that I've formed an opinion about [him] one way or the other either. I tend to go back and forth. Some of the clues I pick up about how men feel about women I get from how they talk about their wives, because I believe that's very telling. And sometimes as I listen to [my new boss] talk about his wife, I get the sense that "God, he just doesn't understand. This is just crazy," and, you know, "that's like women." Sometimes, as he talks about her, it is with great pride and respect in what she is able to do. So that's why I say I don't have a verdict yet. I have been well treated by him. I have been fairly treated by him, but I've only worked with him for a short period of time. So, no conclusion.

But you have to keep your antennae up?

Oh, I do all the time. You bet. You bet. Just because it's a factor I'm aware that I have to be aware of.

Does that take a lot of energy to do that?

I don't have any sense that it takes a lot of energy. Most times I don't worry about it. Most times it doesn't even cross my mind. Because most times I just approach things from "this is work and this is what we're doing." I'm surprised when I'm made aware of it, it's always like a surprise. It's a phrase, it's a way of talking about -- it just comes. And I say, "Well, had I known that was going to happen . . ."

What do you usually do in a case like that?

I'm working for a living, so I don't want to say I am subservient because that's certainly not an adjective that I would use to describe myself, but I'm going to pick the things that I feel are important enough to expend a certain amount of energy over. And so far, I haven't found anything like that. It might alter the way I would interact with that person, I might write things down more, I might communicate differently, more formally, I might not depend on that person to be a good advocate to support me. I would just have to say, "Okay, this person is not going to support me, therefore I need to be prepared to document this." I don't necessarily have a lot of anger at that because the impact in my life at what I've been able to earn and what I've been able to achieve hasn't been there. Had it had an

impact on my earning ability or my assignments or my level of responsibility, I might have a lot more anger about it. But from my perspective I'm doing reasonably well. I have a job that I enjoy, I have a level of responsibility and control that I enjoy, I'm paid well for what I do. I'm okay. So, if I weren't and I could see that I wasn't, not because of my abilities but because of somebody else's attitude, then I might be really angry. In fact, I know I would be.

How do you know when your being an effective manager?

When I feel good about it. One thing I found interesting in [the diversity course] was the question, To what degree are you responsible for your success and your failure? And my vote is I'm a hundred percent. Now is that realistic? Maybe not, but my thought process is, I will define how I will be successful and therefore I'm a hundred percent responsible for it. And to the extent that the others who pay me recognize that that's also successful, then I can earn a living and we can do some other things. So I feel effective when I've done something I want to do and I feel like I've done it well. And it may be sitting down and having a career discussion with somebody. And I feel like I've caused them to see something in the way that I think is true and they're surprised. I've had a couple of new managers who work for me, and I'm taking them through career discussions and giving them feedback on their style, and what I value, and how they are perceived, and how I can see this as a strength. When the light bulbs go on, that feels good! The fact that I can make a statement, take a position and support the people in the organization and have them recognize that feels good. So there are lots of times when I feel effective. It took me a while to figure out that I was the one that had to decide when I was effective and when I wasn't. And I was the one who had to give me strokes because they just don't come. Peers will not do that for you, and at this level in an organization, my boss won't do that for me on a regular basis, and so I'm the one who has to do it. It's always nice to get a little external stroke, but you can't always expect it, and I don't.

General

How do you handle stress?

I've got a lot of coping mechanisms. One is swimming and walking. One is reading escapist, science fiction books. I also listen to classical music. I used to smoke, so that was very definitely a stress thing for me. I'd get angry and pick up a cigarette. When I stopped smoking, I really had to look for something else.

What upsets you?

Political dishonesty both at work and in life in general. The life-in-general I'm sort of accustomed to at this point, which is probably not good, but I am. When I find it at work and when I find myself personally victimized by it or imagine that I am, that is the worst. When I feel that somebody has deliberately misrepresented me, deliberately used me in a way for their own benefit at my expense, those are they things that make me the angriest.

What do you do in a case like that?

Go in and confront.

And is it usually resolved?

I look for "You know you did this and here's the impact and do you understand that that's what you did?" If I get that recognition, I'm comfortable with that. An apology is okay but I don't necessarily need it. The most recent example I can think of is a manager at work who is just buried in a time warp. He opens management meetings of all of the managers, all of the supervisors, and all of the key technical leaders of his unit with jokes about men and women focused on sex, incredibly bad taste -- he added blonde jokes the last time. The third time it happened, I was so mad. And I went swimming and I thought about "how can I tell this guy he's an asshole about this without turning him right off? Because he needs to hear what he's doing." So I went in and I found the words to tell him that I thought it was really inappropriate, that at a one-on-one level, if we were out in a social situation, I'd have no problem with those kind of jokes. They're stupid, but I wouldn't get offended by them. But [I told him] I thought it really was inappropriate in a management setting, that if he felt like he needed to tell jokes, he ought to sit up and listen to Jay Leno and get some political humor in it. I said, "You certainly wouldn't tell those same sorts of jokes about black people, and you really need to think seriously about the message that you're sending." What I finally got was acknowledgement, and that's all I really needed. I didn't need an apology. I just got "Okay, I hear you."

Has he had subsequent meetings?

Yes, and has not told jokes. The thing that I find fascinating is, I've had all kinds of people come up to me and say, "Didn't you think those jokes were in bad taste?" But nobody else will go and tell him about it. I thought real hard about it myself, but I tried to put it in nonpersonal terms, in terms of the impact to the organization. Those sorts of things at work are the things that irritate me the most.

At home, there isn't anything to get that angry about. Outside of work in a social setting I keep myself pretty much protected so people don't piss me off. I just don't allow it. I have never been the victim of a crime. If my house were broken into or if I were grabbed at going into my car, I don't know how I would react. I suspect that that would really drive my stress level through the roof, and I don't know how well I'd deal with that. But I spend some amount of energy crime-avoiding to the best that I can. There I'm vulnerable, I think. The downside of [this kind of orientation] is some sense that it's people like me who stay fairly disconnected and then don't feel the things that are going on around us, which is really at odds with what we've tried to teach our children, so I feel a little bit like I'm not as good a human being perhaps as my children will be. Which is sort of weird, because we're really trying to focus them, and my solution is "most of the people around me have nothing to do with my life and therefore they won't get to me." The only way you can get to me is if you have something to do with my life that's primarily work and family. So it's really at odds, and I'm aware that when we talk to the children about it one-on-one, I try to present it to them as they will be stronger people, more effective people than I have been, that this the thing that I lack that their dad has that he brings to the table. He's the one who keeps us connected, not me.

That also gives them permission to learn how to accept and live with their own idiosyncrasies.

Absolutely. They HAVE to know I am not perfect. And neither is their dad.

How are your views about raising children the same or different from the way your parents raised you?

They're a lot the same in terms of [valuing] self-esteem. My parents focused on that based on either how they were brought up or how they thought. My parents talked about me a lot. "Just don't break her spirit. Just don't break her spirit," and allowed us to do things. "Go out there and try it and you will learn from that and you will be successful and we still love you but we're going to encourage you to stand on your own." Their sense was, "Of course you will do this." Of course you will be successful. Of course you will be able to live a good life. Of course you will be happy." They were very confident for us. And its really hard to fight that kind of an attitude. So my sense is we all got well launched. I don't know if they were as conscious of what they were doing, but we've done the same thing. In that sense, that's the key thing that's the same. I think the way [our raising our children] is different is we're just a notch up on social awareness. We tried real hard to cause our kids to take a look at what's

going on around [them], recognize how they can do something about it, recognize that they are responsible for things, that their actions have consequences, that they can choose roles. "You can influence other people around you. You need to learn that. You need to understand how that works. And you need to do it consciously." In driving, we've talked to our son about, "so you cut somebody off. Now you have somebody behind you who's irritated. They may never touch you, but what are they going to do on the road from that point forward? What are you going to feel like on the road?" He's had a teacher who was difficult to get along with. We would say "It's not the teacher's job to get along with you. It is the teacher's job to present material. It is your job to figure out how you can learn from that teacher. You need to understand how you can modify your behavior so that you can learn." My parents never talked to us like that. That's been a real conscious difference.

How do you think your sense of independence developed?

That was very clearly my dad. "Be different. Don't be afraid to be different. You don't need to be like anybody else. You're special. Don't pay attention to what anybody else does." Those are lots of my earliest memories of conversations with him. Now, is some of it, that's your character you're born with? Yes, I think a lot of it is, but I listened to that and said, "That's right! I am different. I am special. I don't have to be like everybody else. I don't need anybody else." I can remember in fourth grade being hurt when a bunch of us [girls] would meet and walk to school together, and all of a sudden because I didn't go to Sunday School, I wasn't going to walk to school with them. And my response was, "I am not like them. I don't need them." So I walled them off. And there is a certain amount of a little fourth-grade girl feeling kind of bad 'cause her friends aren't going to go to school with her 'cause she didn't want to go to Sunday School, but I'd be damned if I was going to go to Sunday School. "You can't join the seventh-grade girls' pep club unless you have a green corduroy skirt." "I don't like green. I don't have a green corduroy skirt. I'm not getting one. Done. I'm not joining the girls' pep club, if that's what it takes." And EVERY seventh grade girl joined the girls pep club. (laughing) Except for me. I'm sure there were other girls who didn't, but it was the social thing to do. And I remember my parents saying that they wondered what I had done because the assistant principal of the junior high school had talked to them on a parents' night and said what an extraordinarily independent person I was. I don't know how the hell he knew that, other than I must have been very vocal with the leader of this pep club and she went to the assistant principal saying, "Here's one of the better students in the class whose got this attitude, and geez, maybe we ought to fix this." And [said somewhat

disgustedly] this guy tells my parents what an independent person I was.

What doubts have you had about any of the endeavors you've undertaken in your life?

I had doubts about getting married. Doubts that I could really live with anybody. It was a calculated risk, but once I decided it was the right decision, about a year and a half into it, it's like "Now there're no doubts. This is till we die." I didn't have any doubts about going to college. I've had doubts about my abilities to handle particular work assignments, because I tend to measure my abilities against my own scale, and periodically my husband will say, "But look at the other people and what they're doing." And then when I compare my abilities with other people, I say, "Oh, okay. Right. Probably I can do this. Or probably they'll give me the opportunity to learn." Because I carry around my own measurement, I tend to doubt myself more than I should in terms of what I can accomplish at work.

Does that mean your measurement is always just a little beyond where you actually are?

Probably. Sure. I remember talking to my grandmother, who said the thing that she was terrified of the most was that she would become mindless, because she watched her mother-in-law who physically lived to 93, 94 years old but was senile. Couldn't feed herself, didn't remember who her children were. This terrified my grandmother. She and I spend a lot of time talking about that. When I take that and apply it to work, what I've seen are some people who over time sort of check out. They reach a point and they say, "Yeah, I'm making enough money, and I've been working a long time, and the company kind of owes me, and it's time to coast." And they coast for 15 years until retirement. That is the worst. I don't ever want to be in that situation. Part of that is I move my yardstick up about what I should be performing at. Part of it is this propensity to go and volunteer to do something different and not wait for somebody to come and tell me. I still have twenty years to work. They ought to be fun. They ought to be interesting. They ought to be something cool to do. But the result of that is then I create a lot of the stress and anxiety about how I'll perform at work myself. And I know that.

How have you thought about your deservingness in all you've achieved?

My deservingness (said softly to herself). (Long pause)

In terms of did I deserve to achieve this? I don't consider myself an undeserving person. (Laughs). I'm surprised sometimes by people's reactions to things, because again I have my internal measurements that are more important to me, but deservingness is not part of the measurement. So -- I guess I don't think about it. I'm very good at feeling good about myself and not [needing to have] anybody else recognize it. But it requires a certain amount of energy and an isolation and a different point of view. If I feel like I just did my job, I accomplished what I needed to do and I get all kinds of praise and "Boy, that was phenomenal," then what I tend to do is look at it and say, "Boy, you people didn't expect very much." It's bizarre, I guess. The downside is if you expect someone else to pay you, you have to make sure [your] yardstick [and theirs] are in the same ball park. The thing that I've been learning is how much feedback should I take and internalize and do something with. Because my tendency earlier in my life was, no feedback is of any importance to me whatsoever. I would take feedback from my father, from my mother, from my grandparents, "Okay, Jan, I'll take feedback from you because you're important to me now." But (laughs) that's it! So I'm learning that I need to open the filter holes a little bit. And what I'm finding is a lot of people are as sincere as I would want them to be, and sincerely interested in providing good feedback. The yardsticks may be different but the intent is pretty honest and open, so I think I'm learning that I can listen and I can maybe do something with it. I still decide whether I will or I won't, but I'm now listening a little bit to it. I feel that's progress (laughs).

What approach do you take to understanding the world and your place in it?

Have you read James Michener's book *The Source*? *The Source* caused me to think about things. I'm an avid reader of science fiction, which tends to deal in tens of thousands of years and spans of generations. *The Source* takes some human beings through spans of generations. And that's how I tend to see myself, as a bit player in a long scheme of things. When I was a child I would think -- probably most children tend to see themselves as the center of things, the center of the universe. And you make a leap out that says, "Oh, maybe I'm not the center of the universe. Maybe there are lots of other people around." When I had been at a point in my work life where I was just working like crazy, I was working lots of hours and I think I had both of the children at that point, I was really focused on becoming all I could be at work, and I was confronted by my husband who said, "You know, this isn't getting it, this is not acceptable. You need to think about this." And I thought about it and what I recognized was that upon my death, it would mean NOTHING for people to say, "She was just an outstanding

manager at work." It would mean much more to be able to look at the family and the children and say, "This is a person who contributed to these human beings, and they'll remember what she did for them, and it will live on in the future." So the passing to the future is the way I think about it. And I think as a result I don't take myself overly seriously in terms of how important I am, how critical I am, how much I could make a difference. On the other hand, I try to do well because it makes a difference to the future. And I try to be aware of the impact points that I have with other people and make those be good ones. But I don't have a sense that I should go out and crusade either. I am not motivated to lead vast efforts to encourage others to believe as I believe. I don't see that as my mission. I don't think I have an inflated sense of my importance or any sense that the world would stop if I weren't here. But I try and live my life well, so that I enjoy it. I think that's sort of my obligation to myself, to enjoy what I'm doing and have a good time. I've run into people who say the best years of my life were in college, or the best years of my life were in high school. I think that's pathetic. The best years are right now. Every time is the best time. And if I don't live like that, I consider I have done myself a disservice and Jan a disservice. That's my philosophy of myself.

Life is great! I'd say that if I was lying in bed dying of the flu (laughs).

Chris Williams

Next we meet Christina Williams, 46, vice president of ambulatory care and ancillary services at a large New England teaching hospital. Chris spent her childhood in a small New England university town with her parents and brother Paul, four years older. Her father was a manager with a public utility and her mother was a homemaker who became a substitute teacher after Chris and Paul were grown. The family ancestry is Scottish, German and Swiss. Her maternal grandparents came from Scotland in the 1920's. Her paternal grandparents were the second or third generation of their families born in the United States. Chris's parents met in high school and married after they had graduated from college. Her father, a chipper 78, still lives in the house Chris grew up in.

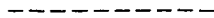
Her mother died of pancreatic cancer when Chris was 33. Chris has been married twice, for five years to Jerry, with whom she has a son, Paul Howard, 22, and for fifteen years now to Carl, father of her 11-year-old son Alex.

Chris had an alertness about her I noticed right away. Not one to beat around the bush, she dove into the interviews, asking herself most of the prepared questions and answering them without hesitation. At times her replies seemed cursory, as if she was in a hurry to get back to her busy daily agenda. More often, however, the quickness belied areas which needed no elaboration, either because to her they had always been clear and unequivocal or because they no longer required extended reflection or detailed explanation. Sometimes, as she searched to articulate a thought, she changed horses in midstream, one sentence stopping abruptly so another which said it better could take its place. Always, her high energy shone through, filtered through a playful wit which lightened even the most serious of subjects without diminishing its importance in any way.

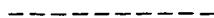


Family

I liked my parents very much. My mother in many ways was my best friend from the time I was little. Mom gave me many of the things that I think some women felt they had to give up if they were going to be professional. Like liking to do the things you do if you focus all your energy in the home and getting fulfillment out of that.



Clearly she wanted me to be happily married and have a family because she knew I wanted that. But she also wanted me to do whatever it was I wanted to do. No matter what it was. So she would have loved me as much if I never would have gone to college or if I had gotten my PhD.



Dad took me to Rotary a few times. For being a very traditional conservative in many ways, he's very progressive. I'm sure I was one of the only daughters who had ever been taken to Rotary. Then he encouraged me to get into Junior Achievement. And Dad would always include me in discussions. Mom was always very interested in Dad's work. Dad would come home and talk about what was going on and what bothered him or he would always ask Mom for advice. "What do you think's going on here? How do you think I should handle this?" So even though my mom didn't have any confidence in herself as a business person or a professional, Dad recognized she had a phenomenal amount to offer. She was a very confident person in many ways. Tremendously gregarious and most gregarious people have to have a sense of self confidence. But in many ways she wasn't secure about what she had to offer. She minimized what it was she offered.

There weren't any major decisions that we weren't brought in to. Mom and Dad would share a lot of things with us that they would say this is an NR, which was no repeat. I don't think we ever had any secrets. I just remember my parents shared a whole lot about what was going on in the family that some of my cousins had no idea.

So you knew more about what was going on with other parts of the family.

Yeah. Mom really played a role of mediator in her family. [Her five brothers and sisters] couldn't always talk to each other. They'd go through Mom and she would be the one that would figure out how to get them all together. She just had an unbelievable personality. I often say to people, "You could put her in a room of two hundred people, and she didn't know any of them and they didn't know each other, and if you left her there for fifteen minutes, everybody would be talking to somebody and she probably would know half the peoples' names." But you could not get her to stand up in front of a group and talk. She couldn't do it. Nothing would come out. Put her in charge of organizing a dinner for 150 for the church and it was simple. She wasn't the public leader type. She was the quiet leader type. It was fun to watch her in operation.

My Mom and Dad had a fascinating relationship. To me it was a beautiful relationship because they were very different. They had very different strengths and they complemented each other. So, in certain issues my mother was very influential. And other issues, my father was influential. But they were always together. On any major issues, we sat down and talked about it as a group. Or Mom and Dad and I would talk. Or Paul and Mom and Dad would talk. I

never did anything wrong. Which I don't think is great. I think when you're younger you should feel free to test acceptable limits. But I never did. And so I never was in a situation with them where it was confrontational.

But Paul was?

Oh, yeah. He was a good kid but he gave them more cause. They had to have discussions with him I'm sure they never had with me. But they raised us in an environment where we were independent decision makers. Once we got to junior high age, the ultimate decision on any key issue was ours. Unless they thought it was dangerous. Or immoral. When I started dating, they never set a [curfew]. They would always ask what time we would be in, so they knew what time to worry if we weren't home. And I could give them any time, they never said "No, that's not appropriate." In that respect I give my parents phenomenal credit in terms of the whole concept of empowerment. I have to really check my impatience with people who make this big deal about empowerment. I realize what a foundation I had in terms of how they raised us.

Who are the people you are talking about who make a big deal out of it?

Well, I have some employees who are very competent, but need that constant reinforcement. And I'm sure they probably were raised in a family where they weren't allowed to make a decision. And they're adults and I keep shooing them out. "Just do it! I'll support you. If it doesn't work out, but you used your best judgment, I'm not going to beat you up. We'll learn from it and I'll back you up."

But they're still looking for that parental approval.

Uh-huh. They want to pull me in.

Dad set very high expectations. He felt that anybody who thought they were doing the best they could do, really wasn't tuned in, that we could all keep doing better. And that didn't mean you had to be perfect, and it didn't mean you should be upset if you got an E on an exam. It meant if you got a B on an exam, you still could reach out and do better. Whether doing better meant doing a little better on every test or whether it meant you got yourself into something you knew nothing about. You could always extend yourself. And the other thing he was just superb at is whenever you reached something that was a problem or was upsetting, get a piece of paper and pencil and list the issues and then list the pros and cons and that should help you decide because you could weigh them and say, well here's my answer.

When do you remember him first coming up with that?

The first clear memory is when he sat his mother down at the table and said, "Now Mother, you don't have any money. We're supporting you. We're renting this house. What's wrong with the house?" [She would say] "Nothing." "Why do have to go charge five corsets in six months? We don't have the money for this. Why do you need them?" Then he would get her into saying, "Why are you upset? What don't you have that you need? List it here. Let's list what you have that's good and you list what you think you need that you don't have." And he'd do that with her all the time. She hated it. HATED it. She would never fill it in, so he would always get her to verbalize it and he'd write it down and then he'd say, "Okay, what's the issue here?" And so that had to have been probably seventh grade. But it was probably going on beforehand.

Mom and Dad would not tolerate swear words. It was disrespectful. We were never to show disrespect for elders and that was a rule. You could talk about the fact that you didn't agree with their positions or rules, but you always deferred to an elder. Which is kind of weird because somehow they pulled it off without it being, there was a level of appreciation that you respected elders even though you didn't necessarily respect everything about them.

The other thing that really changed my course is when Dad had his coronary [when I was fifteen]. Mom and Dad and I became very close. That was when they kept heart attack victims in the hospital for a month. They wouldn't even let Dad brush his teeth for two weeks. And then all that rehab . . . But it was pretty scary. Mom and I were with him [when he had his attack] and I thought he was dead. And I remember how Mom handled that situation. And how strong she was and also how she could let down when it was safe to do that. And then we went into the phase of, if he can't go back to work, how are we going to live? Paul was in college and I just got pulled right into the family finances and I realized my Mother was not confident in balancing the checkbook and so I just jumped right in and said, "Mom, we can figure this out. We're not going to let Dad know we don't know how to balance a checkbook. And when he comes home from the hospital, the bills are going to be paid and the checkbook is going to be balanced. And the insurance stuff, we'll figure it out. And we're not going to bother him with it." And I remember sitting there and she said, "I don't even know where to begin." I said, "Well, you write checks. (I still remember this.) The check has a number. Checkbooks. You enter what check you wrote and they have numbers so why don't we match them first and see what we have?" We got laughing so hard. It balanced. We found

every penny. We were just thrilled. And Mom then became much more confident. That was just a super experience because I watched Mom and Dad grow exceedingly close during that time. And I was at an age where I could deal with that. Plus, I learned a whole lot about budgeting and finances.

While Chris knew only one grandfather, she has vivid memories of both her grandmothers. Grandma, her father's mother, lived near them until she died in her eighties. Ethel, her mother's mother, lived in Florida during the winter and travelled around visiting with her children in the summer. She also died at an advanced age. According to Chris, they were exact opposites.

Grandma was one of the most egocentric, demanding people I have ever been around and she had no room for the females in the family, only the males, because the males carried the name on.

How many grandchildren did she have?

Paul, me and then Dad had one sibling. And they had a son and a daughter. When Grandma died, her will, her china and her silver, were split 50-50 between Jim and Paul.

Was Jim the eldest in that family also? (Chris shakes her head). He wasn't? What was it that she had for men that she . . . ?

She loved men. Men made her feel good, I guess. I don't know.

Really? You sensed it?

SENSED IT! She would basically . . . I can remember after Granddad died and we kept her nearby in a rental home because she could never have lived with us, we would have her over for dinner a lot, and I'll never forget this, sitting at our dining room table, Mom and Dad were at each end of the table, and Paul was at college and I was across the table from her, and she sat talking to Dad, totally excluded Mom and me out of the conversation and moved quickly into complaining about how awful my mother was to her. My Mom was sitting there and she zipped her lip and bent over backwards. Grandma was nasty to my mother. And Dad said, "You have to take the good parts of Grandma, she's your grandmother, you have to learn from the things that, you know, she's selfish and your Mother understands that she's still jealous that I have taken her away." I said, "That's absurd!" My father would say, "That's right. And some day I hope you are never in the position of having to deal with your mom and me in this way." Mom and Dad turned it into a learning experience.

And then Ethel, she probably offered me more feisty, the ability to think I could be more independent in some ways. She was a character. She was wonderful. She bridged a whole . . . She was old enough and wise enough and had seen enough that she knew things, that trends and fads and what kids got into would come around. So when long hair came around, didn't bother her, bothered our parents' generation but didn't bother her.

I guess if we hadn't had a open spirit, I probably would have felt I couldn't say I didn't like my grandmother, but I could say it. It's very clear we were taught you respect people. They may be different, they may look different, they may act different, but you respect them. You don't need to like them but you need to respect them. I'm thankful I got that because that's the key to so many other relationships.

Aunt Lucy drove me nuts because she used to pick on me.

How would she pick on you?

When Uncle George [Lucy's husband] got into heart trouble and then they told him he couldn't do things, he retired early, which was the biggest mistake for him. That was back when they didn't know how to handle people with heart problems. But Aunt Lucy kept teaching. So in the summers they'd come live with us. Well, Dad's house is a small house. And so they would always have my bedroom all summer. So, I didn't mind! That was okay. I don't even remember where I put my clothes. I guess I put them in the bathroom.

Where did you go?

I slept in the living room. That never bothered me. I would always sleep on the floor anyway. But Aunt Lucy, who was a very insecure person, very insecure, needed to keep going to classes, to keep her certification, and she would be a nervous wreck. And I'd help her get through her classes and we did all kinds of things, but she would always say, "You're fat, you're this, you're that, the other thing" and I used to just get, at a certain age that was really very traumatic for me.

Were you a fat kid?

Oh, I went through a period. I was scrawny as could be until I was eight. Then they took my tonsils out and I could eat. And then I was very, very chunky until ninth grade when I just said enough of this. So I went through some very formative years where I still have

a mind set of being heavy. I mean I know I'm not. I'm not hung up about it, but I still . . .

Mom used to ride [Aunt Lucy] all the time. "Why are you saying that? That's not very nice. Your hips are wider than hers hips are." At that point it wasn't an issue, with Aunt Lucy. I realized she was coming from insecurity. That I'm sure Mom helped me see. I don't remember that, but I'm sure she had to have helped me see that, because there wouldn't have been any other way at that age to understand that.

I didn't like Paul very much a lot of the time when I was growing up either. I tell him now I didn't like him then. When we moved out where [Dad's house is] now, I had a year and a half left in grade school in town and so Paul had a car to drive. He picked up another one of his buddies, and he'd drop me off two blocks from school because he'd say he didn't want to be seen with me 'cause I was too fat. And I was such a wimp. I got out. For many years I [also] had to jump out of his old jalopy when we got to the corner and it wouldn't shift into second gear and you had to open the hood and shift it and he taught me how to do it. I was so gullible. I thought this was a real privilege that he was letting me do it till I realized I was being used.

You did all his dirty work?

Mom and Dad would go away in the summers to a convention when I was in junior high and high school and left us, and I thought I was being very helpful in doing his laundry, which he liked, but when I pressed the pants going the wrong way he ridiculed me. But as long as I did what he wanted it was fine.

And when you didn't?

I didn't like not to be liked or to be in confrontation and so I would avoid it. How I quite got this feisty now and will take on, I don't personalize confrontation now. Which is interesting.

And you used to?

Oh, it would devastate me. I've changed a lot since then. [Paul] was very manipulative. He would always say "I didn't do that." So the few times I would try to say to my folks "But," or I would try to stand up to him, they would say, "Now you two work it out." He had the upper hand, so I just never did. And stored it. I didn't feel I could share the nonsense Paul gave me [with my parents]. At that time I probably blew it out of proportion too, but I figured that was for me to figure out. They weren't going to listen. And he would just turn it

around so it would be my fault. In a way it was a good education. But I talk now to Dad, "Dad, were you aware Paul used to do things like that?" "No! Why didn't you say so? I said, "Well." Then I'd cry.

My brother had a way of influencing, I think he always got his way. And I don't think my parents realized it. Dad and I have had long talks about this. Paul was always into innovative creative stuff. He built these big pens and raised pheasants and he got into chemistry and shot off these rockets. All the chemicals were in our back room. The only thing my Mom put her foot down is she would not let him have a monkey. But they indulged him. It was all good stuff. It was creative, but they never said no to him. I never put them in a position of having to say no. And I think in part some of his tremendous need to be his own boss probably stems from not being able to deal with. . . He has a little bit of my Uncle Ted's personality. He's always going to take on an issue. And he'll find an issue in everything. He's calmed down but for a long time somebody was always wrong and he was going to go fight it.

So are you saying that took precedence over a lot of things that went on in the household? When you say he had a lot of influence.

Oh I think for several years I felt very dominated. I'm not sure if that was all bad, though. If I hadn't had the love and support of my parents, it could have been disastrous. But in a way it probably, looking back, has served me well to have gone through that.

In one interview, Chris describes her brother since he's been married.

When Fran [Paul's wife] began teaching, they bought an old house that had greenhouses and he fixed it all up. For quite a while he had a floral business and then the grocery stores got into that kind of stuff. But when they started having kids, he became the houseparent, which initially I think made sense, because he still had the greenhouses, but then it got beyond the point of reasonable. He finally took correspondence courses so he could get his teacher's certificate and he is now teaching, which is great.

How long was he a houseparent?

For years. He's only been teaching for two years.

What did the family think about that?

Everybody was supportive. It wasn't good for him, but it wasn't because he was the houseparent necessarily.

How about kids?

They adopted David when he was about four. What they didn't find out is he had some problems which ended up consuming a lot of Paul's energy. David's twenty-five now. We went to his wedding last Sunday. He's going to be a father in a few months. He has some learning disabilities, but he's held the same job for a while. There's also Mark and Elizabeth. Mark's now a freshman in college. Elizabeth is in her junior year in high school. Anyway Paul's in a stronger position than he has been in a long time.

Does he like the teaching?

Loves it. LOVES it!

Especially if he's been good with kids.

It's very clear he's good because they brought him on and kept him on an interim basis until a position opened up and they didn't need to do that. He's much more fulfilled now, which is good. I think he's getting confident enough to go on about his life.

Dad never was real open. He was not demonstrative, physically. Carl, when he first met us, said, "My God, you're cold." I said, "What do you mean?" I never hugged my Dad. And I never kissed him. And that came out of an absolute respect. When I was little, I remember cuddling with my father, and the minute I matured, he gave me room and he didn't want to give any mixed messages. Once Mom got sick, and I was matured and married, that's all broken down. And now Dad's very open about his hugs and he's much more open with Alex about his physical affection than he was with Paul Howard. Dad and I can talk, but it's because I've forced a lot of talk about feelings. He didn't talk a lot about his feelings that month we were with Mom when she was dying. And Paul's not good about talking about his feelings. In my opinion Paul still hasn't accepted Mom's death.

Mom was diagnosed the Friday after Thanksgiving. She died at home three months to that day. She didn't want to die in the hospital. We didn't want her there, so Paul and Dad and I were there for a month. Well, I was with Dad for a month. The last month of her life, Dad couldn't handle it.

Did you have nurses also?

No. About two and one-half weeks before she died, Paul came and a family friend, who is a nurse, came out and taught us how to give her injections. So we kept her home. And let me tell you, it took three of us then. Mom in her strong way made it okay for us to start grieving and she kind of gave her marching orders. Things will go on and she verbalized this. "The worst thing you can do is crawl in the hole" and [she told my Dad] "Don't you go hiding behind papers like you were when I met you in high school." Then she told me if she'd been hesitant about my marriage to Carl, it wasn't just the fact that he wasn't Christian. She knew he wasn't a religious Jew and even if he were that wouldn't have been the issue. She just didn't want me to get hurt again. But she could see how much he already loved and was good with Paul Howard and me. She could say all that, so I think people who go through losing a loved one that way, it's so much better than when somebody is unexpectedly killed in a crash or a fire or something.

I think you never know what another couple's relationship is. I know that my parents loved each other dearly and I could tell just watching them in that last month together. As Dad and I have become more open and he feels freer to talk about things, he's clearly very proud of what I've done. He's remarked to me a couple of times, "I wonder if your mother was ever bored." I don't think that was out of, we didn't have a good relationship, but I think now he's thinking, "I wonder . . . The times are so different for you than they were for her. I wonder if there were times when she got bored?" Which is kind of neat that he would be thinking that way.

Did you go to church regularly?

Yes. I went. I didn't have to go but I went.

What church?

Presbyterian. When I was in high school we had this minister who was a royal asshole. And I went to the high school youth group, and he sat there one Sunday night, I'll never forget it, he said, "Well, I'm going to heaven because I don't drink. I don't smoke. I'm faithful to my wife." I said to him, "First of all, this concept of heaven and hell, it isn't a place necessarily. I don't believe it's a place, so I don't know where you're going." To me, faith is that there's a reason you're here and that probably the reason you're here and your impact in your life goes on forever, but I don't know whether you go someplace. I don't need that. I said, "Who are you to judge? Even if you say there's a heaven. Isn't that pretty

arrogant?" I said that to him. He said, "I can evaluate that." I said, "You're not God. That's against the whole concept of God." And he was so arrogant. And I went home that night and said I'm not going back. And Dad said, "Why?" And I went through all the reasons. He said, "I can appreciate your perspective." He said, "I hope you don't ultimately judge faith and what you can get out of religion from one experience." I said, "To me there's a big difference between religion and faith and organized . . ." And then we got in this discussion about if you're not part of some sort of organized religion, you probably will not focus over the years in terms of a faith and so forth. And there's a lot of truth to that, but they didn't say, "You have to go to church." They didn't even say I was wrong. "It's from your perspective and we understand that. And from ours, blah blah blah."

Another thing that had a huge impression on me when I was growing up was going through the experience of a very dear friend of ours who is an assistant minister of our church being arrested in our house for homosexual behavior with minors. And watching what happened to him and the fact that Mom and Dad went to court with him at a time when they were taking a big risk, and how he got help and went on about his professional life. That just had a profound impact on me in terms of getting over a lot of things that would have been taboo. I understood what homosexuality was and why would he get involved like that and why society didn't accept it.

He just happened to have been at your house?

No, he ate dinner with us all the time. Because he was a bachelor. And the police knew he ate with us. One of the State Troopers was a member of the church. And my Dad was out of town. It was Mom who had to handle all of this.

How old were you?

I must have been in eighth grade, so it was the year before Dad had his heart attack.

You had an eventful eighth and ninth grade.

Yeah. Real eventful. But I never felt insecure. I mean I felt scared because I didn't know whether Dad was going to make it or not for a while. And then I was real scared because I didn't know what was going to happen to [the minister]. And what was this awful thing, this homosexuality. Well then we got into it. When I understood it, I wasn't frightened.

Your parents were connected with defending him?

They didn't defend him. Dad went before the Presbytery and said, "It's hypocritical if you kick him out of the church. If you sanction him because he did something illegal, that's fine. But don't kick him out of the church and his profession because he's a homosexual." I really respect him a lot for that.

I remember, when I was in the tenth grade, getting into a long philosophical discussion about Catholicism versus Protestantism and challenging this friend of mine who was Roman Catholic. "How can you go into that little confessional, you sit and you tell this human being that you sinned and you go out and you go around the rosary beads and you say your Hail Marys, and you walk away and you say, 'Ah, good. I'm going to do that again. That wasn't so bad'." I can remember we stayed up probably half the night digging into this. I don't remember the rest of the conversation, but I remember the next day telling my Dad about this. He said you two got into ALL that?

What would your Mom have said about you when you were fifteen?

I was fourteen or fifteen when my Dad had his heart attack so she would have said that I was way more mature than my years. That I wasn't self-centered about being a teenager at that time. That I helped her a lot. Loved to ski. Loved being with the family. I wasn't into the party dating scene. That I struggled with my weight. That I worked very hard and they worried about the fact that I was sometimes too responsible. My father's impression of me would have probably not been dissimilar to what my mother would have said.

Are you hard on yourself?

Very hard on myself. I can remember as a little kid it was very difficult for me to think I hadn't done something the best way. I should have known better. I usually did things that were very acceptable, so I probably set a pretty high expectation. If I didn't quite meet what that was, I felt terrible about it. I've gotten over that. Tough shit. That's my attitude these days. But see that's a level of maturity. I truly believe both in your personal life as well as your professional life you reach a level of maturity to realize not everything is life-shattering. And you learn how to prioritize and you build on what you've made mistakes on before or what's worked before. But you have to go through enough years to be able to step back and see that.

If you could go back in time, what changes would you make in your family's circumstances?

How can you go back and change family life experiences? Because you know what your family is and what you are is because of what those experiences were. So some of the things that seem so traumatic at the time turned out to be some of the most positive experiences. I would love my Dad not to have had a heart attack, but there would have been a whole lot of dynamics that wouldn't have happened. I would have loved [the assistant minister] not to have been exposed like that, but it sure helped him because he could deal with some problems that he would never, I mean he said, "I was crying out for help. I did it 'cause I knew I would get caught. And I couldn't seek help on my own." And that sure broadened my understanding of people.

What thoughts did I have about my adult life when I was a teenager? I always planned ahead but I didn't dwell on what life would be in the future, because I figured I'd enjoy life for what it was. I've never been one that sits and says, "Okay, ten years from now this is where I'm going to be."

Education

Paul was always the one . . . he's very bright. He's intuitively just bright. And I followed in his footsteps through high school and he never used to work and I'd work my tail off and I'd do very well. One time I worked and worked and worked and wrote this unbelievable paper for honors English and the teacher wrote on the front of it that I must have plagiarized because I couldn't have written that well. And when I said to her, "I wrote that. No one wrote that. You can't find that I plagiarized that." She said, "Well, somebody had to have helped you. You don't write like your brother did." That's the first time I remember, that pushed a button, and I went home and I said to Mom and Dad, (Mom wasn't the one to handle stuff like this, Dad did) I said, "Dad, I didn't plagiarize. You watched me work on this. How am I going to handle this?" I said, "I am going in to the principal." He said, "Well, I'll be there with you." And so he let me present the case. I took the paper in and I said [to the principal], "She has to prove . . . She has accused me of plagiarizing and that's a very serious accusation. And I know I wrote that and I know that my parents read it and gave me suggestions. They didn't rewrite a thing." And I had taken all my drafts and I said, "She has to either apologize to me or she has to prove I plagiarized and that means she has to show me." The principal said, "You are absolutely correct." Dad didn't have to say

anything. [The principal] called her in, she said, "Well no," she just, it was just . . . [she] had never written anything like that." And I said to her, "But you never gave me a chance to even show you what I had learned from you and how much effort I had to put into this." We ended up, over the years as I would go back after I got out . . . I was doing well [in my present job] and everything, being very good friends and she didn't ever remember that. Which is kind of neat.

The other school experience which had an impact on me . . . When I was in ninth grade, the year Dad has his coronary, I was working out [my schedule for] the rest of school and my school counselor said, "Don't take math. Girls don't need math". And I said, "I'm in College Prep. I'm going to college." She said, "You'll have a very hard time in college." Which now wouldn't happen. Well, maybe it would happen, but I don't think so.

I know I was popular [in high school] and had a lot of friends but I wasn't in the popular clique. I had a variety of different friends. But I also spent a lot of time with my family. I liked to be with people for different reasons.

What was your orientation to school work in high school?

Work real hard. Do well. I LOVED this humanities course I had in high school. It was the best course ever. I hated Latin. Miss Decker. I hated it.

What extracurricular activities did I participate in in high school? All the sports. That's what everybody did there. I was in Student Council and the band.

What did you play?

Flute. I got ridiculed then. I was very short and being flute I was always at the end of the formations and the band was horrible. The last game we played, the music was horrible, the formations were terrible. I got hit with a tomato.

You're kidding? (Both laughing) Someone threw a tomato at the band?

I was at the end, you know, I was a good target (makes a throwing sound).

That was pathetic.

It was pathetic. That wasn't our fault.

I really never got into all the be-bop and party stuff. I remember I got invited to the Big Party in the fall and all the most social, popular kids, everybody went downstairs. The kid [giving the party] had a family room downstairs, and within ten minutes everybody was paired off and they turned the lights off and everybody would sit and neck. And I didn't want anything to do with it. I went upstairs, talked with his folks and I said, "I'm going to call my folks." They said, "Why?" I said, "Well, (because I didn't want to rat on what was going on downstairs), I said I think I need to go home." My parents always said, "If you ever want to come home, you call. We'll come get you." So I told them what was going on, and I didn't want to be part of it. Well, you do that once, you don't get invited to those parties again. But I started dating in tenth grade. Then I started going steady with this guy who was a senior. I think there was a maturity difference there. And I dated one other fellow who was in the popular group my last years of high school. He was a jock and stuff. He never went on to college. We still dated in my freshman year [in college] and then he kind of frittered away his life. He was a bright kid. And he and this other buddy went out one night and wrapped themselves around a tree. That was the end of that. He left a note that said nothing was right in his life. I had broken up with him and he had been a failure to his folks because he hadn't gone to college and all this stuff. And [his parents] shared that with me. They were wonderful people. I still see [his mother]. She has had a terrible life. They had a little girl that died of heart problems and then her husband died. I mean, she really got double, triple whammy.

Do you ever remember having to play dumb?

I never did. My dad said "You never play dumb." No, I would never have played dumb.

Do you remember ever being put down by any of the guys because you were smart?

Oh, yeah. But I didn't hang around the ones that would have done that. Because, believe it or not, the popular guys were also very bright.

The popular guys were the bright ones in my high school, too. They were the athletes, they were smart, and they were good looking. But it didn't work the same way for the women.

Oh, no. The bright ones, a lot of them weren't good looking. In a way I kind of bridged that because most of the real popular women didn't go on to college.

It was almost as though we thought you couldn't be both.

I'm not a good judge of that because Mom and Dad made it very clear to me that you could be both. You should never deny your femininity. You can have fun. You can be a cheerleader if you want to. It doesn't mean you're not going to study.

A lot of our high school didn't go on to college. Of those of us who went on to college, females, one of my friends is a neonatologist. Another is a physical therapist. A lot of the women that went on to college became full time housemoms. One of the women was in banking and then when she had her second child she doesn't work any more. One of my friends is now a CPA. But works just part time.

How did I decide to attend the college I did? I looked at little ones and big ones [but] I wanted a big school. And I'm sure I was influenced by the fact so many family members went to [the college I finally went to]. I didn't want to move that far away from home. But they let me make the decision.

In college, I joined a sorority because I didn't want to live in a dorm forever. Ended up in my Mom's and aunts' sorority. And there were a group of us that became very close. I still stay in contact with a couple of them. I didn't like all the pledge stuff and other folderol. So I volunteered to be house manager, 'cause you had to do all the unglamorous stuff, and work with the house mother. So I made a deal that I'd be the house manager if I didn't have to go through all the pledge stuff. I went through the public stuff but I didn't get into all the planning stuff. I hated that.

Two of my college women friends are now architects and one's a professional harpist. One taught school for a while but her husband died of Hodgkin's disease. They had two daughters. She remarried and she has just had a fourth child. Loving every minute of it. Two or three school teachers, a journalist -- quite a few of us who were close that are still working.

Not only did my high school counselor tell me I would never make it [in college], a college counselor said [of my preadmission test scores], "Oh, you don't test very high. You don't test anywhere near as high as most of the students here. You're going to have a rough time."

A second person told you that?

I don't test well in those tests, but what somebody learned after, I don't know at what point they picked this up, my eyes don't work together. I've always known I had screwy eyes. So I don't read fast. A novel I can read fast, but if I'm doing things where I have to line things up, frequently I'll screw up the lines and everything. Now I've compensated for it. But I'm not a good test taker. Well, you get tense, that kind of thing. So my focus the first two years was getting through and then I finally realized at the end of my second year I was doing very well and I ended up graduating with honors. But you wouldn't have known it. I was sure I was going to flunk out. I got very confident. My senior year I did just fine and I relaxed and had more fun than I had had and got good grades still.

My attitude was that I was going to get a liberal arts degree, so I was [at college] to get exposure to fields that I wouldn't have any other way. I loved the anthropology courses I took. I loved psychology courses. Had a crazy theater course, which was fun. I decided that I needed chemistry and physiology. Don't ask me why, but I was on this liberal arts trek and had a chemistry course that was full of pre-meds. And hard science is not my cup of tea. I went into the final with not a real strong C-, I walked in and I have never had this happen to me before. I sat there and I had my pencil in my hand. I remember sitting down, next thing I remember is the professor came over and he said, "Excuse me, are you going to take the exam?" I was frozen. I looked at him and said, "What?" He said, "You have been sitting there not doing anything." Put my head down, started the exam. I got a B+ on the exam. Where that came from is beyond me. The thing I didn't like is I wanted to get my liberal arts degree. I didn't want to have to get an education degree, but then they wouldn't let you do both. And in order to get my teacher's certificate, then in my senior year I had to jam in all this stuff to meet the education [requirements]. I decided on a major because my Mom was traditional enough in times were I needed something if I didn't get married. I didn't want to be a nurse.

So you thought you would be a teacher? Those were your two choices?

Good insurance.

I made sure I didn't have to worry about [my social life] my freshman year because I kept this high school involvement who was long distance and that was safe. Sophomore year I started dating.

Jerry and I went to school together from the time we were in grade school, but we never dated in high school. I never really dated anybody seriously in college. Be-bopped around. Dated different people. Then the summer after my junior year Jerry and I started dating and we just kept dating. And then we got married. That was a mistake. He had a fierce temper then that was not necessarily controlled, and I couldn't handle that. I wasn't sophisticated enough to know how to deal with somebody who displayed anger, other than to retreat, and usually that exacerbates somebody who wants to get a reaction out of you. My retreating was very much part of the problem. I didn't know that then. But we went through six months of intense counseling so we could understand each other, which was great. It became very clear it was probably a case of getting married too young, before we both really knew what we were like. And we both developed a lot and grew. I fulfilled a mother role for Jerry, which was real easy for me because I tend to be a nurturing soul, but then I resented it because I wanted him to be my husband. It was so clear that the psychiatrist said, "I have to tell you two, I'm going to break the typical role of the psychiatrist. I think you two have a much better chance of being good parents to your son and respecting each other if you don't think you're going to be married." At that point that was it.

I got married right out of college. Jerry had a fifth year to go. He was awarded a fellowship to work for a summer in one of the big architecture firms in New York. So we got married and went to New York for the summer. It was kind of fun. And then the next year we went into Vista because he didn't want to go in the service. The Vietnam War. So we spent a year as program development planners in Vista, six months in Arkansas and six months in Texas. That was one of the best educational experiences. That opened me up to more, just survival tactics, but life. That was an eye opener.

Why was it an eye-opener?

Because I saw parts of society and cultures that I'd never been exposed to. And learned what it's like to have to survive. We were in Denver, Colorado for most of the the classroom training. And then they did street training. They gave us a bag and they said put all of your jewelry, all of your money, all your identification into this and when you come to breakfast we'll collect it and put it in a safe.

And wear a sweater or a jacket. So we ate breakfast, they put us in a bus, and dropped us off in the middle of the ghettos on different street corners, period.

What were your instructions?

Survive.

For how long?

I don't remember what they said. I remember I almost peed in my pants.

Did you stay with Jerry?

No. They separated us all the time. I was with another woman. We wandered around and decided that the best thing we could do to stay healthy was to figure out where we were and walk in the direction that we thought might get us out of there and back to our hotel. It was traumatic. I don't remember how long we were out. I know we were out in the dark. I know frequently we were down in stairwells getting out of the way. The other thing that was much scarier is they told us that we needed to pack essential toiletries and some clothing and assume we'd be gone for a few days. They loaded us on a bus and we drove and drove up into the mountains where [there were migrant workers]. They dropped us off one by one in households that only spoke Spanish, and we were to live with them. And I had no idea where Jerry was. He had no idea where I was. We had no number to call. Nothing. And they said when it was time to be picked up, they'd pick us up. And the family [I stayed with] was wonderful but they spoke no English, and I spoke no Spanish. And they were very, very poor. That didn't bother me. So I started helping. They had no running water. And I would go out into the fields and work with them like they did. And the first day was fine, and I was in the kitchen doing stuff. The second day the little girl took me by the hand to help her get the water. I knew they had a well. And it was an open well where you put the bucket down and you pull it back up, and when I pulled it up, there was a dead rat in the top of it. Well, that kind of embedded in my mind I wasn't just going to drink a glass of water, so I ended up drinking coffee. About three or four days later, this kid came running into the house talking excitedly in Spanish. I knew something had happened. And pretty soon this woman came in behind him. And they took me by the hand and we walked down probably a mile into the house and Jerry was delirious. He had shigella. And with Jerry, when he gets a fever, he gets delirious and they didn't know what to do with this guy. They didn't speak English and I was really worried. So finally somehow I communicated -- I couldn't imagine Vista wouldn't give the families a contact number, and so we went through all this stuff

and I said car and they still didn't pull a number out. So then I drew a picture of a hospital. Well, I don't think they'd ever been to a hospital. So then I drew a picture of a car -- that didn't work. I drew a picture of a truck and finally a younger man came in and somehow he caught on that I wanted to take Jerry to a hospital. We put him in the back of the truck, and we finally got him to the hospital. The hospital staff immediately knew it was shigella and they wouldn't take care of us. Then I started having diarrhea -- minor compared to Jerry. So they put us in this room in this little hospital that wasn't bad, physically. But the nursing staff wouldn't take care of him. He's vomiting, he had diarrhea all over himself, and here I was taking care of him. Well, of course, then I got sick and I think we were there twenty-four hours before the staff called Vista. Our Vista rep showed up and took one look at Jerry and you better believe we got royal treatment. They got us back to Denver into the hospital and Jerry started feeling better. But we were sick for quite a while.

Did any of the other people get sick?

No. So it must have been that water supply. But you know, I survived it. We did fine. So that experience made it okay for me to get into things that I didn't know what it was all about.

Work

I really thought I would end up a school teacher. My whole career evolution happened after I got out of college. And that happened with Vista. Because I knew then I wanted to use my education background as it relates to health with kids because I figured kids can't learn if they don't have basic health. And then we went into Vista and we ended up in New York and Paul Howard was born, I didn't want to teach there, so I worked in a plant store carrying Paul on my back. So I wouldn't be bored. And I was volunteering for [a human rights organization] at the time, on their newsletter, and one thing led to another and I became their national staff person. At that point I realized I was using a lot of my education background, but I also had skills in organizing and leading. But then I said, "No, I've got to get a serious job with all the benefits," and was hired into [a New England state] Department of Public Health to develop their state-wide public education program for their trauma system. And after I was there about a month, I said, "I can't do this because you don't have your system developed enough so I know what it is to tell the public." "Ah, don't worry about it," the surgeon who headed the program said. I said, "You might as well fire me." He said, "Nah." Shortly thereafter on my desk one morning was a new piece of legislation passed in the state called Area Wide Emergency Services Planning, and it called for hospital people in geographic areas to develop emergency systems. And he left a little note.

"Write the rules and regs for this." I went into him and said, "I can't write rules and regs." He said, "You can write them a lot better than I can. Go find out how to write them and write them." So I did and then he said implement them. It was great. I did that for a few years. And then [another New England state] wanted me to help set up their system. By then I was hooked into health care and I realized I had an administrative and programmatic orientation then. And I knew I wanted to get into an academic health center. That's when I went back to get my Masters [in Public Health]. But a lot of that, I didn't plan it. It evolved through experincing it.

When asked if she has ever been active in politics, Chris says no. The demonstrations at her college in the mid 1960's didn't fit with her liberal humanitarian views. Since becoming an adult, she says she has not been involved in any political causes. However, in the course of her interviews, she tells this story.

I remember when I finally got it arranged for a group of us to go to China. It was a health care group invited by the [Chinese] Minister of Health to be introduced to their health care delivery system. [It was when] I was the national staff person for [a human rights organization]. I got very tired of hearing all of these radical commie types who say "we have to tear down our system and build a socialist system." I thought it was ridiculous to think we were ever going to get to the point in this country where we would completely tear our health care system down. We were going to modify it. And so wouldn't it be better to go study and set up an exchange with the different socialist systems. So I sent this letter off to the Ministers of Health of Cuba, Great Britain, Germany, Canada, and the People's Republic of China. Well, I always got teased for being this naive country bumpkin. Back then you still couldn't go to China. [My coworkers] all laughed at me. "They're never going to respond." But gradually we heard back from these countries. A long time later I got a night cablegram at my apartment that said "We're inviting sixteen members of your group. Do not send all doctors or all males. We want geographic and professional representation." And they wanted us to be there in two weeks. So I called the director of the board, and said, "We've got this invite." Well, they couldn't believe it. "You did?"

The trip made Mom very nervous. How could I go to this country that was still off limits on the passport? How could I go that far away to this unknown culture when I had a two-year-old? And Dad said, "You'll never have another experience like this. This country is preindustrial. I will have a check in the mail for you. If you go, fine, if you don't, fine. And if your daytime sitter doesn't want to take Paul Howard, we will take him." And Dad later told me Mom

had a real hard time. Once the decision was made and I got over there and they got their first postcard, she relaxed.

We were on the road for five weeks. We saw communes, barefoot doctors, brigade hospitals, medical schools, occupational health, and factories. They had us scheduled from seven in the morning until eleven at night. I think very few people have ever been able to get into where we went. [The Chinese] wanted to get contacts and learn as much as they could about technology, and so they were showing us their health care delivery system.

Big step. You were divorced or married?

Divorce wasn't final. But we weren't together.

You were really striking out on your own.

Yeah. I guess so. (laughs) I had no money. I was off in this Communist country that the State Department said, "Yeah, we could go but . . ." And I left a two-year old. I wouldn't have done it if Dad hadn't said, " Yeah, you're going to do it. How many people ever will have this opportunity"?

So if he'd been somewhat more like your Mother, you might not have gone.

I wouldn't have gone. First of all, I wouldn't have had the money and second of all, I wouldn't have had the confidence. It was just an incredible experience. See but to me that wasn't political -- Well it was, now that I think about it, it was.

If I hadn't had the China experience and Vista, I probably would have ended up much more like Mom. I can see this real combination [of my Mom and Dad] in myself. Dad lived out some of his desire to travel through me, I'm sure. Well, he says he did.

Health care is predominantly female. However, women at the top are still in the minority. I know I have had to work harder and be more patient than males have been in terms of opportunities. That's changing. I don't feel it now.

During the months that Chris was a part of this study, her hospital was undergoing a major administrative reorganization that was eliminating one position at the V-P level and divying up that person's responsibilities to the other top administrators, including Chris. Chris was very sensitive to the fact that one of her peers, Josh, was very unhappy

about not getting as much of these responsibilities as he thought he deserved.

[One of my other male peers] said, "Just forget about how Josh feels." To this man and me, it wasn't an issue of we need more to feel good. It's what makes the most sense organizationally. But Josh internalizes it. And [this other peer] said, "Why are you still bothered by that? That's his problem. It's not your problem." I said, "Well I care about how he feels! And he's probably very angry right now and I want to talk to him about it." He said, "Why? Drop it! I said 'O-kay!'" Silly, but I'm playing with the boys and I'm going to drop it. I don't have an answer that's going to make [Josh] feel any better anyway.

Because of the reorganization, Chris expected to reduce her direct reports by one or two, although she said she'd always had a flat organization, with around ten people reporting to her.

People said, "you can't be that flat. You shouldn't have that many people report to you." And I said, "Wait a minute. What do you think the definition of a flat organization is?" You know, the key to whether or not it's working is do I feel like I'm getting what I need and is the job getting done and do the people that directly report to me feel like they're getting the support they need. And the direction. And if the answers to those questions is yes, then it works. And if it's no, then we have to reassess.

I think people that have worked for me view me as a sensitive administrator who cares about them and listens and takes actions. Sometimes that's been to my detriment, being viewed by the clinical chairmen who want to see action and tend to relate more to "I's." I did this and I did that. I've gotten over that hurdle with them now and also with my male peers at the corporate level. However, two or three of them still see operations as ineffectual.

Who's been a mentor for me as a manager? My Dad. One of my woman associates thinks she is, and in many ways she has been. I've learned a phenomenal amount from her. I've a very different style and approach than she does, but she's been a mentor in helping open doors and giving me advice I don't always agree with it but that's all right too.

What do I enjoy least about my job? Not enough time. I also don't like it when I get into a situation where I have to either change my basic style which I believe in, not my principles, but my style, or I

have to pay the consequence of not being recognized for being the one that made something happen. Nobody likes that.

Does that happen to everybody or do you think that happens to you or females more?

Oh, I think it happens to females much more. [We three women at the corporate management level] talk about this all the time.

They've had the same experiences of having ideas and either not being recognized for them or having them be co-opted by somebody else?

Not many years ago I would give an idea and lo and behold no one would pay attention to it. And ten minutes later, it would come out of the mouth of one of the males in the group and everybody would applaud what a great idea it was. That wasn't incidental. All of us would have that. We're much better now, mainly because the three of us are now at levels where we're predominant influencers, which makes a difference.

It's hard in the health care service organization. The workers, the people who really produce -- I'll tell you, over the last ten years if you were to line up all the middle managers and top managers, if you wanted a job done, the women came through nine times out of ten, because there is a different mentality. We may work ourselves silly. We have a harder time saying "No, it's time to go home." If you're the nurturing, responsible kind -- if you're a mother you don't say "Oh, I'm tired of this." You don't have the choice. And so that carries over if you're in a profession, and most women who hire at the level that I'm at -- I'm sorry to say -- have been divorced. It's very hard. You don't see too many women that have made it to the top [married to their original husbands]. Many of us are remarried. And we remarried to very different people than we were originally married to. Very supportive of our careers. But they married us in a career.

The most rewarding part of my job is being able to see the influence I've had and then watch other people helping others, situating resources in such a way that other people can actually feel fulfilled and get things done. Not that I've done it myself, but knowing that I've influenced them.

I do think I've been discriminated against. Why would they have done two national searches to put me in this position because they

couldn't believe there wasn't anybody better outside? They never would have done that for a man.

Do they have a policy of promoting from within?

Yes.

But its males mostly?

We're changing that. Since we became committed to total quality, it's forced promotion issues right out on the table.

So you can't tiptoe around them anymore?

We deal with them -- right out on the table. Which is good.

How do I know when I'm being an effective manager? Feedback I get from the people that report to me or work with me. And I ask for it. I know when I'm not being effective when I watch people feeling real stressed, because I figure it's up to me to say "You can't do all of it," or I need to help them prioritize. And right now we've got a lot of that going on, and I'm not at an energy level nor time level to be able to deal with the people that report directly to me in a way that. So I can feel myself getting tense with some of them, because they should go that next step right now and say, "Alright, I'm going to use this as an opportunity to get up even more on my own." And I want them to do that. In a way, it's a test.

Does this get back to what you were talking about before about people not being able to take the initiative or responsibility on their own?

Yes. For the last three weeks I've had like ten, twelve hours of meetings straight, and some days more, and usually you never see piles on my desk. I promised Alex I'd get home to take him to indoor soccer last night. I came in [the office] at ten after five and I wanted like hell to get out of here. Three people were lined up. One of them wanted the next day off. And it just pushed the button. People don't know when I'm upset. I walked in here, put my bag together, one of them walked in and I turned around and just brought up my electronic mail messages. I didn't ask her in. I went on and she stood there and asked me a question. I answered it very briefly. She still didn't catch on that she was intruding. The other person said, "This probably can wait until tomorrow, but we do have a big issue" and it was a big issue, and I know when she says that it's a big issue, so I dealt with it. Then this third person was still standing in the doorway who has to have constant reassurance. I put my coat on, packed my bag, and he said, "Well, this needs your signature." I looked at him and said, "What would happen if I

dropped dead? What would happen if I hadn't come back here? Either you say I'm not available and you sign for me, or it'll wait until tomorrow." And I walked out. I've never done that. When I met with him today, he was more organized about what he'd gotten done and what he hadn't. But I shouldn't have to do that.

How do I handle stress? I get my piece of paper out and do my pros and cons. Make my list, and if I don't do it literally, I do it in my head. It's tremendous because you can handle all kinds of stressful situations without feeling stressed. I don't feel stressed by the decisions I need to make now or the fact that I'm dealing with people who are stressed. What I'm stressed by is just simply too many demands.

What doubts have you had about any of the endeavors you've undertaken in your life?

I think any time you get yourself into something that you haven't done before or you question, you're going to doubt whether it's going to work. But I don't dwell on the doubt. I dwell on what's here and how can I make this work. I don't worry. It's a waste of energy. I quickly move into plans of action. "Ok. What am I going to do about this?"

General

Paul couldn't accept the fact that I got divorced. He and Fran didn't come to Carl's and my wedding. [According to them], you get married once.

Carl and I met when I was a grad student. Carl's fantastic. Very supportive. Not just of my career, but he's my best cheerleader, my best critic and my best friend. I think he feels that way. That's a neat relationship.

From the time we got married, Carl just embraced Jerry in as Paul Howard's father, and Jerry's much more mature now. Jerry and I respect each other tremendously and are very good friends now. He's a nifty person. Paul Howard will comment periodically about "Jerry still has a hard time communicating. You sometimes know more about what's going on in Jerry's life than I do because he doesn't share it with me." Or I'll say, "Why don't you ask Jerry about that?" [And Paul Howard says,] "Oh, I wouldn't ask Jerry about that. He'll tell me if he wants me to know." [I say] "Yes, but

you have a right. You're his son. If you want to know what's going on in his life, you have a right to ask him."

Home responsibilities keep me sane. I do the majority of the housework, but not because Carl won't. Carl does most of the paper, insurance, investment stuff, which he is superb at and I don't especially care for, and I do the mundane household stuff and I find it totally relaxing. I love it. But, if I need help he'll do it. And I do all the yard work, which is one of my true loves.

How are your views about raising children the same or different from the way your parents raised you?

Fundamentally they're not different. Mom and Dad always showed respect to us as individuals from as early as I can remember. I think times are different, therefore what and how we communicate may be different. The major difference is, Dad and I have talked about this, Dad was very focused on the old Germanic view of the way children learn respect is basically you command it. I believe everybody should be respected and yes, elders have more wisdom than juniors do, but I still think that it's okay for younger people to challenge the ideas of anybody, if they do it constructively. Dad was much more hard line with us. It wasn't that we couldn't challenge Mom and Dad, but the expectation was I would never challenge my father's mother. It was okay to express my unhappiness and questions with Mom or Dad. Both Paul Howard and Alex have had more latitude, and Dad rebelled against this for a while. He didn't like the fact that the kids would challenge his ideas because he was the elder. And now he's great. Carl keeps remarking, "Your dad is amazing." Because he's still willing to change.

How have you thought about your deservingness in all you've achieved?

My what?

Your deservingness, that you deserve everything that you've worked for.

Oh, I don't think that way. The concept of being deserving is the concept of people owe you things, and I don't think anybody owes you anything. We may be playing a semantics game, but I get my rewards and my self-satisfaction from whether or not I believe I've contributed to my job or my family or whatever. But I don't believe because I've done something I deserve something. Now, I don't

want to be treated unfairly. I don't want to be used. But just because I do something doesn't necessarily lead me to think I deserve it.

I was thinking of that incident of the English paper your teacher didn't believe you had written. And it seemed as though you knew what you deserved for that because you put a lot of time and energy in on it and she didn't give it to you. As a matter of fact she gave you something almost the opposite. So you really went to bat for yourself.

But I didn't put that in the framework of "I deserved it." I put it in the framework of "she's calling me a liar. If she's going to call me a liar, she better prove it." It's a different slant.

Life is wonderful. As you get older it gets better. I did a lot of growing up after I was supposed to have been a grown up. Being forced into both the divorce and Vista made me be much more confident in being adventuresome, in getting into unknown situations. And going through the divorce knowing I was the sole support of a child just took me down a path I never would have gone down in terms of "I can do it, I'm going to do it."

If you're raised in a very physically safe environment, you're not raised where you have to worry about guns and knives and muggings, you're safe in the sense of the loving family that's very supportive, you're safe in an extended family that's relatively close, safe from a financial perspective -- even though there were rough times -- you don't know what that means until you've seen other environments. So you can't really grow up as a person and know what you are and what opportunities you have and what you don't know until you get out of it. You don't know anything else. You don't really know yourself and what are really the valuable aspects of life you want to focus on until you're challenged. A lot of people never get challenged, or they don't get challenged until it's a real hard bump after many years by no choice and then it's real hard to deal with.

What approach do I take to understanding the world and my place in it? Keep my eyes open. Keep my ears open. Kept my little sheet out with my little lists. And I don't try to overanalyze. I do think I have an element of Presbyterian in me because I really do believe any situation can be made to have some benefit in it. And you can make anything work out if you work at it.

"I knew you'd come," Chris said, smiling bravely as her eyes welled with tears.

"How could I not," I replied huskily, the words catching in the back of my throat. She greeted the others with me and led us into a nearby room.

Relatives from both sides of the family stood talking quietly. A few minutes later, the minister came in. Outside in the chapel, organ music played softly as mourners filed in for her brother Paul's memorial service. Practically his whole school was there, teachers and students alike, as were a large number of townsfolk as well. Clearly here was a man who had made an impact on his community.

Paul had been overweight and a smoker, two warning signals for the eventual heart attack which would end his life at age fifty, six weeks after my last interview with Chris. Feeling ill one morning at school, he'd gone to the nurse. He'd spent the afternoon being monitored at the local community hospital. Precious moments ticking away. By the time Chris had been notified and begun the three hour drive to her brother's bedside, Paul was gone.

As the service progressed, I was struck by the irony of the situation. I had never met Paul, and yet I felt I knew him, or at least the essence of who he was filtered through his sister's lenses. This sense heightened later back at his large, old hillside home, as I talked with his widow and children -- people who only weeks before had been faceless names in someone else's life story. But the impact of the man could be felt the strongest in the place he loved the most -- his two small greenhouses tucked behind the house down a steep stairway off the garage. Redolent of moist, warm earth, they exuded an almost mystical sensitivity to life. Amidst numerous bonsai and flowering plants, a large brown and white rabbit hopped to an open hutch on one of the long wooden benches. Five or six doves, cooing softly, fluttered among the rafters. Somewhere, water trickled. And under an ancient bowed ficus, a worn wicker chair waited for anyone who wanted to stop long enough to enjoy the peaceful pleasures of nature.

Kim Russell

Last, we hear from Kim Russell, 48, who headed the organizational development department of a medium-sized Midwest bank at the time of the study. On first meeting Kim I encountered a slight reticence which I initially interpreted as cool self-importance. When I got to know her better, however, I saw her down-to-earth, gregarious side, including an offbeat sense of humor which popped up when I least expected it. In the

interviews, her words tumbled over each other, starting, stopping, changing course and backtracking, always with the apparent aim of capturing her experience as it was lived, inconsistencies and all. Along the way, she editorialized, less as a way to help me understand what was being discussed than to have a little laugh at her own expense at how her life has turned out.

Kim's father, 82, lives alone an hour away near her two older brothers, Dave and John. Her mother, four years older than her father, died of lymphoma several years ago at the age of 83. Kim is divorced from Frank and has two daughters, 24 and 22.



Family

My father's family came over from Italy when he was about eleven years old and settled in a small village in southern Illinois. My grandmother died very shortly after the birth of the sixth child here in the states. So my grandfather, Guido Cerutti -- I love it, it's like you can just picture him with cement -- raised these six kids virtually on his own. There were three boys and three girls, and it had to be a pretty rough life for all of them because there was not much money and without having a mother figure in the family it was not easy. My father was the oldest. It was really he and my grandfather who raised the kids. A sister who was a year younger became sort of the surrogate mother, even though she was very young. My dad went to work in the coal mines alongside his father when he was not quite fourteen years old. When I looked at my own kids at fourteen and thought this was about the same age my father went into the coal mines and started working full-time, I would think, "Absolutely not, I couldn't picture them." My grandfather never remarried. He was a fabulous cook, but I really couldn't get a good picture of how much nurturing or warmth or those kind of things were a part of that family.

Did you know him?

Yes I did. He wanted his kids to learn English and not to speak Italian, but he never learned English. He was the only grandparent I ever knew. It was very frustrating because we couldn't converse

very much. My fondest memory of him was dumping wine in my soup at lunch. "This is good for you." My mom used to get mad at him.

I know far less about my mother's family than I do about my dad's. Her family was originally from Kentucky. There were seven kids; she was also the oldest. She had an alcoholic father who was very violent and a mother that she always called a saint. So this goes back to the wine in the soup; my mother always had a real issue with alcohol. She was a very determined person. If there was one thing that stands out in my image of mother, it's that she was a very proud woman, almost so that like anything that's usually a strength, it becomes a weakness. They were mostly English in descent. I'm sure that's where part of my mother's pride issue came in. Her family was extraordinarily poor. She always feared being seen as a backwoods, ignorant type person. So she worked real hard at finding ways to get around that.

My parents were very different people. My dad was basically an uneducated man. He went to school through maybe the fourth or fifth grade and that was it. My mom, based on those times, was a very educated woman. She had gotten her teaching certificate, had gone off with some young woman friends to work in Chicago for a couple of summers. So their experiences and their outlook on life were very different.

How did they meet?

My mother absolutely loved ballroom dancing. And my dad would go to the local place where they had the dancing and the big bands. He wouldn't dance, he never danced. But they did meet there. My mother would dance with everybody else and then she'd go home with my dad. I really believe if they had been married at a different point in time they would have never stayed together. Their marriage really wasn't a great marriage by any means. What brought them together and kept them going I think for a long time was a genuine affection and a lot of lusty and good sex.

The mines closed down in about 1950 and Dad worked for a while in a steel mill outside of St. Louis, and then in 1953 my uncle got him a job in Detroit. I was ten at the time. That was a very major move because one brother was a senior in high school when we moved, and we moved from a town of about 1,500 people.

I have three brothers, two are living and one is dead. I'm the youngest in the family. So I grew up having three older brothers.

It's not something I highly recommend. If you're floating around out there making your choice to have a reincarnation, don't do that.

Why do you say "don't do that?"

Oh, I make great jest about it. In some very positive ways, it really helped shape me more than probably anything else in my family, having three older brothers. But I think it's difficult being the youngest child, period. Being the youngest child in an Italian -- even though my mother wasn't Italian, that was totally irrelevant -- patriarchal family where the women's job is to wait on the men, there were an awful lot of men to wait on. It was a bane and blessing.

Dave is seven years older than I am; Bill, the brother who died, was six years older; and John is three years older. Bill was the brother that I was also the closest to in my family. He died when I was twenty-four and pregnant with my first child. So he was thirty years old at the time.

How did he die?

It was a drowning accident. He and his friend had built A-frame [vacation homes] next to each other, and he was fly-fishing -- he got there the day before his friend did, and -- this is so weird. When we were small in southern Illinois and really poor, we had an enormous garden and my mom canned and my brothers and my dad hunted, and that's how we lived. And if we didn't have the garden and they didn't shoot anything, I don't know what we would have done. My brothers were raised with very strong messages about safety in hunting, safety in swimming. So it was a very bizarre thing that Bill went out alone and he was fly-fishing and fell and knocked himself out and his waders filled up and sucked him under. It was certainly one of the most devastating experiences in my life because we were very, very close and he was probably the main mentor that I had as a young female person growing up in a family that didn't have very many positive messages about what the options were for young women. He was my lifeline. He really was my champion. So that was a painful loss to me. I have a terribly conservative, bigoted, racist, horrible family except for him. The two of us were always misfits in our own family. He was very active in the civil rights movement; he was in jail a few times. He became a minister who was very active in a lot of social related issues. And so the major bonding was our social values, our outlook, our political thinking.

Was he married at the time he died?

Yes, and he had two children, five and three. His wife remarried and had another child with her new husband. He's a really wonderful man. My niece and nephew will always see him as their father, which is wonderful, but it's also painful to me. What's amazing is my niece, who is now twenty-seven, has many of the mannerisms of my brother. When she talks I find myself leaning forward. I can't take my eyes off of her. And they don't remember him, which I think is such a sad thing. It's not so much that I wouldn't want them to see this wonderful man as their father, but it would be so wonderful if they had known this really special person that was their biological father.

This last year my father's kind of gone downhill. But he bowls in the 180's usually, and I couldn't bowl over 145 if I had to. I go in on a Saturday or Sunday [twice a month] and try to cook up some stuff and spend time with him. I love the man dearly and he drives me absolutely out of my mind. He's the most stubborn individual I've ever met in my life and I inherited a major part of that stubbornness. So we tend to get on each others' nerves, but there's an awful lot of love there too.

How are you stubborn like your dad?

Overall, I operate out of a pretty amiable, reasonable kind of framework. But there are issues or areas that once I get locked in, it takes pretty much a stick of dynamite to move me. I'm open, I'm open, I'll take in new information, I have my opinions but I'll listen and negotiate or compromise. But in a couple of areas, if it's something I really strongly believe in, that's it. There's not much new information I'll take in. Or if I feel that something is happening that goes against my value system, then I get really locked in. Another way that's really not very pretty is sometimes I will just simply act as a mule. If I'm ticked off about something, I'll lock in. And it's one of the few times, like at work for instance, that I will basically say "Well, the bottom line is I'm the boss." It's there. It's part of me. I don't see that that's my prime method of operation, but it certainly is there.

My mother had a brother who was as important in her life as my brother was to me -- this is the real spooky part. His name was Bill, and she named my second brother after him. Her brother Bill died in a coal mining accident when she was a young woman, and so there was this really incredible parallel between how important he was and who he was to her and my brother.

Did you ever talk to her about the parallel?

I did at one point a little bit. It was almost as if she felt guilty about, if she hadn't named him that it wouldn't have happened. And so I knew enough to back off, that this was really painful to her.

My oldest brother, Dave, is a manager of a plastics plant. He became an alcoholic about age nineteen, and as a result lost a lot of jobs and had a really difficult time in terms of getting back on his feet and rebuilding a life. He has been in AA and a non-drinker for twenty-five years or more. John is a journeyman electrician. Neither of them went through undergrad school. John joined the Navy right out of high school, got a job for NASA in South America, made piles of money, came home, and then started at [a local college]. But he just couldn't deal with being older and feeling like, "My God, I should be way beyond this by this point," and so he dropped out. Neither of them is very happy in their work. I think both of them wish they had done other things with their life. With Dave, I think he feels like he was very boxed in.

What makes Dave feel boxed in?

I think he feels like he basically blew a major part of his life with the alcoholism, that he's never been able to fully recover that, that his opportunities and options were limited. Dave was by far the most creative of any of us growing up. He was an artist. He was a very quick thinker, was rebellious but being the oldest in my family, didn't have a prayer in hell with my father of finding good channels with that rebelliousness. If he had been the youngest child as opposed to me, I think he would have had a very different life because he wouldn't have had to fight constantly to try to find a way to do that. He and my dad have never really gotten along. My dad was a very stereotypical loud Italian, violent, angry man. And my brother Dave got the biggest brunt of that. All three of my brothers got more so than I did. Had someone at any point in time nurtured Dave's creativity or his rebelliousness in a positive way, he would have just had such a different life and I think it's a real shame, in terms of "You sucker, you just happened to be born number one and you took it." He really wanted to go to college and my dad said, "I need you to help pay bills so you're going to get a job, and you're going to help me just like I did with my dad to support the family. You've gone to school all these years, right? I never went to school. You've got a high school degree." Well, Dave got drafted. The worse possible thing that could have happened to Dave was to get drafted. It was just the boredom and the restrictiveness and the control of the service -- that's where he started drinking and became alcoholic.

Do either of them have families?

They both have families. Dave has two daughters and John has one daughter. We had a lot of girls in the family. Much to my father's disbelief and disappointment.

Only one boy?

Yeah, Bill's son, who changed his name to his adopted father, which all of us thought was wonderful, but my dad was absolutely furious because he has no more links.

Who was the person you liked most while you were growing up?

My brother Bill.

Was there anybody that you could say you liked the least?

Oh yeah, my father. I grew up being very terrified of my father. What I consider to be the split in my own personality between being very outgoing and very shy I really attribute to growing up very much afraid. Whenever he was around, I would try absolutely to be invisible. I wasn't there. Anything I had to do to be invisible. Because even though my brothers got the brunt, much more of the actual physical abuse (he physically probably only got after me less than ten times), the emotional trauma of watching him go after one of them just practically killed me. And so I was terrified of him. I feel really good that I can care about him as an adult, but I went through a lot of years where I was really angry with him.

My dad didn't beat my mother. He was not abusive to her. He'd get really mad at us for doing some stupid kid thing and he'd lose his temper. So he wasn't violent with her, but when I think back about how much the kids were really her whole world, I'm really surprised she wasn't more -- well, I know she hid a lot of things from him so that he wouldn't get angry. It was never "I'll tell your father when he comes home," because you know, my God.

Certainly my dad had the most power, but in many respects my mom also had a tremendous amount of power. My mother knew how to outsmart him in lots of ways and how to manipulate him. And so I learned a lot about some combination of political savvy in terms of here's a situation, now if you want A to happen, how do you get A to happen when you know full well it's not going to, given this brick wall over here.

What did she do when he had these tirades against your brothers?

She rarely intervened. If it got to some point that to her was intolerable, she'd cry. But she took on a passive role which really infuriated me. And I think that her attitude was more of a hurt martyr which, if there's ever a part of my mother that I've said I will never be, it's a hurt martyr. There're many things she gave me that I feel are real gifts, but I was absolutely hell-bent that I would never, ever be a martyr.

How would you characterize your relationship with your mother?

Bittersweet. One of the poems my mother wrote before she died she wrote to me saying she hoped I got to some point in my life where I would stop saying that I didn't want to be anything like her. She gave me a love of writing, a love of poetry. I journal, I write poetry -- no one ever sees it but I love it. But she wrote a lot, and one of the things I did just before she died was have all her poetry made into a book for all the grandkids and for all of us. I dearly love the fact that she had a part of her that was a dreamer and an optimist through all kinds of things that I have no idea how someone would be a dreamer and an optimist. She gave me those gifts. She was nurturing and caring and sat me on her lap and rocked and read poetry to me from the time I was a little tiny thing. She also bought into the whole patriarchal system of "we're here to be Cinderellas and we don't sit down until the men say everything's on the table. And we wait until they eat everything they want to eat or they take first helpings and then we take what's left." Really mixed messages. And also that what she really wanted for me was to be a Betty Crocker of the suburbs. You know, you get an education so that you can find a really good man to marry, so that if anything ever happens to him, you'll have something to fall back on, but you're not going to work really. You're going to stay home and make wonderful cakes and pies and God knows what -- decoupage toasters at that time. I said, "I don't think so. I really don't think so." So she never knew me as an adult woman, which is very painful to me. She didn't want to know who I really was because she had this image, and I didn't meet her image. And so consequently, even when I would want to take her by the shoulders and sit her down and say "I'd like you to know a little bit about who I really am, you know?," she just literally never wanted to know and wanted to live in this world that, well, maybe even though I was working all day, then I went home and baked cakes and that made it all right. I miss her very much. I loved her. I respected and admired many parts of her, and she disappointed me in lots of ways and I'm sure there's not a child walking around that can't say that about their parents.

What did you have to do in order to be loved by your mother?

On one level I would say absolutely nothing. On the other level, I would say I had to do very well in school. The old school teacher came out and boy, lots of pressure around really good grades. Which wasn't a big problem. It was easy for me. She wanted to live out a life she didn't have through me, and I resented that. There was some connection as I got older of her wanting -- this is where the martyr thing comes in -- a lot of sympathy and empathy for the horrible life she had led, but giving me messages at the same time that were not "This is how you get out of it" but "This is how you stay in it. You're subservient to men. You let them run your lives. You let them control your decisions. How do you have a good marriage? You never say no to your husband and blah, blah, blah." So it was very strange to me that this woman, who really felt she had a disappointing life herself, would still want to perpetuate that with her only daughter. And the poet in her and the dreamer in her -- where was that part in terms of the messages about how you relate to men and what you do in terms of choosing your career options? I could never quite figure that puzzle out with her.

[My mother] was really devastated when I got divorced. And I said to her, "You know Mom, if you were my age right now and you were married to Dad, you would never have stayed in that marriage, so what on earth?" And she said, "But that's the point. I could list all the reasons why I wouldn't [get divorced]." The reality was you get a divorce if the guy can't keep a job and bring money in and you're starving to death and you have kids to support and he's a good-for-nothing or he beats the hell out of you. But there's absolutely no other reason in the world. Again, it was partly her mentality and her age group that a sense of endurance was how you proved that you were tough and that you could handle things. "Wow, you know, you're wonderful." You went to your grave saying, "Well, I endured," as if it were [something] remarkable. Where my generation doesn't have that attitude. My generation feels like "I tried my best, it wasn't working, I don't want to spend the rest of my life doing that." She would ask me about every three years, "Now tell me again why you got divorced?" Because there wasn't an answer that would ever make any sense to her.

What was your experience of your mother's death?

It was very hard. She had lymphoma. The good part was that we had a window of time, which ended up being a much smaller window than I thought, where she was still very much herself and very lucid, and she and I had some very good talks during that time

which, as I look back, were extraordinarily important to me. We talked a little bit about how she felt about dying and her fears and anxieties. But she also told me some things about herself that she had never told me before -- a real sense of personal disclosure and a sense of trust as one woman to another. There were a couple of points in those conversations where I felt it was the only time in my life that my mother saw me as another woman and a friend and not as a daughter she had images of what she should or shouldn't be. So those were very special moments for me. There was a period there where she moved in and out of knowing who we were. We finally had to put her in a nursing home. She was only in the nursing home about a month and a half, and then she died in the hospital. I stayed up all one night and wrote the service for the funeral, even though it was hard to do at the time. At the end of the funeral service I passed out [her published poems] to all the nieces and family and my dad. So I felt all the feelings you feel at that immediate time, but what I was amazed at was afterward how many different layers you go through when you lose a parent and particularly a mother. I don't know if I'll feel the same about my dad [when he dies] because I have very different feelings about him. But everywhere from I would think of something and think, "Mom would get a kick out of this and I'm going to call her" to I'd see somebody at the grocery store who looked kind of like her and I'd just want to go right up and hug this person and embarrass myself in the broccoli section. It certainly isn't something that's all that present at this point, but it'll be there for a long time.

Were you raised in a specific religion?

No. Occasionally we went a Methodist church in southern Illinois. My dad is the only member of his family who is not Catholic. He was very angry at the Catholic church, and was adamant we would not be raised Catholic. So he's the black sheep of his family. Consequently we all are too. And then my mom and I went to a Lutheran church in Detroit when I was a teenager.

What do you think your father's hopes, desires, and expectations for you as you were growing up?

I have no idea. I have no idea if he had none or if it's just that I don't have a clue what they are. Probably he expected me to get married and have children.

What did you have to do to be loved by your father?

Be really good. Very quiet. The [family] jokes were that I ruined the baseball team he was working on because he had three boys, and it was okay that I was born because now my mom would have some help. And so that got lived out. They built me a little box I could stand on to do the dishes. It really was a message of "you're here to be a subservient servant type." Iron shirts and do laundry and help mom get all this work done.

Did you have your own room?

I shared my room for several years when I was seven or eight with my mother's mother. It's very interesting that I don't remember this woman, I don't remember what she looked like. I think there's some issues I have around the fact that this woman died in my bedroom, but I don't remember. I do remember she saved my butt with my dad once. I had to sit at the table until I told my dad something I had done. For my mom that was unusual, it was like feeding me to the lions. And I was absolutely convinced I'd sit there until I died, but I wasn't going to tell him. And I sat there a really long time and finally my grandmother intervened and said, "Let her go. Let her go."

What phrase, motto or saying best describes how your family functioned as a unit?

My image is that it was like a three-ring circus. That sometimes it really was a lot of fun. My brothers and I had a lot of fun at different times together. We'd go off into the woods and go on big hikes and they shared their BB guns with me and taught me how to shoot. If they bought into taking me with them, which was of course the major problem, I always had such a great time with them, and they'd tease, but they'd tease in a really fun kind of caring way and not in a hurtful, cruel kind of way. They taught me how to play football, we dug an underground house, and once in a while they'd let me go down there with them and be in the club. In this little town there weren't any kids my age, boys or girls, so I didn't have playmates. So it was really important to get to do things with them or I was pretty bored. My image is that there were a lot of things that were fun but there was always danger. There was always something which could run amok any time there.

What did you do in order to be loved by your brothers?

There were some very strong messages of "you have to have a really good sense of humor or you're not going to survive." And I owe

them that one because that's gotten me through some of the hardest and most difficult times in my life, and it's one I passed on to my kids too. We used to have a sign in the kitchen that said "She who laughs, lasts." You had to be sharp and you had to be able to get in there and banter with the best of them. The message was "if you're not quick-witted enough or sharp enough in terms of the concepts that are flying around here, then get the hell out. You're only okay if you can keep up with." The keep-up-with was a big part of the message. Whatever it was, can you keep up? "If you can keep up, you can tag along, otherwise forget it." And that extended to the time I was in high school and their friends used to come over and have these great political or theoretical discussions at our house. If I could keep up, I could sit in on some of them. And I think that for all the shy, fearful parts of me that existed because of my dad, there was also a lot of confidence that I got from my brothers in terms of them letting me into their male world with their friends. Being brought up in a house full of men, I'm not intimidated by working in a world of men or I don't feel distanced from it. When I meet men, there's a certain degree of how similar or different are they from the men in my family. It doesn't happen consciously. It's like which type of man is this and then I know how to go from A to B.

What topics of conversation, behaviors, thoughts or feelings were forbidden expression in your family?

Well, sex was certainly not something that was talked about. I can remember my mother's way of convincing me that I wasn't going to get pregnant out of wedlock was to say that there is absolutely nothing I could do that would be more hurtful or devastating to my brothers -- this was a very interesting message -- than to get pregnant out of wedlock, because then -- I mean think about this. This was not exactly 1918 -- they would probably shoot the guy and end up in prison for life. So it probably wouldn't be a good idea to do that. It's always been one of my favorites. (Laughing)

What did you think of that when you heard it?

I thought it was pretty bizarre at the time and I even said to her, "That's bizarre and stupid. Let's talk about how it's going to affect MY life." I mean one more time it's how does it affect the men in the family. But because my mother was such a lusty little thing, I think she was terrified that as soon as I discovered sex, I was going to have 79 kids before I was

I'm assuming your father didn't mention anything about sex.

No. Absolutely not. Never. My father never talked about anything that I would call relevant. Most conversations with him were very

superficial. He literally didn't have conversations. And we still don't have conversations.

Any other topics that weren't discussed?

We avoided talking about some value issues because we'd always end up in fights. My mother was really fit-to-be-tied when Bill got so involved in some of the things he got involved with. Not so much because she thought what he was doing was wrong but because she was worried that my dad -- like when they put him in jail, the family came apart. My family really didn't converse in that way. My mother and I would talk, my brothers and I would talk, but as a family we didn't really talk to each other.

And how about feelings? Obviously anger had a big place.

Big part, yeah. That's part of the typical thing where there's a lot of affection, there's a lot of physical hugging or touching, playful hitting. But nobody talked much about their feelings. I talked to Bill about my feelings and he talked to me about his -- that was about it.

Any secrets that your family had that had to be kept away from outsiders?

My mom was very closed about the alcoholism in her family. And tried to put the lid on it when my brother became an alcoholic, a real strong message of "nobody outside this house is going to know we're fighting this battle." That was part of her pride thing as well. She was very big on "you hold your head up and you live through it but nobody else knows about it." See, that's the combination of the stoic versus the martyr. You get through whatever you have to get through, I really got that from her. I didn't realize until just recently how much of a stoic I bought into from her, but certainly (laughing) would throw myself in front of a truck if I thought I came across as a martyr.

Did you have anything about yourself you couldn't share with your parents or your brothers?

Oh, sure, there were things about, what's sex really like, what's all kind of things. As much as my brothers and I were close, I would never talk to them about boys or any of that. I don't think there was anything terribly unusual other than just pure adolescent, developmental kinds of things.

How was your health as a child?

Pretty good. I had a severe bout with scarlet fever and lost a great deal of weight when I was about six or seven and was very sickly for a few years. Other than that, I was a pretty healthy, normal kid. I did have bad eyesight. And I don't know what it was with my mother, whether there simply wasn't money to think about getting glasses, or if it was a sense of vanity that she didn't want to admit that this was going to be a daughter that had to wear glasses, or what it was. But it took me forever to convince her that I literally could not see, and that at school I couldn't see the blackboard and I couldn't pass the tests because I couldn't see. Finally, when my second grade teacher said, "She keeps getting a hundred percent on her math, but it's the problems she's making up not the problems that are on the board," I got glasses. But I think my eyesight was terrible for several years there. That was also something that contributed to my shyness. I can remember distinctly things like my mom saying, "There's so-and-so. Go over and see if they want to come over and play." And I couldn't tell from where I was standing that that was so-and-so, and I didn't want to approach someone only to find out that it wasn't who I thought it was. And so a basically shy child who can't see becomes much more locked into being shy because it's like the whole world is alien.

Did you change once you finally got glasses?

Well, I was still shy but it certainly helped eliminate all of that. And all those individual leaves on the tree were such a kick! (laughing).

Education

Did you have close friends in high school?

Yes. Very close friends. Looking back on it, that was the first point in my life where I realized how women friends have always been really important and a very special, solid part of who I am. I have very close women friends now in my life. I didn't realize that it has its roots from how you relate and who you are back when you're a kid and have girl friends and you sit and talk and all that. And I had missed that in my first few years, and so that was a really positive thing about [the move to the Detroit area]. My world opened up and I had friends. It was always the case of not being able to spend as much time as I wanted because I had all this work to do when I got home.

So you always had chores or home responsibilities?

Oh, it was sickening. I've probably been too lenient with my own kids because of that. I would get home from school at about three

o'clock and work until we had dinner, and then I would have probably a couple hours after that. Friends was something that I fit in in between all that. I can iron a man's oxford shirt in three minutes flat. I would probably iron fifty of them. My mother loved to cook. She hated doing dishes so I was always the dishwasher, which I hated doing. One thing I said, "I will have a dishwasher and I will never touch those suckers again." So I don't see my childhood as being a lot of fun. And I can remember my aunt at one point saying to my mom, "I wish to God you'd just let this kid go out and play. I think this is crazy."

So you don't remember playing much at all?

I played, but compared to the number of hours my friends got to do it versus the time I could join them, it was very different. That's why I think it was so important to me when I look back on it. It was so neat to have friends and it was so neat to play and it was so neat to go to a movie.

You must have also spent time on your homework then? To get good grades you have to spend some time.

Yeah, but as little as possible.

And you still got good grades?

I got up early to do that and it didn't take much. You just kind of look at it once.

People who have to work hard would disagree with you on that.

No, I know they would.

Can you remember any experiences of being ridiculed, teased, ignored, or rejected as a child?

I don't remember feeling like I had this horribly ridiculed or rejected kind of feelings. There were times when my brothers were merciless, but it doesn't stand out. I think that was part of the split between me being pretty shy as a kid and coming more into my own later, but still that shy kid is very much a part of what I had to deal with with myself all the time.

If I could have interviewed your mother when you were around 15, what would she have told me about you?

"Take her away. I always thought I wanted a daughter until now, and I wish somebody would get her out of here." That was the hardest time for my mother and me. She was also not well at that point. She was going through a menopausal thing where she couldn't go out of the house, she was very agoraphobic. High anxiety attacks and stuff. And so both of us were really at a strange point in our lives, and we fought a lot. I was really pushing hard against all the parts of her that I didn't want to be like, pushing for a lot of independence, and she was really trying to hold on. Part of it for me was looking around and saying, "All women can't be like this. I want a role model of a woman, for God's sake. Where is there one? There's got to be some other ways around here." We didn't like each other very much at that point.

How about your father at that same time, what would he have said about you?

I haven't a clue.

What thoughts did you have about your adult life when you were a teenager?

"Get me the hell out of this house." That I knew I always wanted to have kids, but I wanted to do it really differently and it was really important to me. I also knew that I wanted to work and I didn't really think teaching was it, but I thought, "Okay, this is the beginning point. It's a way to do this." I pictured a life of having a good, nurturing marriage where the biggest criteria was this man was never going to be violent or abusive verbally or any other way, and I married that. I also married boring, dull, no personality, but by God he was never abusive or violent. My image was the all-American dream of a good solid family. My images weren't "I'm going to be rich." My images were "It's going to be solid, comfortable, kind of boring basically. Kind of normal." That's about as far as I could get. My creativity was not really flowing. At one point I was playing with getting out of school and traveling for a while. And I literally didn't have the wherewithal, guts-wise or personal stability-wise, to do it, and I've always wished that I had been able to do that. Because I think that it would have made a huge difference.

Who were your high school friends?

The group that I hung around with were the people who did the newspaper and the yearbook, but also did sports and music. It was not the top two or three percent of the most popular people, but the next level of the group that worked hard and did everything and had a lot of fun doing it. Several of us were cross-overs who had good friends that were more the greaser crowd. So we weren't caught in the perfect little cheerleader type group. We kind of moved back and forth. It was definitely blue-collar, strong work ethic, pretty good kids, not any big major problems.

What are the women that you knew back there doing now? Have you kept in touch with any of them?

Very few. One of them trains in the accelerated learning area. One of them is a city planner, and one works in Chicago as a fairly high-paid executive. The group that I was closest to all went to [the same nearby college] because our parents didn't have any money. We grew apart in college but we started off together.

Did you go to your 25th high-school reunion?

Nope. Didn't go. I had no desire. I have not idea why people want to do that. It seems so bizarre to me to think about, twenty-five years ago I graduated. So what? I just don't get it. If somebody sponsored a mini Big Chill where you got the people who you were really closest with together and said, "Let's go away for a weekend and sit up all night and talk and build a fire," I would think that would be great. But to go to something where there's three hundred people and everybody walks around saying "Oh, I know you!"

Or "I don't remember you."

Right. It's the surface level of it that's not appealing. So what do they physically look like and what kind of clothes do they have on, that part is not If you could sit down and talk for hours and say "Who are you now? What have you become?" Show me pictures of your kids? Blech!

How about your orientation to school work in high school?

It was always a high priority. I did much better in anything that had to do with language arts as opposed to science. Math was not my strong suit. I did well in anything that had to do with English -- reading, writing.

What extracurricular activities did you participate in?

Sports. I played tennis, field hockey, and basketball. And I was in the choir. Couldn't sing worth a darn, still can't, but I was in the choir. Hung out. We put a quarter in the gas tank and got White Castle hamburgers and went to dances. And it was so good for me to get out from under the doom and gloom of my family. That's where I feel I really started to become more my own person too, was with peers in high school. So it was kind of fun and a little opening up of life for me. I just had a blast doing the things that we did. I loved anything to keep from going home. And as long as I could get the bus home in time to do some stuff at home, it was okay. So I just did everything there was to do.

What defined a young woman's popularity back then?

Those were still the days when popularity had to do with charm and looks and sex appeal. It comes out a little differently now, but it's the same. Maybe it's because I see my daughters handling it differently, and I'm glad to say, in some healthier ways than I think we did back then. There was still certainly all the issues around cliques that I'm certain still exist now, but very, very strong cliques. Intelligence or capability was there, but it was very subverted to all the more cutesy, flouncy parts. And I wasn't cutesy and flouncy in high school. But it wasn't a time that I think of as being devastating either. That was a very positive point in my life for me.

That you were able to be who you were that didn't fit into this mold?

Right. It wasn't real solid, I'm not trying to pretend it was. But I was so delighted to be outside of my home and family that I didn't particularly care that I wasn't the cheerleader type. I was so interested in other things and being able to have that freedom that it really was a balance for me. Some of my friends were really sort of depressed about "why does God give cheerleader legs to Susie Smith and not to me?" Popularity was really strong messages of rather superficial things.

What did education mean to your family?

Well, my mom was very big on education. She was very disappointed Dave and John didn't go to college. It was always something that that's the way you were going to make a better life for yourself, was to be educated and get a better job. My dad believed that too, but he was too caught in everything else. For the boys he believed that anyway.

Did Bill go to college?

He went to undergraduate school and then he got his divinity degree. He was a Methodist minister quickly becoming a Unitarian minister when he died. He was bound and determined that I was going to have that opportunity, although my father was adamant that in fact there was no way I was going to go to college, and what a stupid waste that would be. And so it was my brother that fought some very, very bloody battles with my father. And the end run was my dad said, "You can go if you can figure out how to pay for it. I'm not going to pay for it." Which was fine. I mean I literally worked thirty to thirty-five hours a week and carried a full load of classes, but I went, and so the important thing was I got there.

How did you decide on [the college you went to]?

It was, if I could go, that's where I'd go.

So you didn't consider anyplace else?

No.

Your college friends were the same people that you had in high school?

Initially they were. I didn't make a lot of really close college friends. I think part of that was you go to class, you go to work. I had a couple of different jobs. My favorite one I worked as a bookkeeper -- This was great. Math's my favorite thing, right? -- for a man who owned a string of little women's clothing stores. And I had to walk down [a dangerous street] several blocks to get to this little place that was down the stairs. It was really horrible. If I think about it now, I think, "God, stupid." But I had to walk through the red light district and so that was also an interesting educational process. My eyes were -- I was this little naive kid from southern Illinois. That was a real rude awakening. The man I worked for was having an affair with the woman who was his buyer. And so I learned very early that I couldn't just go tippie-toeing in there in my little tennis shoes that didn't make any noise because this was also a great sex education right there in front of me. So on the way to and from my work and to my classes I had a lot of opportunity for new and wonderful experiences. I also worked for the university doing things like registration. But I could piece together enough hours to pay the tuition and books and bus fare.

Did you still have the same home responsibilities?

No. There was just absolutely no way. I sort of came home and fell in bed and feel asleep and got up and started the next day. I really wasn't there. Except that it was still like I felt trapped in my image of that little room. Weekends I was still there.

So living in the dorm was not an option?

I don't even think they had dorms at [my college]. But it would not have been an option if they did.

What was your major?

The first couple years I just took all the general stuff that everybody takes. And then I majored in elementary education, which I never had to worry about because literally it was just too easy. There were a couple of classes that were a challenge that were creative and thought-provoking, but it was ridiculous. It really was. When I think about how important a job that is and, at that point in time, how off the mark we were in how we were training people for such an important job. I've always thought teaching was one of THE most important positions and careers, and yet how undervalued it is. Undervalued and misunderstood.

Were there any courses that you didn't like?

There were a couple science courses I didn't like. I started to take Russian and dropped that. I loved some of the history classes. I had a couple of professors who were just outstanding in things like Greek and Roman history, and for awhile there I thought about doing something really exotic like becoming a history teacher in college. But then once I would face up to what that took, I realized I couldn't deal with it. It was like "Maybe later in my life. But not now. Right now we're going to march to this really carefully constructed plan and we're going to get through it and then we'll figure that out later. We're going to get out of the house is what we're going to do."

What was your social life like in college?

It's sort of a blur to me because I think I was tired all the time. There were many times that it was really good because either the people I worked with I had fun with or I had some classes that were just outstanding that really challenged me. To this day when I think about the specific people or professors who really could spark that kind of excitement, that's what it's all about. That was just

wonderful, to get totally lost and absorbed in some of that. I don't see the college years as being negative, I just frankly don't remember a lot because I think I was tired a lot, getting through that.

I dated a few different people. Let's put it this way -- I said, "Well, mother's theories on sex we're not going to buy into so we're just going to figure this out as we go along. And we're certainly not going to worry about what's going to happen, if our brothers are going to die if we get pregnant, although we didn't want to get pregnant." Frank and I had started dating the last six months of high school. And then we dated off and on in college. We both dated other people but we also dated each other in college and then toward the end of college got very serious and got married right out of college. At that point he was going to be a dentist, and so the plan was that I was going to teach and we'd live on what I made. His parents were going to pay for most of his dental school. When we first got married, we lived in an incredibly tiny mobile home in a Detroit suburb. And then we moved into an upper flat in Detroit. I loved being out of [my parents'] house. I don't know that I had really high expectations about marriage other than what it wasn't going to be. In all honesty, I hadn't thought about what it could be. Then Frank decided he wanted to get a masters in biology. Basically I worked and put him through his masters degree because his parents withdrew the support. "If you're not going to be a dentist, to hell with you. We've been telling you since you were ten you were going to be a dentist."

Was his father a dentist?

No. He was a cop.

Where did dentistry come from?

His mom was a nurse, and mom decided when this kid was really young that he was going to be a dentist. And mom just programmed it in, and the best thing that he ever did in his whole life was to say to his mom, "I'm not going to be a dentist."

I was married for twelve years. I got married in 1965 and taught fifth grade, loved it, taught for a couple of years and then had my first daughter in 1967. Then stayed home. My older daughter was born in 1969. My husband taught biology at [a community college]. When my younger daughter was about four, I got my master's degree in counseling and higher education. And then when she was in first grade, I separated from my husband. I knew when I went back to get my master's degree that I was doing it to position myself to get out.

We were too young when we got married. Both of us were marrying for what we were moving away from rather than what we were moving toward. If you compare it to other divorces, it was pretty amiable. He didn't want it. There weren't any major battles at the time of the divorce. There were afterward because he wanted custody of our oldest daughter. And of course I didn't want him to have either one, so that all got very messy. He's basically a decent human being who has, as I think about it, more narrow interests and wants out of life. He's got a short list of "wannas." And we were more compatible almost as brother and sister than we were as a man-wife, lover relationship. There was just a sense of we were helping each other grow up. He's a good person. We should have been friends but never gotten married.

How about child support and alimony?

There wasn't any alimony. There was minimal child support. You know how it is, the party who wants out pays. This is sort of a statement about who I am, I was not out to get anything other than what I felt was mine, which was fifty percent of the equity in our house and some level of child support for the kids and some commitment that he'd help with their college education. That was it. Didn't want his pension, didn't want his book royalties, didn't want anything more than fifty percent.

Has he kept in contact with the girls?

They have a very close relationship with him. He did not, with my younger daughter, for years. But when she turned eighteen, she started making an effort to really reach out to him. I think she finally just got awfully ticked off, that she wanted a father too and what is this. And luckily, he really did respond very positively. So they've been building a relationship for the last four years. And oddly enough, my older daughter has been finding a balance of who dad really is. And that, gee, after all he's really human too. So with her it swung to seeing dad as a real person, and with her sister to discovering who he was, period. The one thing I feel good about is that at this point in their lives they have two parents who really care about them and who are there for them.

He's divorced for the second time. He adopted two children in the second marriage, but then after that broke up, his ex-wife moved to Florida with the kids and he doesn't have any contact with them except for child support. They're maybe sixteen and eighteen now.

Were you ever discriminated against in either high school or college?

I think all young women were discriminated against in high school and college. Me personally, singled out, no. Did I feel that in somewhat more direct ways? Yes, but nothing I feel I could carry a banner around. But boy, when I think back to some of the things in terms of just all young women . . .

What for instance?

Whether it was basic things like the fact that we had no equipment for any of the women's sports teams or whether it was the fact that they had a lot of counseling for young men applying for scholarships, but no one ever would work with me on that. But see, I'd been brought up in a family where women don't count. So I didn't think a lot about it.

Was there anything in your education courses that would give you any indication that girls and boys are treated differently in school?

Only that that was the time that there was a real shortage of teachers, so you had your choice of where you wanted to teach, and if you went through the program with any decent kind of gradepoint, you had your choice. But they also paid more for men, quite a bit more. It didn't matter if you walked in there and said, "Look, I've carried a four point and da, da da, da da, and I've substituted in the Detroit school system on my own for blah, blah, blah," and this idiot walks in with no comparison and they pay him two or three thousand dollars more because he's a male. I resented that a lot.

What did you do about it?

Well, at the time it didn't dawn on me there was anything I could do. That was the way the world was. The women faculty would sit at lunch and crab about it and say it wasn't fair, but that was about it at that point in time. I really didn't get involved actively in women's right issues until I was older, and angrier. It took something more like the abortion issue to get me angry enough to get involved. I started looking at the whole picture, and stopped swallowing everything as little pabulum that "this was the way it was" was the answer that we all had to live with.

Were you involved with politics in high school or college in any way?

I was somewhat in high school, but we were just sort of mindless. If there was anything you were involved with, it was really basic. They certainly weren't women's rights issues. I was active in some

of the civil rights groups in college. My family were all Democrats, so that wasn't an issue. But my family was "Keep it quiet. Don't rock the boat." It was one thing to see my brother get involved in some groups that were politically active, whether that was doing mundane things like stuffing envelopes or getting involved in some marches or whatever. That was at least more palatable to them than having a female do that. So it all goes directly back to the Italian-male-patriarchal-what-are-women's-roles kind of thing. Although they hassled me about it, they never flat-out tried to say, "You will not do it." But there was the strings of still living at home. It was all I could do to stay in school. So I had a lot of resentment at that time that they were still trying to interfere with my life in ways that really were not appropriate anymore, and feeling like I was still being treated like I was fourteen instead of a big nineteen or twenty.

I'm less involved now, though several years ago I was very involved in abortion rights. And when [my kids were young] there was a small group of women which was a spin-out from the League of Women Voters. We did a lot of work to try to encourage people to contact their legislators on a lot of issues. But the abortion rights campaign was something I put enormous hours in, and I am constantly aggravated that we have to keep fighting this battle. What hurts me now is to see how far we're sliding backward, and how much younger women take for granted. And damn it, it's not a given. And it wasn't a given and a lot of people worked damn hard to get some of this in place. I look at my own daughters and I say, "Don't get passive. Don't get passive. Get your butts out there."

What are their attitudes?

They both have different commitment levels. My younger daughter's very involved in things like Planned Parenthood and the AIDS project. The older one isn't involved specifically in an organized group but very much cares about things. When she was in college she did a lot. She was pretty active in some of the student groups that were politically active.

Work

How did your thinking about possible careers evolve?

After staying home with my children for a few years, I knew I didn't want to teach elementary kids. As much as I had loved it, I really needed something in the world of adults. I was craving adult contact, adult thinking. So I did some volunteer work. I started an alternative school in the traditional school [where we lived] with four other women whose kids went to the school. We said, "This is the kind of education we want them to get," and [the school district] said "We don't have that," and we said "Fine, we'll create it." In

the process of doing that, I worked with a university professor who was the first person that clued me into other possible ways you can take either the education you have or do some other things and start playing it out differently. That got me really thinking. That's when I decided to get a masters in counseling and higher education. I worked hard in the program because I wanted to learn as much as I could beyond even how they structured the program. I really feel like I got the most out of that program that anybody could get out of it. But it still was very limited. And it's not a very clinical approach to say the least. But I made the most out of what was there so I felt okay about that.

Afterwards, I got a job [at the same community college where my ex-husband taught]. It was a grant to begin a human resource development center for non-traditional students, functionally split between designing and developing programs for non-traditional students and a consulting arm to provide training and development to local area businesses. We had a co-directorship. I was originally in charge of the program for non-traditional students and another woman was in charge of the OD [organizational development] piece. Over the years we mentored each other because we were both really interested in the OD stuff. I said, "What am I doing over here? I want to be over there."

Then when I moved to [another city], I had a couple of temporary kinds of things that I did to get to know the area and network. I was in a consulting business from 1981 to 1985 with two other women. We did management consulting and also had a large contract from the state Domestic Violence Board, who hired us to provide technical assistance and to monitor all the domestic violence programs in the state. Then seven years ago, I started working for the bank.

What is it like to be a female manager in your organization?

It's evolving so that it's a bit easier because there are more women right now on the senior management team than there ever have been. What [is interesting] is how many women who are in executive positions turn to operating out of a male style and how many of them try to find how it is to function as a woman in that role. It's very different. I think that's one of the places where our bonds as women have broken up. What I see in this environment is that it's taboo for us women who are in these high positions to sit down over a cup of coffee and talk about what it's like for us, or to have a sense of trust. It's almost as if we're competing as much with each other as we are with the men. It's particularly clear with one person in the company. Our styles are extraordinarily different. And so in one sense the old 60's and 70's part of me says, "Well now, isn't this a shame." Not that we were going to forever sit in a per-

sonal growth group and raise our consciousness, but this is rather alien as well. For the most part, it's still an Old Boys' network. It is chauvinistic, although most of it is somewhat subtle. Most of the men have learned not to wear it and throw it around blatantly, although a few of them still do. What I find is that women don't necessarily call them on it. If you're going to have to pick your battles, there's all the battles of the content of your work and the politics of your work and then there are the issues, and whether some of those are women's issues, which of the battles are you going to fight. Even if it's a really insensitive comment such as "Well, we should probably bring the other girls in," women tend to sit there just as well as the other men and not say, "The who? Bring the who in?" I'm bright enough to know that you have to choose which areas you're really going to try to make some change in, and whether you do it directly or indirectly. But one of the catches is, how much of that is simply avoiding or buying in and becoming part of the problem because you're losing an edge on that? That you and I as well as other women are trying to convince ourselves it's not quite as important as whether we win this political chip or this particular battle for our departments? I don't see quite as clearly the [glass] ceiling effect for women. I think that's a little bit better, but I still think it's there. I still think for the most part women, particularly in soft areas like human resources or organizational development, are not paid as well as their counterparts. It's still an indication that that part is not as significant to the bottom line of the company, and they still see you as the fluff and not as a competent business person. So the biggest challenge is always to make sure you're presenting ideas in a very strong business framework, or you're going to get absolutely nowhere in terms of being heard or being responded to. I'll give you an example. Recently we hired a woman with a strong background in finance. And she hired in at the same level as me, as a senior vice-president. I was extraordinarily happy to see that because here was another woman senior vice-president who was coming in with the hard skills, the things that we want to see in the business. Now I don't know this as a fact, but I'm quite convinced that they also hired her in at a salary that's far above what the other two of us make. And part of that is the marketplace and the skills. I'm not so naive not to realize that. But part of it also is a statement of how valuable those particular skills are as opposed to things like organizational change and employees.

So my experience is mixed. I still feel in many respects that when I sit in a meeting and vie for decisions, my voice is as important as anyone else's around the table. I feel that's a compliment to my specific contribution to this company, that I have a great deal of *credibility and respect in the company*. But there are barriers and limitations. Whether it's that I'm not out on the golf course [like the men] or whether it's my field, in terms of what I represent, there are definitely barriers. And some of those barriers are because I'm

a woman. Because the chauvinistic piece is a little bit more underground, it's often very difficult to be clear when that is in operation and when it is not. I'm not the type of woman who runs around trying to hold that flag up and saying "Well, that's the reason why XYZ went the way it did," because I think that's pretty self-defeating. So my experience is overall positive, but there are some things that are unsettling and troublesome to me. Women are still grappling because we don't have a lot of role models at this level, and we don't seem to want to use each other as resources.

I think overall both myself and my department are very credible. I have very strong, competent, good people who work for me. I think they see us as being too much the voice for the oppressed employee or of potentially trying always to view the customers' side as always right as opposed to, we can't give the bank away. And so there is a factor that plays into that that is kind of "Oh, we always know Kim's going to be the one who will bring that point to the table." And when I had my performance evaluation recently, I talked about that with my superior, and he said that he wants to see me putting forth a very strong business image as well as the whole other side of what I represent. And I said, "Frankly, Dick, so do I. But often at these meetings I sit back and I say 'Ok, I'm going to sit back and wait and see who else will bring this perspective to the table because it's part of this. I keep hoping someone else will so I can stay more with this is how it might impact the bottom line or this is what we need to look at in terms of some of the more critical business issues. But when no one else does that, I can't sit back and pretend that that perspective doesn't exist.'" And I said "So frankly what I would like to see is you encouraging some of the other people to pick up that banner a little bit, and then it's much easier for me to play a balanced role." And so I have some resentment about that. I don't want to be viewed as the person who always has the fluff or the human relations shuffle that they're going to throw in as a critical factor.

Who's been a model or a mentor for you as a manager?

No one [at the bank]. There have been two women, both of whom had very different types of skills than I have, that I learned a great deal from. Both had the ability to sit back and analyze the situation from the point of view of the person in power that you needed to influence. And so I learned some real skills, not so much in just what I would call sales skills, how to present your ideas so that you can end up victorious in your little battle, but more subtle things. And I learned a lot about politics, both internal and external, from these women. And I learned subtlety and that it is not always virtuous to be honest and put all your cards on the table. As a younger woman in business, I felt you're honest and you put your

cards on the table. Which is a long way from saying that the way I operate is from a point of dishonesty. It's a little more sophisticated. It's a little more of a negotiation.

What do you enjoy the least about your job?

I am a person who loves conceptualizing much more than doing all the detail follow-through work. And there's a line at which you just can't delegate all of that. Darn. (laughing) Some of the petty personnel problems annoy me. Probably if I look at the bigger picture of the job, constantly feeling as though we have to convince others in the bank that what we're doing is important. The educational sales process is constant.

What do you like the most about your job?

The fact that it's always changing and new. I also love having a lot of autonomy. If I were to change, it would either be to go back outside to work with a small group of people or have a job internally where I still had a lot of autonomy, because I really treasure that a lot.

How do you know when you're being an effective manager?

I would say first and foremost when the person I report to and my colleagues support what we're trying to accomplish in the department, and when there's a good working relationship between myself and my colleagues and my boss. When you can see something happen that is what you had in mind, when you can see concrete things happen because of that. When, on a personal basis, people will bother to get back to me and say, "That was really important, and we really appreciate all the efforts that went into that." It feels a little bit like we're the Don Quixotes of the bank. But that's part of what I like about it. And it's also part of what drives me crazy about it. We're chasing windmills, and sometimes it works and sometimes it doesn't.

How you know when you're not being effective?

People don't reach out and ask us to participate or be a resource to them. I'm thinking more now on a lateral level. That somehow in a sense we get shut out where we really should be a part of something. They don't ask us, whether it's a meeting or a project or whatever. And then I know that something's really amiss, that something's really gone awry. So there's some very big signals. My relationship

with my colleagues in many respects is just as important and sometimes more important because that's where the real work gets done and the real results happen. And so my barometer is always what's happening in my relationships with my colleagues.

Have you ever been discriminated against in any position you've held?

Oh sure, in lots of small ways. I think the pay structure is unfair and it can't be passed off as people in these particular areas or these fields don't get paid as high as some other fields. I think there are minor ways throughout the year that I'm discriminated against. They're subtle, they're there. Some of them really get my blood-pressure moving and others I simply don't care enough about them.

Have you ever confronted anybody in a specific situation?

Sure. The times that I do are times when I feel the impact is either going to directly affect my department or my ability to accomplish what I'm here to do. And there's a few occasions where it's just a personal issue, and I feel I can't let this one go by. I don't want to get into specifics of those because then I feel like I'm bringing the bank into it in a way that I'm not comfortable with. But I do let them go by, and I also address them when I just feel I can't live with myself and I'm not going to sleep unless I do this. Overall, I think I've grown up and learned some better ways of handling it so that it is a direct, clear message of what I'm saying but is not a hostile attack. I feel like I do that better than I've ever done it before. But I feel, in terms of personal integrity, that women can't just sit back and watch [these situations] go by and say, "Well, I might be jeopardizing my career." There's a lot of young women coming up behind us too, and there are some things that not only for ourselves but for them I think we have to do.

General

How's your health been as an adult?

Mostly fine. Like most people, when I'm under a lot of stress it comes out physically. It tends to come out in headaches with me. But overall I'm in very good health and I really value that a lot and want to keep it that way. I exercise. For a period of time I was walking three miles at least four or five days a week. I've backed off of that. I hate winter. But I still try to do some exercises and try to get out and walk even if it's not three miles. In the summer I play tennis.

How do you handle stress?

I internalize it mostly. I have said to people, "You will only see my Italian temper very rarely. You won't want to when you do see it." When things upset me, usually I just simply pull back and try to figure out how I'm going to handle it, what's the best move. My staff will say that they've seen me at a certain level of stress, which is to say I'm a little frantic. But I don't know that they would ever say they've seen me totally stressed out. I would say I could count on both hands the number of times where I've really let my bad temper loose, which is not healthy from a standpoint of what you do inside. So it's really important to me to get to do things like walk to get some of that out. But in terms of the work world, I sit down and first of all agonize over what did I do, how would I have done this differently or what can I do or how bad is it. But that doesn't ease the emotional tension. That's the piece I find the hardest to figure a way to cope with. I can get into planning and plan myself right out of a corner, but it's what happens internally. I've had a few anxiety attacks as an adult person. And I think that as I enter my pre-menopausal years, that's one piece that concerns me. I've had a few discussions with women who are my age who say, "Isn't it interesting that women aren't talking much about this with each other." There's very little discussion and there's not all that much that's written about menopause and women who have professional positions. I just touched on this briefly with a woman who's going through early menopause who's considerably younger than I am and how terrified she was of having hot flashes during presentations, being at board meetings, doing this or that and all of a sudden having anxiety attacks, which is totally alien to seeing yourself as a competent, fairly well put-together person. All women have had to learn a real strong act-as-if stance. Well, one thing about menopause and about body issues is that sometimes you can't act-as-if. And then what the hell are we going to do if it comes to that? So I will tell you that I have some level of anxiety around how will this really be for me, and some concern that it might have more of an impact than I think it will, and yet I'm not going to worry myself into the ground about it because it's not present. I hate to think that here's one more pioneering step women my age may have to take.

Have you ever been in psychotherapy or counseling?

Sure. Off and on. Periodically something will come up in my life that's just major stress and that's what I believe therapy's there for. It's all been short-term. I'm very suspicious where people are twelve years ongoing in some type of therapy. I want to know, other than the fact that the therapist's getting rich off of this, what is going on for the client? I have a couple of friends who've been in therapy forever. And they always keep talking about how they're

continuing to grow and change, and to me they're exactly where they were twelve years ago.

How are your views about raising children the same or different from the way your parents raised you?

I believe my parents were well-intended. They did not have easy lives. I know they loved us. But to me your biggest job as a parent is to build a sense of self-confidence, independence, and self-esteem in a child, independence being very important in there. What I've seen in my friends is, they worked real hard at building self-esteem and they have these kids who think they're quite wonderful, but they're extraordinarily dependent, more the spoiled brat kind of thing. The real basic human needs of being nurtured my parents tried to give us. It was very inconsistent, my mother much more so than my father. So my view is very different from theirs. I don't think I raised my children from the standpoint of what I wanted them to end up being. What I gave them was a lot of what I felt I didn't get, and that's what most of us have done. And they'll probably raise their children with what they feel like they didn't get, which is a stable family relationship. What is going to be interesting to watch is will that generation stay in marriages that are unhealthy because they in fact don't want to split the family up. I'm really curious to see what happens there. My kids have both been in and out of relationships, but they view when they get married that somehow this is all going to be different. There's a little bit of naivete around that.

Do you have a man currently in your life?

(Long pause) Uh-huh.

That you've known for how long?

About six months, so it's still in the very early stages of who-are-you and what scars and baggage are you carrying around. That's why I hesitate to even say yes. But six months is still six months.

Have there been other men in your life? You've been divorced for quite some time.

I had a very significant [long-distance] relationship for almost a seven years with someone. He had a type of work where we had a living-together relationship off and on for periods of time there as well. The first couple of years of that was like this grand wonderful affair because when you were together, it was great. And you never had to get to the part where you said, "If you don't put the toilet seat

down, I'm going to kill you." So that was really romantic and wonderful and adventuresome. And yet I think both of us knew that there were places that we were different enough that there would have to be some major compromises. And the thing that I liked best about it is for the whole first huge part of it, we enjoyed what was really good and positive and neither of us pushed to have the relationship move into where it becomes more detrimental or there would have to be a line drawn or decisions made, but we just simply enjoyed what we shared and that was very positive.

Why did it break up?

As I think all relations do, sooner or later, you either move forward or you move away. Part of what I wanted was, at some point in my life, to have a permanent relationship, permanent meaning not necessarily marriage but an ongoing intimate relationship. And it took us about as long to break up as it did to get together because for many reasons that were all mostly positive we both didn't really quite want to let go. And I still feel very warmly toward this person but also know that it really wouldn't have worked. So it was very amiable. We still write each other occasionally and talk on the phone maybe once a year.

How do you think your sense of independence developed?

Oh boy, tough question. What comes to mind is a couple of things. One was a movement against my family, and a real clear sense of what I don't want to be rather than as much clarity about what I do want to be. And coping skills from the time that I was very young that were simply a sense of "be tough and guts it out." And I would say that what has carried me through some really tough situations in my life has been, "you can get through this, you're capable of getting through this and you'll come out the other side." So there's a real strong, tough broad underneath this amiable, nice person.

What doubts have you had about any of the endeavors you've undertaken in your life? And how do you move beyond doubts?

I'm going to answer that in two ways -- one on a personal level and one on a professional level. I've had conflicts with what's the line between being healthy and caring for yourself and valuing yourself as a human being and where does selfishness and narcissism come into play? Things like the divorce and therefore the consequences of that to my children. I could have lived with that man and wasn't going to die. On a professional level, I would say, "who really cares about change in a bank or a financial institution, and what in the hell am I doing with some of the things I know how to do when I

could be applying those to things that are more closely aligned with my value system? And isn't this all just a cosmic joke?" I can try to rationalize from the standpoint of giving pat little answers about it's really important for people in institutions like this to have women who aren't of the same cloth, because there's a different kind of impact. And I will honestly say there's been times where [others at the bank] have stopped and really thought about things for the first time from a different way, and it has made some difference. But the bottom line I say, "so what, when you could be doing some things in another environment that would have more value and meaning?"

What approach do you take to understanding the world and your place in it?

That's really the question I feel I'm struggling with right now. In more respects than not, the things I've chosen and the decisions I've made so far have been out of a sense of a reaction to something or a responsibility to someone. Many of the decisions I made over the last several years were made as a single mother who was going to make damn sure that we could eat, we had a house, they could go to college. And we're going to channel these skills, so we're not going live on \$18,000 a year. Now as my younger daughter is in her last year of college, I feel like that's probably the question I spend more time on. And I don't know that I can give you the answer to that. But it's the one that is probably creating the most sense of unrest. That and what is spirituality in my life. About this time you start to feel like you ought to be sitting in your rocking chair and become a little sage and have some wisdom. But I feel like I'm entering a chapter that is leading toward the end of the book. And so I have both the right and the freedom to start to look at making some different choices. It's exciting and also scary. My daughter getting out of school this year is probably one of the more significant milestones [in my life] because I'll tell you, the real bottom line is I do well when I have to react to something, and I do well when I have a real clear sense of responsibility because I know that there's a whole level of me that kicks in to make that happen. But in this case those same coping skills aren't what drives the decision. This is a little too loose and unstructured and has a sense of freedom to it that frankly I'm not sure about. So I'm real curious to see.

How have you thought about your deservingness in all that you've achieved and all the choices that you've made?

I have always thought life ought to be a little more consistently pleasurable than it's turned out. My image of my life has been it's been a little too much of a fight and a battle to get into. It's really fun for me, but sometimes I resent it when young people on my staff say,

"You bought a condo?" And I say, "My God, I am 48 years old! It's about damn time!" I feel as though I deserve what I have, that it's been honestly earned, it hasn't been easy, but it's not necessarily all what I would have chosen to rack up as this is what it is. I might have wanted some different things, if other things had been different.

Life is a roller coaster, a mixture that ends up feeling bittersweet. My image is that people tend to go through life in one of two ways. Either sort of on an even keel, and I've always been sort of jealous in some respects of those people -- but then I always thought they had emotional lobotomies (laughs) -- and then the vast majority of us, where it's really kind of a roller coaster, where there are just some really incredible highs, whether that's success, personal satisfaction, whatever the things are that give us real pleasure in life, and then the real pits and the real valleys where you really struggle and you really have to tap in to those inner reserves and find a hold on something that will pull you back up. My personal belief system is that I will always take the valleys in order to really experience the real highs and I would not choose to be one of the people who go thorough it on a pretty even keel. But obviously there's a price to pay for that. [As I said,] I've always thought life ought to be more pleasurable than it is. [I don't know] how much of [my orientation] I'm culpable of in terms of how I approach life or how much is just the reality of it takes a lot of hard work and it takes a fairly strong endurance level to wade through all the things that keep you from those real pleasures.

Results of Coded Meetings at EDS CFAR

Another picture of the four managers is provided by the coding data and wrapup comments from their meetings at EDS CFAR. This data provides snapshots of the managers in action, as they met with their management groups. Again, we can get a glimpse of their life orientations in the ways they interact with and talk about the people with whom they work. When who is doing the talking is considered in this instance, we need to take into account not only the multiple voices of the managers but also those of the other people in their group as well.

The biggest challenge in coding the groups in this study was the way all four managers conducted their meetings, manager's report followed by individual roundtable reports. This sequential format made it difficult to locate the 50 minutes of unstructured interaction needed for time series analysis, especially for the three groups who met for three hours or less. Another problem was one group which had several people who spoke so softly the coders had difficulty hearing them. A third constraint was the fact that although the groups were asked to provide an agenda for each meeting so coding segments could be identified beforehand, only one group did so for only one meeting. Consequently, there were several occasions when a group decided to take a break during a coding session, leaving the coders with less than 50 minutes of data. Nevertheless, sufficient data was obtained for at least two sessions for each group.

Sara Tolberg's Meetings

There were two coded sessions from Sara's three meetings at CFAR. None of the second meeting was coded because of a lengthy presentation by guests. In the data which follow, there were nine people in the first coded session and eight in the second. Dennis was replacing Stan in the group, so both appear in the first session, but only Dennis in the second. Also, as representatives from an outside group, Mary attended only the first session and Peg, only the second. Kristen was Sara's administrative assistant; everyone else was a manager.

Looking at the two frequency tables (Figs. 5.1a & b), of the 585 observations recorded in session one and 437 in session two, 42% went to

Paw Scores for Group: Tolberg 7/91							
Name:	Interaction Behaviors:						No. of Observations:
	A	T	E	R	S	C	Percent:
Bill	26	6	15	9	2	0	6.5%
Dennis	24	3	18	5	13	0	9.23%
Janice	37	17	10	16	2	0	10.6%
Kristen	75	8	11	7	5	2	16.07%
Mary	20	3	0	8	4	0	4.62%
Matt	21	2	6	7	1	0	4.79%
Ralph	7	0	5	2	1	0	2.05%
Sara	195	5	100	9	20	0	42.22%
Stan	19	3	3	7	2	0	3.93%
Percent:	55.72%	6.18%	22.08%	9.2%	6.57%	.26%	100%

Fig. 5.1a. Frequency Table for Sara's Staff - Session 1¹

Paw Scores for Group: Tolberg 9/91							
Name:	Interaction Behaviors:						No. of Observations:
	A	T	E	R	S	C	Percent:
Bill	40	2	30	6	1	0	13.5%
Dennis	51	2	13	3	5	0	12.59%
Janice	33	2	18	7	1	0	10.53%
Kristen	0	0	1	0	0	0	.23%
Matt	44	2	11	4	4	0	12.36%
Peg	1	1	0	1	0	0	.46%
Ralph	24	2	8	4	2	0	8.01%
Sara	138	4	51	3	11	0	42.33%
Percent:	62.45%	2.83%	24.91%	5.28%	4.53%	0%	100%

Fig 5.1b. Frequency Table for Sara's Staff - Session 2

¹Most of the figures depicting the coding data in this section are reduced screens from GroupAnalyzer. The others are the Group Interaction Diagrams (GID's), drawn from the time series cross-correlation matrices.

Sara.² Dennis's rose from 9% the first session to 13% the second. Matt's went from almost 5% to 12%; Bill's from 6.5% to 13.5%; and Ralph's, from 2% to 8%. Kristen dropped from 16% to less than 1%. And Janice remained the same. Mary took about 5% of the air time the first session. And Peg said virtually nothing the second session. For the behaviors from one session to the next, Assured increased and Tentative and Reserved decreased. Supportive stayed in the 5 to 7% range. And there were almost no Confrontational codes.

This profile is echoed in the average behavioral diagrams (Figs. 5.2a & b), where Sara was very Assured and located high in the Expressive and Supportive quadrant in both sessions. Her staff also held fairly consistent positions in both, although the group as a whole was less Reserved in the

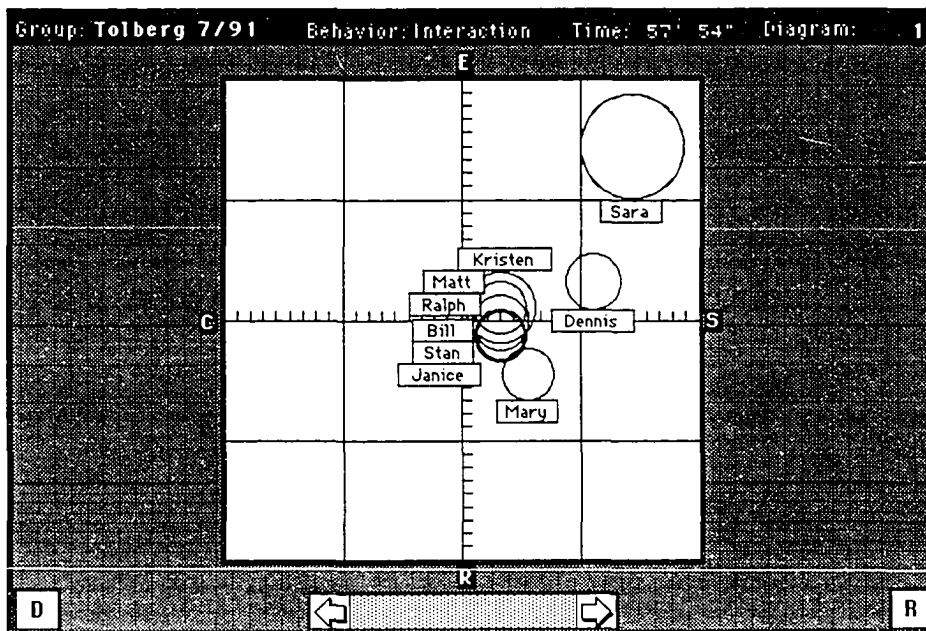


Fig. 5.2a. Average Behavioral Diagram for Sara's Staff - Session 1

²Remember that multiple codes could be given for each observation, meaning there are more total codes in a given session than there are observations. Knowing the percentage of observations gives a rough indication of the amount of speaking time taken by each person in a coded session.

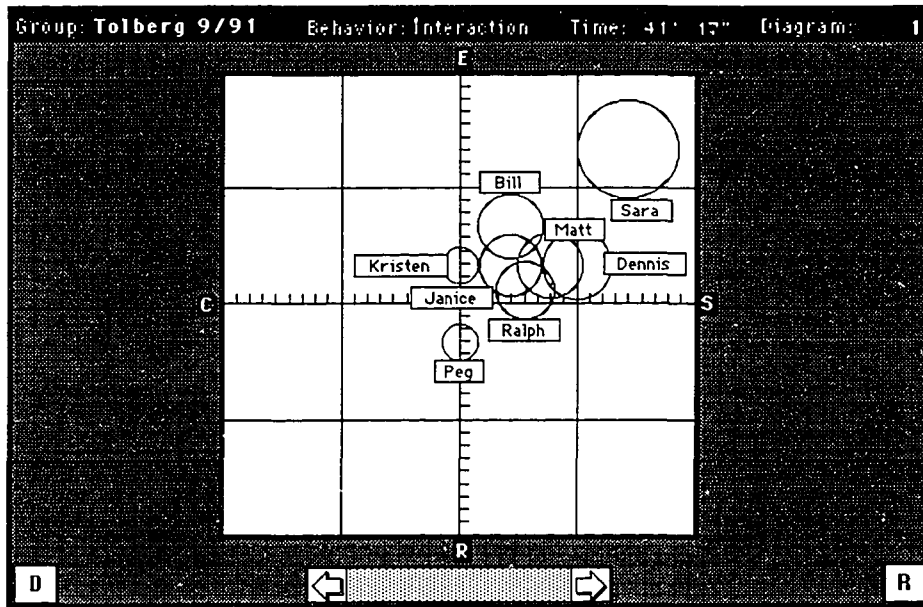


Fig. 5.2b. Average Behavioral Diagram for Sara's Staff - Session 2

second session. In the second session, most group members were more Assured than in the first, including Dennis, no longer the newcomer.

The standardized ratings of the time-series interactive sequences in the Group Eigensystems (Figs. 5.3a & b) show that Assured and Expressive were the most frequently used Elicitors and Responders for this group. In the first session, Reserved was also a frequent Responder. In neither session was Supportive or Tentative a strong Elicitor or Responder. And Confrontational showed up in no interactive sequences. The numbers in the Eliciting and Responding boxes show the relative strength of the behaviors. In this case, the interactive sequences in Sara's group were stronger in the first session than in the second.

On the Individual Eigensystems (Figs. 5.4a & b), Sara was at or near the top as both an Elicitor and Responder in both sessions. The picture for

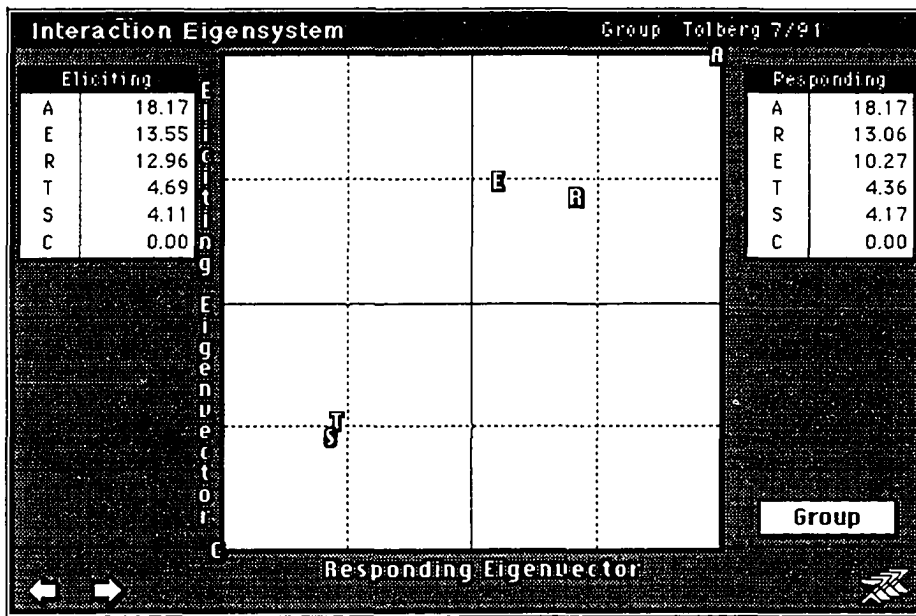


Fig. 5.3a. Group Eigensystem for Sara's Staff - Session 1

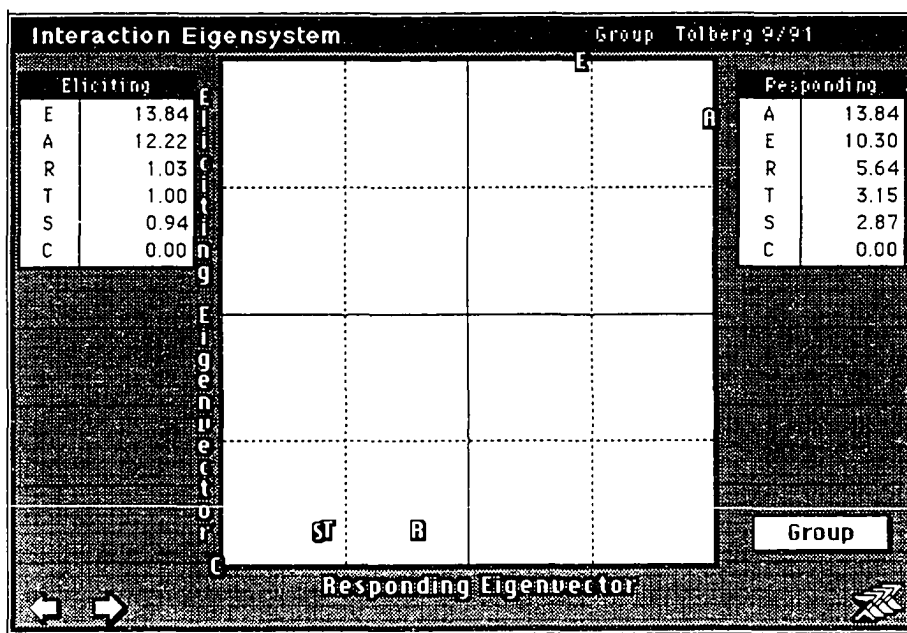


Fig. 5.3b. Group Eigensystem for Sara's Staff - Session 2

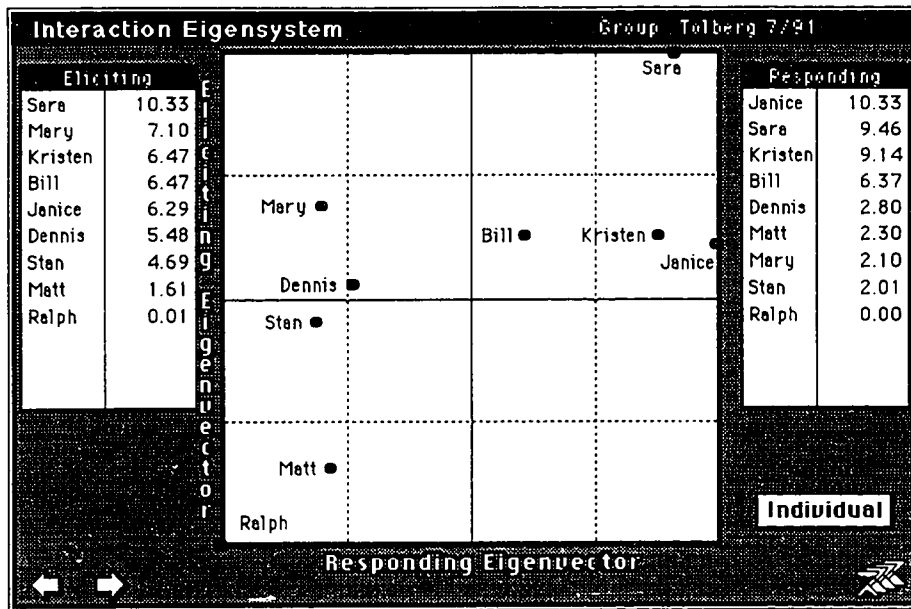


Fig. 5.4a. Individual Eigensystem for Sara's Staff - Session 1

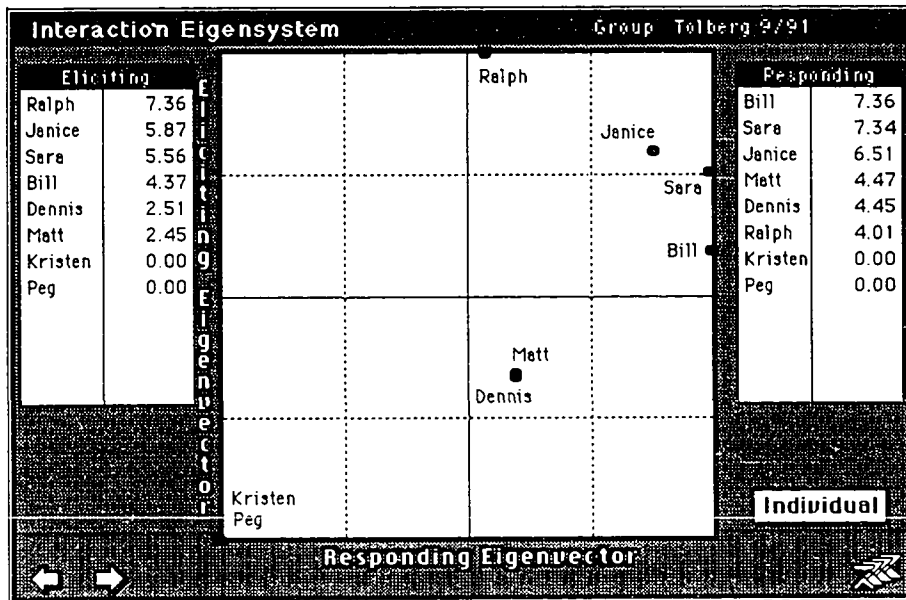


Fig. 5.4b. Individual Eigensystem for Sara's Staff - Session 2

the rest of the group is less consistent. Kristen, Sara's admin, was one of the top three Elicitors and Responders in the first session, but had no significant interactive sequences in the second session. Also in the first session, Mary, Dennis and Stan all had proportionately more Eliciting than Responding sequences, which is unusual since most Individual Eigenvectors tend to show a parallelism between Eliciting and Responding behaviors so that individuals fall along the diagonal from High Eliciting/High Responding to Low Eliciting/Low Responding. The fairly low eigenvalues indicate that overall the connections between individuals in Sara's group were relatively weak.

These findings are illustrated another way in the two GID's (Figs. 5.5a & b). There were 72 significant ($p \leq .05$) interactive sequences for this group in the first session (41 at .05, 23 at .01, and 8 at .001) and 44 in the second (27 at .05, 14 at .01, and 3 at .001). Because there were so many sequences in the first session, only those from .01 down are depicted in the first GID, while all 42 are shown in the second GID.³ In the first GID, most Eliciting and Responding occurred from Assured and Expressive, although Sara and Stan also had several connections with others from Supportive, and Mary's sequences were predominantly through Reserved. Ralph was part of no sequences at this level. And Dennis and Mary had three sequences with 0 lags, which means it is impossible to tell who was Eliciting and who was Responding. Kristen and Janice were the only ones to Elicit from Tentative. There were no patterns involving Confrontational.

³All the groups in this study had one or more GID's which could not include the .05 level. So that the groups would have this data as well, they were given lists at their wrapup sessions of the .05 sequences in the form of " Sara A - Ted E @ 2 mins" (meaning when Sara was Assured, Ted was Expressive two minutes later).

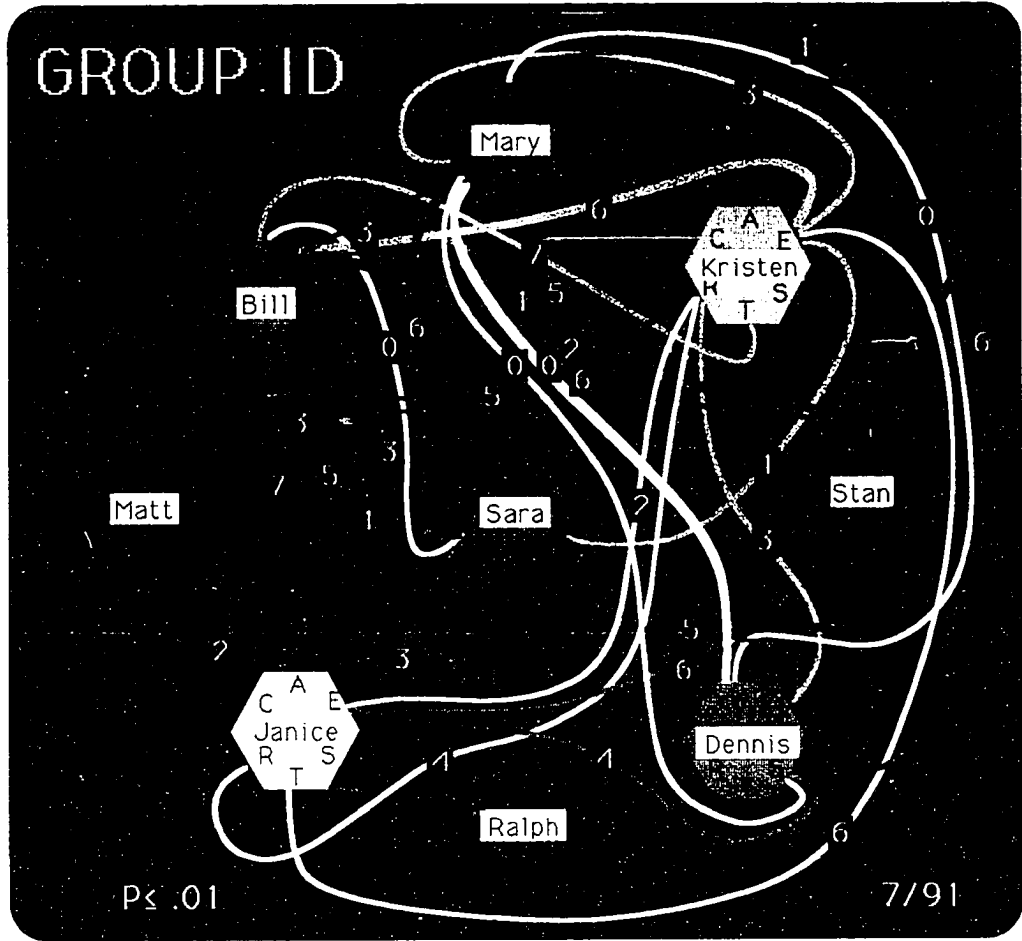


Fig. 5.5a. Group Interaction Diagram for Sara's Staff - Session 1

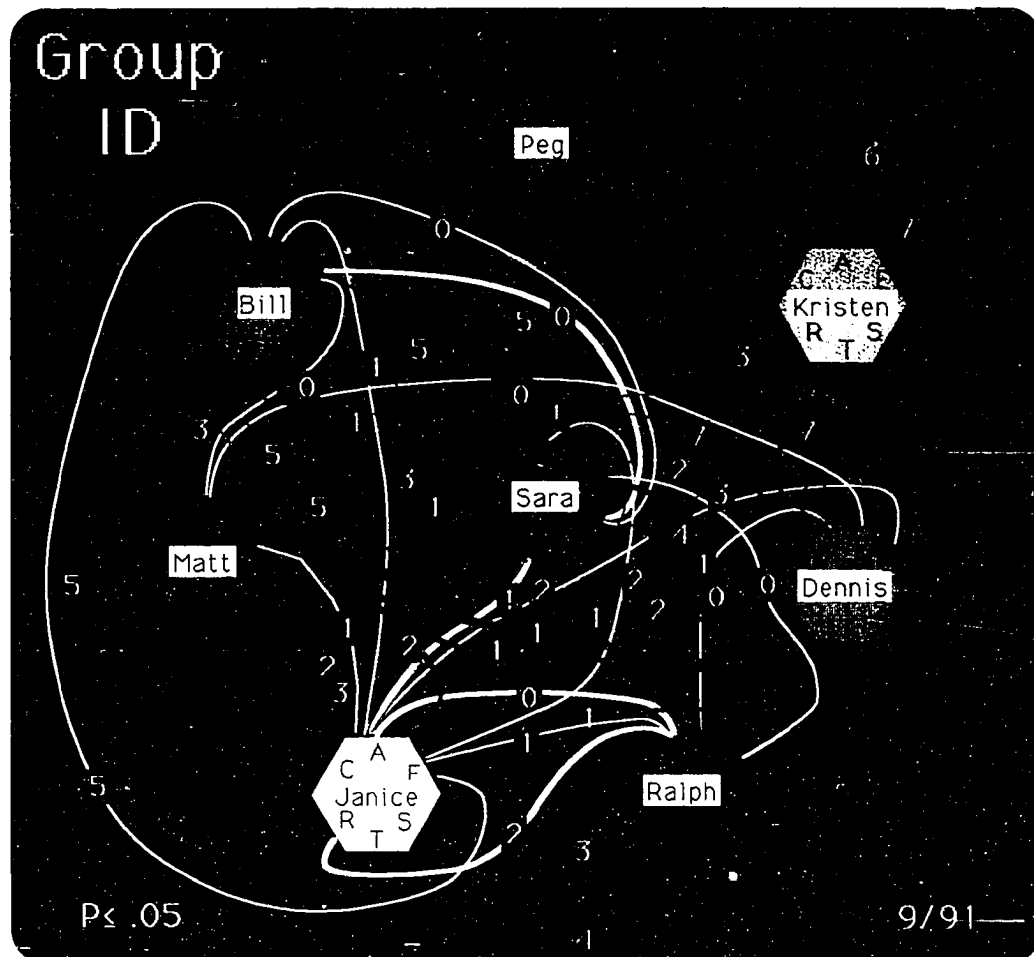


Fig. 5.5b. Group Interaction Diagram for Sara's Staff - Session 2

In the second GID, Peg and Kristen had no interactive sequences. Of the other six members, everyone was connected to at least one other person with a 0-lag sequence. As in the first GID, most activity was through Assured and Expressive. This time, only Sara Responded with Tentative. Ralph had noticeably more sequences, connecting with Janice, Matt, Bill and Sara, but not Dennis. Janice and Bill were the only ones to Elicit and Respond from Reserved. And Supportive was barely used. Although Sara and Dennis did have connections through Supportive, two of Sara's three Supportive patterns were 0 lags, and Dennis's Response was negative (i.e. the more Assured Sara was, seven minutes later the less Supportive Dennis was). In fact, in this session, there were numerous negative patterns. Again, there were no patterns with Confrontational.

To augment the coding findings, Sara provided me with her results of a questionnaire on managing that her group had taken the year before. To describe Sara, the report used words like strong-willed, forceful, determined, aggressive, competitive, decisive, venturesome, inquisitive, responsible, reflective, mobile, active, systematic, diplomatic, accurate, tactful, open-minded, and balanced judgment. Her results showed she was creative and visionary, logical, direct, a self-starter, demonstrative to others, but occasionally blunt and critical of people who did not meet her standards, unemotional, restless, and bored by small details and routines. The report suggested Sara might want to address her dislike of routine work and routine people, and her tendencies to do it herself rather than delegate and to motivate others as if they had the same strengths she had and to blame, deny and defend her position. Sara thought the report described her very well, and she added that her team as a whole found the exercise very helpful.

My intent [in having the group do the exercise] was to get to know each other and know how to talk to each other, know how to communicate, know how not to. When I first did this exercise, I was sitting in a workshop next to a woman I had worked with in the past. And there were times when she and I did not get along particularly well, and it was because of communication styles. And this exercise confirmed it, because it was hilarious. I looked at my "do" page [for people communicating with me], and it was her "don't" page. I'm a very, tell me straight to the answer. I want it organized. I want it points. Don't waste my time. She's more talk around the item, give me general, don't tell me specifics. And there was conflict. We laughed. When I gave the results back to [my group] and they started reading [their] descriptors, they said, "Oh, my God, has somebody been sitting outside of my office watching me? It's me."

When Sara's group received a wrapup on all their coding data two months after their last CFAR session, one of their biggest difficulties in trying to understand what it all meant was that they couldn't remember what they had done in the meetings, even when reminded of the topics they had discussed. This turned out to be a problem with the other groups in this study as well. Several people in Sara's group also had trouble understanding what an interactive sequence was. Some tried to tie it to how actual decisions were made during meetings, and others confused it with the frequency data.

Overall, the group thought their experience at CFAR had been interesting. Only two people had specific comments. Bill said he had expected to learn more about how he contributed to the group. And while Janice liked the categories and what they told the group about how they influenced each other, she wanted to know how to make use of the information to change her behavior. Both these criticisms of CFAR's descriptive rather than prescriptive approach to feedback had been raised by groups previous to this study.

When Sara and I met again after the wrapup, we discussed people in her group. I noted that Ralph had been very quiet in all but one of her meetings at CFAR, continually tapping his pencil on the conference table by sliding it slowly through his thumb and forefinger from tip to eraser as he watched the meeting with what seemed like detached bemusement. Sara confirmed this was typical behavior for him, the oldest member of the group. When I asked how she thought he saw her, she said,

I think [initially] Ralph's attitude was "Here comes another one. I've seen it all before." And, realistically, he has. I don't think it matters one way or the other to Ralph that as his manager, I'm a woman. It may have concerned him at first, but I think now he doesn't feel that way. Ralph recently celebrated his thirtieth anniversary with the company, and I put together a very informal after-work get-together where I invited many people that were meaningful throughout Ralph's career. And I wrote a letter that summarized his accomplishments over the thirty years. I think his opinion of me went up a couple notches, the fact that I took the effort, not knowing him for barely two years, to do this and make him look good in front of all his friends. Somebody overheard him say rather diplomatically in response to the question [Who was the best and worst manager in all those years?] , "Well, Sara is definitely the most dynamic."

I think regardless of what happens in the world around Ralph, he's going to run his organization like he wants to run his organization. He's a couple years away from retirement. He's not going to change. He's got a lot of knowledge. He's not deadwood. But he's also not progressive. So I think there's a certain amount of, she keeps pushing me to be more progressive. How long can I hide from doing something? If I go to him point blank and say, "Ralph, this needs to get fixed." He'll do it. But unless I confront him with, "you need to take care of this situation," he'll have a tendency to just kind of live and let live and let it go and roll on.

I told Sara I had also noticed during their meetings at CFAR that Matt frequently provided support for many of the ideas she presented to the group. As it turned out, she had had a long working history with Matt, and she thought he trusted her opinions and respected her leadership

ability. Surprised at my being able to pick up their professional connection, she wondered if the other staff members saw it too and if they thought she was playing favorites because she had known Matt so long.

Sara's other comments were about Bill and Janice, who she characterized as opposites. She described Bill as a visionary, uninterested in details, and Janice as very capable of executing an assigned project but unable to develop strategy effectively. Sara also noted that Janice "comes across as tentative, unsure of herself, almost apologetic when she tries to present something," which Sara attributed to Janice's having been told by someone in the past that she was too aggressive.

In retrospect, Sara said she would have organized the CFAR meetings differently so there would have been more 50-minute sessions with interaction. She was aware she took a large percentage of the group's air time. In fact, near the end of their last meeting at CFAR she asked her group how they could make their staff meetings into "more of a two-way communication and maximize the benefit of the time [they had] together." They talked about having an agenda, accurately documenting what goes on with meeting minutes, who would record, and how to include people who were there for informational purposes but could not participate much. Sara also thought the lack of Supportive behaviors was significant and showed that the group members did not reinforce one another. She wasn't sure whether not being Confrontational was good or bad.

We seem to be a fairly polite group. If anything, we're maybe too much milquetoast, maybe too comfortable with each other. I don't know if there's some things we should debate. I can't tell from the data if people are walking away from the meeting saying, "I really disagree with that. I don't know why they're doing it," and holding it in as opposed to voicing it. I'd rather people voiced it than held it in, but I can't tell whether that's happening or not.

Meg Smoczek's Meetings

Meg's group of nine was coded four times, once during each of the first two meetings and twice the last meeting, when they spent almost a full day at CFAR. This was a newly constituted group, Meg having taken over as leader only a month before coming to CFAR. Cindy was Meg's administrative assistant; everyone else was a manager. John V. was also very new to the group; the first meeting at CFAR was his first formal meeting with the group.

The four frequency tables for this group (Figs. 5.6a-d) show Meg's participation was consistent. She received from 24 to 29 percent of the total observations (650 for session one, 429 for session two, 357 for session three, and 408 for session four). This percentage falls within a range CFAR has found to be average for a group leader. Cindy, the admin, had the least number of observations. For the rest of the group, the percent of air time was also fairly consistent. In the first session, Ted and Chad each had 2% of the observations. In subsequent sessions, Ted's participation increased considerably. Chad's increased the second session, then fell off in the last two sessions. Kim had about 12% for every session except the third, when it was 7%. Helmut was one of the top participators after Meg. His percentage shot up the last session when he spent some time presenting to the group at the whiteboard. Sondra's percentage varied considerably from one session to the next. And John V. had 6% the first two sessions and 15% the third session. The last session, his low participation was because he left the meeting room half way through coding and did not return until after coding was over.

Paw Scores for Group: Smoczel 7/5/91							
Name:	Interaction Behaviors:						No. of Observations:
	A	T	E	R	S	C	Percent:
Chad	9	2	5	2	1	0	2%
Cindy	4	2	0	2	2	0	1.23%
Helmut	87	3	14	26	8	9	16.31%
JohnN	74	5	23	27	15	2	15.23%
JohnY	17	11	7	26	4	0	6.92%
Kim	40	18	18	35	4	4	12%
Meg	156	1	42	25	26	0	27.85%
Sondra	82	10	21	22	22	2	16.46%
Ted	12	0	7	3	0	0	2%
Percent:	51.33%	5.55%	14.62%	17.93%	8.75%	1.81%	100%

Fig. 5.6a. Frequency Table for Meg's Staff - Session 1

Paw Scores for Group: Smoczel 7/26/91							
Name:	Interaction Behaviors:						No. of Observations:
	A	T	E	R	S	C	Percent:
Chad	45	1	18	2	0	1	10.96%
Cindy	6	1	0	1	1	0	1.63%
Helmut	53	1	13	2	4	0	14.45%
JohnN	55	2	18	0	3	1	14.45%
JohnY	27	0	7	6	0	0	6.76%
Kim	35	4	18	7	5	1	10.96%
Meg	78	6	24	3	14	0	23.54%
Sondra	24	0	3	0	3	1	6.29%
Ted	35	0	23	1	2	0	10.96%
Percent:	64.5%	2.7%	22.34%	3.96%	5.77%	.72%	100%

Fig. 5.6b. Frequency Table for Meg's Staff - Session 2

Raw Scores for Group: Smoczel 9/91A							
Name:	Interaction Behaviors:						No. of Observations:
	A	T	E	R	S	C	Percent:
Chad	25	0	6	1	1	0	7.28%
Cindy	1	0	0	1	1	0	.28%
Helmut	46	0	14	3	3	1	14.85%
JohnN	30	0	10	0	5	0	10.36%
JohnY	37	0	4	29	4	0	13.17%
Kim	15	0	8	6	8	0	7%
Meg	71	1	32	0	19	0	26.05%
Sondra	39	0	10	4	10	1	12.89%
Ted	28	1	14	0	0	0	8.12%
Percent:	59.71%	.41%	20.04%	9%	10.43%	.41%	100%

Fig. 5.6c. Frequency Table for Meg's Staff - Session 3

Raw Scores for Group: Smoczel 9/91B							
Name:	Interaction Behaviors:						No. of Observations:
	A	T	E	R	S	C	Percent:
Chad	19	1	5	0	1	0	5.88%
Cindy	6	0	0	0	1	0	1.72%
Helmut	80	2	8	1	8	0	22.79%
JohnN	27	0	1	1	3	0	7.11%
JohnY	19	0	4	13	0	0	4.9%
Kim	39	1	11	17	2	0	11.52%
Meg	99	1	27	0	13	0	29.9%
Sondra	12	0	2	0	1	0	2.94%
Ted	44	0	21	0	2	0	13.24%
Percent:	70.12%	1.02%	16.06%	6.5%	6.3%	0%	100%

Fig. 5.6d. Frequency Table for Meg's Staff - Session 4

The frequency tables also show that the numbers of codes in each of the IT categories varied from session to session. Generally, this group was predominantly Assured and Expressive. Of note was their high percentage of Reserved codes the first session and their low percentage of Supportive codes throughout. Tentative was also used minimally. And there were some Confrontational codes the first session, most for Helmut. But this percentage dropped to zero by the last session. That Helmut was the only one who received more than a few Confrontational codes became a source of sensitivity and humor in the group after their first feedback session. Meg made sure to affirm his contributions to the group when they started their second meeting after the feedback.

On the behavioral diagrams (Figs. 5.7a-d), we can see the group as a whole was more Reserved the first coded session than in the others, a circumstance often attributable to the novelty of meeting at CFAR for the first time. Otherwise, Meg held a fairly stable spot in the Expressive/Supportive quadrant from one session to the next. She also remained very Assured. The rest of the group shifts from session to session, although no one dramatically so, except for John V. He was the most Reserved in all four sessions, especially in session three. In the second session Chad's average behavior fell into a Confrontational quadrant. However, his location was more an artifact of the difference between his one Confrontational code and the larger numbers of Supportive codes received by other members of the group, most notably Meg, than it was a reflection of his behavior during that session. Overall, each individual's level of Assuredness remained fairly constant.

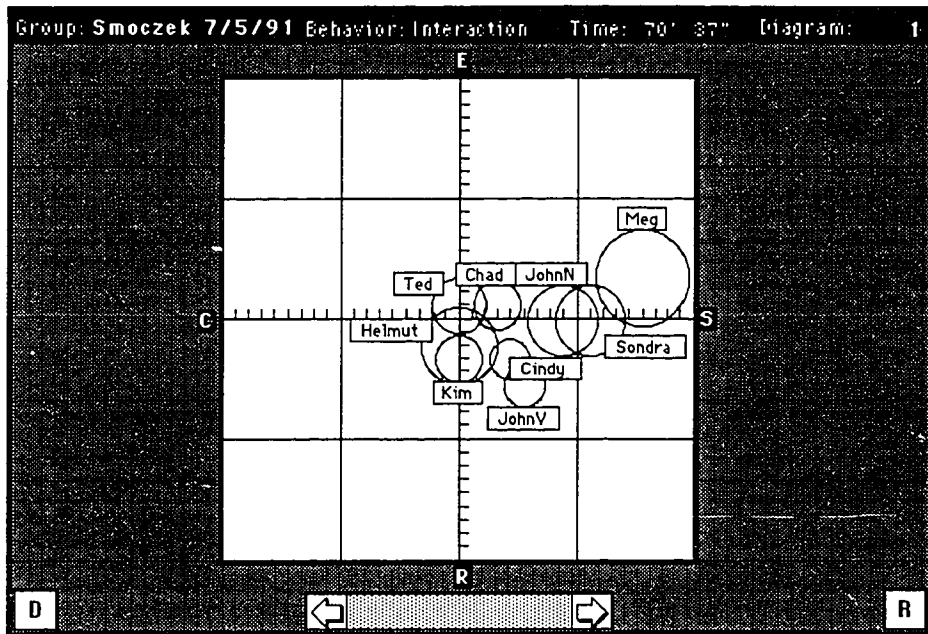


Fig. 5.7a. Average Behavioral Diagram for Meg's Staff - Session 1

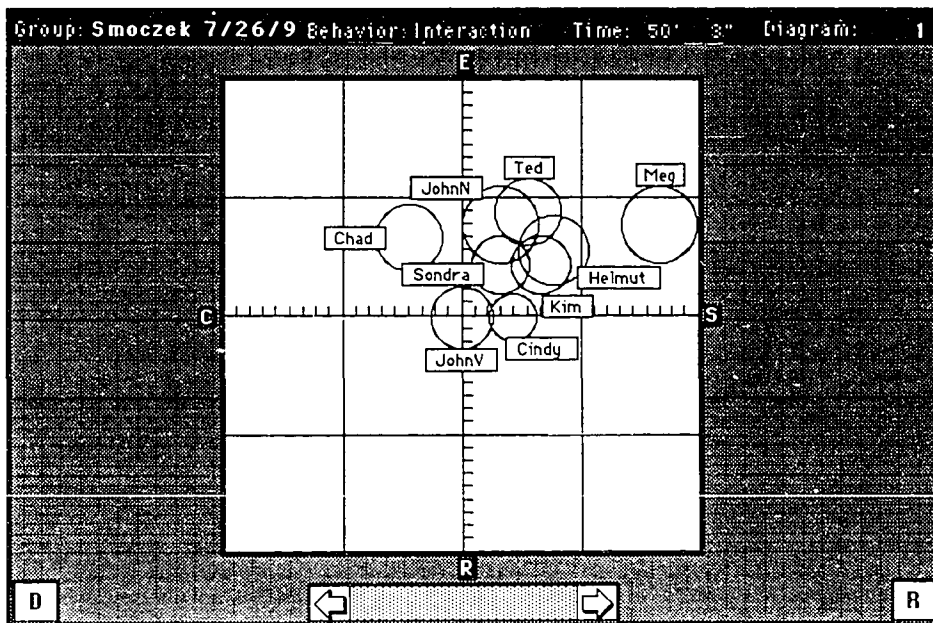


Fig. 5.7b. Average Behavioral Diagram for Meg's Staff - Session 2

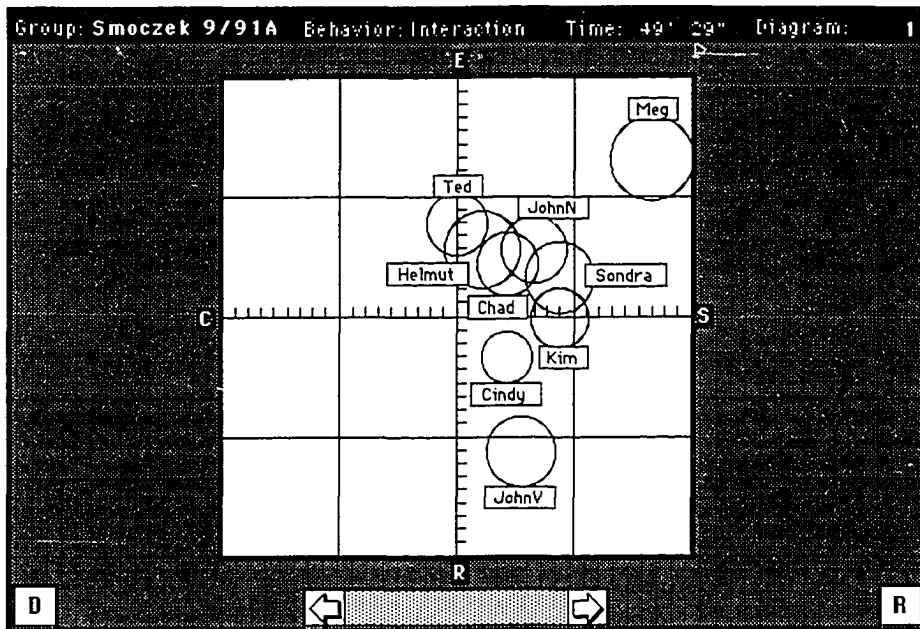


Fig. 5.7c. Average Behavioral Diagram for Meg's Staff - Session 3

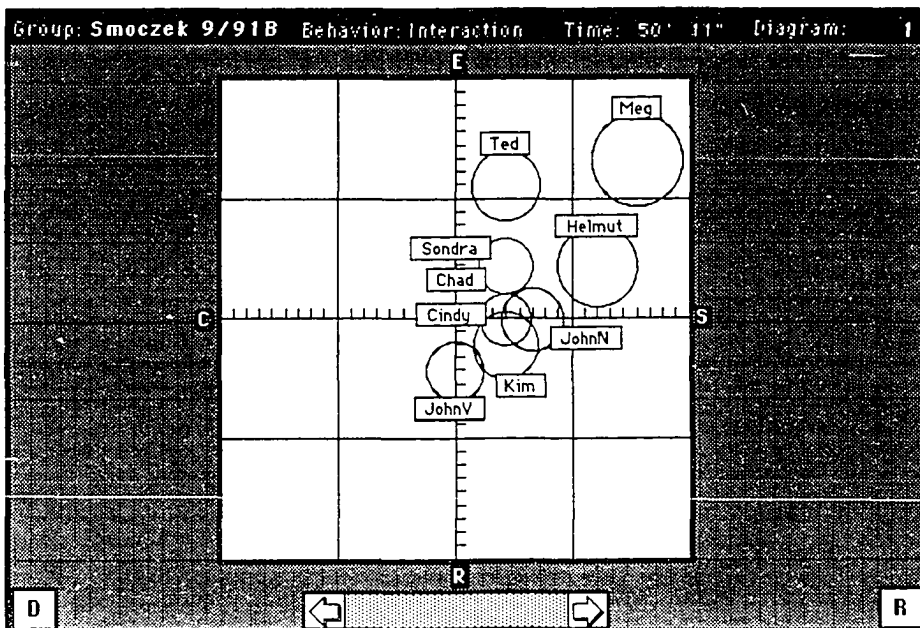


Fig. 5.7d. Average Behavioral Diagram for Meg's Staff - Session 4

Looking at the Group Eigensystems (Figs. 5.8a-d), Reserved and Assured were the highest Elicitors and Assured the highest Responder in the first session. In subsequent sessions, Reserved dropped considerably as an Elicitor and Responder, and Assured and Expressive became the highest. Tentative was a higher Responder in the first session than in the others. Despite the fact that there were 17 Confrontational codes the first session, these did not show up as preferred Elicitors or Responders for this group. Nor was Supportive a strong Elicitor or Responder.

On the Individual Eigensystems (Figs. 5.8a-d), Meg was the top Elicitor only once, the second session, and never the top Responder. In fact, in most of the sessions she fell somewhere in the middle of her group. When asked if this was evidence of her newness to the group or indicative of her leadership style, she said it was the latter, that she didn't think she knew any more than anyone else in the group. Others agreed this was her style. As for the others in her group, Chad, Cindy and Ted had no significant sequences the first session. Cindy had none in the next three either, while Ted was the second highest Elicitor the second session and the second highest Responder the third session. Chad also had some interactive sequences in subsequent sessions, although he remained for the most part in the middle of the group. Others also varied in their position as Elicitors and Responders from session to session. The last meeting, where the second two sessions were coded, the Individual Eigensystems show group members scattered on the grid, with a few of them having proportionately higher Eliciting patterns than Responding patterns. In session four, Sondra and Chad had few, if any, Responding sequences. Overall, the group's connections were fairly weak.

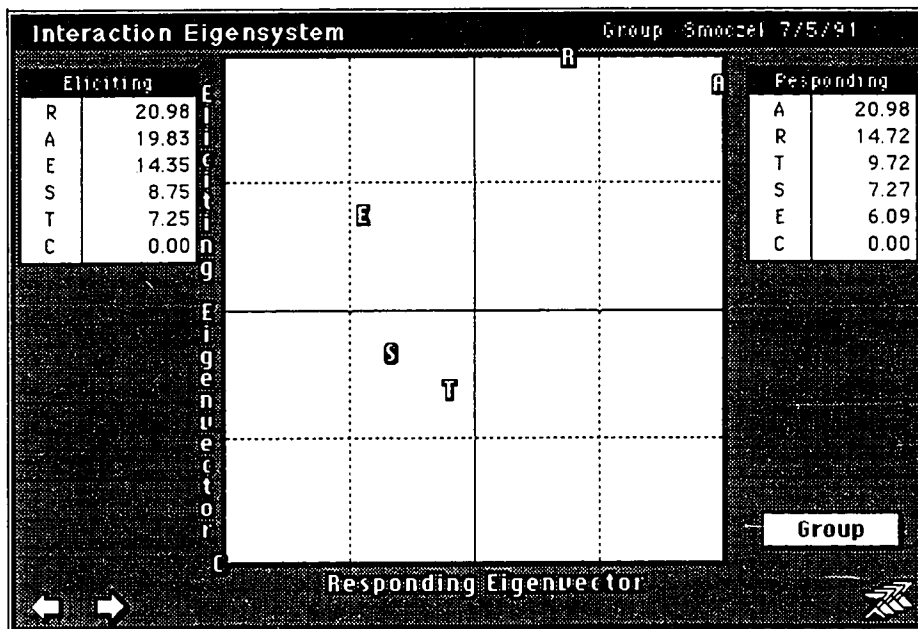


Fig. 5.8a. Group Eigensystem for Meg's Staff - Session 1

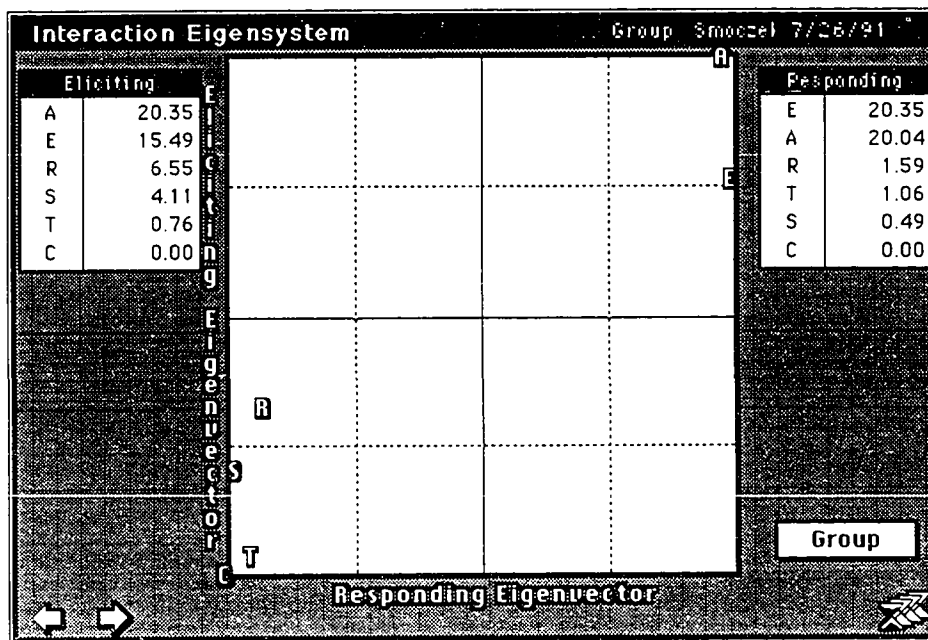


Fig. 5.8b. Group Eigensystem for Meg's Staff - Session 2

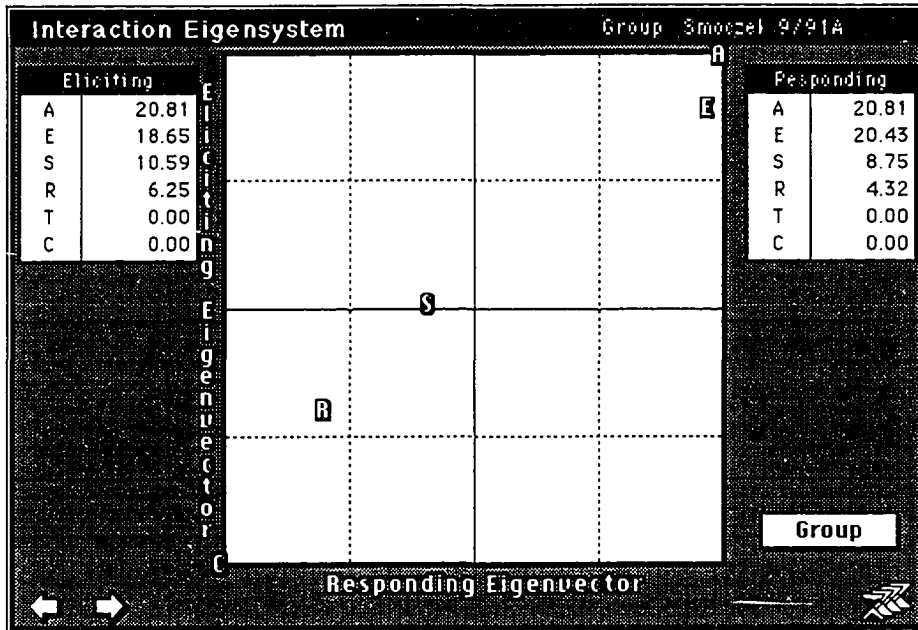


Fig. 5.8c. Group Eigensystem for Meg's Staff - Session 3

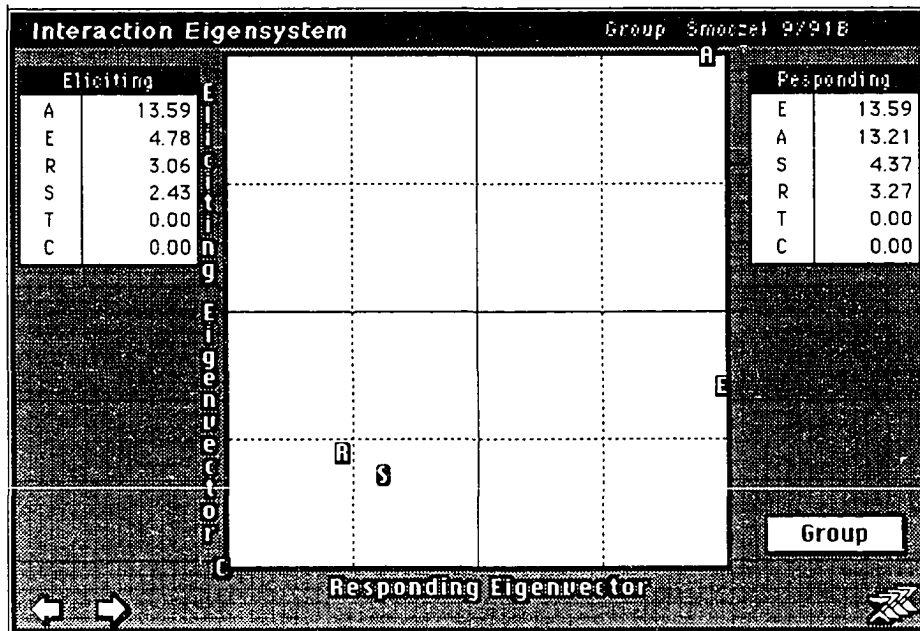


Fig. 5.8d. Group Eigensystem for Meg's Staff - Session 4

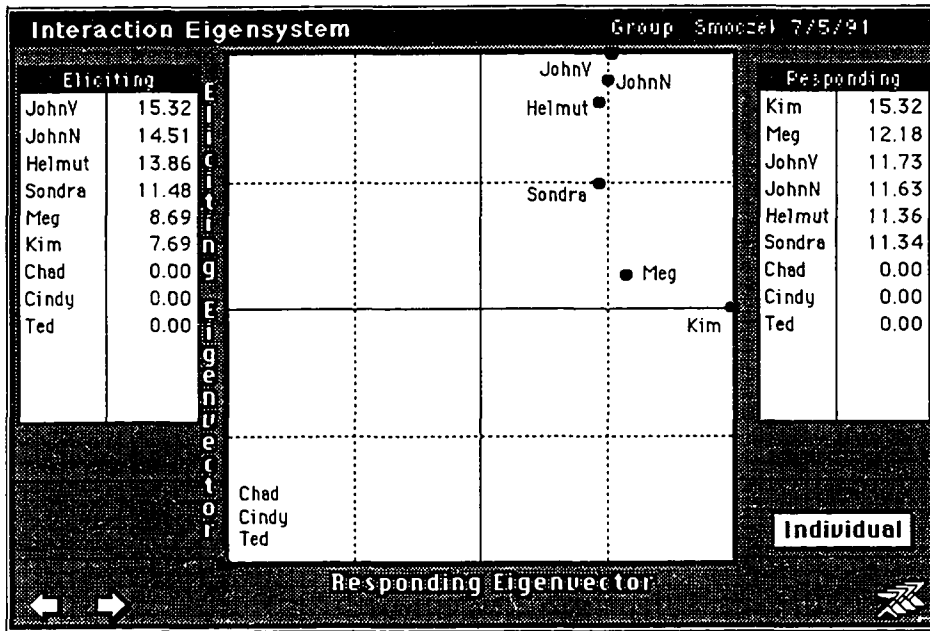


Fig. 5.9a. Individual Eigensystem for Meg's Staff - Session 1

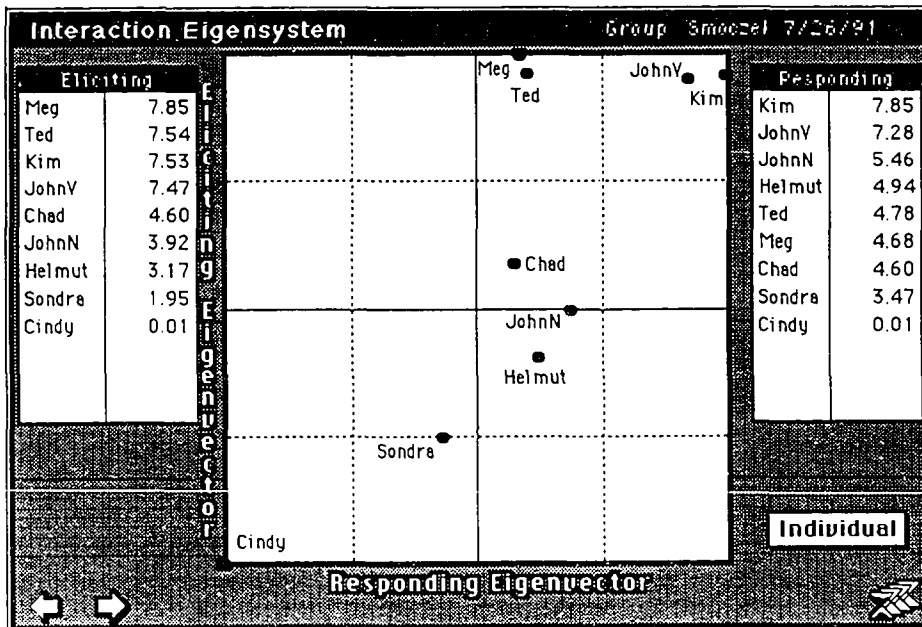


Fig. 5.9b. Individual Eigensystem for Meg's Staff - Session 2

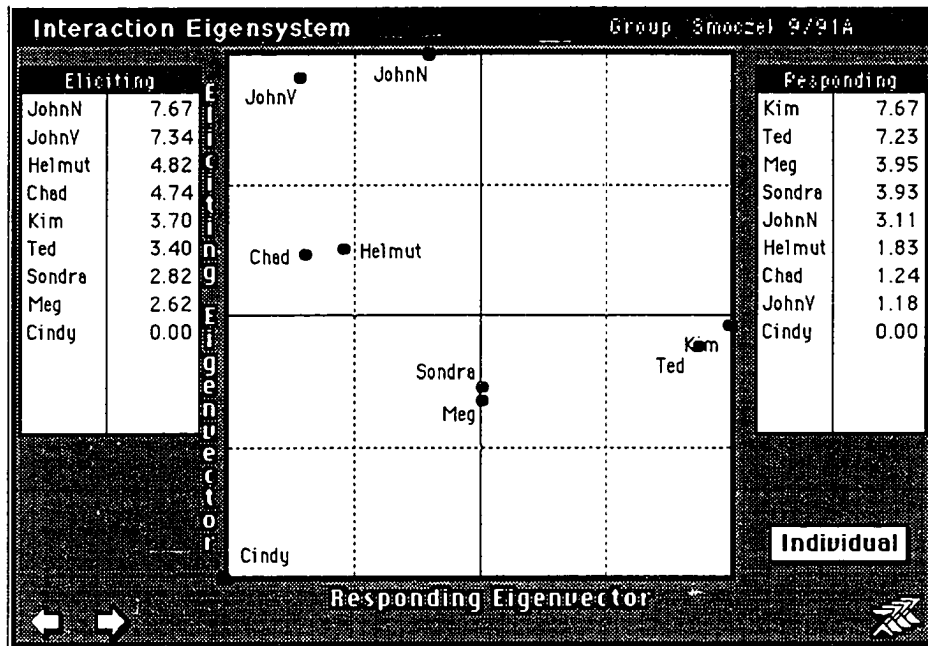


Fig. 5.9c. Individual Eigensystem for Meg's Staff - Session 3

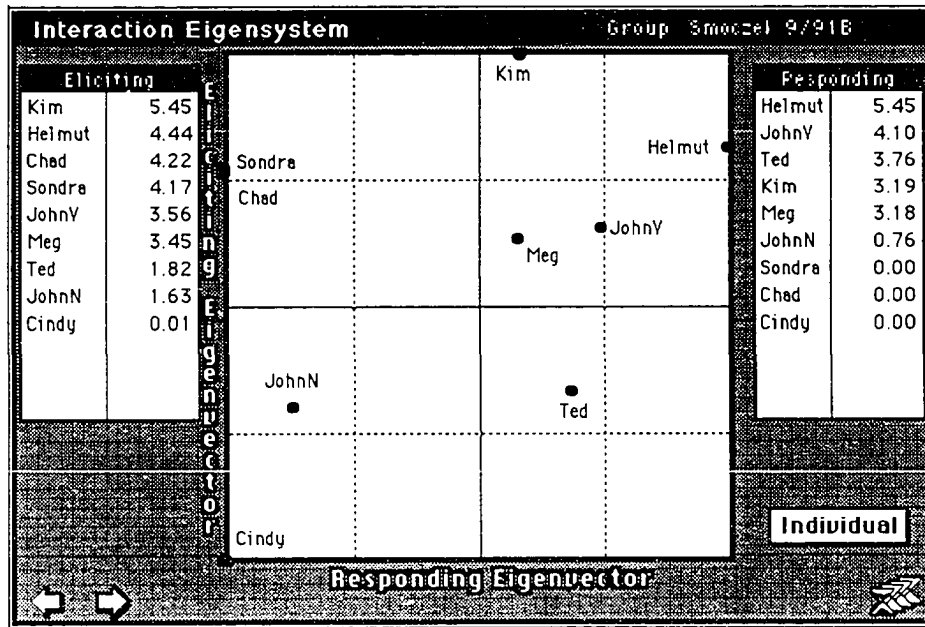


Fig. 5.9d. Individual Eigensystem for Meg's Staff - Session 4

Because it was impossible to depict all the interactive sequences for the first three sessions (94 for session one, 59 for session two, and 68 for session three), these GID's show only $p \leq .01$. All 42 sequences for session four are shown (Figs. 5.10a-d). As noted earlier, Cindy had no significant interactive sequences in any of the coded sessions.

In session one, there were 48 sequences at .05, 35 at .01, and 11 at .001. On the GID, there were five 0 lags. Most of the rest were at 4 minutes or less. We can see the fairly heavy emphasis on Reserved this session, as well as Helmut's use of Confrontational. Chad had no interactive sequences. And Ted had only two 0 lags.

Session two had 28 sequences at .05, 22 at .01, and 9 at .001. On this GID, showing .01 down, Kim and John V. were the only two with Reserved sequences. Ted and Chad participated in this session enough to generate connections with others. But overall, there were far fewer cross-correlations than in the first session.

Sessions three and four were from this group's last meeting at CFAR. Session three, coded in the morning, had 38 sequences at .05, 25 at .01, and 5 at .001. There were four 0 lags. Many of the others were at longer lag times, especially those for John N. Again, there was no Confrontational. And only Meg, John N and Kim used Supportive. This session, Sondra had no sequences.

The last session, from the afternoon, had the least amount of interactive sequences (29 at .05, 10 at .01, and 3 at .001). Except for a few Reserveds from Kim and John N., the group relied mainly on Assured and Expressive. Only Meg and Helmut used Supportive.

In all four session, there were few negative sequences.

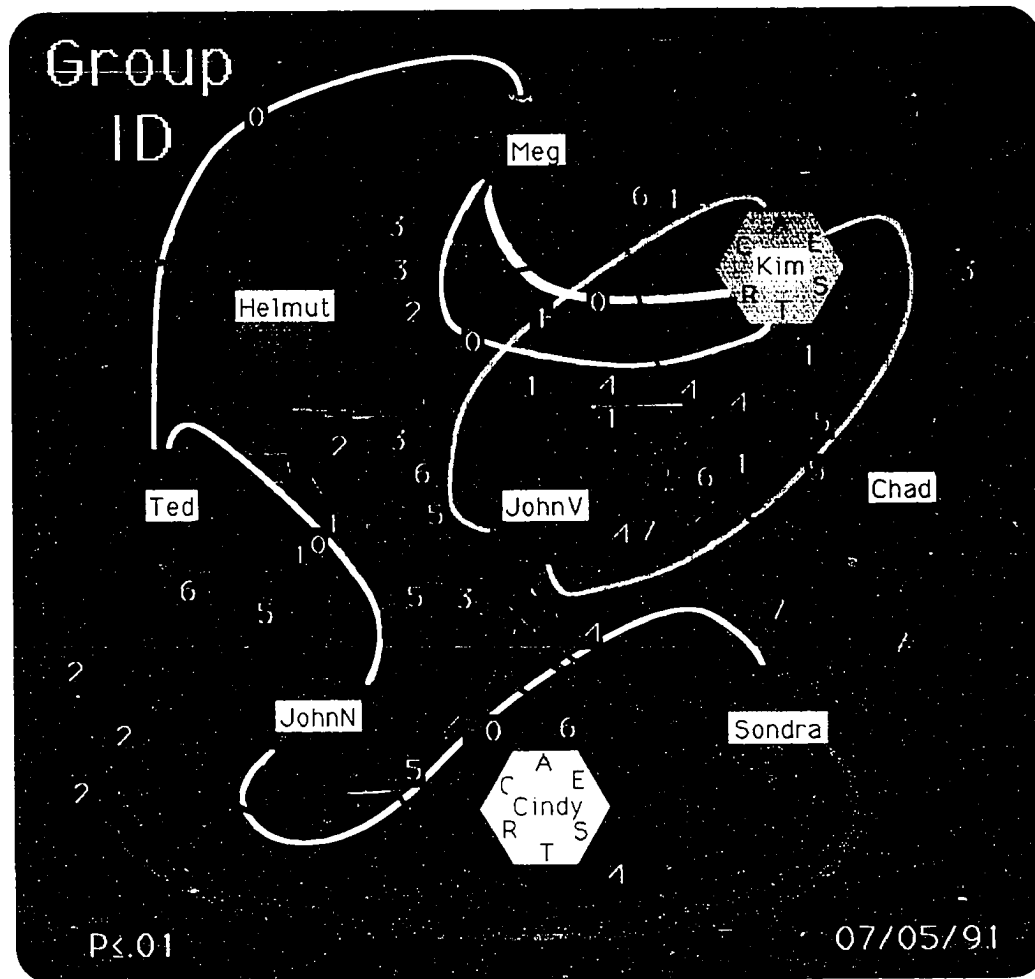


Fig. 5.10a. Group Interaction Diagram for Meg's Staff - Session 1

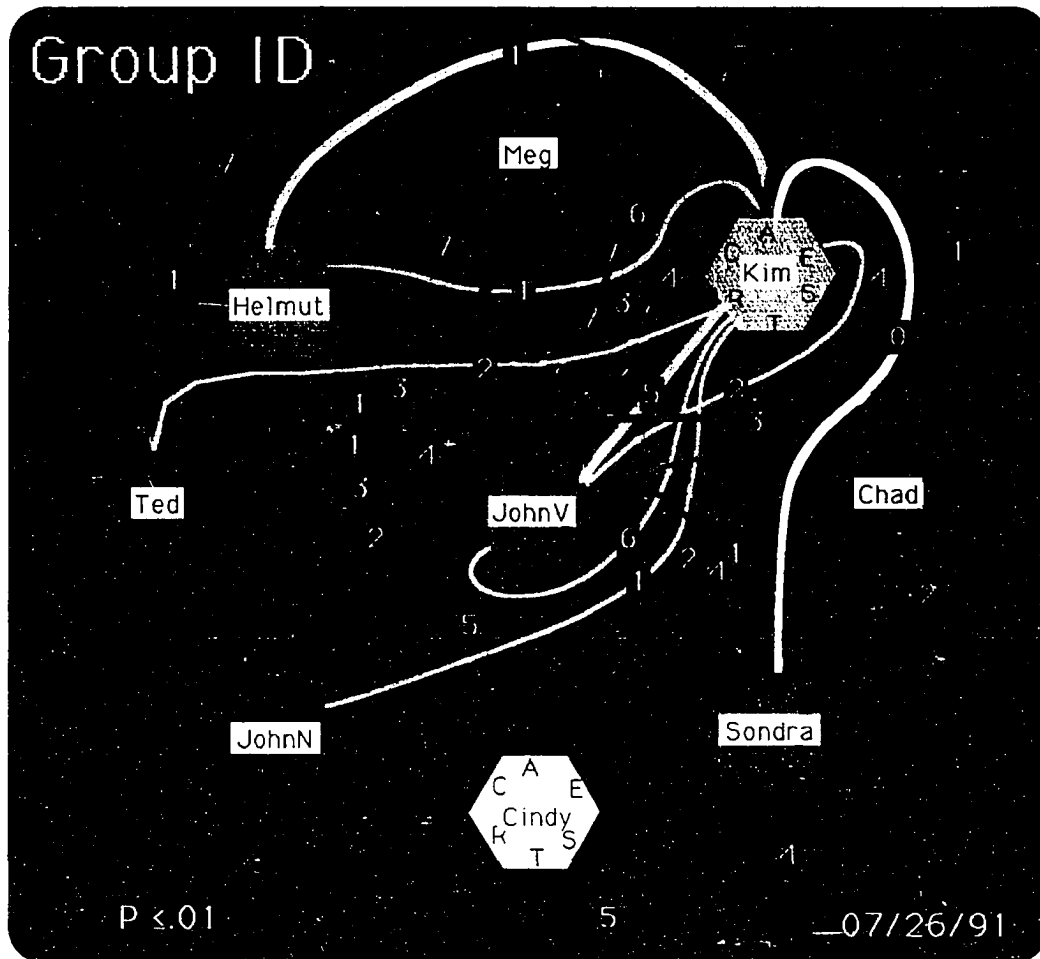


Fig. 5.10b. Group Interaction Diagram for Meg's Staff - Session 2

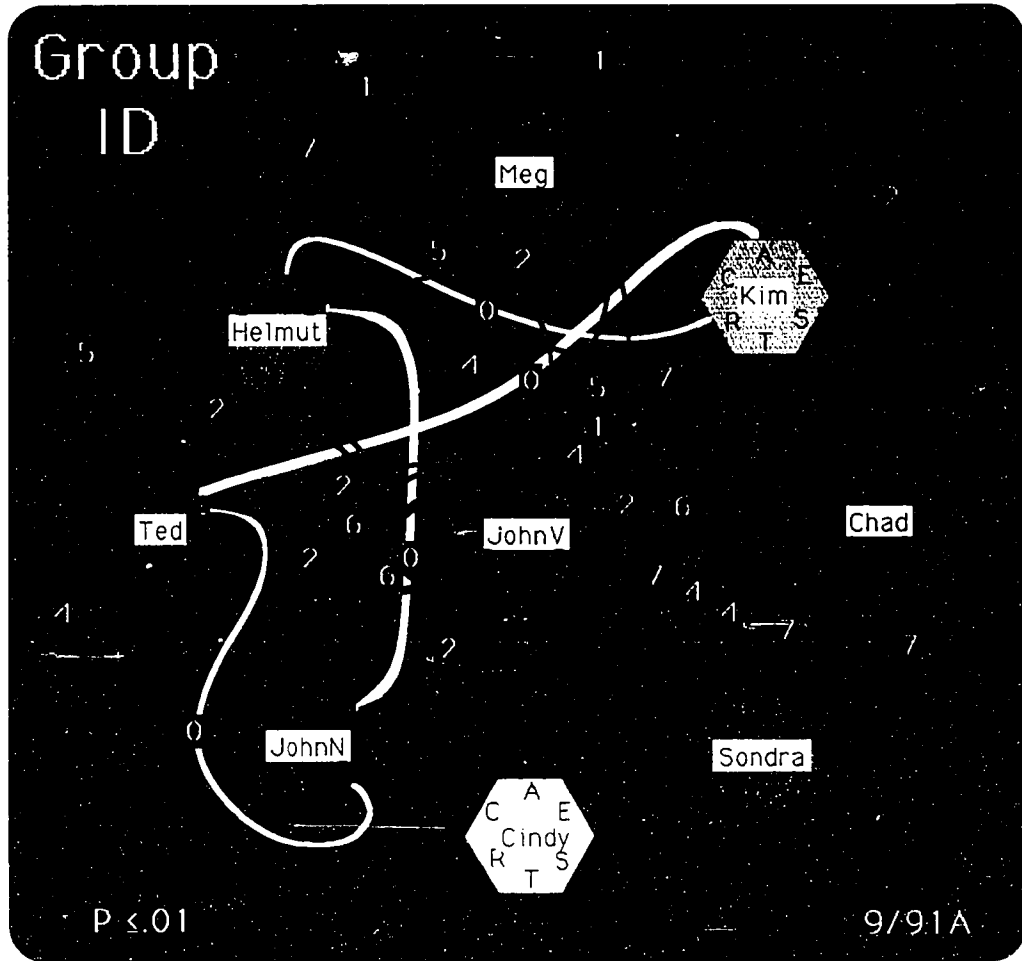


Fig. 5.10c. Group Interaction Diagram for Meg's Staff - Session 3

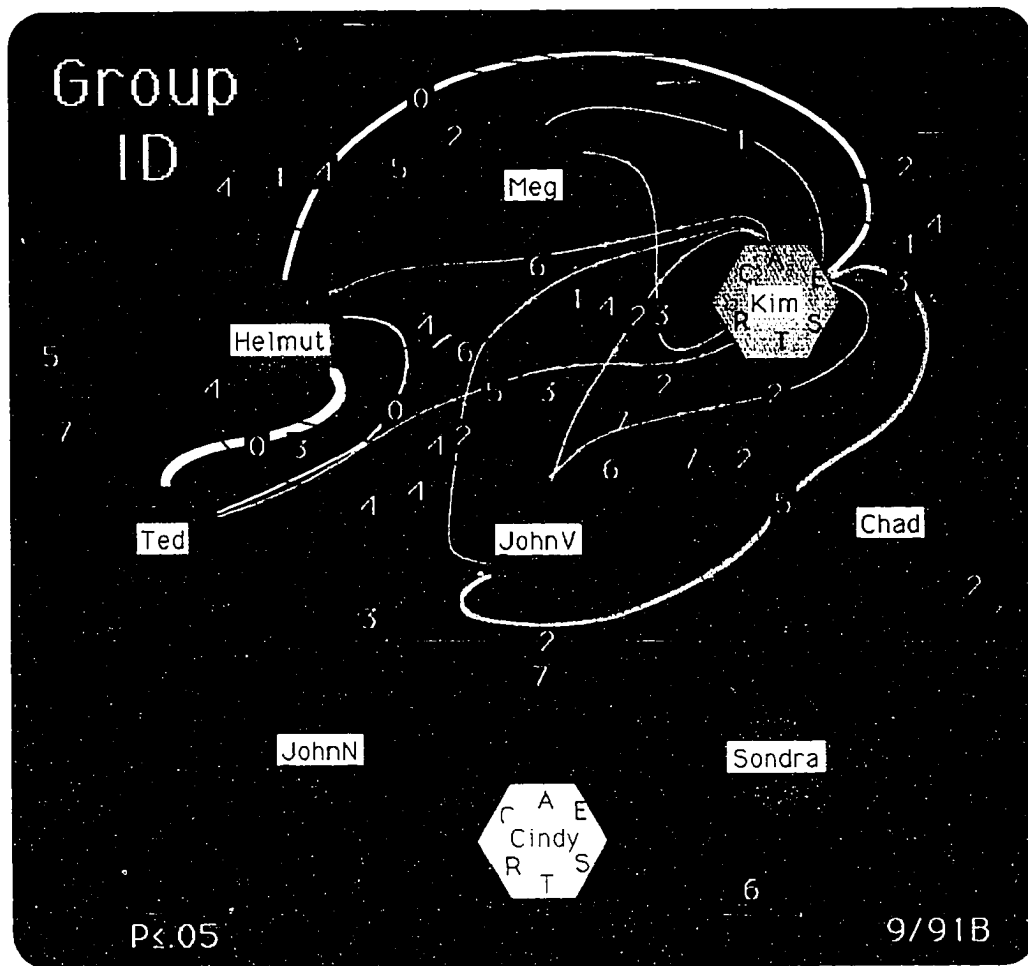


Fig. 5.10d. Group Interaction Diagram for Meg's Staff - Session 4

In the wrapup session for this group, Meg expressed several concerns. First, she wanted to know if they hadn't been coded Supportive very much because people weren't responding when something Supportive was said. I explained that it didn't mean that people weren't responding to each other, only that they weren't saying things that would have received a Supportive code, like "Helmut, I think that's a really good idea." This example prompted several minutes of raucous laughter and good natured ribbing in the group. When it subsided, I suggested that they were possibly using Assured to convey support, by the tone of their voices and staying on the topic. But Meg was still skeptical.

Well, yeah, just conceptually I'm having a hard time because if somebody speaks to me in sort of a Supportive way, that typically would elicit something. A thank you, or a, I mean something. I was wondering, is it the case that it just doesn't elicit anything?

A number of us then noted that in the frequency tables, she was the one who had the most Supportive codes. In retrospect, I feel I didn't adequately address Meg's issue, partly because I didn't understand what she meant by asking why people wouldn't respond in a Supportive way to something Supportive someone else said, as opposed to responding with Supportive in general. She did seem satisfied when I told her that being supportive might be a role a leader would more likely assume.

Second, Meg asked how other groups handled receiving feedback. She had specifically requested not to have feedback the third meeting when she saw it changed the interaction the second meeting. Although this had been the intention in giving the feedback, I reminded her that CFAR had no track record with coding groups multiple times. As I had explained before the study began, their group was one of the guinea pigs.

And third, Meg was also concerned with what someone else might think of the group from looking at the odd Individual Eigensystems from the two sessions coded during their last meeting at CFAR.

If somebody were to look at these diagrams, what would they be able to say about a group? Could they say, "This group has problems?" Could you tell that by just looking at the data, you know what I'm saying? I'm not asking specifically for a judgment on our group.

I reiterated how important a groups' interpretation of the data was, how situational factors needed to be taken into account, and therefore how wary I would be to say much comparatively about groups without knowing the extenuating circumstances. Meg was pleased to hear this, adding that

when you try and make a judgment based on data without knowing a person and how they view things, you could make the misjudgment that the person's not playing the right role.

Meg's group, like Sara's, got confused between the frequency counts for behaviors and how they fell out as Elicitors and Responders. Helmut noted that Reserved got fewer codes than Assured on the raw scores for the first session, and yet it was the top Elicitor in the Group Eigensystem. As I had for Sara's group, I explained how there was no one-to-one correlation between the raw numbers of codes received for the behaviors and the time series data showing how the behaviors were used in interactive sequences.

During the discussion of the GID's, Meg asked if it was possible that there could be consistent three-way or four-way interactions occurring within the longer lags. My response was yes, but that CFAR didn't have the analysis capability to measure that.

Regarding longer lags, Helmut thought it was interesting that on the last two GID's, he responded to John N. five to seven minutes later. He speculated that this delayed response was because John N. was so tech-

nical that he, Helmut, needed time to think about what John had said. Likewise, Kim noted that on the third GID, she had a number of long response times with John N. as well. These observations led to a discussion of the differences in expertise in the group, and that some people were new and others like John N. had been in their particular business for a long time.

There was also confusion over what negative numbers meant in the GID's. When the example of a negative sequence between Chad and Meg was given from the third GID (i.e., whenever Chad was more Assured, two minutes later Meg was less Assured), Meg wanted to know why that related to Assuredness rather than to Tentativeness. I pointed out that the sequence meant that when Chad was Assured, there was a dip in her Assuredness, not a total drop to Tentativeness.

The most informative interchange came near the end of the wrapup session, when I asked the group what they thought of their CFAR experience. Ted spoke first, noting that he didn't feel the same now as he had at the first session.

It [receiving feedback the beginning of the second meeting] really did affect how I felt the second meeting. It didn't affect me long term, I don't think, but it did affect me for a couple of hours.

I asked him how he would describe this effect, and he said

Well, what I saw was, I had hardly any connections [on the GID] the first meeting, so I decided I needed to participate more. I said I want to get involved, yeah. There was a change at the end of the first meeting for me personally in that we got into some issues where I felt I could contribute more.

Chad agreed it had been the same for him, saying

I spoke a lot more in the second meeting, even if I didn't have anything to say. I'd say "Yeah, I agree. Sure. Why not." Because of the results being shown at the beginning of the second meeting. And with the third meeting when we got together and it [a GID from the second meeting] wasn't shown at that point in time, I just decided the heck with the diagram. I just said what I wanted to say.

To which Kim added,

Or just come out, you know, more forthrightly, and so that had an impact on me after the first meeting, I tried to do that. I was trying to be nice the first meeting, but when I saw how much I responded with Tentative, I decided the heck with being nice, and so I just spoke up after that. And I know Helmut has been real sensitive about the Confrontational thing.

When Meg remarked that "it changes you," Helmut said,

Yeah, I know but at the same time I've probably always known that I have a Confrontational streak. This [the coding] all seems a little bit to me like a PC game or a toy or something like that. I have a really hard time seeing how you're going to use this practically. I mean you get some insight, whatever activity you do you get some insights about yourself, so that's fine. But other than that, how you're gonna change a group, it's really hard for me to see.

Kim replied, "You understand better why you do some things when you look at these diagrams."

Sondra concurred, saying, "Yeah, I can see where you can change yourself as an individual, and by that you change the responses you get in the group."

Meg noted that nothing had ever crossed her mind as an expectation that the group would see something that would tell them they ought to change as a group. Her belief was that whatever experiences individual members had would change the group over time. The value she said

found in the CFAR experience was if she had seen somebody who was consistently disconnected.

This engendered a conversation about participating in meeting discussions. Sondra said that many times her first response in hearing something new or different was to be quiet. Ted said this was especially true if he thought he was "going to be stepping on somebody's toes in some historical areas." Kim agreed, giving an example of a discussion about her area of expertise the group had had their last meeting at CFAR.

That's what was hard for me, because we spent a good deal of time talking about ideas which weren't new [to me]. I mean, I've heard this before, and I didn't want to like [s]quelch anyone's enthusiasm or ideas, so I just kept my mouth shut, 'cause I was feeling very cynical at the time. So I didn't say anything. I just kept my mouth shut, and I answered the questions anyone asked me. Maybe we should think about how we spend our time in meetings, so that we don't always focus on one area. Maybe spending a lot of time talking about [my area] isn't the best use of our time.

Overall, Meg's group thought the coding experience had been an interesting one, although some of them had reservations about what could be learned from it. Despite these reservations, however, several people said it might be interesting to have their own staffs coded to see how their behavior differed in their own groups.

Commenting on her staff in a later private meeting, Meg said they were all very motivated to do well, which is why she thought they all generally liked each other. While she didn't think there was anyone who could be labeled a "problem" person, there were several people she was concerned about. With Sondra and Chad, she felt she didn't have "a clear communication channel established with them yet," despite eight hours of conversations with each of them doing career development exercises.

In terms of performance in their job, knowing their job, they're both doing very well. But in terms of getting to know them so that I can understand or be able to predict how they behave and say, "Oh, this is a job that Chad might find interesting, or this is a special assignment Sondra might find interesting." I'm not there yet with either of them and it's pretty frustrating for me.

Also, Meg thought Kim was so open to doing anything that it was difficult to predict what she would prefer or what kind of special assignment would be good for her. And Meg found John V.'s reticence to speak up and look people in the eye disturbing. In this regard, she said she was disappointed at having missed part of a recent meeting where he reportedly got loud and angry.

I really wanted to see that. Because the impression that I have from him is, he is a tall person, he is a large person, and yet when he sits he keeps himself close physically, he looks down, he could be sitting here talking to me for two hours and he wouldn't look at me, but perhaps five seconds out of the time. He'd look sideways or down. Very disconcerting. And he and I have talked about that. And I have said, "You know, somewhere you must have been told that it's not acceptable to get angry, that you could hurt somebody or-". . . and it turns out to have been the case. And I've said, " You need to understand as you go forward, you're going to need to be able to look people in the eye. You're going to need to be able to express anger appropriately, you're going to need to be able to speak loudly and cause people to understand that you believe strongly in what you're saying. And we're just going to have to work on that." Now I don't know quite how to do that, because lots of that is, he's got to do that on his own, and he might have to go and get some outside help to do that. But he's tuned into that. That's the kind of thing I learned from my husband, just how to talk about John V. like that and conclude that someone must have told him that it's not acceptable to get angry. It would never in a million years have entered my mind.

True to her upbeat nature, however, Meg was philosophical about these personnel matters, expecting that "time, consistency and just keeping at it" will overcome them.

Chris Williams's Meetings

Although Chris' group met at CFAR three times, only two coded sessions are presented here. For reasons to be explained below, there was no data from the first meeting and only Chris received feedback. Seven people came to CFAR, six regulars (five women and one man) and a temporary student intern, Jaye, the first session, and another regular member, Jean, the second. An eighth member, Preston, attended none of the meetings. Chris said that because of the hospital's matrixed, flat organizational structure and everyone's multiple high priorities, it was rare when everyone showed up at meetings.

Besides the fluctuating membership at the CFAR meetings, there were two other reasons why only Chris received coding feedback. One was the limited amount of time (two hours each meeting) the group could spend at CFAR. This was not sufficient to do both coding and feedback. And the second reason was the group's unusual coded session their first meeting. That session yielded an insufficient number of observations to perform time series analysis. Three people spoke so infrequently they had no significant interactive sequences. And two people, Tim and Lorraine, were highly confrontational. In regard to the latter, Chris said that shortly after that meeting, she had to sit Tim down and tell him to "clean up his act." Under the circumstances, she thought it inadvisable to give the group feedback because it might jeopardize the work she was doing with him.

As the frequency tables show (Figs. 5.11a & b), of the 507 observations the first session and 520 the second, Chris received between 36% and 37%. Lorraine was consistent both session with 10%, as was Susan at about

Raw Scores for Group: Williams 6/91							
Name:	Interaction Behaviors:						No. of Observations:
	A	T	E	R	S	C	Percent:
Chris	143	18	44	11	30	2	37.28%
Jaye	0	0	0	0	0	0	%
Jeanette	3	3	3	2	1	0	1.78%
Lorraine	23	16	13	12	8	0	9.66%
Rachel	71	6	34	7	25	2	19.53%
Susan	41	7	20	15	9	0	12.23%
Tim	55	22	31	6	11	4	19.53%
Percent:	48.14%	10.32%	20.77%	7.59%	12.03%	1.15%	100%

Fig. 5.11a. Frequency Table for Chris' Staff - Session 1

Raw Scores for Group: Williams 9/91							
Name:	Interaction Behaviors:						No. of Observations:
	A	T	E	R	S	C	Percent:
Chris	157	8	15	10	27	1	35.96%
Jean	59	6	7	45	8	0	11.92%
Jeanette	13	1	0	8	2	0	2.88%
Lorraine	46	1	9	3	5	0	10.58%
Rachel	8	0	3	0	0	0	1.73%
Susan	47	1	23	3	4	0	10.96%
Tim	111	3	15	0	23	5	25.96%
Percent:	65.14%	2.95%	10.64%	10.19%	10.19%	.89%	100%

Fig. 5.11b. Frequency Table for Chris' Staff - Session 2

11% to 12%. Rachel, on the other hand, went from 20% the first session to 1% the second. Chris said this was understandable since the topic the second session was the budget, which was not something Rachel usually dealt with. Tim went from 20% to 26% of the total observations. Jaye had no observations for the first session. Jeanette was consistent both sessions at about 2%. And Jean had 12% the second session, many of them Reserved. It should be noted here that Jean and Jeanette spoke so softly that the sensitive Capture Lab audio system could barely pick them up, a circumstance which had never occurred at CFAR before. As for the other IT behaviors, Assured was predominant both sessions. Expressive dropped from 21% to 11% from the first to second session. And Supportive was fairly constant at around 11%. Confrontational was also used by several people in both sessions, especially Tim.

The behavioral diagrams (5.12a &b) show that in the first session, on average, the group was located mostly in the Expressive and Supportive quadrant. In that session, Chris and Rachel were very Assured, while the rest of the group was more Tentative. The location of Jaye and Jeanette at the center of the axes in that session means they had too few codes to calculate their average positions.

In the second behavioral diagram (5.12b), everyone except Rachel and Jeanette was more Assured (Rachel, in fact, was less Assured than in the first session). Tim was more Supportive. And the group was generally more Reserved, including Chris. She said in her wrapup session that their being more Reserved was due to things happening at work that were making people feel "real uneasy and strung out."

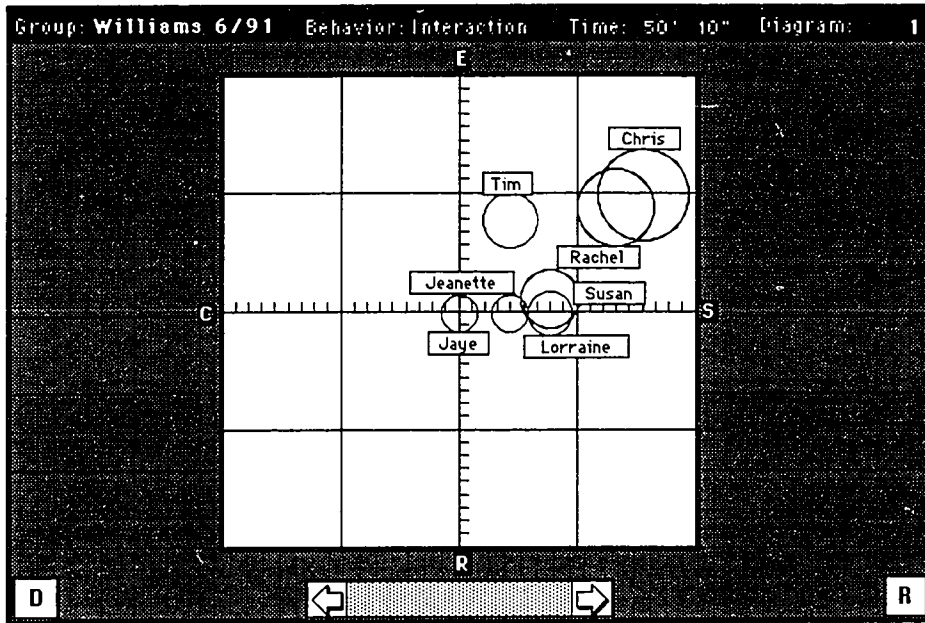


Fig. 5.12a. Average Behavioral Diagram for Chris' Staff - Session 1

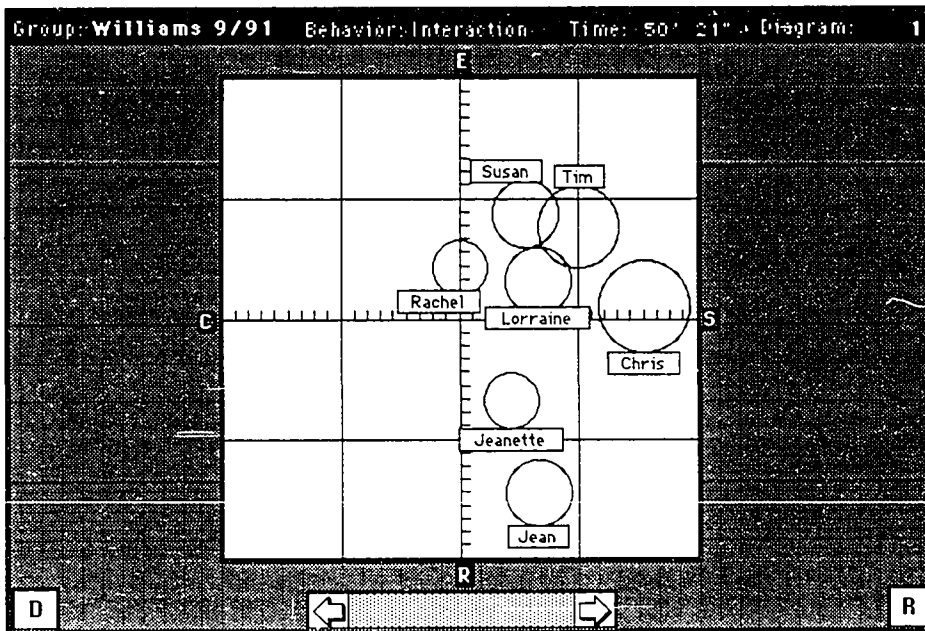


Fig. 5.12b. Average Behavioral Diagram for Chris' Staff - Session 2

On the Group Eigensystems (Figs. 5.13a & b), the first session, except for Confrontational, whatever behaviors were highest on one eigenvector were lowest on the other. So, for example, Expressive was the highest Elicitor and Tentative next to the lowest, while Tentative was the highest Responder and Expressive was one of the lowest. In that session, Reserved and Supportive were also frequent Responders.

The second session was a more typical Eigensystem profile, playing out from the upper righthand to the lower lefthand quadrant. Assured was both the highest Elicitor and Responder. Although this session there were only six Confrontational codes, five of them were for Tim and clearly part of a pattern which the time series analysis picked up. In both sessions, Supportive was a higher Responder than Elicitor. While the strength of the behavioral connections were moderately strong the first session, they were moderately weak the second.

The Individual Eigensystems (Figs. 5.14a & b) show Chris was the top or next to the top Elicitor and Responder in both sessions. In the first session, she and Lorraine, Tim, Susan, and Rachel were fairly close together as Elicitors and Responders. In the second session, the Eigensystem broke out roughly into three groups -- Jean, Chris, and Tim in the first, Lorraine and Susan in the second, and Rachel and Jeanette in the third. In both sessions, Chris and Tim stayed fairly close together as Elicitors and Responders. Again, the strength of the connections between group members was moderately strong the first session but moderately weak the second.

On the GID's (Figs. 5.15a & b), there were 90 significant sequences the first session (55 at .05, 27 at .01, and 8 at .001) and 45 the second (25 at

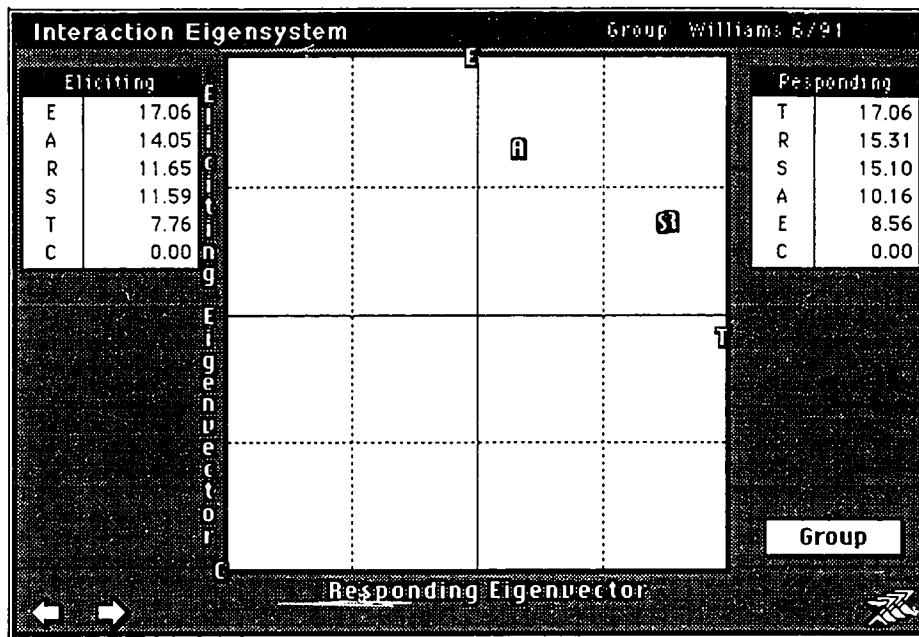


Fig. 5.13a. Group Eigensystem for Chris' Staff - Session 1

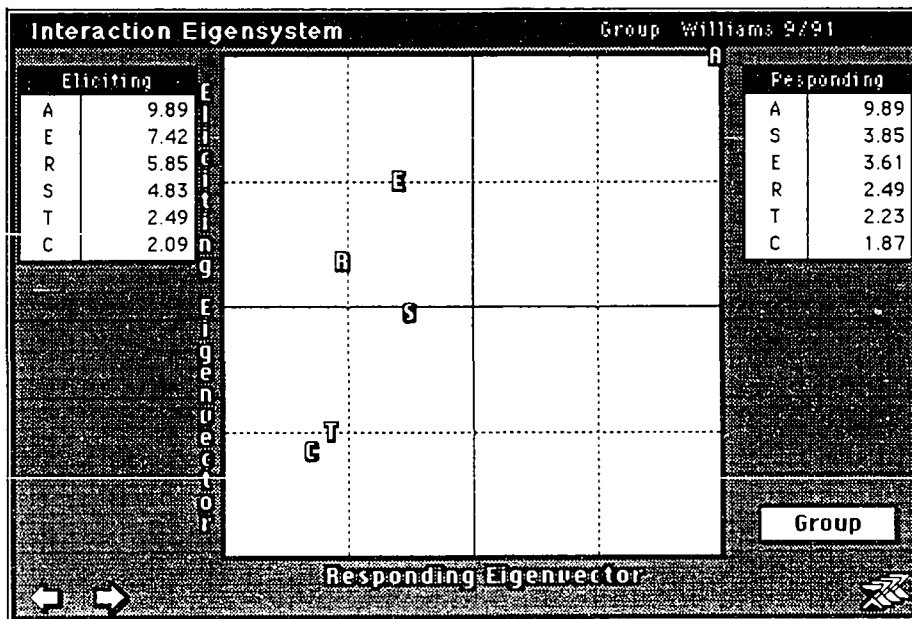


Fig. 5.13b. Group Eigensystem for Chris' Staff - Session 2

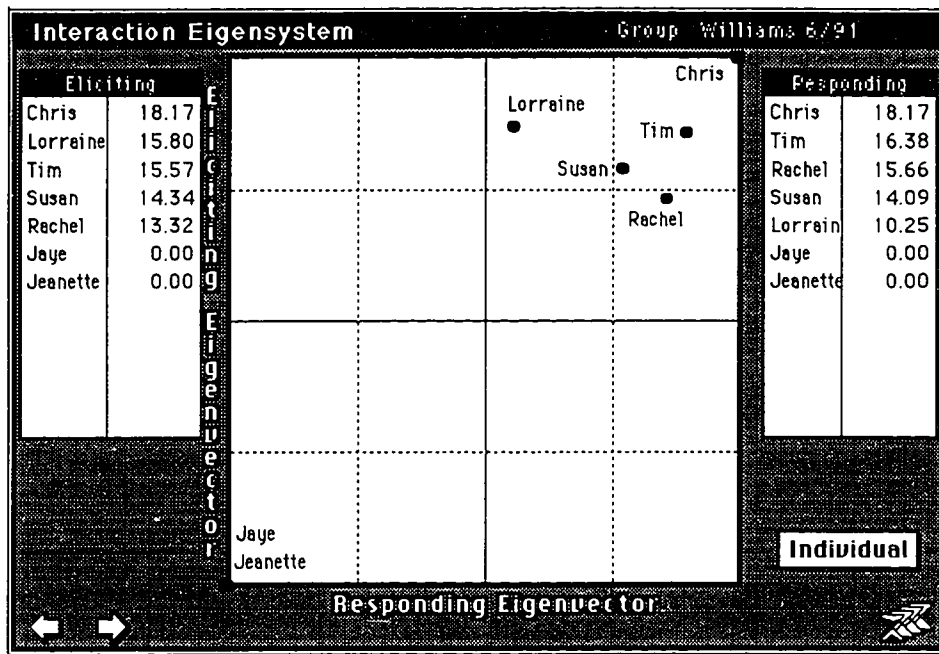


Fig. 5.14a. Individual Eigensystem for Chris' Staff - Session 1

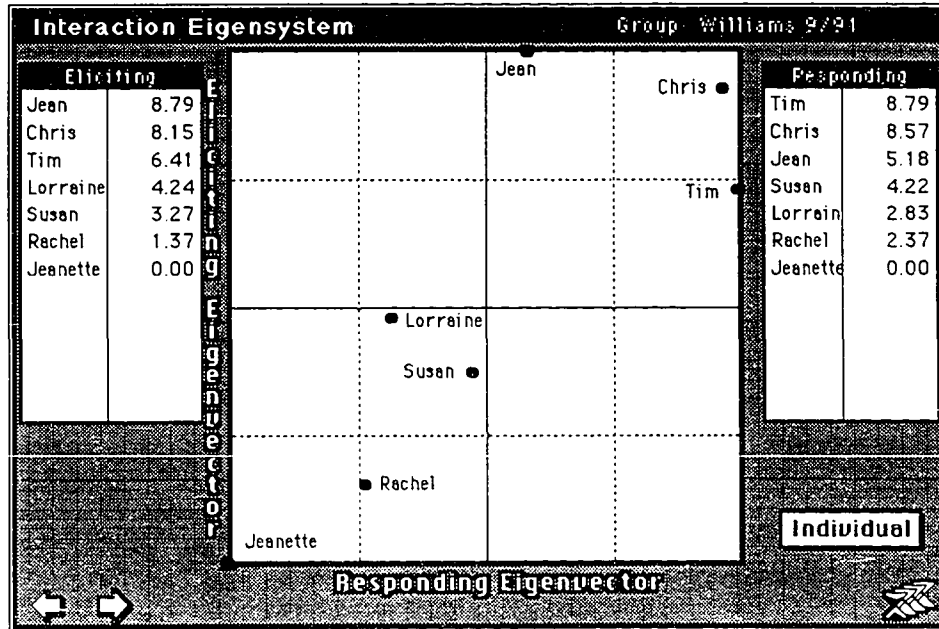


Fig. 5.14b. Individual Eigensystem for Chris' Staff - Session 2

.05, 19 at .01, and 1 at .001). Both GID's are shown at the $p \leq .01$ level. In the first session, besides Jeanette and Jaye, who have no interactive sequences at any p-level, everyone is connected to at least one other person, and all the behaviors are involved except Confrontational. Notice Susan's and Lorraine's Eliciting patterns from Tentative, and that Supportive was both an Elicitor and Responder. Also there was only one 0 lag and one negative sequence at this level, between Lorraine and Chris.

In the second session, there were far less sequences overall (45). At the $p \leq .01$ level, the 20 sequences belong mostly to Tim, Chris, Lorraine, and Jean. There are three negative sequences, one between Jean and Chris and two between Lorraine and Chris. Tim has one five-minute Confrontational sequence with Chris. Jeanette has no interactive sequences in this session either.

When I presented the wrapup to Chris on this data from the second and third meetings, one of the first things we discussed was the initial meeting. Chris thought the reason that meeting had been so unusual from a coding standpoint was not because it was the group's first visit to CFAR, but because Tim was so "dominant" and "hostile" and Jean and Preston hadn't been there to act as levelers as they usually did.

I worry about [Tim]. He's a wonderful person. He'd do anything for anybody. [But] he's one of those people that can't light. He has a concentration problem. And I don't know how to hit the right button to help him focus. He's very good with people interactions but he isn't organized enough to be able to keep taking on more and figuring out how to get it done. He thinks he works harder than anybody else, [but often he's just spinning his wheels] and he doesn't see it. It's gotten so basic that I've said "Look, you know I don't expect anybody," I mean my office right now is a mess. [The only visible clutter was two small stacks of paper on her desk.] I usually don't even have this many piles. But they're organized. Tim's office looks like a cyclone hit it. And I

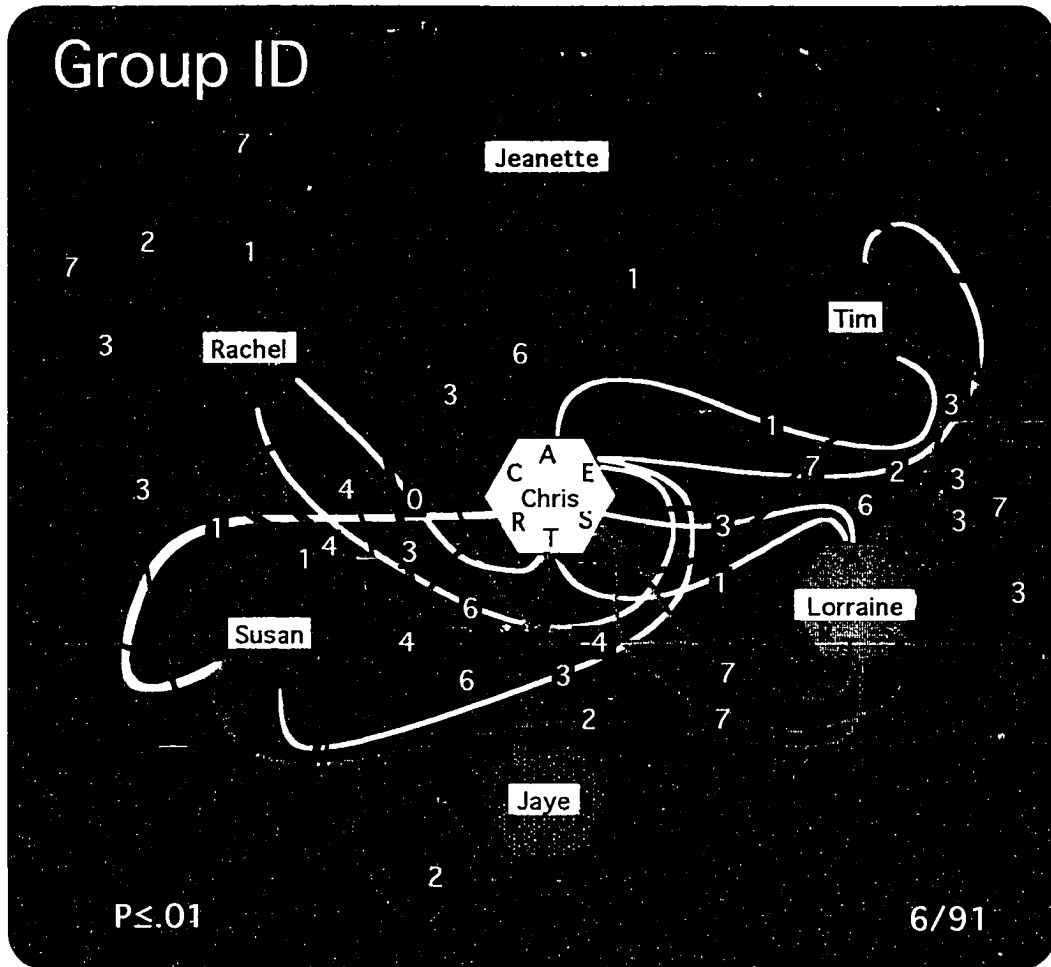


Fig. 5. 15a. Group Interaction Diagram for Chris' Staff - Session 1

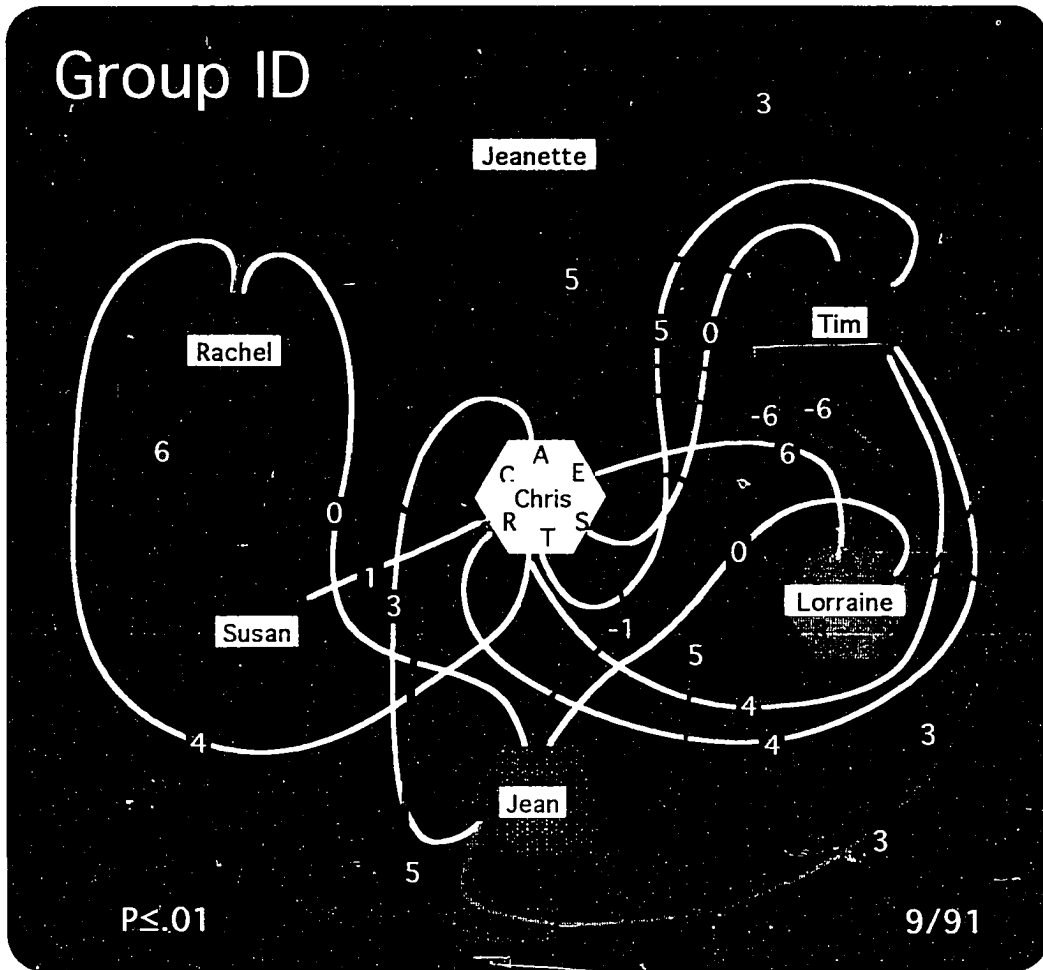


Fig. 5.15b. Group Interaction Diagram for Chris' Staff - Session 2

KNOW he doesn't know where things are. And that means every time he's looking for something he's moving stuff multiple times. And so I'm basic about the fact that I can judge his state of organization by what his office looks like. And he said, "Well, I just work this way. Just like other people whose offices aren't neat." And I said, "There's a difference." I said I know when Rachel's getting out of control and it never lasts more than 24 to 48 hours. I know Tim can see that as we downsize you can't survive without that basic skill.

As Chris and I went through the wrapup, she made comments about members of her group that supported what she thought she was seeing in the data. Most of her observations came as we studied the GID's. In regard to some of Tim's interactive patterns, she said he was a "pussycat," that "if someone pushes back on him, then he either gets angry or loses it or become tentative." Rachel, Chris noted, had a hard time expressing herself.

Frequently she'll hang back and then she'll say something and it won't quite be what she means. And people may jump all over her. Not jump all over her but it takes her sometimes a long time to make a focused point.

And Chris characterized Jean as "not a paying back person."

Most of the time if you want to know what she's thinking, you have to ask her and then it'll be veiled. And you have to keep asking.

These conversations engendered several others which provided more information about Chris' staff. One was her observation about people's strategic planning abilities.

That's something I just do naturally. And what I find is I assume everybody thinks that way. I have one person who thinks that way and that's Lorraine. She's phenomenal. And she also can operationalize. Susan can. Jean is exceedingly bright and is a systems person, but she can't take an idea and run a program plan from A to Z. And people think she's very program oriented. She's very SYSTEMS oriented. So she can dissect something but there's a difference. Tim doesn't do either well. He's more of a detail man. He's a numbers man.

Jeanette can take a very creative idea and she develops her people. She's managing two major institutional functions with no managers reporting to her. She's it. And she's got her people deciding how they're going to get their work done.

Further light was shed on Chris, her staff, and how she interacted with them when she described the self-assessments of interactive styles her group had recently completed as part of a hospital cultural audit. Every manager in the hospital and a random sample of employees had taken the survey, part of which included self-ratings from five other people.

I asked each of my people to share with me what they learned. And it was fascinating. It's not unlike the CFAR data. Tim asked people who worked with him from outside the immediate office. He [also] asked one of his peers out of our group plus me. [He ended up with] bipolar responses. Most of his scores were very high on the humanistic, caring, and very low on the accomplishment.

Jean's hit her very hard. She was very low on [the human side]. Very high on task-oriented and control. And how she interpreted that is she's so task/accomplishment-oriented that sometimes she forgets to think about the human side. She didn't hear the message that she's rigid and control-oriented. I didn't make a big deal out of it because if in fact she focuses on thinking and including the human-feeling side into her interactions, the rest will follow. You can't be caring and listen to the other person and still maintain rigidity and control, so I figured I'm not worried about it.

Susan was absolutely surprised at how high all of her scores were in the areas that we're striving to be. [She said] "You're crazy." Lorraine was shocked [at how hers came out]. (Imitating Lorraine) "I'm not that good a manager. There's so many things I need to learn to do better." Rachel was also surprised. She said, "I figured that mine would be real controlling and real rigid because I know what I'm like and I struggle with that." And I said, "You should rejoice. You've made huge progress then." Because she was much higher in the positive interactions than what she viewed herself. But she's had a conscious plan of action for that. And she touches base and we talk about it.

I looked at my [own] feedback and I thought, Ewwph! And [the external consultant who was working with us] looked down over my shoulder and said, "You know if everybody had these results, we'd be out of business." And I said, "What are you talking about?" He said, "Look at this!" [Pointing to my dependency score] I said, "I shouldn't be dependent." He said, "I always have to introduce this." So he pulled out the comparison of female executives to male executives in their feedback. And he said it's consistent that the mean for women is always higher in dependency. He said, "Think about it. You wouldn't be where you are if you didn't acknowledge that's the role people have you in, therefore you've figured out how to maximize it." And the other was I scored myself higher on achievement than the five people [who rated me]. And [one of my male peers] said, "Who did you have fill it out?" And I said, "Josh was one." And he said, "Well, he'll skew it every time. Josh doesn't believe you and I get anything done because we can't order people to do things." He tells his support group managers what to do and they do it! But [this other man] and I can't go out and tell the clinical chairmen, "You're going to do something this way." We manage through facilitation.

As for comments about the CFAR data, Chris had several. First, in speculating about what might have gotten her Reserved codes, she thought maybe it was because she yawned. When I told her that according to the coding scheme we were using, it had to be something verbal like speaking softly while using few hand gestures, Chris noted that for Jean, "picking up her audible wouldn't do it. When she's upset, she's exceedingly expressive but you can hardly hear her. You have to watch her body language and her facial expressions."

Second, Chris wanted to know why on the second GID Jeanette had no "interactions," because she had remembered Jeanette making contributions during that meeting. I explained that while Jeanette had spoken and therefore been given codes, none of them had been found to be part of a significant interactive pattern.

And third, like Meg, Chris thought judging her group solely on the basis of the CFAR data would not be giving an accurate picture of who they really were. Jeanette was a good example.

Jeanette's an exceedingly fine manager. She's recognized as a very strong institutional leader. She was asked to chair our institution's employee empowerment committee, which is a hot political topic. Across all my peers everywhere, everyone to a T said the only person who can pull this off and keep it under control is Jeanette. So when I asked her if she'd chair it, she said "I can't do that." [And I said,] "What do you mean, you can't do that? Listen the CEO thinks you can do it, all my peers think you can do it. I think you can do it." (Imitating Jeanette's reaction) "Well, I don't function at that level! I don't have that kind of skill. I can't stand up in front of a group like you do." I said, "No you don't do it like I do. You do it very differently." I said, "'Cause you're respected for being consistent. Fair. Honest. Open. You tell it like it is. You don't keep things from people. You don't play games and you have a sense of how you take a group through a process." (And Jeanette said) "Well, I guess I do those things." I said, "Go home tonight and look in the mirror and say 'I am regarded as an institutional leader!'" (Chris laughed) She came back and said, "I couldn't! I could not look at myself in the mirror without having to laugh." And I said, "Well, did you think about what I said?" She said, "Yep." So she's working real hard on that. She's doing a great job.

Jeanette and I talk frequently about the fact she says, "you know I don't participate a lot [in your meetings] but I get a lot out of [them]. And many of the topics aren't things I'm responsible for but it helps me get a sense of the whole." [And I say] "That's fine. Just as long as you speak up when you have issues or questions or contributions," which she does. [Although] she didn't in the three meetings [at CFAR]. She shows up [in the CFAR data] as you would say, "Oh! Well, she's not a leader."

Overall, Chris said she didn't see anything in the data that surprised her. She said she'd be "real concerned" if she saw her behavior didn't generally fall where it did. Beyond that, she couldn't look at the findings and say, "Oops, we better work on this." Besides, it had been her experience that the majority of interactions in her job went on in places

like "the hall, the grocery store, or the bathroom" rather than in formal meetings. She also remarked that she wasn't sure what any of the time series data meant and, like Meg, wanted to know how her group compared with the others in the study. And she predicted there would be differences in style among the four managers in the study based on the industries they were in.

Regarding her impression of the CFAR experience, Chris was candid. She thought it was very difficult to have a relaxed meeting in the Capture Lab. She found it too dark and said the configuration of the conference table made it difficult for her to make eye contact with everyone.

Other than that, it was no big deal being observed. It was a big deal getting people [to CFAR] because it meant nobody had a place to park when they went back [to the hospital], which is a big issue. [Being coded] was interesting to people but it was kind of a let down after [the self-assessments we had just finished at the hospital]. Those assessments gave much more direct feedback with analysis of interactive skills and plans of action. So if people weren't more excited about [the CFAR coding], it's because it was no big deal. It was just a different way of being analyzed. The one thing that I find a little contrived is that the only thing that's being coded is the verbal. Because so much of the dynamics is nonverbal.

See, nobody went [to CFAR] thinking that we were going to get back something that would be revolutionary and really help us be more of a group. We might pick up confirmation that we kind of do know what our group's like. Or it might point out something that was just so bizarre that we might want to talk about it. So were the group members' expectations met? Yeah. Because I basically positioned it as that you were working on your dissertation and that we were going to help in that process.

Kim Russell's Meetings

The main differences between Kim's group and the others in this study were its size, gender composition, and organizational function. The

five members were all women and constituted the organizational development department in their bank. This latter meant they had a degree of expertise in group dynamics which the other groups in the study lacked. These factors proved noteworthy for several reasons, only some of which are obvious in the data on their three coded sessions.

The first visible difference can be seen in the frequency tables (Figs. 5.16a-c). Because the group was small, each of the direct reports had a proportionately higher percentage of air time than those in the other groups. Of the total observations (212 the first session, 435 the second, and 458 the third), Kim had 34% the first session and then around 25% each of the next two. Mindy had the next highest percentages, 29% the first session and about 26% the second two. Jo was between 16% and 17% the first two sessions and 22% the third. Donna's and Jo's percentages were more variable. Donna went from 15% the first session to between 10% and 11% the second and third. Karen had only 6% the first session, mainly because the coding stopped just before her roundtable presentation. The second session she jumped to 23%. The third she had 16%.

Like the other groups, Assured was the most frequently used behavior, although it dropped to a study low of 32% the last session. This was well below the average of 64% for the last sessions in the other groups. Expressive remained the same in all sessions at about 28%. There were also Confrontational codes all three sessions, most of them for Mindy, as well as a high percentage of Supportive codes, especially the first session. Reserved increased from 2% to 8% over the sessions, with Kim having the largest number of Reserved codes the last session. And Tentative rose

Paw Scores for Group: Pussell 3/91							
Name:	Interaction Behaviors:						No. of Observations:
	A	T	E	R	S	C	Percent:
Donna	26	2	21	1	11	2	15.09%
Jo	21	4	20	1	14	1	16.04%
Karen	9	0	5	3	3	0	6.13%
Kim	56	2	25	0	47	0	33.96%
Mindy	42	9	34	2	9	7	28.77%
Percent:	40.85%	4.51%	27.85%	1.86%	22.28%	2.65%	100%

Fig. 5.16a. Frequency Table for Kim's Staff - Session 1

Paw Scores for Group: Pussell 4/91							
Name:	Interaction Behaviors:						No. of Observations:
	A	T	E	R	S	C	Percent:
Donna	17	16	10	7	6	1	9.43%
Jo	42	8	34	1	15	0	17.7%
Karen	54	18	45	6	21	2	22.53%
Kim	89	4	32	6	21	2	24.83%
Mindy	69	11	47	4	14	6	25.52%
Percent:	44.57%	9.38%	27.63%	3.95%	12.66%	1.81%	100%

Fig. 5.16b. Frequency Table for Kim's Staff - Session 2

Paw Scores for Group: Pussell 5/91							
Name:	Interaction Behaviors:						No. of Observations:
	A	T	E	R	S	C	Percent:
Donna	20	14	21	7	11	0	10.92%
Jo	26	24	62	2	15	1	21.83%
Karen	40	18	26	6	16	0	16.38%
Kim	69	22	33	28	27	3	25.76%
Mindy	55	32	47	9	15	5	25.11%
Percent:	32.11%	16.82%	28.9%	7.95%	12.84%	1.38%	100%

Fig. 5.16c. Frequency Table for Kim's Staff - Session 3

from about 5% to almost 17%, with everyone in the group receiving double digit Tentative codes the last session.

Viewed another way in the Behavioral Diagrams (Figs. 5.17a-c), Kim spot was fairly stable as the most Supportive and Assured person in the group, except for the third session when she was the most Reserved. Generally, her behavioral diagram profile falls in line with those of the other three leaders in this study. As for the other members of Kim's group, in the first session Mindy was more Confrontational than the rest. The second session, everyone except Donna was highly Expressive, and Karen and Jo were also very Supportive. The third session, everyone, including Kim, was more Tentative. Jo in that session was the most Expressive and the most Tentative.

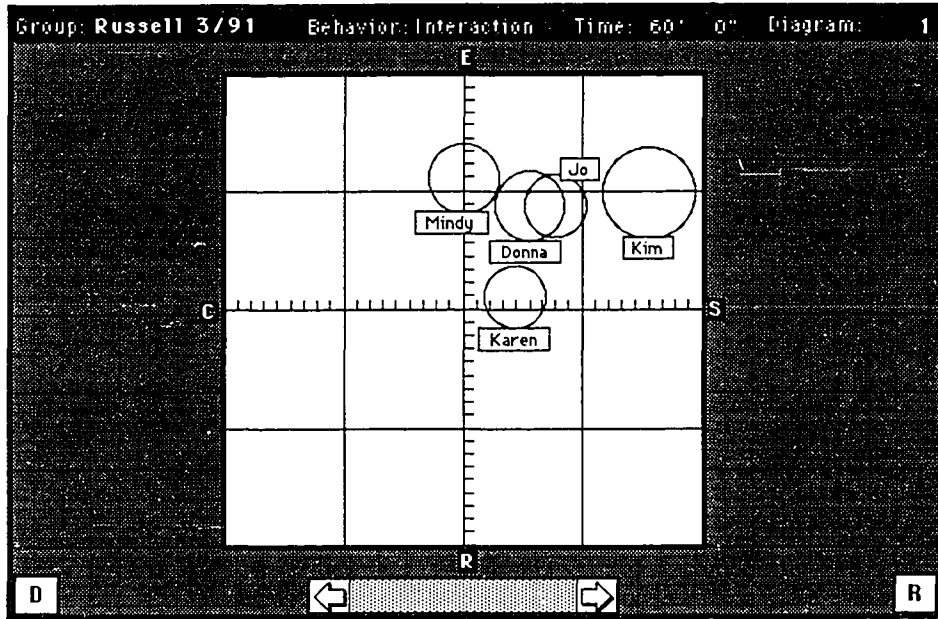


Fig. 5.17a. Average Behavioral Diagram for Kim's Staff - Session 1

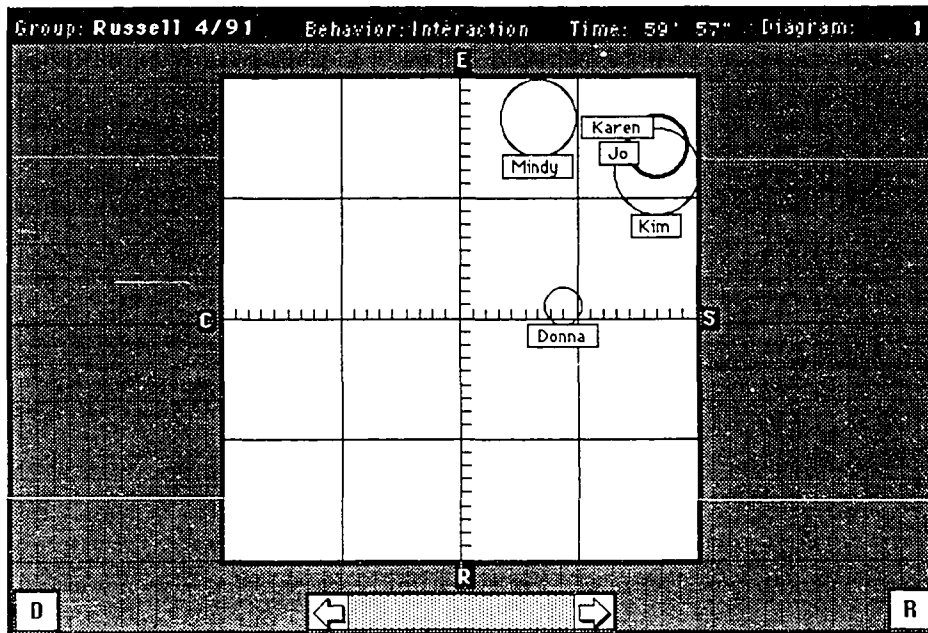


Fig. 5.17b. Average Behavioral Diagram for Kim's Staff - Session 2

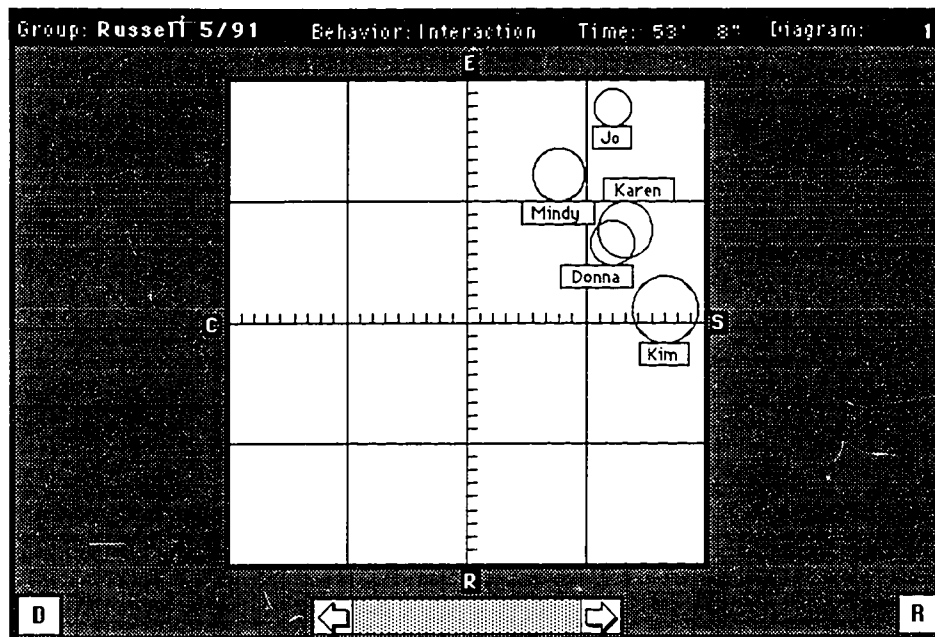


Fig. 5.17c. Average Behavioral Diagram for Kim's Staff - Session 3

The Group Eigensystems (Figs. 5.18a-c) reveal a typical pattern of Eliciting and Responding behaviors the first session, with Assured, Expressive, and Supportive in the upper righthand quadrant and Reserved, Tentative, and Confrontational in the lower lefthand quadrant. In this session, Tentative was used for Eliciting and Responding, although the strength of those interactive sequences was relatively weak. In the second session, the picture was a bit atypical, with most of the behaviors falling in the upper two quadrants of the graph. The strength of Supportive as an Elicitor and a Responder was fairly similar, although most of the other behaviors fell above it as an Elicitor and below it as a Responder. In this session, which occurred after the first feedback to the group, Confrontational dropped to zero in the interactive patterns, even though there were still a few Confrontational codes given.

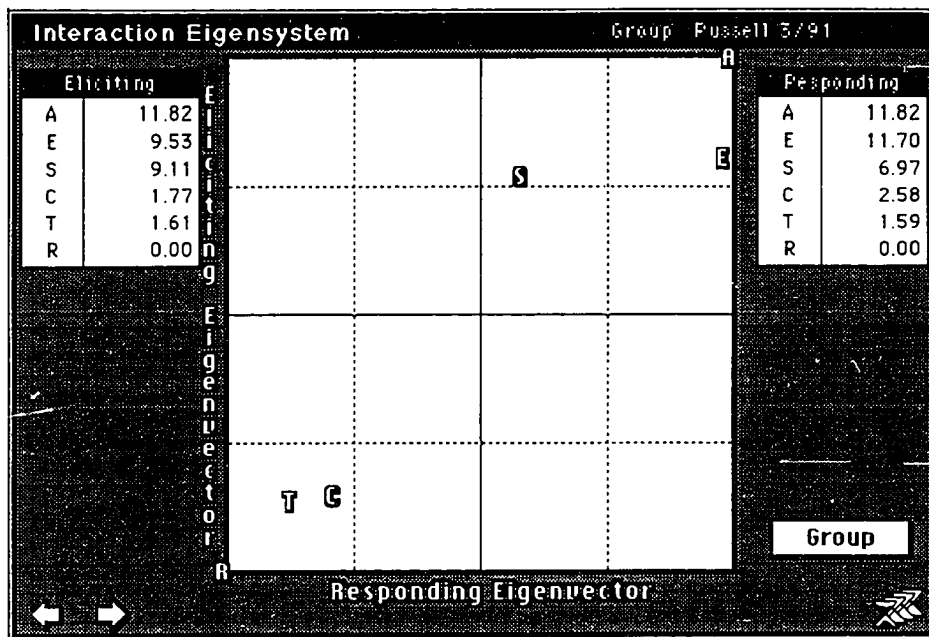


Fig. 5.18a. Group Eigensystem for Kim's Staff - Session 1

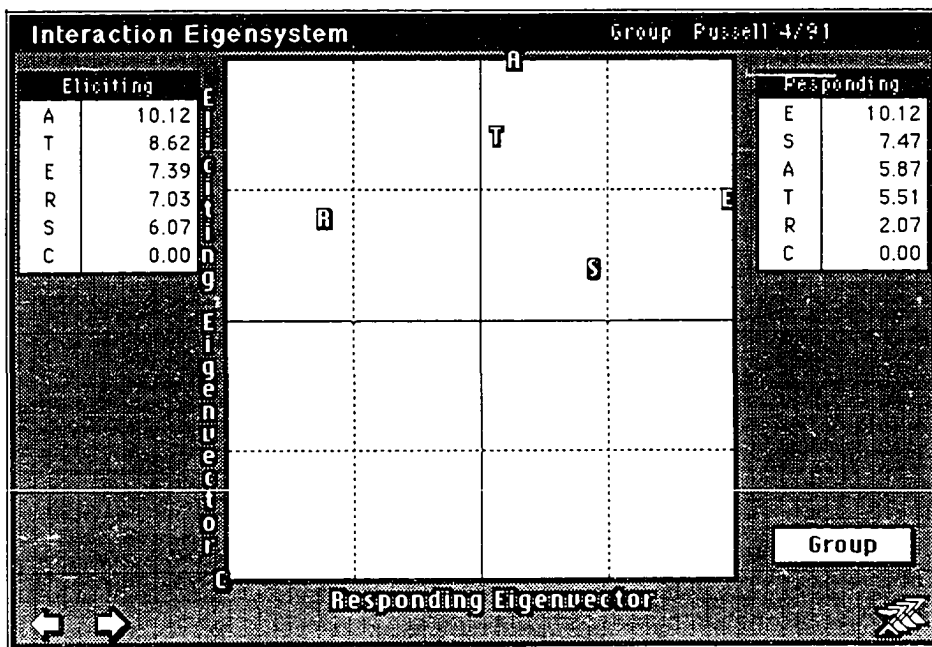


Fig. 5.18b. Group Eigensystem for Kim's Staff - Session 2

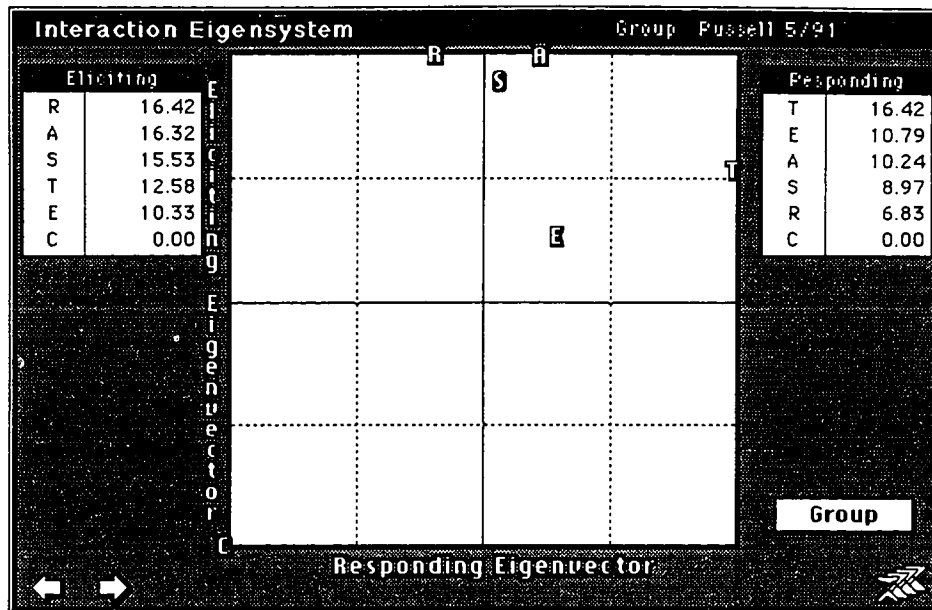


Fig. 5.18c. Group Eigensystem for Kim's Staff - Session 3

The behavioral configuration in the Group Eigensystem was even more atypical the third session. Here for the only time in this study, Reserved was the top Elicitor (along with Assured) and Tentative was the top Responder. Also, all the Eliciting behaviors except Confrontational were almost equally as strong, and the Responding behaviors were moderately strong, meaning that almost five of the six behaviors fell in the High Eliciting/High Responding quadrant. Of the three sessions, the behaviors in this last session were the most strongly connected.

On the Interaction Eigensystems (Figs. 5.19a-c), the rankings of the Elicitors and Responders changed from session to session. Kim was the top Responder in the first session and the top Elicitor in the last session. She was also the bottom Elicitor in the second session and the bottom Responder in the last session, although the group's connections that session were very strong, meaning there was little difference between

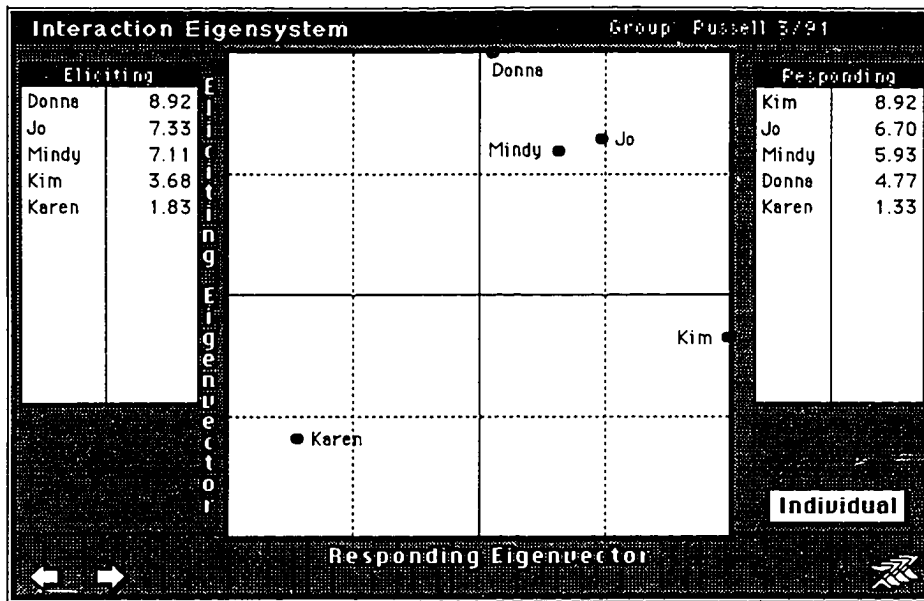


Fig. 5.19a. Individual Eigensystem for Kim's Staff - Session 1

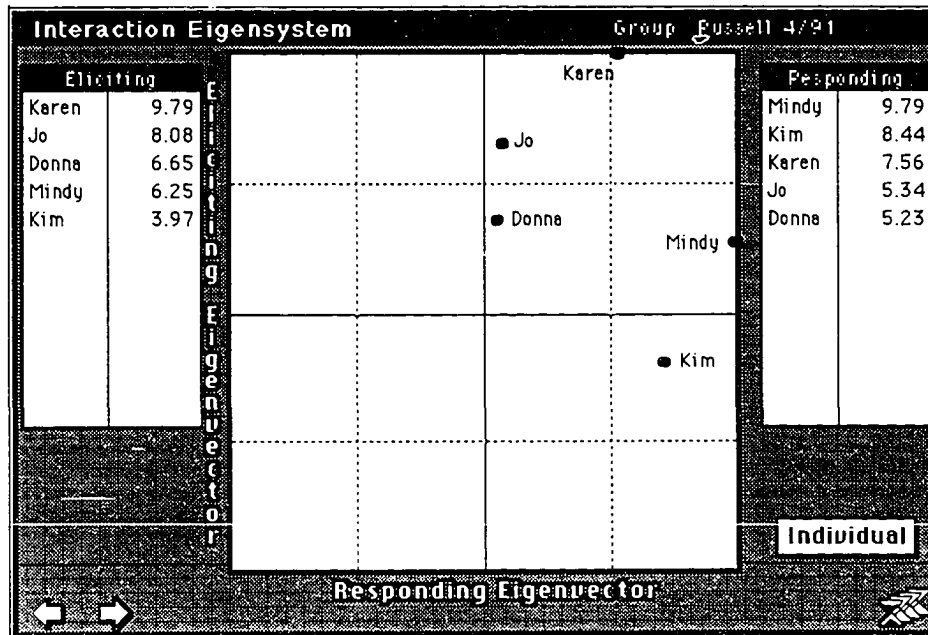


Fig. 5.19b. Individual Eigensystem for Kim's Staff - Session 2

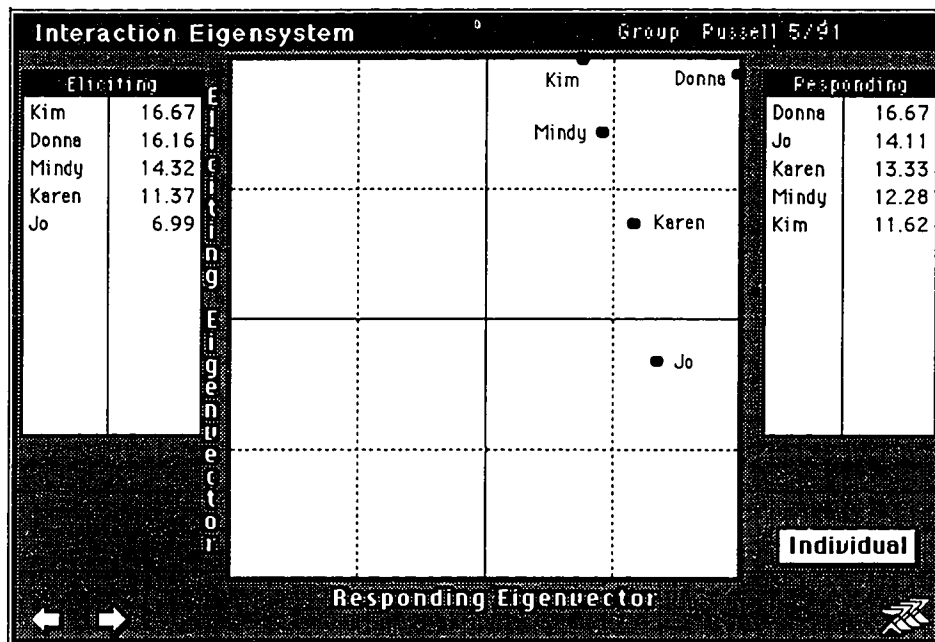


Fig. 5.19c. Individual Eigensystem for Kim's Staff - Session 3

people in the strength of their interactive sequences. Again, the profiles of group members were somewhat atypical the second and third sessions. In both sessions, all but one person fell into the High Eliciting/High Responding quadrant. Note that the group's interactive sequences were more strongly connected the third session than in either of the first two.

These patterns can be seen on the GID's (Figs. 5.20a-c). For the first session, all 43 interactive sequences are depicted (33 at .05, 10 at .01 and none at .001). The second session, 51 sequences can be seen (31 at .05, 18 at .01, and 2 at .001). The last session there were 84 sequences (61 at .05, 16 at .01 and 7 at .001), 23 of which are shown. What is notable about the first GID is the frequent use of Supportive as an Elicitor and Responder, Mindy's Confrontational patterns (both Eliciting and Responding), and Karen's relative lack of connections because she did not participate much

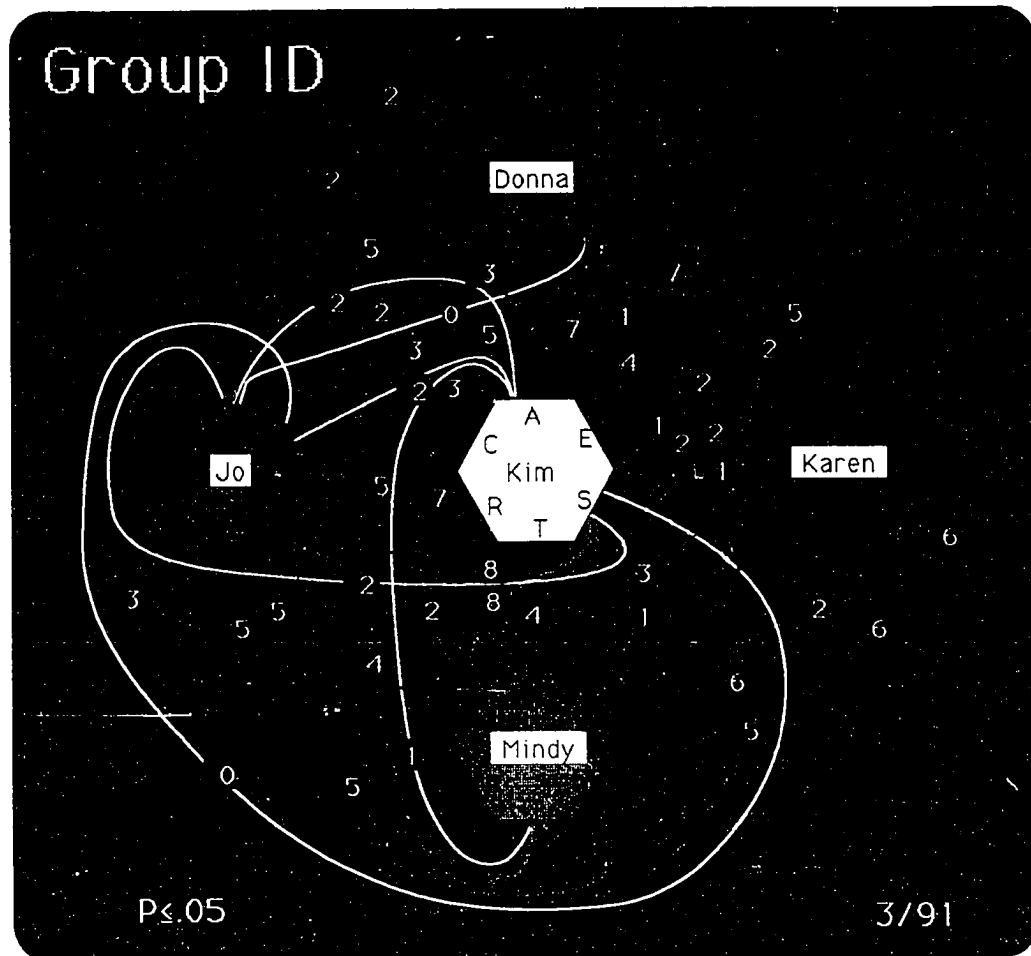


Fig. 5.20a. Group Interaction Diagram for Kim's Staff - Session 1

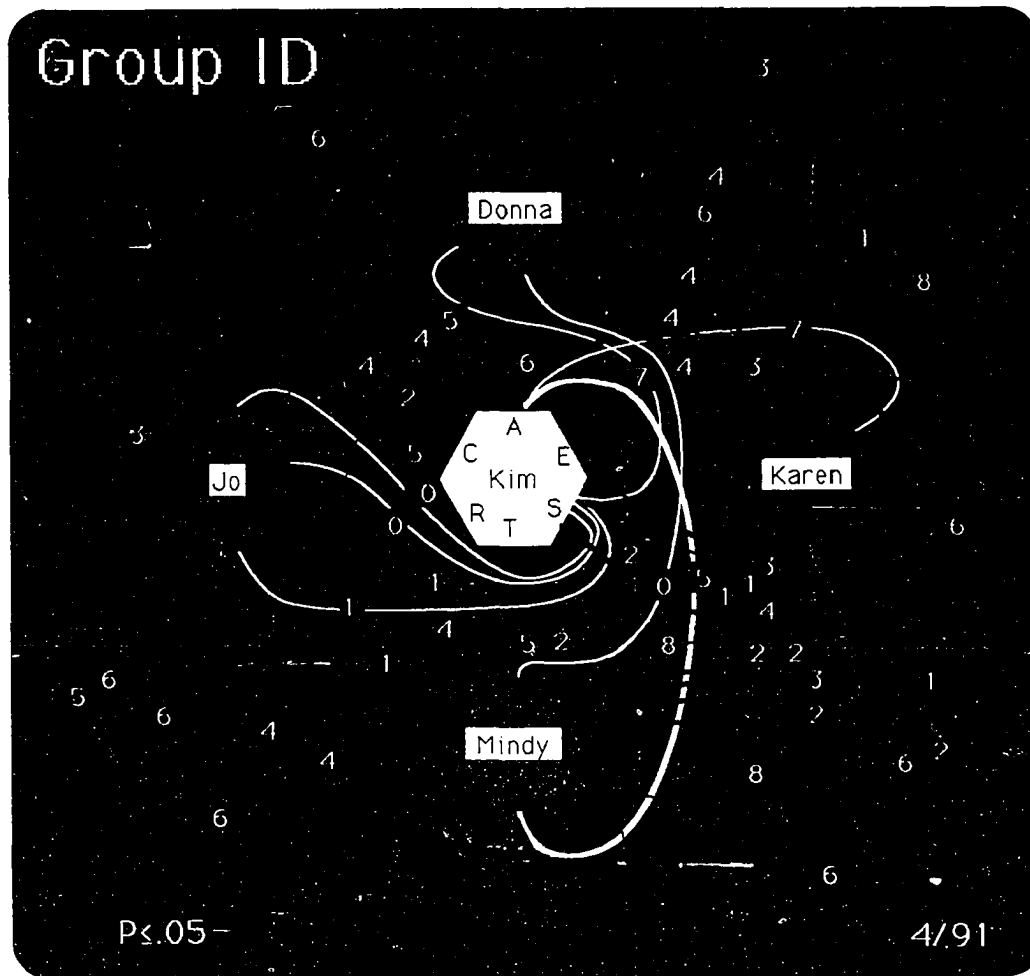


Fig. 5.20b. Group Interaction Diagram for Kim's Staff - Session 2

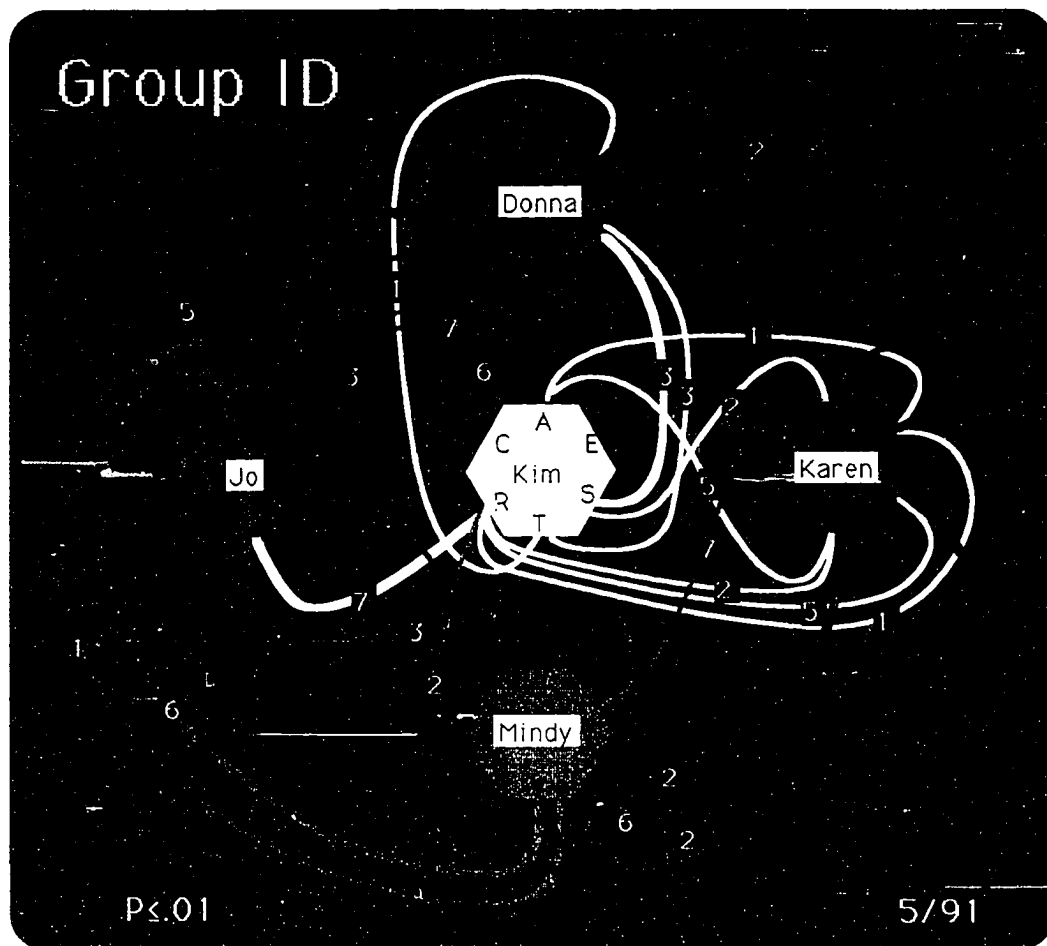


Fig. 5.20c. Group Interaction Diagram for Kim's Staff - Session 3

this session. Mindy was also the only one to use Tentative, mostly as a Responder. On average, the lag times for the group this session were fairly quick (three minutes and under). In the second session, Confrontational dropped away completely in sequences identified for this group. Three people, Jo, Mindy, and Karen, had fairly frequent connections through Tentative. And Donna and Karen used Reserved. Supportive was still being used, although less so than in the first session. The last session, there are fairly strong Tentative and Reserved patterns, with fewer Assured patterns at this level ($p \leq .01$). There were no Confrontational sequences at any level this session as well.

The general reaction of Kim's group to the CFAR findings was similar to that of the other two groups and Chris. A number of times during the wrapup session, they commented that they couldn't remember what they had been talking about during their meetings.⁴ There was also some confusion about how to interpret the time series data. Donna didn't understand p-values in the GID's, and Mindy thought the numbers on the GID's were lags in seconds, not minutes. She also wanted to know if the time series analysis took into account the fact that someone might be talking uninterrupted for quite some time. Moreover, like Helmut in Meg's group, she was sensitive about having been the only person in her group with Confrontational sequences.

Looking at [feedback] just for me, a lot more Tentative after the feedback on the second session. Then it's like, "Yeah, you think I'm going to say something Confrontational? You're out of your mind!" (laughs) It's just like "Be quiet!"

⁴Eventually, after I offered several times to make them an audiotape of their sessions, they did ask for a tape of the third session, which I gave them several days after the wrapup.

Karen's gut reaction was that their group acted differently depending on the topic being discussed. Mindy thought that would be true of any group, adding that "there's certain things that are your hot buttons or things that you have a lot of stake in, you are going to make different kinds of responses." And finally, Donna expressed a sentiment heard in all the groups regarding people's awareness of being coded.

Once [the meetings] got going, you really did forget that there were people there [coding] and if you had something really important to say, you just said it anyways, because I never thought that I could forget about things like [coding] going on. And I really did.

Another common theme across groups was reflected in Karen's question about how "in real life terms" they could use the time series information to learn about themselves individually and as a group. I suggested looking at her own behaviors relative to someone else's, although I acknowledged that understanding patterns with one to two minute lags was intuitively easier than understanding patterns with six to seven minute lags. I also suggested that as a group they might want to pick out one or two things from the data they thought needed changing. However, I noted that it seemed they worked so well together that maybe there wasn't much in the data for them to explore. Kim said they all still used Confrontational more than she thought necessary. Along these lines, I told them that for their group, which finished all their coding before the other three groups had started, we were able to code another category, Agree/Disagree.⁵ In their third session, much more disagreement was recorded than in the first two sessions, yet they had no Confrontational sequences. Kim thought this was important to understand.

⁵This category was coded by a third graduate student who resigned from CFAR shortly after Kim's group had their last CFAR meeting.

But, as mentioned earlier, there were also factors about this group that made their reactions different. One memorable example was a lively conversation early in the wrapup, following my comment that their configuration the third session, when they'd Elicited mainly with Reserved and Responded mainly with Tentative, was unusual. What I did not add was that when I'd first seen this data, my immediate thought had been that they were all menstruating. However, not wanting to embarrass myself, Kim or her group, I didn't present this hypothesis.

As they tried to reconstruct their third meeting, Kim asked if anyone remembered what they'd done just afterwards. The others said they didn't have a clue, although there was general agreement that they all thought it was an odd meeting. Even when I outlined the topics they had covered in the coded session, they couldn't remember what they had talked about or even whether or not they'd received coding feedback (they had not; that had been at their second meeting). Finally, someone remembered it had been their May meeting (this was now October). When Jo added, "And we went to lunch," something clicked for Mindy.

This is the one that we- OH, I know what it was, you guys!
Because we went out to lunch at [the Western Grill]. And you
guys were all- remember?

This prompted a collective OHHHHH!!! and the beginning of ten minutes of gut-wrenching laughter that had us holding our sides and rocking in our seats. Tears in our eyes, we sputtered and hooted as they remembered that indeed everyone except Mindy had had their periods and I revealed my initial reluctance to bring up the topic. Among the barrage of quips about menstruation that peppered the air, Donna wanted to know if they had looked bloated at CFAR. I said we didn't code bloated. When

Kim joked, "Oh, this is great! This could be a whole new research project! 'I wonder if they're all having their periods at the same time?'," the group got more serious. Horrified, Karen and Mindy immediately said, "NO!" And Mindy quickly added,

Now wait a minute, the only problem here, if you're going to be coming up with a [finding like this] in your research, I'm really worried that it's going get out to the males. It's easy to think of us as being less less effective or whatever.

They all thought I shouldn't use this information in the dissertation, that if it got out, it would set women back, and people would say "Well, women can't decide anything." I told them that coding could say nothing about the quality of decisions being made in a group. In fact, the findings that session had showed they were more connected, more in sinc, than in the other sessions. If anything, therefore, one would think they would be making better, not worse, decisions.

Of course, I had to explain to them why reporting this finding was important for the study, although I assured them I would present it in a fair way which did not detract from the picture of them as an effective group. Accordingly, subsequent to their wrapup session, I conducted an extensive review of the literature on cognition and menstruation, which can be found in Appendix I. In general, these findings reveal no significant effects of menstrual cycle fluctuation on women's cognitive or perceptual-motor performance. My speculation on what the CFAR coders had picked up that third session was a more Tentative, Reserved mood in the group, reflected mainly by the subdued tone of their voices, the degree of uncertainty in what they said, and the limited number of gestures which accompanied their speech. As for what caused this change in the group from their previous two sessions, there could be any number of

reasons, only one of which was the fact that most of them were menstruating. The way this study was conducted, however, there was no way to make a definitive determination.

Kim's group was also very different from the others in this study in how they processed the CFAR experience because of their backgrounds in human behavior and training. While they all agreed the picture of their group had changed significantly from one session to the next, they weren't sure what to make of this finding, suggesting it was more an artifact of the CFAR methodology. They had many ideas for how to structure the coding and feedback process.

First, they thought a baseline before receiving feedback would have been better. All they could see from their data was that there were three "atypical patterns." Kim thought all three sessions had a high degree of contamination. She couldn't say any session gave a good picture of the group and suggested it would have been useful to code a few more sessions to start to see patterns. I said this was assuming the group typically did something the same, to which Kim replied,

See that's the big question mark? Do we? At this point we don't know that. Because what we have is a first session where everybody was weird, because it was new to us. A second session where we had just had feedback and we were kind of weird because we had just had feedback, and it did change our interactions. I remember we all said that. And then a third session where we were just weird!

My guess is that, despite the weirdness, the last one is probably more typical. But I do agree one of the things that's most useful about this is to get a feeling for do you have a typical interaction or patterns, and if you do, what is it. And then how does it change given something else. And at this point I would say I honestly couldn't say that we do or don't.

She then suggested that if a group only had three coded sessions, the feedback should be given at the end of both the second and the third sessions, because

once you've had the feedback and you're away from it awhile you come into the room again, you're not as conscious of it. But you're very conscious of it when you [get it right] before you actually [have another session].

Kim also thought whatever CFAR wanted to get out of the coding should match the expectations of prospective groups and suggested that if CFAR wanted to look at

how do groups change their interactions based on simply having feedback, that you're not getting a real clear picture whether it changed simply because it was the second time, it changed because of the feedback, it changed because of whatever. There are so many unknowns.

In this regard, Mindy suggested bringing groups in an additional time to receive feedback between sessions, but Kim reminded her how hard it had been for them to get to CFAR at all. Mindy then proposed three sessions without feedback first, to get "more of a true picture of how the group works." But to that idea Donna said,

It might be difficult to absorb all the information on all three sessions though, after being that far away from it. Because then you have no concept of what went on in the first and second meeting at all. By that time you'd have to really get some real visuals or something in place for each one.

A second suggestion, from Karen, was getting each member's perception of the group and how they thought they interacted before starting coding. Kim thought this was a good idea, saying

individual interviews with people, ahead of time, would be really helpful in terms of how do different people perceive the relationships [in their work groups] and interactions when the group works together. And THEN to do the lab work and then take it from there.

But Mindy was skeptical of whether people would really be honest about revealing their perceptions of others in their group.

You're not going to get feedback from everyone in the group saying, "Well, you know. I don't work real well with so-and-so and this person really bugs me. They say anything and I get pissed off."

Donna thought interviews might work, "as long as confidentiality can be assured that a third party isn't going to report back to your boss."

And third, Kim's group also wasn't short on ideas for how the CFAR feedback could be improved. Donna said that although she'd always been good at math, she had trouble remembering what the numbers in the data meant. She suggested that the explanatory keys in the handout be expanded so people could refresh their memories if they wanted to look at the data later. Karen thought a written summary with suggestions for what needed to be changed in the group would be helpful. Kim reminded her and the others that I had been clear from the beginning that we weren't going to diagnose the group. But then she added,

I think there's a difference [between] diagnostic information and some narrative that says, here are some patterns we see or here are some areas that as a group you might want to look at further.

Overall, they were fascinated with what the CFAR analysis could tell about group interaction. Kim, in her unassuming, humorous way, summed it up best when she said that the coding looked like "just such a fun thing," that she'd "like to come over [to CFAR] about four hours a week and play there [and ask,] 'Now, have you thought about this?'"

Results of the Explanatory Style Questionnaire

Thirty-three people completed the ESQ in this study (19 women and 14 men, ranging in age from 16 to 78 with a mean of 41). Principle components analysis of the data revealed 17 components with eigenvalues of 1.0 or above.¹ Six of these correlated between .39 and .62 with the six Seligman factors (Pervasiveness Good and Bad, Permanence Good and Bad, and Personalization Good and Bad). Examination of the loadings on the other 11 components revealed a seventh factor particularly relevant to this study's consideration of competence. These seven components were then each correlated with the 48 items in the ESQ to reveal items which loaded .30 or higher. Interpretation of these results showed three factors paralleling Seligman's categories of Permanence, Pervasiveness, and Personalization (called here Locus of Control). The other four factors were Skill vs. Chance, Controllability, Locus in one's Romantic Relationship (LORR), and Success outside Romantic Relationships (SORR).

Unlike Seligman's factors, those identified in this study were comprised of items for both good and bad events and items which cut across categories. This meant the interpretation of the two attributional choices for many items had to be changed to reflect the gist of the factor. In a few cases, an attribution also needed to be slightly reworded to show why the item it belonged to loaded on a particular factor.

The factors, with the items which loaded .30 and above, follow in Tables 5.21 through 5.27. Six items loaded above .30 on two factors each.

¹One twelve-year-old girl, Meg's daughter, filled out the child's version of the ESQ. As predicted by results of studies of a large sample of children (Seligman, 1991), her total score showed she was extremely optimistic. She had a total Bad score of 5 (the average for girls nine to twelve is 7) and a total Good score of 20 (the average for nine-to-twelve-year-old girls and boys is 13.5). No further analysis of her data was done.

In each case, a two-tailed t-test between the dependent correlation coefficients was not significant (Cohen & Cohen, 1983, p. 57). Item #23 loaded .42 on SORR and .50 on Pervasiveness ($t = .38$, with criteria for significance 2.75 and 2.04 at $\alpha = .01$ and $.05$ respectively with 30 degrees of freedom). Item #26 loaded .35 on Controllability and .42 on SORR ($t = .31$). Item #27 loaded .35 on Controllability and .38 on Pervasiveness ($t = .13$). Item #28 loaded .47 on SORR and .59 on Permanence ($t = .62$). Item #30 loaded .35 on Locus of Control and .39 on Skill vs. Chance ($t = .17$). And item #32 loaded .36 on Pervasiveness and .44 on LORR ($t = .36$). The relevance of each of these to their respective factors is discussed below.

In Table 5.21, Permanence, the latter three items are Seligman Permanence items. Item #28, a dual-factor item, was recast from Seligman's Pervasiveness choices of global/situational.

PERMANENCE	
28. Your boss gives you too little time in which to finish a project, but you get it finished anyway.	
T	I am good at my job.
P	I am an efficient person.
33. A friend says something that hurts your feelings.	
P	She always blurts things out without thinking of others.
T	My friend was in a bad mood and took it out on me.
38. Your spouse (boyfriend/girlfriend) takes you away for a romantic weekend.	
T	He/she needed to get away for a few days
P	He/she likes to explore new areas.
46. You gain weight over the holidays and you can't lose it.	
P	Diets don't work in the long run.
T	The diet I tried didn't work.
T=temporary	
P=permanent	

Table 5.21. Factor 1

In Pervasiveness (Table 5.22), #32 and #34 remained the same, although the interpretation of #32, a dual-factor item, changed to internal/external in LORR. Other items in this factor had to be reinterpreted. One attribution in #13 was reworded to reflect a global orientation. Note that #41 has two situational choices. Two other dual-factor items were #23 and #27; #23 was global/specific here and in SORR (Table 5.27), even though Seligman considers it internal/external. Item #27 was qualified to be understood as global/specific; however, in Control-ability (Table 5.26), its interpretation was also different.

PERVASIVENESS	
13. You owe the library ten dollars for an overdue book.	
G	When I am really involved in what I am reading, I often forget when it's due. [when books are due]
S	I was so involved in writing the report that I forgot to return the book.
23. A game-show host picks you out of the audience to participate in the show.	
S	I was sitting in the right seat.
G	I looked the most enthusiastic.
27. You tell a joke and everyone laughs.	
S	The joke was funny. [to this group of people]
G	My timing was perfect. [I have perfect timing]
32. Your romantic partner wants to cool things off for a while.	
G	I'm too self-centered.
S	I don't spend enough time with him/her.
34. Your employer comes to you for advice.	
S	I am an expert in the area about which I was asked.
G	I am good at giving useful advice.
41. You and your spouse (boyfriend/girlfriend) have been fighting a great deal.	
S	I have been feeling cranky and pressured lately.
S	He/she has been hostile lately.
S=situational	
G=global	

Table 5.22. Factor 2

In Locus of Control (Table 5.23), three of the items, #1, #30, and #39, were Seligman Personalization items and thus needed no reinterpretation. However, to fit the LOC rubric, the other two, #2 and #6, needed a recast of attributions. Again, this factor combined what Seligman labels good and bad events. While the explanation for #30, a dual-factor item, was internal/external here, as we shall see shortly, this item was also read by respondents as a skill/chance choice (Table 5.25).

LOCUS OF CONTROL	
1. The project you are in charge of is a great success.	
I	I kept a close watch over everyone's work.
E	Everyone devoted a lot of time and energy to it.
2. You and your spouse (boyfriend/girlfriend) make up after a fight.	
E	I forgave him/her. [He/she did something that caused me to forgive him/her]
I	I'm usually forgiving. [I am a forgiving person]
6. You get a flower from a secret admirer.	
E	I am attractive to him/her. [He/she finds me attractive]
I	I am a popular person.
30. You ask someone to dance and he/she says no.	
I	I am not a good enough dancer.
E	He/she doesn't like to dance.
39. Your doctor tells you that you eat too much sugar.	
I	I don't pay much attention to my diet.
E	You can't avoid sugar, it's in everything.
I=internal	
E=external	

Table 5.23. Factor 3

Another locus factor in this study (Table 5.24 - Locus in One's Romantic Relationship) contained only two items, #4, a Personalization Good item, and #32, a Pervasiveness Bad item. A rewording for the

second attributional choice in the latter was needed to reflect an external locus. Item #32, a dual-factor item, switches to internal/external here.

LOCUS IN ONE'S ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIP	
4. Your spouse (boyfriend/girlfriend) surprises you with a gift.	
E	He/she just got a raise at work.
I	I took him/her out to a special dinner the night before.
32. Your romantic partner wants to cool things off for a while.	
I	I'm too self-centered.
E	I don't spend enough time with him/her. [He/she wants to spend more time together than I do]
I=internal	
E=external	

Table 5.24 - Factor 4

One of the two factors in this study which did not specifically use the internal/external, global/specific, or temporary/permanent dimensions was Skill vs. Chance (Table 5.25). Items from all Seligman categories and both good and bad events were fairly evenly represented in this factor as well. Here, of course, the choice of skill or the positive or negative chance categories luck or fate had to be assigned to all the attributions. Despite the fact that none of these items was originally constructed to reflect the skill/chance concept, no attribution had to be reworded. This is probably because the idea of skill versus chance contains a strong internal/external component. Also, there were three items where bipolar options were not available. Items #8 and #20 seemed to offer two fate choices, and #34 presented two skill choices. The dual-factor item was #30, mentioned also under Locus of Control.

SKILL VS. CHANCE

8. You miss an important engagement.
F Sometimes my memory fails me.
F I sometimes forget to check my appointment book.
11. You stop a crime by calling the police.
L A strange noise caught my attention.
S I was alert that day.
15. You win an athletic contest.
L I was feeling unbeatable.
S I train hard.
20. You lose your temper with a friend.
F He/she is always nagging me.
F He/she was in a hostile mood.
30. You ask someone to dance and he/she says no.
S I am not a good enough dancer.
F He/she doesn't like to dance.
34. Your employer comes to you for advice.
S I am an expert in the area about which I was asked.
S I am good at giving useful advice.
43. You win a prestigious award.
S I solved an important problem.
L I was the best employee.
45. You win the lottery.
L It was pure chance.
S I picked the right numbers.

S=skill
L=luck
F=fate

Table 5.25. Factor 4

The second factor in this study which didn't follow Seligman's categories was Controllability (Table 5.26). The attributions for the items in this factor seemed to indicate a controllable or uncontrollable choice. This included #27, a dual-factor item which also loaded on Pervasiveness, where the choices were understood in a global/situational way. Under Controllability, however, telling a joke which is inherently funny is seen

as something uncontrollable, while telling it with perfect timing is controllable. On item #31, the two choices were controllable.

CONTROLLABILITY	
3. You get lost driving to a friend's house.	
C	I missed a turn.
UC	My friend gave me bad directions.
25. You buy your spouse (boyfriend/girlfriend) a gift and he/she doesn't like it.	
C	I don't put enough thought into things like that.
UC	He/she has very picky tastes.
26. You do exceptionally well in a job interview.	
UC	I felt extremely confident during the interview.
C	I interview well.
27. You tell a joke and everyone laughs.	
UC	The joke was funny.
C	My timing was perfect.
31. You save a person from choking to death.	
C	I know a technique to stop someone from choking
C	I know what to do in crisis situations.
C=controllable	
UC=uncontrollable	

Table 5.26. Factor 6

The last factor, Success outside one's Romantic Relationship, is shown in Table 5.27. While the items in this factor do cut across all of Seligman's categories, six out of the nine are classified as good events. However, the bad events, #29, #42, and #48, can also be seen as good events if interpreted within the general theme of this factor. What appears to provide the coherence for this factor are situations likely to be experienced by intelligent, busy people with fairly responsible jobs which pay them well enough to provide such "luxuries" as credit cards, stock brokers, trips, and enough busyness to feel run down. The attributions here suggest a global/situational dimension. Item #48 offers two situational attributions.

SUCCESS OUTSIDE ONE'S ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIP

11. You stop a crime by calling the police.
S A strange noise caught my attention.
G I was alert that day.
14. Your stocks make you a lot of money.
S My broker decided to take on something new.
G My broker is a top-notch investor.
23. A game-show host picks you out of the audience to participate in the show.
S I was sitting in the right seat.
G I looked the most enthusiastic.
26. You do exceptionally well in a job interview.
S I felt extremely confident during the interview.
G I interview well.
28. Your boss gives you too little time in which to finish a project, but you get it finished anyway.
S I am good at my job.
G I am an efficient person.
29. You've been feeling run-down lately.
G I never get a chance to relax.
S I was exceptionally busy this week.
40. You are asked to head an important project.
S I just successfully completed a similar project.
G I am a good supervisor.
42. You fall down a great deal while skiing.
G Skiing is difficult.
S The trails were icy.
48. They won't honor your credit card at a store.
S I sometimes overestimate how much money I have.
S I sometimes forget to pay my credit-card bill.

S=situational

G=global

Table 5.27. Factor 7

Scoring for the above seven factors followed Seligman's scheme, with those attributions which were internal, permanent, global, controllable or skill-related receiving a one and their opposites, a zero.

A multivariate one-way analysis of variance (MANOVA) with the factors as the dependent measures yielded a significant gender effect $F(7, 25) = 3.77, p = .006$, indicating that males and females answered the questionnaire differently. Univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed one significant difference by age and three by gender.

The only age difference was for the four males over age 60 in this study. They were found to be more internal than all the other respondents on Locus of Control ($F, 32 = 5.58, p = .002$). For the gender differences, on Controllability ($F, 32 = 5.83, p = .02$), males chose more controllable attributions (70%) than did females (54%). The other two gender findings were on Pervasiveness ($F, 32 = 4.54, p = .04$) and Success outside one's Romantic Relationship ($F, 32 = 4.54, p = .04$). On Pervasiveness, females answered more globally (41%) than males (32%), although overall both chose more situational responses. On the same dimension in SORR, however, males selected global responses more (71%) than did females (54%).

To investigate the gender effects further, Pearson's chi square tests of association between gender and the individual items on each factor were performed. Four items (three of them dual-factor items) were found to be significant. Controllability had two items. For item #25, which only loaded on this factor ($\chi^2(1) = 4.59, p = .03$), 17 of the 19 women responded to the situation of a spouse not liking a gift the respondent had bought by choosing the uncontrollable response "He/she has very picky tastes." The men, however, were almost evenly split between that and the controllable attribution "I don't put enough thought into things like that." On item #26 ($\chi^2(1) = 6.67, p = .01$), 14 of the 19 women attributed doing exceptionally well in a job interview to the uncontrollable choice "I felt extremely confident

during the interview." The male response was almost the opposite; 10 of the 14 chose the controllable option "I interview well." This dual-factor item was also significant for Success outside one's Romantic Relationship, where the attributional interpretation changed from controllable/uncontrollable to global/situational.

The second significant dual-factor item was #30 - You ask someone to dance and he/she says no ($\chi^2(1) = 4.48, p = .03$). All 19 women chose the attribution, "He/she doesn't like to dance," while 11 of the 14 men chose that response. On Locus of Control, this attribution was external. Under Skill/Chance, it was fate.

The last dual-factor item was #32 - Your romantic partner wants to cool things off for a while ($\chi^2(1) = 5.40, p = .02$). Six of the 19 women chose the attribution "I'm too self-centered." None of the 14 men did, opting for "I don't spend enough time with him/her." For Pervasiveness, these responses were global/situational respectively. For Locus in the Romantic Relationship, they were internal/external (with a recast of the external attribution, see Table 5.24).

Chi square tests were also conducted to see if there was a relationship between the responses of the women managers and their parents. Both parents of Meg and Sara filled out the ESQ, as did Chris's father. When this data was analyzed comparing daughters to parents, a significant relationship was found ($\chi^2(239) = 6.27, p = .01$). When the mothers' and fathers' scores was partialled out, the relationship was not significant for the three fathers ($\chi^2(143) = 1.69, p = .19$), but it was for the two mothers ($\chi^2(95) = 5.64, p = .02$).

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

There are many things that we know but we are not supposed to know. Sometimes there is a conspiracy to silence us. But at other times it may be that what we have to tell is something no one wants to know because what we say does not fit into the scheme of things as they are understood to be (Griffin, 1992, p. 46).

The experience of being bright and ambitious for the women in this study involved a number of common characteristics. Each says something significant about the women's compartment in the world, about how they see themselves and others, and about how they explain the situations in which they find themselves.

The most obvious commonality among the women is their openness to learning. They all did extremely well in school, which allowed them to move fairly easily through the educational system and to transfer their learning skills to other areas of their lives. Kim alludes to this quality when she remarks that

probably the one thing that sets apart women who are successful is that they learned how to use their experiences, how to do things differently, how to experiment.

This finding is borne out by studies which have shown most successful business women tend to be self-reliant and had at least one courage-building experience as children (Morrison, White & Van Velsor, 1987; Fierman, 1990). In this study, Chris tells of having to deal at age 15 with her father's coronary, of joining VISTA and being dropped off in strange

places to learn how to survive, and of heading off to visit China when she had just become a single parent with a two-year-old. Sara relates her experiences of failure as a would-be cheerleader and beauty queen, of working on the family's potato farm, and of her brother Mike's death. Meg had to deal with feelings of isolation as the smartest kid with little in common with other girls and the paradoxical realization as she approached adulthood that there were "a ton" of people who were much smarter than she was. Kim had to overcome the effects of her father's rejection and violence and her divorce, which left her with two daughters to support. And all four women have had repeated opportunities throughout their lives to learn how to constructively handle sexual discriminations large and small.

A second common characteristic of the women is a positive sense of self. Each seemed to have an unflappable self-confidence which showed up as an ability to take themselves seriously and yet laugh at themselves, to not need approval from others for what they do, and to not second-guess their decisions. As Meg said, "If I did it, it must have been right. . . . There's no point in trying to worry about would I have, should I have, could I have." Neither she, Sara or Chris put much value in overanalyzing. Kim, on the other hand, was more introspective, but it didn't seem to impair her ability to make decisions. If anything, it made her more sensitive to interpersonal issues, a valuable skill in her chosen field of organizational dynamics. They were all open to challenges and change, although they admitted feeling what Sara called a "healthy dose of insecurity" each time they tackled a new job on their way up the organizational ladder.

These women's experiences seem to suggest a fluidity to their lives which coincides closely with an HVB account of being. Rather than being linear and compartmentalized, their lives have unfolded in ways that belie the unfinalizability of the situations in which they have found themselves and their continual becoming as human beings. In no case has their personal or career development followed the normative, linear, white-male model (Thomas & Alderfer, 1989). They have had no one outside their families as a mentor (Josselson, 1990) and no carefully-charted career plans. Yet neither of these eventualities has prevented them from being successful. While they are all serious about their work and are eager to contribute to their organizations, they are also dedicated spouses and parents equally concerned about the welfare of their families. To fashion the kind of life that works best for them, each has made significant accommodations. For Meg, it meant deciding with her husband early in their marriage that he would take care of the daily child care and household responsibilities. For Sara, it was aggressively pursuing a career first, before marriage and children. Now it entails juggling motherhood and dual identities as an executive's wife and an executive in her own right. Kim and Chris both left marriages they found stifling. Chris found someone else who she calls her "best cheerleader." Kim has remained single, although she says she'd like a permanent relationship. But not having one hasn't prevented her from moving ahead both professionally and personally. In each case, these women have gone beyond historically limited views of femaleness to create their own sense of selfhood, not by standing on soap boxes to stridently declare their independence, but by taking a daily stand on themselves to live authentically, regardless of the risk (Miller, 1986).

The women's being-in-the world is revealed most strikingly in their narratives through their use of voice. Each woman's story shows how her life is constituted by a multivoicedness which stretches back through her past and yet at the same time keeps her ever on the brink of the progressing present moment. Through the heavy use of reported speech in all four cases, we get a glimpse of the two-sidedness of their words, at once theirs and yet not theirs. This is especially clear with regard to their parents' influence. For all the women we can see how their perceptions of their experiences in their formative years contribute to their life orientations and the strength of their voices today.

All four women were appreciative of what their mothers had given them and had a respectful understanding of the limited range of life choices available to females when their mothers was growing up. Each woman also had the validation of a male, either a father or brother, who served not merely as an opposite-sex model for the women's sexual development but as a staunch supporter of the women's thinking and achievement as they were growing up. Meg and Chris attributed their assuredness to the frequent encouragement they got from their fathers to make their own decisions and not care what anybody else thought. They both spoke of their mothers as their best friends, and indicated their parents were the people to whom they could turn when they needed help sorting things out. For Meg and Chris, life is wonderful, a great adventure to be enjoyed, regardless of what happens. Although Sara says her determination to succeed had a lot to do with rebelling against her father's control, her interviews show how much her father's daughter she really is. Yet we also see the influence of her mother, who worked side by side with her husband to give her family the stability they needed to

succeed. Growing up on a farm, the oldest of six children, Sara learned that life is not always fair. In Kim's family, it was her older brother Bill who was her champion, sharing her social and political values, her outlook on life, and her feelings about living in a family where danger was a constant possibility. Despite her brother's positive effect, however, we see what it has taken for Kim to overcome her father's negative influence and her frustration with the mixed messages she received from her mother about what it meant to be female. Life to Kim is like a roller coaster, full of highs and lows that take a lot of energy to ride out.

This aspect of the women's lives was especially intriguing to me because, unlike them, I had no one in my life to give me the kind of validation they seem to have received, especially from a male. When I thought about the development of my own voice, this lack became painfully obvious. My father had a shy and melancholy disposition. He never liked his work as an accountant and complained regularly that people with college educations were after his job. So the story went, he'd had to quit college after one year to help support his family during the Depression when his father became chronically ill. While I felt my father cared deeply about me, we spent little time together. My mother had most of the responsibility for raising my younger brother and me and taking care of the household. Although my father did attend our sporting events, dance recitals, and school functions, he was content most of the time to be alone, tinkering in his basement workshop, doing yard work, fixing things around the house, or watching sports on television. We never had any family discussions of any import. I remember my parents having only one argument. Outright conflict was too upsetting to them, so tensions stayed just beneath the surface of a family life my mother desperately wanted to

be seen as "happy." Often, however, I had the sense our bottled-up emotions could spring at any moment like an accidentally triggered jack-in-the-box.

As for my voice, during my preteen years I was called stubborn for speaking my own thoughts and feelings. Moving into adolescence, I lost that connection, just like the girls in Brown and Gilligan's (1992) study. Exactly how it happened is hard to reconstruct after so many years, but certain events still stand out. One indelible memory is an upstairs hallway shouting match my mother and I had about my messy room when I was 14. Although the exact sequence of events is hazy, I will never forget what ultimately happened. Pushed to her limits, my mother marched to the bathroom and came back with a full glass of water, which she threw in my face. Shocked and humiliated, I "disappeared," much like the Wicked Witch of the West in the Wizard of Oz. "Help me! I'm melting!" I can hear that vanishing crone cry, her voice growing ever more squeaky and dim.

In retrospect, there were other instances of my disassociation as well. My voice grew shakier every time I tried to disagree with my father. Whenever I spoke up, usually prefacing my statements with "I know but," his response was to repeat the phrase several times and quickly cut me off. We also had to be careful what we said in his presence about anyone who was not White Anglo-Saxon Protestant for fear of triggering a rage which could turn him instantly into a beet-red, blustering, bigot. In the wake of his abrupt departure from the dinner table after one of his fist-pounding tirades, my mother, brother and I would eat in silence or turn to safe topics like the weather to avoid having to talk about the incident.

I didn't fare any better getting myself heard by my first love interest either. My high school boyfriend gave me the silent treatment whenever I

got a better grade than he did and not wanting to jeopardize our relationship, I finally stopped telling him the truth. I also stopped fast dancing at his insistence when he became jealous that I danced better than he did. And at age 17, I turned down an invitation to participate in the local Junior Miss pageant when he told me if I did, he'd break up with me. My mother didn't encourage me to compete either, probably fearing that I, and she, would be devastated by a breakup. Moreover, risky new ventures weren't her cup of tea or my father's. You never knew what might go wrong.

But the person who affected my voice the most was my maternal grandmother, an opinionated and sometimes imperious doyenne who, because of a substantial inheritance from her father, often called the shots in my own family, especially for my mother, her only child. Much of my father's withdrawal I attribute to his frustration and anger with my grandmother's appropriation of power which rightfully belonged to him. Two classic examples of her controlling behavior come to mind. The first was in restaurants. Although I'm sure I had a varied diet the many times she took me and my family out for dinner, all I remember eating is lamb chops. Ordering lamb chops meant indicating how they should be cooked. While I had no trouble saying "Well done" when asked by the server, I never did master getting a word in edgewise the many times a steaming plate was lowered under my nose and my grandmother immediately sent it back to the kitchen because she thought the meat wasn't done enough.

The other example of her control was the semiannual shopping trips she, my mother and I took to buy me clothes. The script was always the same. They'd select the clothes, I'd try them on, and they'd decide what to buy. If I pointed out something they hadn't picked that appealed to

me, my grandmother would invariably say, "That's not a good color for you," "You don't want that. It's cheap looking," or "That's not what they're wearing this season." The ubiquitous "they" came up so often in her explanations that for years I wondered who this invisible group of people was who had the power to dictate how we lived. Although my grandmother's domineering behavior, like my father's angry outbursts, was undiscussable back then, everyone in my family knew you never disagreed with her. If she said, "Violin music is awful, isn't it?" or "Don't you just love brussels sprouts?," I knew she didn't want my opinion. She wanted confirmation of her tastes and values, which I begrudgingly gave her. Angry at not having much of a say in what went on in my family but afraid to rock the boat by speaking up, eventually I capitulated, taking on their insulated worldview. As I stopped knowing and feeling what I knew and felt, my voice eventually came to echo theirs.

This inability to speak my mind and be heard followed me into marriage years later, appearing most frequently in my efforts to convince my husband that my ideas for how to handle a specific situation were worthy, even if they involved some degree of risk. Wanting a 100% guarantee the outcomes would be successful, he'd bombard me with a multitude of "what if's," looking for answers which, of course, I could not give. As time passed, many an initial molehill became an insurmountable mountain and in exasperation, with little sense of the validity of my own convictions and little ability to handle conflict constructively, my usual response was to give up, just as I'd done in childhood. Life to me has always been a challenge, with many obstacles that need to be negotiated.

More than isolated anecdotes, these stories and those of the other women reveal the substantial influence of daily practices on the

development of voice and a sense of self. Who we are and how we navigate the world comes from a social understanding which begins in childhood not as snippets of distilled wisdom passed on orally from one generation to the next but as praxis within a narrative context with children themselves as the protagonist (Dunn, 1988).

The child learns to play a part in everyday family "drama" before there is ever any telling or justifying or excusing required. What is permissible and what not, what leads to what outcomes -- these first are learned in action (Bruner, 1990, p. 85).

Like Maturana's autopoiesis, certain actions are at first constituted by and then become essential to the the power relationships among family members. Family politics get played out most frequently in conflicts borne of daily necessity, where "getting what you want often means getting the right story" (Bruner, 1990, p. 86). In these cases, narrative accounts of actions and their consequences are not neutral but have rhetorical, partisan aims in privileging one interpretation over another.

To narrate in a way that puts [one's] case convincingly requires not only language but a mastery of the canonical forms, for one must make one's actions seem an extension of the canonical, transformed by mitigating circumstances (Bruner, 1990, p. 87).

Chris alludes to this when she mentions her difficulty as a child articulating her side of the story when she felt manipulated by her brother Paul. Sara recounts family face-offs between the siblings who followed her versus those who followed her brother Mike. And we can see how Kim's life has been tremendously influenced by the not-so-funny family joke that as the only girl she ruined her father's baseball team but that at least her mother would have help waiting on all the men. Experiences such as these and the more common "Did so!" "Did not!" disagreements of

childhood shape us more fundamentally than we realize. Embedded in our own stories, we perceive how our family operates as normal and expect that other families work the same way. As both Sara and Chris note, you don't really know anything else until you leave your family and begin to appreciate that how your family sees the world is not necessarily how others see it.

This reminder of the ontological function of culture returns us to the ideas in the HVB perspective of the clearing, outsidership, room-for-manuever, and the Zone of Proximal Development. Together these can be thought of as referring to different aspects of what cultural anthropologists call the social space (Fortes, 1970). As the reader may recall, this space is dialogical, functioning in childhood as the area of mutual construction of activities which stretch children's developing cognitive, motor, and verbal skills. And as noted above, this space reflects the political nature of family interactive processes as well. Valsiner (1984) addresses this latter aspect in describing two other regulatory zones connected to the ZPD, the zone of free movement (ZFM) and the zone of promoted actions (ZPA).

Rooted in field theory (Lewin, 1933, 1939), the ZFM is a flexible, socially constructed boundary which limits "the child's access to different areas in the environment, to different objects within these areas, and to different ways of acting on these objects" (Valsiner, 1984, p. 67). From day to day, the ZFM is reinstated or redefined as children develop. Within the ZFM, there are subzones of promoted action, ZPA's, which include actions selectively promoted by adults but with no repercussions for noncompliance. Sometimes distinct and sometimes overlapping, the ZFM, ZPA, and ZPD provide a metaphorical context for understanding how children develop the skills necessary to function productively in society, or

conversely, how their activities can be channeled to limit possibilities for action which prevents them from behaving appropriately and effectively.

As microindicators of a family's political structure, these zones also impact the development of voice by providing the context in which internalization takes place. Crucial to the process of internalization

is the presence of a challenging verbal and physical environment. The descriptive "monologue" of which egocentric speech is composed can be internalized creatively only if questioned and challenged by outside voices. In this way alone is intelligence made possible, with "intelligence" defined not as the measurement of already mastered skills but as an address to the external world and as a dialogue with one's own future tasks. . . . A true test of intelligence, Vygotsky argues, is one that posits problems beyond the capacity of the child to solve and then makes help available. How a person seeks help, utilizes his or her environment, and asks questions of others: these are the proper test questions. . . . (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 123-124).

Three of the managers in this study, like myself, grew up in the 1950's and 1960's, a time when fathers were considered unimportant to child development because their only role in the family was considered to be the provider of financial support (Lamb, 1975, 1981, 1986). Mothers, most of whom did not work outside the home, were thought to have the major influence on children. It wasn't until the late 1970's, when women had begun to move into the workforce in large numbers, that fathers' influence on their children began to receive attention in the developmental literature (Barnett, 1978). Since then this literature has chronicled the importance of fathers, finding overall that in nonclinical situations, the effects of fathers on children is similar to that of mothers (Lamb, 1986; Phares, 1992). One difference, however, is in parents' speech with young children. Fathers have been found to be less polite and sensitive than mothers; more directive and controlling, especially for sons; and to use

more difficult words and to test their children's knowledge (Engle, 1980; Gleason & Greif, 1983). It is suggested this style serves as a bridge to the public world, requiring children to extend their thinking and knowledge through language in order to communicate effectively with others (Gleason & Greif, 1983). But it can also be seen as a bridge to *inner* speech, helping children learn to use the parental voice to control themselves emotionally (Stern, 1985). As this study has shown, this influence can be negative as well as positive. This point is especially relevant when considering women, language, and competence.

If one of the best tests of people's brightness is how they ask questions and utilize their environment, and the rudiments of this skill are formed in adult-child dialogue within the ZPD, ZFM, and ZPA, then parental voice, in the form of explanatory style, probably has a large effect on how children see the world. Brewin (1991) hypothesizes that explanatory style says something about one's experiences with significant, powerful others and hence about one's perceptions of self in relation to others. Results of the ESQ administered in this study tend to support this interpretation, indicating that for the two women whose mothers and fathers completed the questionnaire, their explanatory style was most like their mother's. In addition, the explanatory style results in this study give convincing evidence that contrary to Seligman's belief that people can speculate on their attributions even if they haven't experienced certain situations, the kinds of situations we experience do affect our explanatory styles. Again, we can go back to the idea of the social space to see that

. . . different social experiences are expected to stimulate *different types of mental processes*, not just supply different knowledge (Kozulin, 1990, p. 128, emphasis added).

For children brought up in a sexist society, participating in certain kinds of activities associated with being female and male clearly affect one's sense of self and competence, and by extension, one's causal attributions. It is not surprising that two of the factors in the ESQ results, Locus in one's Romantic Relationship and Success outside Romantic Relationships (SORR), reflect the two respective areas traditionally associated with female and male success. The most obvious explanation for the women's answering more situationally than men on SORR is that the women have had little or no experience in holding jobs which pay them well enough to provide credit cards, stock brokers, and trips. On another factor, Pervasiveness, where women did answer more globally than men, the items which made a difference involved situations women are normally familiar with, i.e., reading books, watching or participating in television game shows, being with a romantic partner, and giving advice.

Another interesting explanatory style finding was the appearance of Controllability as a factor. Controllability was a feature of the original learned helplessness model which disappeared in the reformulation (Brewin, 1991). Some believe the agency instruments which purportedly measure control do not measure the female perception of control, which implies an essential difference between how males and females experience control (deBrabander & Boone, 1990). The findings in this study, however, again indicate a sex-role interpretation. Women made significantly more uncontrollable attributions to situations like telling a joke where everyone laughs, doing exceptionally well in a job interview, and buying a boyfriend a gift he doesn't like. In the first instance, women do not seem to use joke telling to the extent males do and consequently may not feel skillful enough to attribute everyone laughing to perfect timing, the controllable response.

The second uncontrollable response, feeling extremely confident in an interview, seems to reflect two things: women's relative lack of experience in interviewing for jobs and the situational quality of their sense of confidence. In the third case, the item is a negative one (a boyfriend not liking a gift), so that the uncontrollable response (he has picky tastes) implies that women feel they do well at buying gifts, a responsibility that falls disproportionately to them.

Overall, the ESQ findings raise issues already under discussion in the explanatory style literature. One is the fact that explanatory style research has tended to be asocial (Brewin, 1991; Peterson, 1991b) and to assume that there is one set of dimensions which can be applied across domains and cultures (Peterson, 1991a). In this study we see that differences in how males and females experience some situations result in significant differences in the attributions they make. We also see that it is difficult to measure only one dimension of explanatory style at a time (Peterson, 1991a). People seem to think of situations as a gestalt which drags many dimensions along at once. Moreover, there are aspects of situations which many explanatory style instruments, including the ESQ, don't tap. In a study of how people think about events, Peterson (1986, 1991a) found two factors. One dimension measured the standard predictability and controllability, and the other measured what Peterson calls Big Deal aspects of events, their magnitude, causes, consequences and the difficulty coping with them. This is probably one reason why the factors in this study did not fall neatly into Seligman's good and bad categories; one person's everyday occurrence can be another's catastrophe. This finding is also supported by evidence which shows that explanatory styles for good and bad events are significantly correlated (Anderson & Riger, 1991).

The ESQ factor structure in this study also precluded computing a composite score for each respondent and hence making comments about whether their explanatory styles were optimistic or pessimistic. This is probably just as well since there is doubt about what the composite score measures (Gotlib, 1991; Tennen & Affleck, 1991; Peterson, 1991b) and numerous problems with thinking of explanatory style as optimistic or pessimistic (Peterson, 1991b). For example, while some believe attributing bad outcomes to external, global, and permanent causes is the psychologically healthy, optimistic response (Riskind et al., 1987; Seligman et al., 1988; Peterson, 1991a), others have found that "blaming another person was associated with *poorer* physical and emotional adaptation" (Tennen & Affleck, 1991, p. 41; Tennen & Affleck, 1990). This point was brought out by several women in this study who commented after taking the ESQ that in trying to "psych" it out, they had assumed that the "correct" attribution on a number of bad event items was the internal one which acknowledged their responsibility for an outcome rather than blaming it on someone or something else. This brings up another issue in the explanatory style literature about the effects of gender stereotypes on locus of control. Too often, women blame themselves when things go wrong and are quick to attribute success to something external to themselves, while males attribute failures to external causes and successes to internal factors. While traditional explanations have attributed this finding to an externality bias for females, others have interpreted it as an internality bias of males (Sweeney, Moreland, & Gruber, 1982). For many males, having somewhat inflated expectations for themselves as competent and capable of controlling their lives provides them with an "illusory glow"

self-esteem and protects them from the debilitating effects of depression (Lewinsohn et al., 1980; Weisz & Stipek, 1982).

This latter finding suggests that it is not only causal attributions that regulate people's reactions to situations in their lives but also their attributions of their ability to cope with outcomes (Wortman & Dinzer, 1978; Matherly, 1985). Often in situations where people don't experience an expected outcome, they don't become helpless because they've learned how to be resourceful (Meichenbaum, 1977). Learned resourcefulness is defined as cognitive self-control coping responses used by individuals to regulate cognitions and emotions which interfere with their execution of problem behaviors (Rosenbaum & Jaffe, 1983; Rosenbaum & Ben-Ari, 1985). People who score high in resourcefulness maximize their chances for success after noncontingent success or failure, making positive causal self-statements and rewarding themselves for success. People with low resourcefulness, on the other hand, use more negative self-statements, avoid further failure after noncontingent failure, and generally become helpless. All four managers in this study had a high degree of resourcefulness, relating numerous stories where they had no control over outcomes but tended to take what happened philosophically, learning what they could and moving on. In no case did they say they thought negatively of themselves. And yet we can see a decided difference among the women in how they thought about their deservingness in all they had achieved. For Meg and Chris, whose parents had a generally positive outlook, the deservingness question stumped them. Meg had to pause for a long time before answering with a laugh that she had never thought of herself as an undeserving person. Chris didn't understand the question at first, but then also answered that she never thought about deservingness. On the

other hand, both Sara and Kim, whose parents tended to have more negative outlooks, gave rather detailed accounts of their thoughts on deservingness. Sara said she deserved everything she had worked for but qualified her answer by adding that since life isn't fair, she never expects for things to always turn out the way she wants. And Kim says she has "always thought life ought to be a little more consistently pleasurable than it's turned out," noting that "it takes a lot of hard work and a fairly strong endurance level to wade through all the things that keep you from those real pleasures."

The last similarity between the women in this study was their coding data from their meetings at EDS CFAR. Overall, the data showed that as leaders, the women led from an Assured, Expressive, and Supportive position, similar to the profiles in earlier CFAR studies of men leaders. The women's Individual Eigensystems revealed, however, that except for Sara, their leadership style was less directive than men's in that they weren't always the top Elicitors and Responders. Generally, all the groups thought the coding experience had been an interesting one, but their reservations and confusions indicate they may have been more impressed with the sophisticated technological analysis than with the substantive results of the coding. Many participants were frustrated with the CFAR descriptive approach to feedback, which they said didn't help them understand their own contributions to the group or how to use the coding information to change themselves or the group. Paradoxically, however, none of the managers was surprised by her coding findings. They each remarked that from what they could make of it, the data seemed to reflect their impressions of their group and its individual members. Most likely this latter finding is due to the focus in the coding at the level of

utterances, which enables sequential time series analysis to pick up the Bakhtinian dialogic responsiveness of conversations.

Besides these reactions, several conceptual and methodological problems with the CFAR group coding system became evident. Together they are sufficiently serious to warrant reconsideration of the feasibility of this type of analysis of groups.

The first problem was the inability to depict all the interactive sequences on a GID when too many were identified in a coded session. Giving groups the time series data at only the .01 and .001 levels meant they were likely to miss important information and therefore leave a feedback session with an incomplete and even erroneous picture of their group. In addition, depictions at different levels of significance made within- and between-group comparisons difficult.

A second problem was how to handle feedback for individuals who had few or no sequences or who were the only ones to have pejorative codes (i.e., Tentative, Reserved, or Confrontational). For some of these individuals, being presented with the GID publicly could have been upsetting because it threatened their self-esteem and the impressions they thought others had of them (Morrison & Bies, 1991). CFAR had no well-thought-out procedures to identify and assist distressed group members, other than an offer at the time of feedback for group members to feel free to call CFAR researchers if they had further questions or comments. On the other hand, any upset specific members might have felt were probably transitory since there were no personal or professional repercussions to participating in the coding experience.

Another problem was when to give feedback to groups. Having it just before the second coded session in this study did cause changes in

behavior the second session, especially for individuals who in the first session had few or no interactive sequences and for Helmut and Mindy, who had Confrontational sequences the first session. From a research standpoint, providing feedback just before another session gives people the opportunity to try out new behaviors immediately while the information on old behaviors is still fresh (Ilgen, Fisher & Taylor, 1979). However, participants in this study felt feedback before the second session prevented them from effectively accomplishing their subsequent meeting task. Some suggested it would have been better to establish a three-session baseline before presenting, but as Donna from Kim's group noted during their coding wrapup, if feedback is not given until after three sessions, people would never remember what they had been doing in earlier meetings, in which case the likelihood of behavioral change would be very low (Ammons, 1956).

These feedback issues are not trivial. While the assumption is that process feedback will help groups perform better, the research literature on feedback has not found this to be so (Nadler, 1979; Tinsdale, Kulik, & Scott, 1991). Some have found that giving process feedback to groups which don't have many process problems has little or no effect on task performance (Kaplan, 1979). There has also been repeated evidence that the most behavioral change in task groups comes from modeling appropriate behavior, not from feedback on group process (Walter, 1975; Bandura, 1977; Rose, 1990). And feedback has also been found to change only the behavior of dominant participants (McLeod, Liker & Lobel, 1992). Moreover, most conceptions of the value of feedback are based on a transmission of information model (Ilgen, Fisher & Taylor, 1979), which doesn't account for the active, dialogic nature of human interactions.

A fourth problem with coding was the coding categories themselves. While CFAR had a strong theoretical rationale supported by the small group literature for having chosen the three dimensions used in this study (Assured/Tentative, Expressive/ Reserved, and Supportive/Confrontational), it was difficult to operationalize the categories clearly enough to capture valid data without losing much of what transpired between group members. Coding was simplified somewhat by not coding nonverbal behaviors unless they were accompanied by speech, but this solution was ultimately counterproductive because, as Chris noted, so much of group dynamics is nonverbal. Criteria for when to use multiple codes during a person's utterance were equally difficult to spell out, as were baseline issues for determining specifically what verbal and nonverbal behaviors constituted Expressive and Reserved.

But the most serious drawback of the coding methodology was its disregard for context, including information on the cultures of the organizations for whom groups work; background information such as how long a group's been together, what their work history has been like, and how group members get along; and the nature of the task they undertook during coding. In every instance, the managers indicated a concern with what someone looking at their coding data might conclude about their group if they didn't know the extenuating circumstances. The managers were also justifiably worried that their data might be compared with data from other groups who were not comparable to them for a variety of reasons. As noted in chapter two, decontextualization and the consequent inability to account for complex social processes and the paradoxes of group life have been the main criticisms of using positivistic science to study human behavior (Argyris, 1968; Smith & Berg, 1987;

Wells, 1992). What the managers and their teams were balking at were the rationalistic aspects of coding which mystified the coding process with a seductive technological methodology and downplayed or ignored the meanings and implications group members intended by their meeting behaviors. This decontextualization isolated the group's meeting experience from the ongoing flow of their business lives without providing any hooks that connected it to their personal and group experience as they knew it.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The stories we tell ourselves, particularly the silent or barely audible ones, are very powerful. They become invisible enclosures. Rooms with no air. One must open the window to see further, the door to possibility (Griffin, 1992, p. 284).

There are at least seven conclusions which can be drawn from this study. Many have theoretical implications, bringing into question the ways we have traditionally thought about women's experience. A few have methodological implications as well. But most important is what they say about our ontological assumptions and the philosophies of science to which we subscribe.

First, many current psychological theories about women's sense of self emphasize a connected way of being (Miller, 1986; Josselson, 1990; Jordan et al., 1991; Brown & Gilligan, 1992). According to this view, women's self-esteem depends on the quality of their relationships with others. However, Tavris (1992) questions this interpretation, noting that

by relegating to women's nature what ought to be the human qualities of feeling, attachment, connection, and care, we overlook men's capacity for these qualities or absolve them of responsibility for not demonstrating them (Ibid., p. 89).

And we overlook women's capacity for autonomy and independence.

Fundamentally, humans need relationships (Baumeister, 1991, 1992; Baumeister & Tice, 1990; Bowlby, 1969, 1973). Since our mode of being is primarily situated and "being-with," we are beings for whom things and

people show up as mattering (Heidegger, 1962; Leonard, 1989, Kirby, 1991, Dreyfus, 1992; Baumeister, 1992; Vandenberg, 1991). But we are also agentic beings with a basic need to make sense of our existence through directed activity (Heidegger, 1962; Dreyfus, 1992). Therefore

[t]o call women connected and men separate seem[s] profoundly misleading; to say that men want domination and power while women want love and relationship seem[s] to ignore the depths of men's desires for relationship and the anger women feel about not having power in the world (Brown & Gilligan, 1992, p. 11).

This study has shown the possibilities for transforming this debate of separate versus connected as women's participation in the workforce and men's participation at home begin to loosen the boundaries between male and female sex roles (Martin, 1993). The challenge for psychology, if its interpretations of self are to be relevant for women as well as men, is to link a vision of what competence means for women with an understanding of how social context shapes their possibilities (Riger, 1992).

. . . [I]f women's daily behavior, like men's, is more influenced by the roles they play, the ideologies they believe in, and the work they do than by anything fundamental to their gender, then we need to transform roles, ideologies, and work so that human qualities can be encouraged in both sexes (Tavris, 1992, p. 62).

This includes revising our yardstick for judging competence so it doesn't continue to discriminate against women (Stewart & Lykes, 1985; Josephs et al., 1992; Tavris, 1992) and so it takes into account the fact that both mastery and affiliation are intertwined aspects of achievement (Travis, Phillippi, & Henley, 1991).

Second, we need to recognize that an understanding of the development of self involves a complementary connection between voice and visibility. Being heard as a child also requires being seen, literally and

metaphorically. Children learn what it takes to be a member of society by searching for their own authorial voice. The challenge is not to remain tangential (Bakhtin, 1986a). Yet often because their stories don't gibe with those of others, especially those in authority, children are not heard and thus are not seen. This has been especially true for female children and children of color, whose narratives tend to be undervalued outside the private domain of the family (Gee, 1991).

When someone with the authority of a teacher, say, describes the world and you are not in it, there is a moment of psychic disequilibrium, as if you looked into a mirror and saw nothing (Rich, 1989, p. ix).

It was psychologist William James who called the possibility of one's utter lack of visibility a "fiendish punishment," observing that

[i]f no one turned round when we entered, answered when we spoke, or minded what we did, but if every person we met "cut us dead," and acted as if we were non-existing things, a kind of rage and impotent despair would ere long well up in us, from which the cruellest bodily tortures would be a relief; for these would make us feel that, however bad might be our plight, we had not sunk to such a depth as to be unworthy of attention (James, 1890/1950, p. 293-294.)

Invisibility and having one's experiences trivialized are two methods for keeping women in their subordinate place in society (Thiele, 1986; Gradoll & Swann, 1989). Girls are aware at an early age of being devalued and soon learn to be ashamed of being the "other" (Lewis, 1976; Griffin, 1992). A tragic example of Heideggerian breakdown,

[t]his complicated, divided activity of the self, which is "in two places at once" and acutely self-conscious at the same time, makes it difficult for the self to function effectively (Lewis, 1976, p. 191).

If we are concerned about girls' competence and their development of a confident, resilient voice, then we will have to help parents, teachers, and

other influential adults understand the importance of acknowledging girls' visibility and voice by listening to what they have to say and publicly valuing their experiences.

Third, if, in our pursuit of a comprehensive psychology of women, we are to avoid being exclusionary in our theories and research, then future studies will need to look at the experiences of women less privileged than those in this study to understand how they and others perceive their capabilities. Just as there is a fallacy of a normative male, so too there is a fallacy of a normative female (Yoder & Kahn, 1993). As noted in the discussion on women and the workplace in chapter three, currently most employed women are not bothered by the glass ceiling but by the "sticky floor" of low-wage, low-mobility jobs, the lowest of which are occupied disproportionately by women of color (Noble, 1992).

And yet all women in America must contend with the stereotype of an "acceptable" woman, that is, one who is white, middle-class, and heterosexual, with just the right amount of brains (not too little and definitely not too much), a taut body with curves in all the right places, and a self-effacing demeanor (Holland & Eisenhart, 1990; Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Tavris, 1992; Bem, 1993). Since not even the four women in this study fit this profile, their stories help us think about the different ways women can develop a positive sense of themselves.

A fourth issue raised by this research is the cost to women of the way we have gone about evaluating sex differences. Too often the hidden agenda of sex-difference research has been to identify ways in which females are deficient. Considering women and men to be the same has often been offered as a solution to this inequity; however, treating equality as sameness has more often backfired than it has helped women (Tavris,

1992). Littleton (1987) suggests that real differences between males and females in life experiences, reproductive physiology, and power need to be acknowledged and proposes the idea of equality as acceptance, which would evaluate the outcomes, not the intentions, of policies aimed at gender equality. This notion that equality and difference are not mutually exclusive should be cause for more scrutiny of findings of sex differences. Before jumping at every new study which raises the sex difference banner, we should stop frequently to ask: What functions does the belief in sex differences serve? (Tavris, 1992).

Fifth, this study offers an empowering research methodology which shows the richness to be gained from a context-inclusive, open-systems approach (Bertalanffy, 1950). Establishing a collaborative relationship between researcher and respondents created a foundation of mutually reinforcing trust and respect. Allowing theory to emerge from the data afforded unrestricted access to exploring numerous aspects of the human experience. And multiple methods served to cross validate information. Together these provided a broad space from which to draw an honest, candid picture of the experience of being a bright and ambitious woman.

Sixth, from a philosophical standpoint, this study also shows it would behoove us to be more critical of the values and assumptions we bring to our thinking about human being. While there is much to be said for the HVB perspective, it is apparent Heidegger's interpretation of being doesn't account for how theories, values, cultural beliefs, and social practices play out differentially in people's lives. The "who" of Dasein may be the average intelligibility of everyday practices, but it is an intelligibility which is not comparable across practices, as Heidegger implies. While we may agree that a hammer's normative function is for "one to drive nails

with it" and a fork's is for "one to eat pierceable food with it," saying, for example, that nail polish is for "one to paint fingernails with it" and a urinal is for "one to relieve oneself with it" seems to border on the ludicrous. We know "one," meaning anyone, could use these items, but the point is that only women normally use the former and only men normally use the latter. What Heidegger neglects in his view of a shared public world is the indisputable fact that the one is gendered in most societies. This is not to say that it is essentially so, only that it reflects a sociopolitical taxonomy which invariably serves a gender polarized, androcentric ideology (Lincoln, 1989; Bem, 1993).

And finally, in our efforts to understand human behavior we have failed to see that human experience is a "dynamic mixture of reflective and unreflective activity" (Mahoney, 1991, p. 246). This oversight has affected our thinking two ways. First, we have made too sharp a distinction between cognition, affect, and action. Although these functions can be abstracted from the involvement-whole, the usual human mode of being is to perceive, think, and feel all at once, or as Krech (1969) calls it, "to perfink" (Bruner, 1986; Vandenberg, 1991). And second, in true Cartesian style, we have compartmentalized our experiences and those of others, rather than understand that because of our thrownness, we are linguistically and existentially suspended in multiple and overlapping social matrices where our entire selves are invested in discourse. As we become the voices that inhabit us (Morson & Emerson, 1990), we also become by extension the lives that surround us (Griffin, 1992). Who we are is therefore

. . . inseparable from all those "related" lives that participate in the lives that most significantly influence our own. Hence,

we cannot help but be affected at some levels by the births, deaths, marriages, illnesses, triumphs, and ambiguities in the lives of extended families, friends and other life cohorts. The existential bell does, indeed, toll for thee, me, and the collective we (Mahoney, 1991, p. 246).

It may be after all that the question of who I am arises far less frequently than we are led to believe by those who traffic in scientific theories.

Immersed in and therefore identified with the practicalities of our daily lives that give our existence meaning, our self-conceptions may be "casual, shallow, and brief" (Kerby, 1991, p. 38). Or they may become an overriding concern. At these latter times, we have an opportunity to re-author our lives, although most of us rarely take advantage of it. We opt instead to stay with outdated construals of self, not because they are particularly comfortable but because they are all we know. Imagine what stories we could tell if we were to loosen our white-knuckled grip on these old interpretations long enough to see other possibilities.

APPENDIX A

Heuristic Inquiry

Heuristic inquiry is a form of phenomenological research which combines existential philosophy and perceptual psychology to focus on the person in experience (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985; Moustakas, 1990; Patton, 1990). Unlike phenomenology, however, its origin and direction come from the self of the investigator, whose intense autobiographical connection to the experience being studied sustains exploration and understanding.

All heuristic inquiry begins with the internal search to discover, with an encompassing puzzlement, a passionate desire to know, a devotion and commitment to pursue a question that is strongly connected to one's own identity and selfhood ((Moustakas, 1990, p. 175-176).

Through exhaustive self-search, self-dialogue, and immersion, the investigator gains new insights into the underlying dynamics of the experience being studied. Through systematic observation and depth interviewing of others, who act as co-researchers, the nature, meaning and essence of lived experience is elucidated.

Heuristic discovery is based on tacit knowledge, on the human ability to know more than one can tell (Polyani, 1983). We know a person's face, for example, and yet cannot explain how we recognize it. We drive home from work and once home cannot remember the particulars of having driven. To Heidegger these exemplify ready-to-hand activity, the nonmental practices of our daily comportment with (and hence knowledge about) things and people.

To connect the implicit knowledge of the tacit with the explicit knowledge of the observable, the heuristic investigator uses intuition, drawing on clues, making inferences, sensing patterns or underlying conditions, and using her perceptiveness and sensitivity to locate essential meanings (Moustakas, 1990). This is done by two processes which deepen and extend knowledge -- indwelling and focusing. Indwelling is the painstaking process of living closely with the question for however long it takes to arrive at fundamental truths. Focusing is an inner attention which contacts the central meanings of experience to expose core themes (Gendlin, 1978).

These processes underscore the importance in heuristic inquiry of the internal frame of reference. Often experience is distorted when it is viewed from the outside. Fundamental to heuristics is the idea that

[o]nly the experiencing persons -- by looking at their own experiences in perceptions, thoughts, feelings, and sense -- can validly provide portrayals of the experience. If one is to know and understand another's experience, one must converse directly with the person. One must encourage the other to express, explore, and explicate the meanings that are within his or her experience. One must create an atmosphere of openness and trust, and a connection with the other that will inspire that person to share his or her experience in unqualified, free, and unrestrained disclosures (Moustakas, 1990, p. 26).

While the heuristic process is not linear, it is not casual either. The freedom necessary to heuristic research requires a more flexible investigatory design than that of traditional science (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985, p. 44-45). The process is also a demanding, disciplined one, requiring

the total presence, honesty, maturity, and integrity of a researcher . . . who is willing to commit endless hours of sustained immersion and focused concentration on one central question, to risk the opening of wounds and passionate concerns, and to undergo the personal transformation that

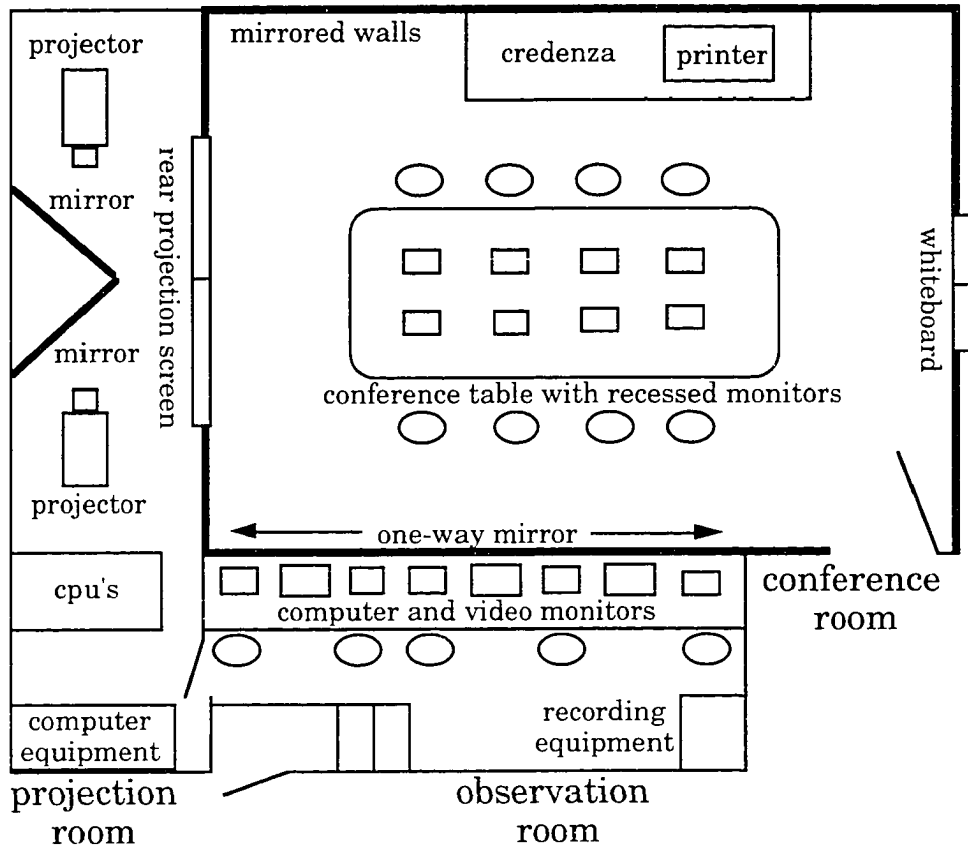
exists as a possibility in every heuristic journey (Moustakas, 1990, p. 14).

The outcome of such an investigation is not a depersonalized description of the structure of experience, but a creative portrayal of the personal significance of life as it is lived. In research manuscripts, heuristic results usually include individual portraits of the co-researchers which focus on their verbatim accounts of the phenomenon under study and a composite depiction which reveals common qualities and themes among them. Beyond these written artifacts, what also emerges are feelings, thoughts, ideas and images that will return to those involved again and again to "serve as a reminder of a lifelong process of knowing and being" (Ibid., p. 56).

APPENDIX B

Physical Layout of the Capture Laboratory

EDS Center for Advanced Research
Ann Arbor, MI and Cambridge, MA



APPENDIX C

The GroupAnalyzer System

Coding of task groups began at EDS/CFAR in 1988 in a joint study with the business and engineering schools of The University of Michigan (Losada et al., 1990). In that study, 64 three-to-six person student groups were coded on-line in real-time by a team of eleven trained coders, three at a time, using the original version of GroupAnalyzer. Subsequently, GroupAnalyzer's analysis capabilities were enhanced, necessitating its split into two integrated applications, one for coding (GroupCoder) and the other for analysis and feedback (GroupAnalyzer). For descriptive purposes, both applications will be considered here as part of the GroupAnalyzer system.

This appendix describes coding mechanics, analysis and feedback using GroupAnalyzer. A description of the IT coding scheme used in this study appears in Appendix D. Also relevant is Appendix E, which describes the Group Interaction Diagram (GID).

Coding Mechanics

A typical coding session lasts 50 minutes, the minimum needed to produce sufficient data to perform the core of CFAR's group dynamics analysis, time series analysis (Box & Jenkins, 1976). Coding is done by at least two trained coders who observe all meeting participants, coding speech acts and parts of speech acts which fall within the parameters of the coding scheme being used. A speech act (also called an utterance or speaking turn) can be as short as a monosyllabic response such as "right"

or "mm hm" or as long as an uninterrupted monologue of many minutes duration.¹ In the case of longer speech acts, multiple codes may be given, depending on the salience of what is being said. Nonverbal behavior such as movements of the face and head, upper torso and arms may also be coded either in conjunction with or independently from speech.

Before coding begins, observation room workstations are linked together and a coding scheme is chosen by opening GroupCoder on all machines being used and making selections on the Coding Options card (Fig. C.1). Usually, a minimum of three machines are needed for the coding process. At least one workstation is used solely to code. Another is designated the coordinator so labeling of the seating schematic and beginning and ending the coding sessions can be synchronized across

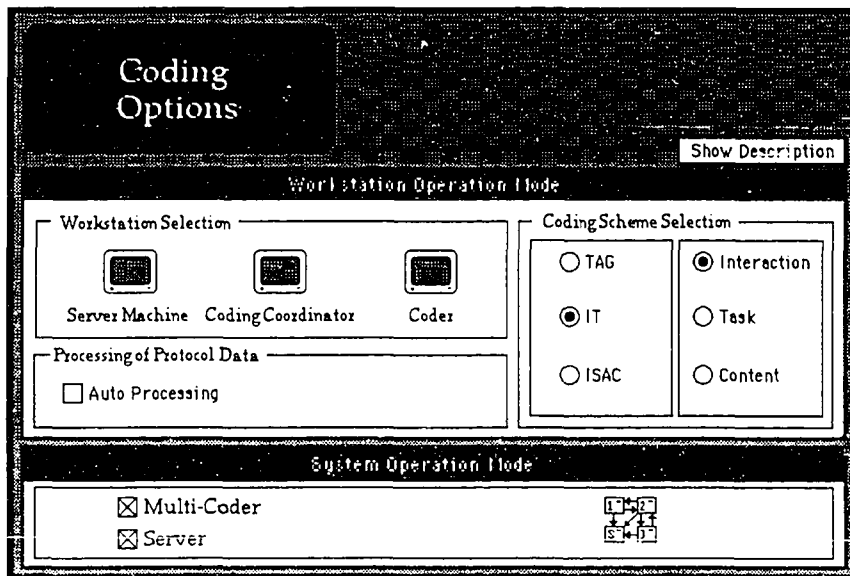


Fig. C.1. Coding Options Card in GroupCoder

¹The proper unit for coding verbal interaction has been called the act, the single interaction, the single item of thought or behavior, and the interaction event (Bales, 1950, p. 37; Bales and Cohen, 1979, p. 164). Austin (1964) and Searle (1969) refer to this unit as the speech act. While these terms are not completely synonymous, there is considerable overlap.

machines. A third machine simultaneously merges the data from the coding machines. GroupCoder can also function in an unlinked mode.

Once the coding options have been made, coders move to the Coding Form card (Fig. C.2), which depicts a seating schematic for the meeting room and the coding scheme being used, in this case the Interaction categories of the IT scheme. After all coders have entered their names (usually a three letter alias), the coding coordinator begins a new session which produces prompts for the group's name and the name of individual members. Once the coordinator starts the clock to begin the coding session, each coder records the actual codes, either live as the meeting

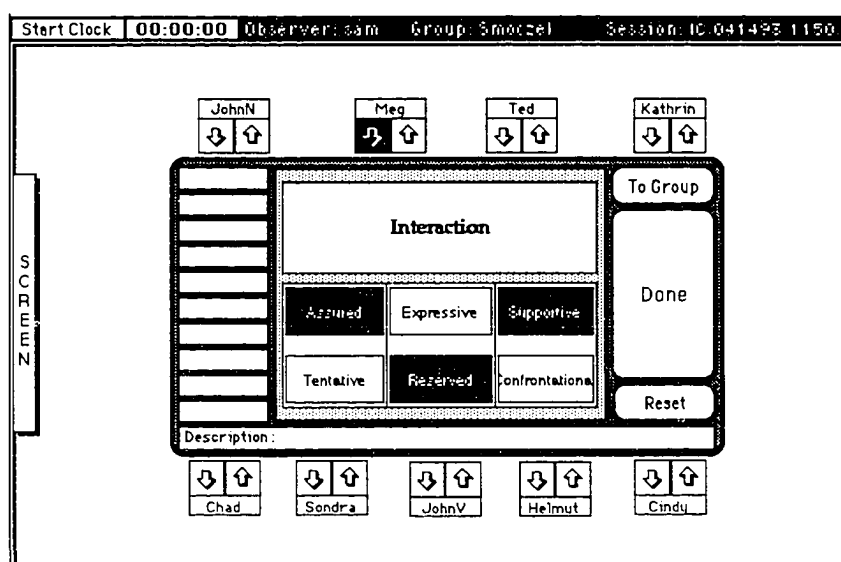


Fig C.2. Coding Form Card in GroupCoder (with coding entry)

progresses or from videotape, by using the computer mouse to click on 1) one or more arrows pointing towards the center of the "table," indicating who is speaking, 2) as many as three coding categories (one from each column), and 3) Done, which ends the coding entry and resets the screen for the next entry. Because data analysis presently does not require

knowing to whom speech is directed, the arrows pointing away from the table are often not used. Instead, clicking Done activates a "to group" default. Sometimes verbatim markers are recorded by typing on the description line at the bottom before hitting Return on the keyboard or clicking Done. As coding proceeds, a clock on the Coding Form card indicates the elapsed time in minutes and seconds from the beginning of the session. To end a coding session the coordinator clicks on Stop Clock.

Each coding entry then becomes one line in the merged meeting protocol (Fig. C.3). This protocol includes the names of the group members; the date and time of the coding session; an abbreviation for the coding scheme used; and for each line of code, the elapsed time in seconds from the beginning of the session, who spoke, to whom (usually "g" for group), the coding scheme (e.g., "I" for IT Interaction), the code (or codes), the

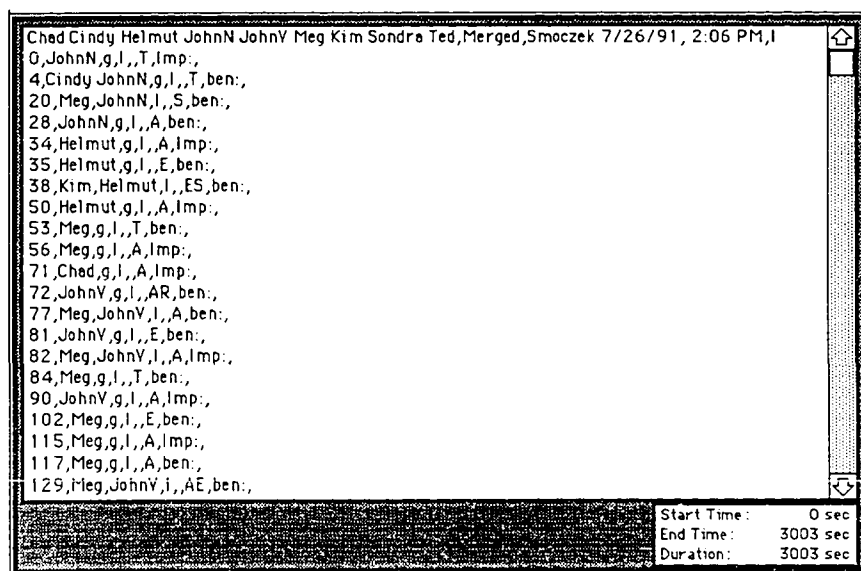


Fig. C.3. Partial Merged Protocol from GroupCoder Loaded into GroupAnalyzer

coder's alias, and any verbatim markers. Also displayed in the lower right hand box is the duration, in seconds, of the session.

Analysis

Once saved as a word-processing document, a merged protocol can be loaded immediately into GroupAnalyzer for preliminary analysis. Initial information looks at the group in a static manner in the form of numeric and graphic representations of raw-score data. Parts of the more dynamic picture of the group from the time series data can also be displayed in GroupAnalyzer, but this takes longer to calculate using a CFAR-developed algorithm which is presently not part of the GroupAnalyzer system.

The first static information is the raw-score frequency table, which lists the percentage of observations and the number and percentage of IT codes for each person in the group (Fig. C.4). Observations means the

Name:	Interaction Behaviors:						No. of Observations:
	A	T	E	R	S	C	Percent:
Chad	45	1	18	2	0	1	10.96%
Cindy	6	1	0	1	1	0	1.63%
Helmut	53	1	13	2	4	0	14.45%
JohnN	55	2	18	0	3	1	14.45%
JohnY	27	0	7	6	0	0	6.76%
Meg	78	6	24	3	14	0	23.54%
Kim	35	4	18	7	5	1	10.96%
Sondra	24	0	3	0	3	1	6.29%
Ted	35	0	23	1	2	0	10.96%
Percent:	64.5%	2.7%	22.34%	3.96%	5.77%	.72%	100%

Fig. C.4. Frequency Table from GroupAnalyzer

lines of coding entries from the merged protocol, and signify who was talking and the one, two or three codes they received for their speaking turn. This information is helpful in giving a rough estimate of the percentage of air time used by each member during the coded session. The percentage of codes shows which behaviors were the most and least frequently coded for the group.

Moving beyond raw numbers, static data can be displayed as a behavioral diagram (Fig. C.5), which arrays two of the three coded dimensions on the x- and y-axes of a grid with the third dimension depicted as

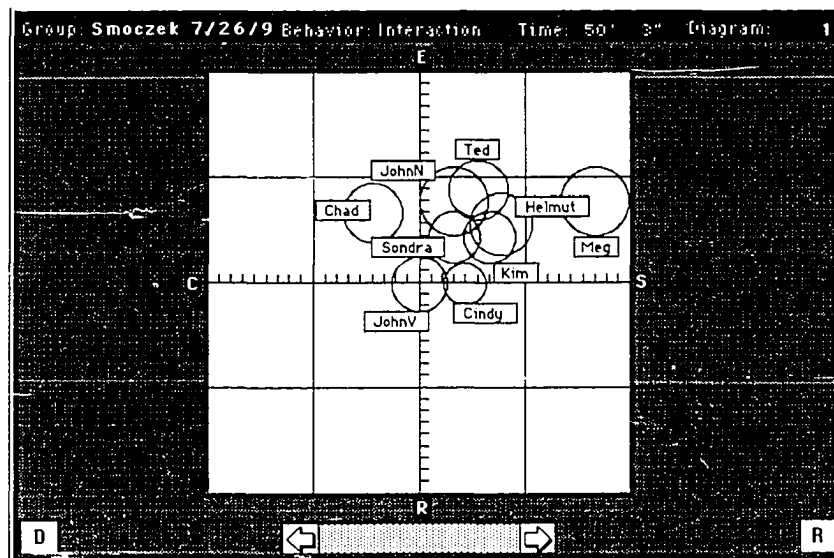


Fig. C.5. Average Behavioral Diagram in GroupAnalyzer

circles of varying diameters which stand for each member of the group (for a more detailed discussion, see Losada & Markovitch, 1990). Behavioral diagrams are presented two ways, showing members' average locations over a coded session and in animated sequence (like a flipbook). In the average behavioral diagram in Fig. C.5, using the IT scheme, Confrontational/Supportive runs horizontally, Expressive/Reserved runs vertically

and Assured/Tentative is indicated by the size of the circle, with Assuredness being larger. In animated sequence, a specified window on the data (usually 10 minutes) slides a specified amount of time (usually 30 seconds), to produce numerous behavioral diagrams which follow quickly one after the other so members can see how their circles move around the grid during the session.

Although this animation does introduce a rudimentary level of dynamism to the depiction of group behavior, there is still nothing which indicates specific connections between one person's behavior and another's. For this deeper level of analysis, we turn to time series analysis. As noted earlier, the time series data is not initially generated by GroupAnalyzer, but it is considered here so that the rest of the GroupAnalyzer system, which does use the computed time series data, can be described.

Traditional approaches to data analysis rely on statistical methods which assume independence among observations. Time series analysis allows one to think about observations as interdependent sequences and patterns (Gottman, 1981; Bakeman & Gottman, 1986; Shumway, 1988; Chatfield, 1989). Applied to the study of groups, time series techniques can distinguish patterns of behavior not readily visible, no matter how experienced one is observing and working with groups. At CFAR the analysis of these patterns is performed via the cross-correlation function in the time domain to answer the question "to what extent are the behaviors of some participants dependent on the behaviors of other participants?" (Bakeman & Gottman, 1986).

Central to this method of analysis is the preservation of the temporal order of events. By aggregating coded observations for each minute

interval over the course of a coded session, significant ($p < .05$) interactive sequences of behavior between group members can be identified. As an example, in Fig. C.6. a patterned relationship between one person's Assured behaviors and another person's Reserved behaviors is graphed.

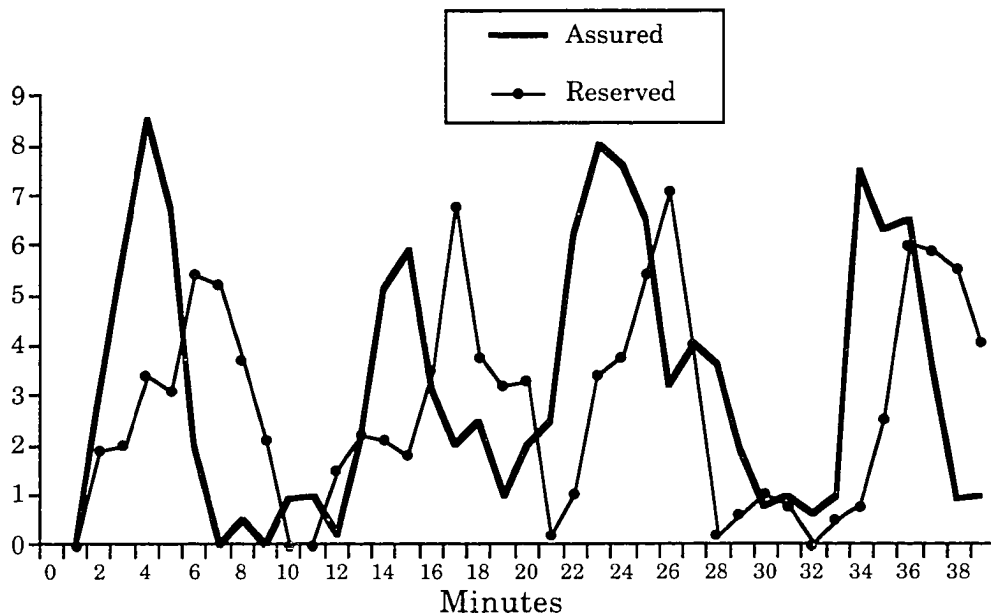


Fig. C.6. Example of an Interactive Sequence - Lag 2 Minutes

Notice that the peaks of the Reserved wave lag consistently behind the peaks of the Assured wave by two minutes. We say here that a person's Assured behaviors are "eliciting" another person's Reserved behaviors every two minutes (or conversely, that a person is "responding" with Reserved behaviors to another person's Assured behaviors at a lag of two minutes). What this depicts in a rather striking way is Bakhtin's (1986a) observation that sooner or later what is heard and actively understood will find its response in the subsequent speech of the listener (p. 69).

In a typical 50-minute coded session, from 40 to over 100 significant ($p \leq .05$) interactive sequences can be found. The challenge for CFAR

researchers was to represent this data in formats which could be easily and quickly understood by meeting participants. The primary display became the Group Interaction Diagram (Appendix D). In addition, several functions which highlight different aspects of the time series data were added to GroupAnalyzer.

In this study, the Eigensystem in GroupAnalyzer was used to show the standardized rankings of the interactive sequences for the group and for individuals.² As an example, in Fig. C.7 the eliciting behaviors for the group fall on the vertical axis (reading from top to bottom) and the responding behaviors for the group fall on the horizontal axis (reading from right to left). Here Assured was the highest elicitor, and Expressive and

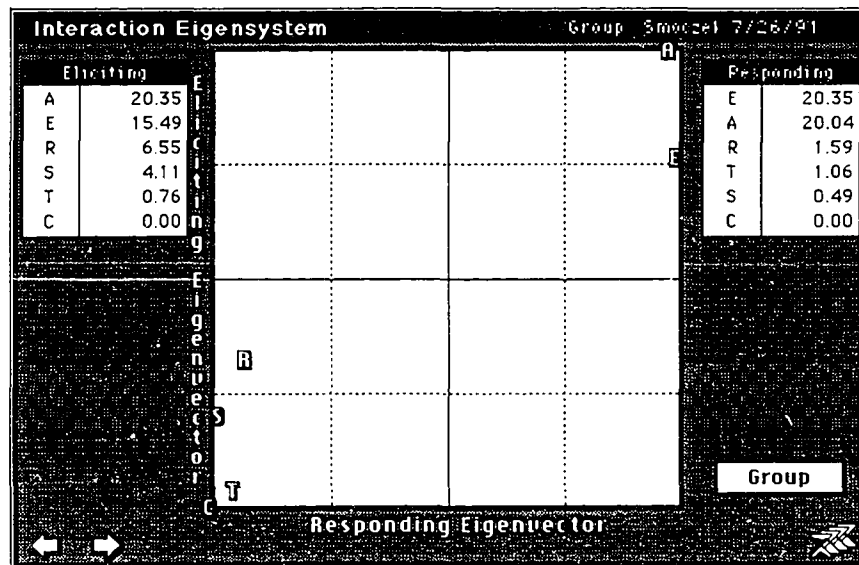


Fig. C.7. Eigensystem for the Group in GroupAnalyzer

²The Eigensystem, developed by CFAR social psychologist Marcial Losada and mathematician Pedro Sánchez, is based on an adaptation of the Perron-Frobenius eigenvalue (Gantmacher, 1960).

Assured were the highest responders. The other behaviors occurred less frequently, with Confrontational not registering in any significant interactive sequences. The numbers in the tables show the strength of the rankings and are used to make comparisons across sessions or groups.

In the same way, standardized rankings of group members as elicitors and responders can be displayed (Fig. C.8). In this example, Meg, Ted, Kim and John Y were the highest elicitors, and Kim and John Y were the highest responders, meaning these individuals had the most number of significant interactive sequences for the coded session. Note that Cindy had virtually none, meaning she either did not speak during the session or said so little that no significant patterns between her and any of the other members could be discerned.

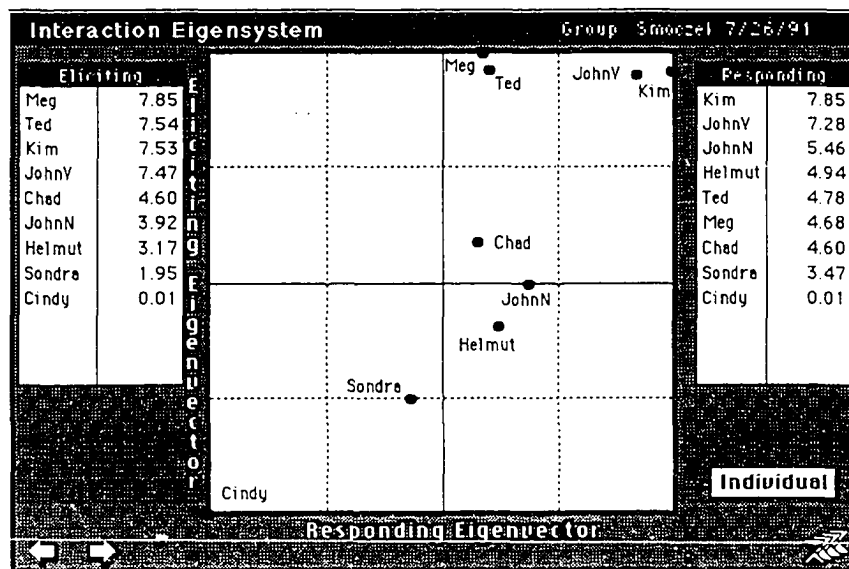


Fig. C.8. Eigensystem for Individuals in GroupAnalyzer

Frequently when this graph is presented, group members search for a connection between it and the frequency table, not understanding that each is based on a different kind of data. They must be reminded that the

frequency table measures only the number of codes each individual received, while the Eigensystem is based on the number of significant interactive sequences found among those codes. Obviously, the likelihood of having more interactive sequences is higher for those who receive more codes. Often, however, members with higher numbers of codes end up lower in both the Eigensystem rankings, evidence that their coded behaviors were not linked in patterned way to others in the group.

Feedback

Feedback, done on the public screen in the Capture Lab, takes from forty-five minutes to an hour. Groups coded once usually spend a full day at CFAR and receive their feedback in the late afternoon. Groups who return for repeat coding receive feedback at differing times, depending on the goals of the group and whether the group is part of an ongoing study.

Feedback usually follows the sequence outlined above, with presentation of the raw data first, followed by the behavioral diagrams and the time series data. Group members are given handouts which duplicate the screens being discussed so they can follow along with the presentation and refer back to the material when they return to their organizations. The findings are presented descriptively with a minimum of interpretation, a standard CFAR procedure meant to encourage groups to search for their own interpretations within the broader context of their understanding of themselves as a functional unit. At the time of this study, coding was still in the experimental stages at CFAR, so only provisional observations could be made regarding normative findings as to what constitutes a "good" group.

APPENDIX D

IT Coding Scheme

The coding scheme for this study, IT (for Interaction-by-Task) was the third scheme used in GroupAnalyzer. This appendix gives a brief history of the two previous schemes, SYMLOG and TAG and describes the development of the IT scheme. A more detailed discussion of IT can be found in Losada et al., 1992. And an explanation of the mechanics of coding can be found in Appendix B.

SYMLOG and TAG

The first scheme used in GroupAnalyzer was SYMLOG, a System for the Multiple Level Observation of Groups which grew out of 40 years of work in group dynamics by Harvard social psychologist Robert F. Bales (Bales & Cohen, 1979). The interaction scoring method of SYMLOG measures group interaction along three bipolar dimensions (Positive/Negative, Dominant/Submissive and Task-Oriented/Emotionally Expressive). Using all possible combinations of these six polarities, Bales devised a set of 26 inclusive and continuous categories which he believed covered the gamut of social interaction in face-to-face task groups.

These interactive categories of SYMLOG were first computerized by CFAR researchers for on-line coding in a study of University of Michigan business and engineering students in 1988 (Losada et al., 1990). Subsequently, the SYMLOG scheme was used to code meetings of several upper management teams. Outcomes of these initial studies were highly

successful, showing that fast, accurate coding and timely feedback were possible and could lead to positive behavioral change.

In early 1990, CFAR developed a second scheme, called TAG (Time Analysis of Groups), to rectify several inconsistencies coders were finding in using SYMLOG. Changes were made to two SYMLOG dimensions (Dominant/Submissive and Task-Oriented-Emotionally Expressive) to increase the face validity of the scheme, reduce pejorative connotations, and provide greater symmetry and consistency among and between the dimensions (Dodd et al., 1990). Like SYMLOG, TAG had three bipolar dimensions (Dominating/Yielding, Positive/Negative, and Thinking/Feeling) which combined into 26 categories. In addition, a number of nonverbal behaviors could be coded (Fig.D.1). Five management groups were coded a total of 17 times with TAG in the 11 months it was used in GroupAnalyzer. As with SYMLOG, the results of these sessions were highly successful and in one instance led to profound insights on the part of a manager who had been having difficulty leading his group.

Start Clock 00:00:00 Observer: sam Group: Blant Session: 1041493 1318

	Mike	Susan	Rashid	Kelly	
S C R I M E N	Attentive	DNT	DT	DPT	To Group
	Interrupts	DN	D	DP	Done
	Nods	DNF	DF	DPF	
	Laughs	NT	T	PT	Reset
	Smiles	N	F	P	
	Yawns	NF	F	PF	
	Types	YNT	YT	YPT	
	Withdrawal	YN	Y	YP	
	Writes	YNF	YF	YFP	
	Stretch				
Description:					
	Rachel	Arturo	Mei.Li	Bob	

Fig. D.1. TAG Coding Form in GroupCoder

The IT Scheme

As CFAR gained experience with coding and feedback, a third scheme was sought which preserved the strengths of SYMLOG and TAG while providing a more comprehensive picture of task-related interactions. A review of existing observational coding schemes showed none addressed both task and interaction together. SYMLOG and TAG covered interaction fairly extensively but reduced the task domain to one dimension. TEMPO focused exclusively on four task categories. But it was found to be inappropriate for on-line use and analysis over time, even though it was purportedly a time-based system (Futoran et al., 1989). And none of these schemes accounted for the content of group behavior.

These limitations led to the development of the IT scheme in late 1990-early 1991. In designing the scheme, CFAR researchers wanted it to be general, yet parsimonious and adaptable to different types of group tasks; meaningful and helpful for groups; and able to capture the sequential nature of participant behavior in meetings (Losada et al., 1992). Based on these objectives, a design process was followed which cycled between brainstorming on possible coding dimensions, theory development, software implementation, and coding of videotaped meetings.

The scheme which was ultimately devised covered three broad domains -- Task, Interaction, and Content Analysis. Initially it was intended that the first two domains would be coded together, but when this proved a cognitive overload for coders in practice sessions, Task and Interaction were split into separate coding modules.

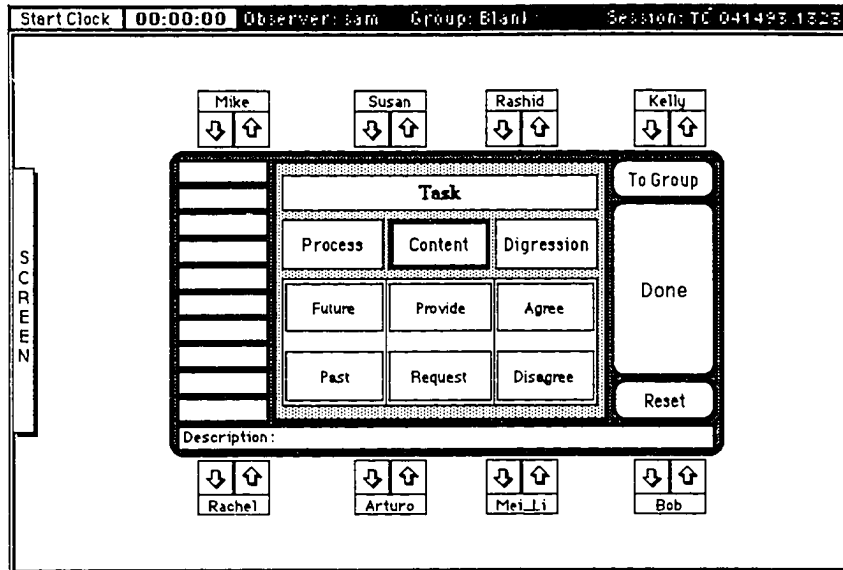


Fig. D.2. IT Task Coding Form in GroupCoder

The Task domain is divided into two levels (see Fig. D.2). At the Meta-Task level, a coder must first decide into which of three dimensions, process, content or digression, the speech act falls. Process refers to comments made about the group's approach to their designated task. Content refers to comments which "directly address the task-related topics under discussion" (Losada et al., 1992, p. 6). And Digression is any other comment not related to process issues or the content of the meeting. GroupCoder defaults to Content, so that only Process or Digression need be selected before moving down to the next level. At the Task-Dynamics level, three bipolar dimensions are available - a temporal orientation (Future/Past), whether information is given or asked for (Provide/Request), and the direction of evaluation (Agree/Disagree). As many as three of these categories may be chosen when coding (one from each dimension).

The Interaction domain has only one level, Interaction-Dynamics (Fig. D.3). Here there are also three dichotomous dimensions --

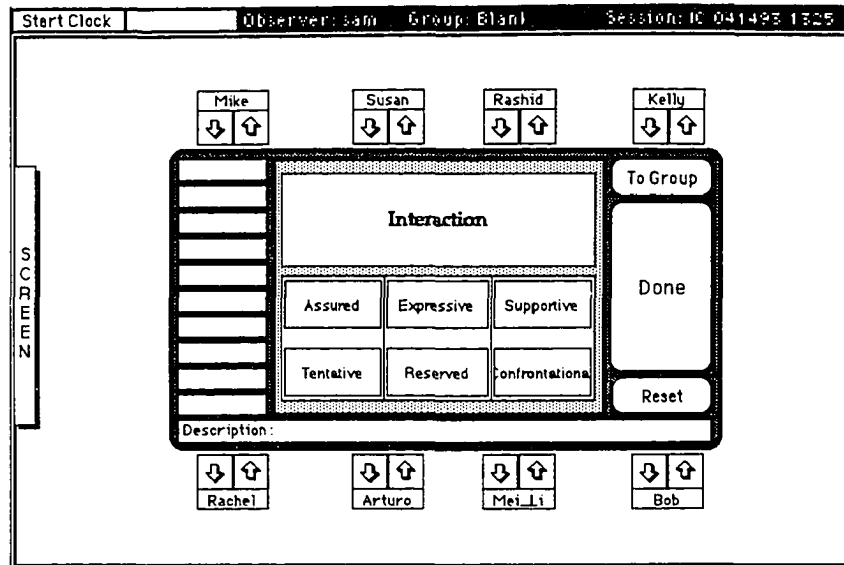


Fig. D.3. IT Interaction Coding Form in GroupCoder

Assured/Tentative, which taps the degree of certainty in a speaker's utterance, Expressive/Reserved, which captures the level of emotional intensity the speaker expresses, and Supportive/Confrontational, which indicates the interpersonal acceptance the speaker conveys. Like the Task domain, as many as three categories (one from each dimension) can be selected when coding.

Coding criteria were developed for both the Task and Interaction domains. In pilot studies, coder agreement was determined using Cohen's kappa statistic (Bakeman & Gottman, 1986) for codes that referred to the same speech act (identified by the time stamp, the person speaking and verbatim markers). The values ranged from a kappa of .88 for the task domain to .52 for the interaction domain.

The Content Analysis domain is an open, qualitative record of observations about the coded session. This domain was intended to provide a free-form mechanism for recording comments by experts who were

familiar with the topics being discussed (Losada et al., 1992). The Content Analysis coding form in GroupCoder (Fig. D.4) was designed so entries

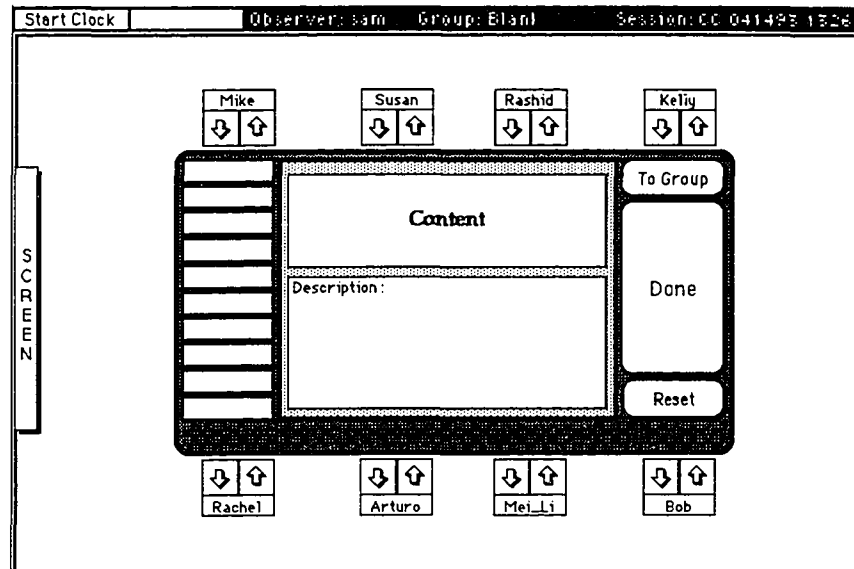


Fig. D.4. IT Content-Analysis Coding Form in GroupCoder

could be made by clicking on who spoke, typing in the space labeled Description and hitting Return or clicking Done.

Use of the Content analysis module was discontinued during the pilot studies when initial results showed the Description space, which could hold only five short lines, was too restrictive. A more free-form CFAR-developed application was then tried with fairly good results, but subsequently, before the start of the present study, the coding of Content Analysis and the Task domain had to be abandoned because of unexpected personnel changes at CFAR.

APPENDIX E

Group Interaction Diagram

The Group Interaction Diagram (GID) was developed by CFAR social psychologist Marcial Losada to display the significant interactive sequences from the time-series cross-correlation matrices in an easy-to-understand format (see Fig. E.1 on page 384). It is drawn on the computer by hand in either Claris® MacDraw® or Microsoft® PowerPoint™, printed on a color printer, and included in the packet of GroupAnalyzer screens which make up the handout for the coding feedback session.

Each member of the group is represented by a colored hexagon.

The faces of the hexagons stand for each of the six coded behaviors.

Lines connecting the hexagons represent the patterned relationships which have been found. A line the same color as a hexagon means that person Elicited the behavior of the person to whose hexagon it is connected. A line a different color from a hexagon means that person Responded to the behavior of the person to whose hexagon it is connected. A white line indicates a very quick interactive pattern (under one minute) where the direction of the connection cannot be determined.

The absolute value of the numbers on the lines represent the time difference (from 0 to 7 minutes) between the two related behaviors. A positive number indicates a positive relationship between the connected behaviors (e.g. the more Supportive Meg was, four minutes later the more Assured Ted was). A negative number indicates an inverse relationship between the connected behaviors (e.g., the more Assured Chad was, two minutes later the less Assured Meg was).

In most cases, all sequences which are statistically significant at the .05 level and below are depicted. The thickness of the lines indicates the significance: thin lines represent a significance level of $p = .05$; medium lines, $p = .01$; and thick lines, $p = .001$. When there are too many interactive sequences to show in one diagram, either the .05 level is omitted or two drawings are made, one at the lower lags (0-3 minutes) and one at the higher lags (4-7 minutes).

Hexagons with no connecting lines means no significant interactive patterns were found for the person.

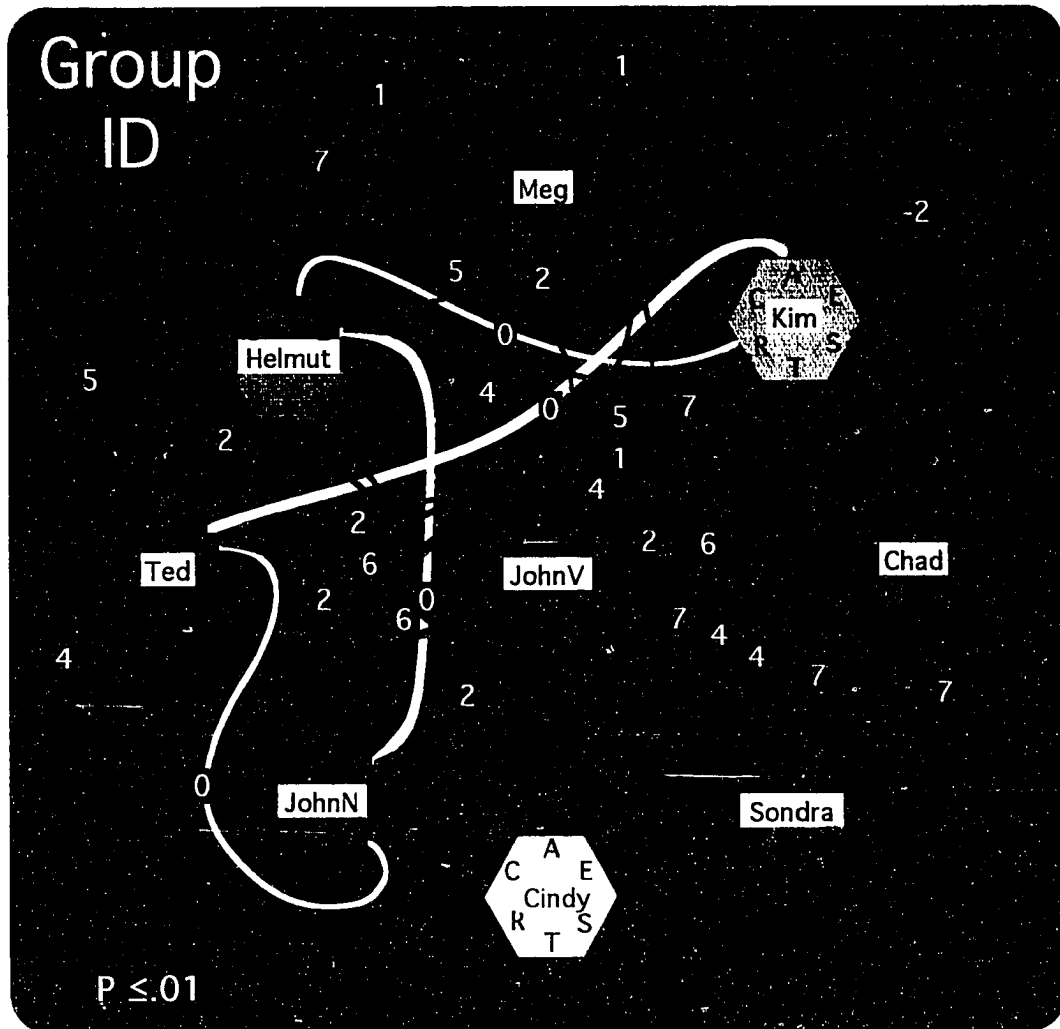


Fig. E.1. Example of a Group Interaction Diagram

APPENDIX F

Explanatory Style

As indicated in the section on agency in chapter three, explanatory style is a habit we impose on our world, a way of thinking we learn from an early age that colors all our experiences. In this study, explanatory style was examined using Seligman's (1991) rubrics for stability, globality and internality -- permanence, pervasiveness and personalization. Seligman and others believe these dimensions reflect a person's general level of optimism or pessimism. Optimists tend to see bad events as often inevitable but not permanent or personal, and good events as deserved and expected to happen frequently in many areas of their lives. Pessimists, on the other hand, tend to blame themselves for their misfortunes, expecting them to last and pervade all areas of their lives. When something good happens, they take no personal credit for it, thinking it's a temporary fluke caused by something outside their control.

According to Seligman, our explanatory style has an enormous impact on how we think, feel and behave. People with an optimistic outlook are positive most of the time and consequently feel good about themselves and their choices. They usually have high self-esteem, enjoy good health, have active personal and work lives, and can bounce back from adversity quickly. Pessimists, in contrast, tend to be negative most of the time, often feeling worthless and hopeless, and are consequently more prone to loss of energy, lack of social support, and illness. In the event of major setbacks, pessimists may suffer long-term depression.

To measure explanatory style, Seligman developed a 48-item forced-choice questionnaire which includes eight outcome statements of hypothetical events for each of the six categories - Permanence Bad (PmB), Permanence Good (PmG), Pervasiveness Bad (PvB), Pervasiveness Good (PvG), Personalization Bad (PsB), and Personalization Good (PsG). For each outcome, respondents are asked to select which of two causal attributions would be their likelier response. By totalling scores in the six categories, and adding the three Bad scores and subtracting them from the three Good scores, one arrives at a composite optimism-pessimism score. The least important dimension to Seligman is personalization, because it indicates how people feel about themselves, which is easily faked. However, permanence and pervasiveness are not, because they control what people actually do. In this regard, the most important score is what Seligman calls the hopefulness (HoB) score - the sum of PmB and PvB. How hopeful or hopeless we are depends on whether we explain bad events by temporary and specific causes or permanent and global ones. In the former case, when we misfortune befalls us we are more likely to experience limited helplessness; in the latter, we are more prone to long-term despair.

On the pages that follow are the adult and child versions of the ESQ used in this study. At the end of each item is the three-letter designation (i.e., PmB, PmG, PvB, PvG, PsB., PsG) for the dimension the item is intended to measure.

Explanatory Style Questionnaires¹

Adult Form

Instructions:

Take as much time as you need to answer each of the questions below. On average the test takes about fifteen minutes. There are no right or wrong answers.

Read the description of each situation and vividly imagine it happening to you. You have probably not experienced some of the situations; but that doesn't matter. Perhaps neither response will seem to fit; go ahead and circle A or B, choosing the cause likelier to apply to you. You may not like the way some of the responses sound, but don't choose what you think you should say or what would sound right to other people; choose the response you'd be likelier to have. Circle one response for each question.

1. The project you are in charge of is a great success. PsG
A. I kept a close watch over everyone's work
B. Everyone devoted a lot of time and energy to it.

2. You and your spouse (boyfriend/girlfriend) make up after a fight. PmG
A. I forgave him/her.
B. I'm usually forgiving.

3. You get lost driving to a friend's house. PsB
A. I missed a turn.
B. My friend gave me bad directions.

4. Your spouse (boyfriend/girlfriend) surprises you with a gift. PsG
A. He/she just got a raise at work.
B. I took him/her out to a special dinner the night before.

5. You forget your spouse's (boyfriend's/girlfriend's) birthday. PMB
A. I'm not good at remembering birthdays.
B. I was preoccupied with other things.

6. You get a flower from a secret admirer. PvG
A. I am attractive to him/her.
B. I am a popular person.

¹Seligman, 1991, pp. 32-39, 116-125.

7. You run for a community office position and you win. PvG
 A. I devote a lot of time and energy to campaigning.
 B. I work very hard at everything that I do.
8. You miss an important engagement. PvB
 A. Sometimes my memory fails me.
 B. I sometimes forget to check my appointment book.
9. You run for a community office position and you lose. PsB
 A. I didn't campaign hard enough.
 B. The person who won knew more people.
10. You host a successful dinner. PmG
 A. I was particularly charming that night.
 B. I am a good host.
11. You stop a crime by calling the police. PsG
 A. A strange noise caught my attention.
 B. I was alert that day.
12. You were extremely healthy all year. PsG
 A. Few people around me were sick, so I wasn't exposed.
 B. I made sure I ate well and got enough rest.
13. You owe the library ten dollars for an overdue book. PmG
 A. When I am really involved in what I am reading,
 I often forget when it's due.
 B. I was so involved in writing the report that I forgot
 to return the book.
14. Your stocks make you a lot of money. PmG
 A. My broker decided to take on something new.
 B. My broker is a top-notch investor.
15. You win an athletic contest. PmG
 A. I was feeling unbeatable.
 B. I train hard.
16. You fail an important examination. PvB
 A. I wasn't as smart as the other people taking the exam.
 B. I didn't prepare well for it.
17. You prepared a special meal for a friend and he/she barely
 touched the food. PvB
 A. I wasn't a good cook.
 B. I made the meal in a rush.

18. You lose a sporting event for which you have been training for a long time. PvB
 A. I'm not very athletic.
 B. I'm not good at that sport.
19. Your car runs out of gas on a dark street late at night. PsB
 A. I didn't check to see how much gas was in the tank.
 B. The gas gauge was broken.
20. You lose your temper with a friend. PmB
 A. He/she is always nagging me.
 B. He/she was in a hostile mood.
21. You are penalized for not returning your income-tax forms on time. PmB
 A. I always put off doing my taxes.
 B. I was lazy about getting my taxes done this year.
22. You ask a person out on a date and he/she says no. PvB
 A. I was a wreck that day.
 B. I got tongue-tied when I asked him/her on the date.
23. A game-show host picks you out of the audience to participate in the show. PsG
 A. I was sitting in the right seat.
 B. I looked the most enthusiastic.
24. You are frequently asked to dance at a party. PmG
 A. I am outgoing at parties.
 B. I was in perfect form that night.
25. You buy your spouse (boyfriend/girlfriend) a gift and he/she doesn't like it. PsB
 A. I don't put enough thought into things like that.
 B. He/she has very picky tastes.
26. You do exceptionally well in a job interview. PmG
 A. I felt extremely confident during the interview.
 B. I interview well.
27. You tell a joke and everyone laughs. PsG
 A. The joke was funny.
 B. My timing was perfect.
28. Your boss gives you too little time in which to finish a project, but you get it finished anyway. PvG
 A. I am good at my job.
 B. I am an efficient person.

29. You've been feeling run-down lately. PmB
 A. I never get a chance to relax.
 B. I was exceptionally busy this week.
30. You ask someone to dance and he/she says no. PsB
 A. I am not a good enough dancer.
 B. He/she doesn't like to dance.
31. You save a person from choking to death. PvG
 A. I know a technique to stop someone from choking.
 B. I know what to do in crisis situations.
32. Your romantic partner wants to cool things off for a while. PvB
 A. I'm too self-centered.
 B. I don't spend enough time with him/her.
33. A friend says something that hurts your feelings. PmB
 A. She always blurts things out without thinking of others.
 B. My friend was in a bad mood and took it out on me.
34. Your employer comes to you for advice. PvG
 A. I am an expert in the area about which I was asked.
 B. I am good at giving useful advice.
35. A friend thanks you for helping him/her through a bad time. PvG
 A. I enjoy helping him/her through tough times.
 B. I care about people.
36. You have a wonderful time at a party. PsG
 A. Everyone was friendly.
 B. I was friendly.
37. Your doctor tells you that you are in good physical shape. PvG
 A. I make sure I exercise frequently.
 B. I am very health-conscious.
38. Your spouse (boyfriend/girlfriend) takes you away for a romantic weekend. PmG
 A. He/she needed to get away for a few days.
 B. He/she likes to explore new areas.
39. Your doctor tells you that you eat too much sugar. PsB
 A. I don't pay much attention to my diet.
 B. You can't avoid sugar, it's in everything.
40. You are asked to head an important project. PmG
 A. I just successfully completed a similar project.
 B. I am a good supervisor.

41. You and your spouse (boyfriend/girlfriend) have been fighting a great deal. PsB
 A. I have been feeling cranky and pressured lately.
 B. He/she has been hostile lately.
42. You fall down a great deal while skiing. PmB
 A. Skiing is difficult.
 B. The trails were icy.
43. You win a prestigious award. PvG
 A. I solved an important problem.
 B. I was the best employee.
44. Your stocks are at an all-time low. PvB
 A. I didn't know much about the business climate at the time.
 B. I made a poor choice of stocks.
45. You win the lottery. PsG
 A. It was pure chance.
 B. I picked the right numbers.
46. You gain weight over the holidays and you can't lose it. PmB
 A. Diets don't work in the long run.
 B. The diet I tried didn't work.
47. You are in the hospital and few people come to visit. PsB
 A. I'm irritable when I'm sick.
 B. My friends are negligent about things like that.
48. They won't honor your credit card at a store. PvB
 A. I sometimes overestimate how much money I have.
 B. I sometimes forget to pay my credit-card bill.

Child Form

Instructions:

Different kids think in different ways. This questionnaire is designed to measure those different ways. Each of the numbered sentences is like a little story. After each story are two choices for ways you might react. Imagine that each story happened to you (even if it never has). Then CIRCLE the letter A or B that's closest to the way you would really feel if that particular thing happened to you. There are no right or wrong answers.

1. You get an A on a test. PvG
A. I am smart.
B. I am good in the subject that the test was in.
2. You play a game with some friends and you win. PsG
A. The people that I played with did not play the game well.
B. I play that game well.
3. You spend the night at a friend's house and you have a good time. PvG
A. My friend was in a friendly mood that night.
B. Everyone in my friend's family was in a friendly mood that night.
4. You go on a vacation with a group of people and you have fun. PsG
A. I was in a good mood.
B. The people I was with were in good moods.
5. All of your friends catch a cold except you. PmG
A. I have been healthy lately.
B. I am a healthy person.
6. Your pet gets run over by a car. PsB
A. I don't take good care of my pets.
B. Drivers are not cautious enough.
7. Some kids you know say they don't like you. PsB
A. Once in a while people are mean to me.
B. Once in a while I am mean to other people.
8. You get very good grades. PsG
A. Schoolwork is simple.
B. I am a hard worker.

9. You meet a friend and your friend tells you that you look nice. PmG
 A. My friend felt like praising the way people looked that day.
 B. Usually my friend praises the way people look.
10. A good friend tells you that he hates you. PsB
 A. My friend was in a bad mood that day.
 B. I wasn't nice to my friend that day.
11. You tell a joke and no one laughs. PsB
 A. I don't tell jokes well.
 B. The joke is so well known that it is no longer funny.
12. Your teacher gives a lesson and you don't understand it. PvB
 A. I didn't pay attention to anything that day.
 B. I didn't pay attention when my teacher was talking.
13. You fail a test. PmB
 A. My teacher makes hard tests.
 B. The past few weeks, my teacher has made hard tests.
14. You gain a lot of weight and start to look fat. PsB
 A. The food I have to eat is fattening.
 B. I like fattening foods.
15. A person steals money from you. PvB
 A. That person is dishonest.
 B. People are dishonest.
16. Your parents praise something you make. PsG
 A. I am good at making some things.
 B. My parents like some things I make.
17. You play a game and you win money. PvG
 A. I am a lucky person.
 B. I am lucky when I play games.
18. You almost drown when swimming in a river. PmB
 A. I am not a very cautious person.
 B. Some days I am not a cautious person.
19. You are invited to a lot of parties. PsG
 A. A lot of people have been acting friendly toward me lately.
 B. I have been acting friendly toward a lot of people lately.
20. A grown-up yells at you. PvB
 A. That person yelled at the first person he saw.
 B. That person yelled at a lot of people he saw that day.

21. You do a project with a group of kids and it turns out badly. PvB
 A. I don't work well with the people in the group.
 B. I never work well with a group.
22. You make a new friend. PsG
 A. I am a nice person.
 B. The people that I meet are nice.
23. You have been getting along well with your family. PmG
 A. I am easy to get along with when I am with my family.
 B. Once in a while I am easy to get along with when I am with my family.
24. You try to sell candy, but no one will buy any. PmB
 A. Lately a lot of children are selling things, so people don't want to buy anything else from children.
 B. People don't like to buy things from children.
25. You play a game and you win. PvG
 A. Sometimes I try as hard as I can at games.
 B. Sometimes I try as hard as I can.
26. You get a bad grade in school. PsB
 A. I am stupid.
 B. Teachers are unfair graders.
27. You walk into a door and you get a bloody nose. PvB
 A. I wasn't looking where I was going.
 B. I have been careless lately.
28. You miss the ball and your team loses the game. PmB
 A. I didn't try hard while playing ball that day.
 B. I usually don't try hard when I am playing ball.
29. You twist your ankle in gym class. PsB
 A. The past few weeks, the sports we played in gym class have been dangerous.
 B. The past few weeks I have been clumsy in gym class.
30. Your parents take you to the beach and you have a good time. PvG
 A. Everything at the beach was nice that day.
 B. The weather at the beach was nice that day.
31. You take a bus which arrives so late that you miss a movie. PmB
 A. The past few days there have been problems with the bus being on time.
 B. The buses are almost never on time.

32. Your mother makes your favorite dinner for you. PvG
 A. There are a few things which my mother does to please me.
 B. My mother likes to please me.
33. A team that you are on loses a game. PmB
 A. The team members don't play well together.
 B. That day the team members didn't play well together.
34. You finish your homework quickly. PvG
 A. Lately I have been doing everything quickly.
 B. Lately I have been doing schoolwork quickly.
35. Your teacher asks you a question and you give the wrong answer. PmB
 A. I get nervous when I have to answer questions.
 B. That day I got nervous when I had to answer questions.
36. You get on the wrong bus and you get lost. PmB
 A. That day I wasn't paying attention to what was going on.
 B. I usually don't pay attention to what's going on.
37. You go to an amusement park and you have a good time. PvG
 A. I usually enjoy myself at amusement parks.
 B. I usually enjoy myself.
38. An older kid slaps you in the face. PsB
 A. I teased his younger brother.
 B. His younger brother told him I had teased him.
39. You get all the toys you want on your birthday. PmG
 A. People always guess what toys to buy me for my birthday.
 B. This birthday people guessed right as to what toys I wanted.
40. You take a vacation in the country and you have a wonderful time. PmG
 A. The country is a beautiful place to be.
 B. The time of the year that we went was beautiful.
41. Your neighbors ask you over for dinner. PmG
 A. Sometimes people are in kind moods.
 B. People are kind.
42. You have a substitute teacher and she likes you. PmG
 A. I was well behaved during class that day.
 B. I am almost always well behaved during class.

43. You make your friends happy. PmG
A. I am a fun person to be with.
B. Sometimes I am a fun person to be with.
44. You get a free ice-cream cone. PsG
A. I was friendly to the ice-cream man that day.
B. The ice-cream man was feeling friendly that day.
45. At your friend's party the magician asks you to help him out. PsG
A. It was just luck that I got picked.
B. I looked really interested in what was going on.
46. You try to convince a kid to go to the movies with you, but he won't go. PvB
A. That day he did not feel like doing anything.
B. That day he did not feel like going to the movies.
47. Your parents get a divorce. PvB
A. It is hard for people to get along well when they are married.
B. It is hard for my parents to get along well when they are married.
48. You have been trying to get into a club and you don't get in. PvB
A. I don't get along well with other people.
B. I don't get along well with the people in the club.

APPENDIX G

General Interview Questions

1. Family Demographics

Parents names/birth year - Living or deceased?
Sibling(s) names/birth year(s) - Living or deceased?
Grandparents' names - Living or deceased?
Aunts and uncles
Ethnicity/how long in US?
What is/was your father's occupation?
What is/was your mother's occupation?
What are/were occupations of members of your extended family ?
If married or living with a man, partner's name/birth year
Children's names/birth years

2. Family¹

Who was the person you liked most while you were growing up? Why?
Who was the person you liked least while you were growing up? Why?
²Who was the person in your family with the most power? What form did this power take? How was this power used?
How would you characterize your relationship with your mother? What do you think your mother's hopes, desires, and expectations were for you as you were growing up? How were these communicated to you?
What did you have to do in order to be loved by your mother?
How would you characterize your relationship with your father? What do you think your father's hopes, desires, and expectations were for you as you were growing up? How were these communicated to you?
What did you have to do in order to be loved by your father?
How would you characterize and describe your parents' relationship?
What phrase, motto, or saying best describes how your family functioned as a unit?
What did you have to do in order to be loved by your siblings?

¹Unmarked questions in this section come from the Family Relationships History of Bagarozzi & Anderson (1989, p. 28-36). Asterisked questions were developed specifically for this study.

²Because of the ascending nature of power, Foucault (1980) sees it most available for study at the "extremities" of society such as the family.

What topics of conversation, behaviors, thoughts or feelings were forbidden expression in your family?

What secrets did your family have that had to be kept from outsiders?

What secrets about yourself could you not share with your parents and siblings?

What values, beliefs, and rules in your family do you think played an important part in shaping who you are? How have they helped you become the person you are today? How have they prevented you from being the person you would like to be?

*Can you remember any experiences of being ridiculed, teased, ignored or rejected as a child? If so, what happened? How did you cope with these experiences?

Who was the person you feared most while you were growing up? Why?

*If I could have interviewed your mother when you were around 15-years-old, what would she have told me about you?

*If I could have interviewed your father at that same time, what would he have said?

*Did you ever do anything as a child that you got in trouble for?

*What thoughts did you have about your adult life when you were a teenager?

If you could go back in time, or even now in the present, what changes would you make in your family's life circumstances, its members, and their relationships to each other?

3. Education

What did education mean to your family?

Did your parents go to college? If so, where? What were their majors?

What kinds of education do other members of your extended family have?

Who were your *high school* friends?
 Why did you like to be with these people?
 What did you talk about with your high school friends?
 What are your high school women friends doing now?

What was your orientation to school work in *high school*?
 What subjects did you like? Why?
 What subjects did you not like? Why?

What was your orientation to social life in *high school*?

What extracurricular activities did you participate in in *high school*?

How did you fit in to the student culture at your *high school*?

How did you decide to attend the *college* you did? What kind of support did you have from your family in making your choices?

Who were your *college* friends?
Why did you like to be with these people?
What did you talk about with your college friends?
What are your college women friends doing now?
What was your orientation to school work in *college*?
What subjects did you like? Why?
What subjects did you not like? Why?
How did you decide on a major in college?
What was your orientation to social life in *college*?
What extracurricular activities did you participate in at *college*?
How did you fit in to the student culture at your *college*?
How did your thinking evolve about possible careers?
Were you ever discriminated against in either high school or college? If so, what happened? What did you do about it?

4. Work

What is it like to be a female manager in your organization?
How are you seen by others in your organization?
Who has been a model/mentor for you as a manager?
What do you enjoy the most about your job?
What do you enjoy the least about your job?
How do you know when you are being an effective manager?
How do you know when you are not being effective?
Have you ever been discriminated against in any position you've held? If so, what happened? What did you do about it?

5. Health

How was your health as a child? As a teenager? In early adulthood? Since then?
What upsets you? How do you handle stress?

6. Romantic relationships/present family

What defined a young woman's popularity when you were in high school? When you were in college?
What kinds of dating experiences did you have in high school? In college?
If you have ever been married or lived with a man, how did your relationship develop?
If you have ever ended a marriage or a live-in relationship with a man, what caused it to end?
If you are currently married or living with a man, how supportive is he of your career?
If you have children, how do work responsibilities affect your home life? How do home responsibilities affect your work life?

7. General³

- What do you consider your major life changes?
How have you responded to them?
- +What were your views on contemporary political issues when you were in *college*? Were you active in politics in any way? What are your views now?
 - +Have you ever been in psychotherapy or counseling?
 - *How do you think your sense of independence developed?
 - *What approach do you take to understanding the world and your place in it?
 - *How have you thought about your deservingness in all you've achieved?
 - *What doubts have you had about any of the endeavors you've undertaken in your life? How did/do you move beyond the doubts?
 - +How are your views about raising children the same or different from the way your parents raised you?
 - ⁴How would you finish this phrase? Life is _____.

³Asterisked questions were added after the first interview. Those preceded by (+) come from Josselson (1991).

⁴Following Norton (1989), this question was meant to elicit the respondent's metaphorical life orientation, a shorthand way to understand the approach she takes to coping with her day-to-day existence.

APPENDIX H

Parents' Interview Questions - Sara Tolberg

1. Insights from Sara before the interview with her parents

How long has your family been in the US?
What kinds of education/occupations do family members have?
Brief chronology of your life while living with your parents
Milestones: Awards, illnesses, divorces, deaths, etc.
What topics/areas are "hot spots?"
How should the interview be run?
How long should it last?

2. Questions asked of Sara's parents

When Sara and I talked recently, she gave me a brief history of your family. Let's take a few minutes to review so I can keep everybody straight as you talk.

Parents' names

Sara's siblings' names/years they were born

Grandparents' names - Living or deceased?

Brothers and sisters of parents (Sara's aunts and uncles)

Ethnicity/how long in US?

Occupations

What was your philosophy for raising your children?

What responsibilities did you expect your children to fulfill as they were growing up?

What phrase or motto or saying do you think would best describe how your family got along together?

What were your hopes for Sara as she was growing up?

How would you describe Sara when she was a child?

Friends?

School?

Religious affiliation?

Extracurricular activities?

What did Sara do that would make you angry or upset?

How was Sara's health as a child?

What important milestones stand out for you from Sara's childhood, until she went off to college?

Now I'd like you to think back to when Sara was very little, before she went to school. What do you remember about her then?

What was a typical weekday dinnertime like at your house?

What did you talk about?

How would you finish this phrase? Life is _____.

APPENDIX I

Cognition and the Menstrual Cycle

In the past twenty years a raft of research has examined the hypothesized relationship between cognition and the menstrual cycle. Little of it has found evidence of cognitive performance decrement during any menstrual cycle phase. What it has revealed, however, is a veritable "minefield" (Ussher, 1992) of inconsistencies influenced by three factors: 1) a continued belief in the myths and stereotypes surrounding menstruation, 2) conceptual and methodological problems in conducting this kind of research, and 3) publication biases. These factors are discussed in this appendix.

The lore about menstruation includes a host of often "bizarre and noxious" taboos underlying customs and beliefs which have long restricted menstruating women from full participation in society (Delaney, Lupton & Toth, 1976, p. 105; Toth, Delaney & Lupton, 1981). These myths, often attributed to the naive beliefs of uneducated people living in underdeveloped countries, exist in 20th century America as well. Although in America we no longer hear about the dangers of menstrual intercourse and don't require women to spend time every month confined to tribal menstrual huts, still the secretiveness, embarrassment, and shame surrounding menstruation persist (Nicolson, 1992), as do myths about the effects of the menstrual cycle on women's cognitive abilities and performance.

Perhaps the most pervasive stereotype, among men and women, is that women are more tense and irritable around the time of menstruation

and therefore unreliable in making judgments and in need of special treatment (Parlee, 1980; Golub, 1981; Spencer & Snyder, 1984). This kind of thinking harks back to the last century when higher education for women was opposed because some believed it would cause women's brains to use up the blood and energy needed for menstruation, thus weakening them, their offspring, and ultimately all of humanity (Clarke, 1873; Toth, Delaney, & Lupton, 1981; Sayers, 1982; Richardson, 1992). A similar rationale was used by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1908 to pass protective legislation restricting what women could do in the workplace (Toth, Delaney, & Lupton, 1981). In the 1970's, this same kind of thinking caught on in the popular culture when Dr. Edgar Berman, presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey's personal physician, made the public observation that women's "raging hormones" made them unpredictable in a crisis and hence unfit to be president (Barnes, 1971; Delaney, Lupton, & Toth, 1976; Spencer & Snyder, 1984; Ussher & Wilding, 1991). And a Latin American diplomat used this argument in 1982 to verbally attack British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher for her handling of the Falklands invasion (Sommer, 1983).

The underlying assumption of all the myths and stereotypes about menstruation is that it is a debilitating event (Dalton, 1969; Ruble & Brooks-Gunn, 1979; McClintock, 1981; Sommer, 1981; Logue & Moos, 1988; Ussher & Wilding, 1991). This conceptualization has led many menstrual cycle researchers to treat menstruation as a stressor (Jenson, 1982; Ussher & Wilding, 1991), which medicalizes women's experience (Koeske, 1981; Tavris, 1992). It is but a small step from there to think of menstruation as pathological (Laws, 1983; Ussher & Wilding, 1991; Nicolson, 1992), that

behaviors, moods, and even cycle phases and hormone levels can be arranged somewhere along a continuum of normality-abnormality (Koeske, 1981, p. 56).

This reductionistic approach has led many researchers to consider the menstrual cycle as a purely biological event (Koeske, 1981), or an event which is primarily biological and only secondarily psychological and social (Ussher & Wilding, 1991; Nicolson, 1992). Employing simplistic, one-dimensional models, researchers from different disciplines have focused on their own narrow interests rather than take a multidimensional view (Parlee, 1981; Logue & Moos, 1988; Ussher & Wilding, 1991; Sommer, 1992). This tack has produced widely diverging agendas producing little comparability. Moreover, this research has also been subject to conceptual and methodological criticism which falls generally into three areas: 1) research design, including choice of analytical modes and subjects, 2) phase designation, and 3) testing measures.

Regarding research design, most menstrual cycle studies tend to follow only one menstrual cycle and then consider it representative (Ussher & Wilding, 1991). Another common practice is not clearly specifying variables beforehand and instead

throwing every conceivable variable into the computer and then looking to see where correlations fall. [Hence] conclusions are made post hoc and have very little reliability or validity (Sommer, 1981, p. 194).

Furthermore, this research has emphasized quantitative modes of statistical analysis and ignored qualitative analyses (Sommer, 1981). This bias has been influenced by past research on sex-differences in brain lateralization and verbal and visuospatial ability (Hirst, 1982).

Menstrual cycle research has also been criticized for selection biases in using mainly female college students as subjects, and only those who

are not on oral contraceptives and who have regular menstrual cycles (Sommer, 1973). This, of course, precludes saying anything about women who don't fit these categories. This research also tends to treat the female population as a homogeneous group (Sommer, 1981, 1983; Asso, 1986), which is why there is no demographic research on how women of varying backgrounds and occupations experience the menstrual cycle (Sommer, 1981). There is also a long tradition in this research of using subjects who are aware they are participating in a study of menstruation, which makes salient generally-held cultural beliefs about their experience of this event (Parlee, 1980) and raises the issues of subject expectation and response bias (Sommer, 1973).

A second problem in menstrual cycle research is the variability and arbitrariness of the definitions of cycle phases, which makes it difficult to compare and generalize across studies (Sommer, 1973, 1992). In many studies, phases are designated by a simple count of days from the onset of menstrual bleeding meant to reflect the changes in hormonal levels which take place during the menstrual cycle. However, all researchers do not use the same counting system nor the same terminology for the phases. Nor are the unreliability of women's reports of where they are in their cycles, the differences between ovulatory and anovulatory cycles, and the biological and psychological changes induced by oral contraceptives taken into account (Sommer, 1992).

And third, critics have taken issue with how menstrual cycle researchers have tested for the connection between menstruation and cognition. Much of this research has tended to rely on single objective tests or subtests and simple performance measures, which prohibits generalizing to complex everyday situations (Rodin, 1976; Ussher, 1989, 1992;

Ussher & Wilding, 1991). The few studies which have looked at more complex situations (mostly academic performance) have found that premenstrual symptoms or menstrual discomfort have no affect on women's capabilities (Schuckit et al., 1975; Walsh et al., 1982; Sommer, 1992).

Questions have also been raised about the validity and reliability of retrospective self-report, a popular testing modality in this research. Two of the better known self-reports, the Menstrual Distress Questionnaire (MDQ) (Moos, 1968) and the Menstrual Attitude Questionnaire (MAQ) (Brooks, Ruble, & Clark, 1977; Brooks-Gunn & Ruble, 1980, 1986), are intended to measure the cyclical nature of negative moods and behaviors associated with menstruation. But results of studies using these instruments have generally been inconsistent (Parlee, 1973; Doty et al., 1981; Sommer, 1983, 1992). In addition, some research using self-report measures has found a discrepancy between reports of menstrual changes retrospectively and on a daily basis (McCauce, Luff, & Widdowson, 1937; Seward, 1944; Parlee, 1980), leading to the speculation that what retrospective self-reports actually measure is stereotypes of premenstrual tension (Parlee, 1980). This reasoning is supported by research on memory which demonstrates that

people are really extremely bad at estimating their own cognitive performance and that subjective reports of cognitive impairment may have little or no objective validity (Herrman, 1984).

Because of this report discrepancy, it has been suggested that the connection between the menstrual cycle and moods may be more complex in that "different moods may exhibit cycles of different lengths in response to a variety of causes" and "individuals may vary in the extent to which

they exhibit cycles in particular moods" (Parlee, 1980, p. 259). Supporting this perspective is research which shows that many women indicate in daily self-reports that they feel elated rather than depressed premenstrually (Parlee, 1980). This raises a further important consideration -- that the bases for moods and emotions may be more social-cognitive than biological. Put another way, perimenstrual moods and emotions may arise from "general states of bodily arousal [which] are given specific emotional labels in a way that is mediated by [demands and expectations of] the social situation (Parlee, 1980, p. 261; Schachter and Singer, 1962; Sommer, 1973; Koeske, 1976). If this be so, the issue of response bias is relevant here too (Parlee, 1974).

A final problem of menstrual cycle research is political and concerns the reporting of results. Since most journal editors have not considered the menstrual cycle a popular topic, it hasn't been easy to get this kind of research published (Koeske, 1981). An added difficulty is that much of this research has found small and variable effects, which means it is "inherently unpublishable," since most journals favor positive results (Koeske, 1981, p. 54; Sommer, 1973, Ussher, 1992; Nicolson, 1992). Also, many journals publish only quantitative analyses within positivistic methodologies (Harding, 1986; Ussher, 1992), giving little incentive for qualitative studies in this area.

Taken together, the above problems, plus the fact that there is little or no replication in this research, mitigate against any attempt to make definitive sense of the findings. About the only conclusion to be drawn from this research is that there is wide variability among women in how they experience their menstrual cycles (Sommer, 1992).

Generally, the only research which has demonstrated any changes associated with hormonal fluctuations during the menstrual cycle have been sensory-threshold, sensory-motor, and speech articulation studies. Threshold variations during the menstrual cycle have been found in olfactory acuity for specific substances (Vierling & Rock, 1967), temperature detection (Kenshalo, 1970), and sublingual temperature (Wineman, 1971). There is also evidence that visual detection is impaired premenstrually due to corneal water retention, although visual discrimination is enhanced during this phase (Ward, Stone & Sandman, 1978; Sommer, 1982; Jensen, 1982). Sensory-motor studies have found a few instances of phase effects on choice reaction time (Gamberale et al., 1975) and motor coordination (Zimmerman & Parlee, 1973; Hudgens, 1988). And studies of speech articulation have shown improvements during the late cycle (Hampson, 1986) and a decline in fluency premenstrually (Silverman & Zimmer, 1975) and in the postovulatory and menstruation phases (Komnenich, 1974), but no phase effects in oral reading (Silverman & Zimmer, 1976).¹ However, there are also contradictory results in all these areas, and nowhere has it been demonstrated that psychophysiological changes contribute in any cycle phase to a decrement in intellectual ability (Sommer, 1992).

In fact, women's best perceptual-motor performance has been found to occur during menstruation (Jensen, 1982). Other studies of perimen-

¹In the Silverman and Zimmer studies, disfluency behaviors studied included part-word repetition, whole-word repetition, phrase repetition, revision-incomplete phrase, disrhythmic phonation, and tense pause (see Silverman & Zimmer, 1975). Premenstrual disfluency in revision-incomplete phrase was found to be related to heightened anxiety caused by the marked drop of estrogen and progesterone in this cycle phase. This disfluency was determined in a subsequent study to be a disturbance in language formulation, not the production of meaning (Silverman & Zimmer, 1976; Sommer, 1992).

strual women have also shown that 1) the magnitude of mood and related personality changes is small (Golub, 1980, 1981), 2) women in this phase are no more punitive towards others than intermenstrual women or men (Spencer & Snyder, 1984), 3) many women in this phase report enhanced mood and performance (Parlee, 1980; Logue & Moos, 1988), and 4) menstruation is not a stressor for many women (Ussher & Wilding, 1991)(see Sommer, 1983 for a review of 35 independent studies using 81 performance tests and Sommer, 1992, for an updated review).

This general finding of no phase effects raises two important questions. If most women are not the victims of their raging hormones, why in the United Kingdom and the United States is so much credence put into the popular concept of Premenstrual Syndrome (PMS)? While it is generally acknowledged that some women do experience negative and sometimes disabling premenstrual symptomatology, so far PMS has not been shown to be a reliable or valid construct (Harding, 1989; Ussher, 1989, 1992; Ussher & Wilding, 1991; Richardson, 1992). What it has proved to be, however, is useful in legitimating the continued categorizing, medicalizing and pathologizing of women's normal behavior (Laws, 1983; Ussher & Wilding, 1991).

A second question is: why, despite little confirmatory evidence for a performance deficit, do many women indicate on self-reports they feel they perform less capably in the perimenstrual phase (Ruble & Brooks-Gunn, 1979; Sommer, 1983; Nicolson, 1992)? One convincing interpretation involves attributions and suggests that women's beliefs about their own deficiency, long a stereotype held by men as well, causes them to feel less confident about their abilities just before and during menstruation (Rodin, 1976; Sommer, 1983; Nicolson, 1992). This self-perception is a natural

outcome of a deficit model of female psychology (Williams, 1987; Nicolson, 1992).

In a society where stereotypes about women's abilities to function in the world outside the family are still closely tied to stereotypes about the menstrual cycle and women's reproductive capacities, it is difficult to get an unbiased picture of women's competence. This circumstance probably won't change until research on menstruation and cognitive performance begins to account for contextual factors in women's lives, including current life situation and social, cultural, and subcultural attitudes about menstruation, sex, one's body, femininity, and health (Ruble & Brooks-Gunn, 1979; Koeske, 1981; Brooks-Gunn, 1985; Logue & Moos, 1988). For this to happen, two fundamental shifts are needed. First, those interested in researching the menstrual cycle will need to develop an integrated, multidisciplinary theoretical and experimental framework and to convince funders and journal editors that this kind of research is eminently worthy of publication. And second, more than a few academicians will need to recognize that "scientific knowledge about menstruation [has been] used to manage gender relations [as a way] to help men cope with or dispose of women" (Nicolson, 1992, p. 186-187; Toth, Delaney, & Lupton, 1981). Until there is at least some movement in both these areas, women will continue to be thought of as prisoners of their unstable physiology and therefore unfit for work traditionally done by men.

REFERENCES

- Abramson, L. Y., Garber, J., & Seligman, M. E. P. (1980). Learned helplessness in humans: An attributional analysis. In J. Garber and M. E. P. Seligman (Eds.). *Human helplessness: Theory and applications*. New York: Academic Press.
- Abramson, L. Y., Seligman, M. E. P., & Teasdale, J. D. (1978). Learned helplessness in humans: Critique and reformulation. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 87, pp. 49-74.
- Alderfer, C. P. (1986). An intergroup perspective on group dynamics. In J. Lorsch (Ed.). *Handbook of organizational behavior*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Ammons, R. B. (1956). Effects of knowledge of performance: A survey and tentative theoretical formulation. *Journal of General Psychology*, 54, 279-299.
- Anderson, C. A., & Riger, A. L. (1991). A controllability attributional model of problems in living: Dimensional and situational interactions in the prediction of depression and loneliness. *Social Cognition*, 9, 149-181.
- Argyris, C. (1968). Some unintentional consequences of rigorous research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 70, 185-197.
- Argyris, C. (1990). *Overcoming organizational defenses: Facilitating organizational learning*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Argyris, C. (1993). *Knowledge for action: A guide to overcoming barriers to organizational change*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Aries, E. J. (1982). Verbal and nonverbal behavior in single-sex and mixed-sex groups: Are traditional sex roles changing? *Psychological Reports*, 51, 127-134.
- Asso, D. (1986). The relationship between cyclical variations and sex differences in performance. In H. Baker (Ed.). *Sex differences in human performance*. London: John Wiley.
- Austin, J. L. (1964). *Philosophy of language*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bachrach, P., & Baratz, M. S. (1962). The two faces of power. *American Political Science Review*, 56, 947-952.

- Bagarozzi, D. A., & Anderson, S. A. (1989). *Personal, marital and family myths: Theoretical formulations and clinical strategies*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Bakan, D. (1966). *The duality of human existence*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Bakeman, R., & Gottman, J. M. (1986). *Observing interaction: An introduction to sequential analysis*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1975). Problema soderzhaniia, materiala, i forma v slovesnom khudozhestvennom tvorchestve [The problem of content, material, and form in verbal creative art]. *Voprosy literatury i estetiki: Issledovaniia raznykh let*. Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura. G. Morson & C. Emerson, unpublished translation.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination: Four essays by M. M Bakhtin*. M. Holquist, (Ed.). C. Emerson and M. Holquist, (Trans.). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1984). *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics*. [the 1963 edition of the Dostoevsky book]. C. Emerson (Ed. & Trans.). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1986a). *Speech genres and other late essays*. C. Emerson and M. Holquist (Eds.). V. W. McGee (Trans.). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1986b). K filosofii postupka [Toward a philosophy of the act]. In the 1984-1985 issue of *Filosofia i sotsiologiya nauki i tekhniki*, a yearbook of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Moscow: Nauka. G. Morson & C. Emerson unpublished translation.
- Bales, R. F. (1950). *Interaction Process Analysis: A method for the study of small groups*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bales, R. F., & Cohen, S. P. (1979). *SYMLOG: A system for the multiple level observation of groups*. New York: The Free Press.
- Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. *Psychological Review*, 84, 191-215.
- Bandura, A. (1982). Self-efficacy mechanism in human agency. *American Psychologist*, 37, 122-147.
- Bandura, A. (1984). Recycling misconceptions of perceived self-efficacy. *Cognitive Therapy and Research*, 8, 231-255.

- Bandura, A. (1989). Human agency in social cognitive theory. *American Psychologist*, 44, 1175.
- Barash, D. (1979). *The whispering within*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Bardwick, J., & Douvan, E. (1971). Ambivalence: The socialization of women. In V. Gornick & B. K. Moran, (Eds.). *Women in sexist society: Studies in power and powerlessness*. New York: Basic Books.
- Barnes, A. C. (1971). The opening of the second front: Dr. Berman and the ladies. *Obstetrics & Gynecology*, 37, 320-322.
- Barnett, R. C. (1978). *The competent woman: Perspectives on development*. New York: Irvington Publishers.
- Barrett, M. (1980). *Women's oppression today: Problems in Marxist feminist analysis*. London: Verso.
- Barthes, R. (1986). *The rustle of language*. R. Howard (Trans.). New York: Hill and Wang.
- Basow, S. A. (1986). *Gender stereotypes: Traditions and alternatives*. 2nd Edition. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- Bass, B. (1985). *Leadership and performance beyond expectations*. New York: Free Press.
- Baucom, D. H. (1983). Sex role identity and the decision to regain control among women. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 44, 334-343.
- Baucom, D. H., & Danker-Brown, P. (1984). Sex-role identity and sex-stereotyped tasks in the development of learned helplessness in women. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46, 422-430.
- Baucom, D. H., & Weiss, B. (1986). Peers' granting of control to women with different sexual identities: Implications for depression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51, 1075-1080.
- Baum, W. M., & Heath, J. L. (1992). Behavioral explanations and intentional explanations in psychology. *American Psychologist*, 47, 1312-1317.
- Baumeister, R. F. (1991). *Meanings of life*. New York: Guilford.

- Baumeister, R. F. (1992). Neglected aspects of self-theory: Motivation, interpersonal aspects, culture, escape, and existential value. *Psychological Inquiry*, 3, 21-25.
- Baumeister, R. F., & Tice, D. M. (1990). Anxiety and social exclusion. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 9, 165-195.
- Beach, F. A. (1981). Historical origins of modern research on hormones and behavior. *Hormones and Behavior*, 15, 325-376.
- Beauvoir, S. de (1949). *The second sex*. New York: Knopf.
- Belenky, M. F., Clinchy, B. M., Goldberger, N. R., & Tarule, J. M. (1986). *Women's ways of knowing: The development of self, voice, and mind*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.
- Bellah, R. N., Madsen, R., Sullivan, W. M., Swidler, A., & Tipton, S. M. (1985). *Habits of the heart*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.
- Berger, J., Rosenholtz, S. J., & Zelditch, M., Jr. (1980). Status organizing processes. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 6, 479-508.
- Berger, J., & Zelditch, M., Jr. (1985). *Status, rewards, and influence*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Bernard, J. (1972). *The sex game*. New York: Atheneum.
- Bertalanffy, L. von (1950). The theory of open systems in physics and biology. *Science*, 111, 23-29.
- Betz, N. E. (1992). Counseling uses of career self-efficacy theory. *Career Development Quarterly*, 41, 22-26.
- Betz, N. E., & Hackett, G. (1981). The relationships of career-related self-efficacy expectations to perceived career options in college women and men. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 28, 399-410.
- Bird, J. E., & Berman, L. S. (1985). Differing perceptions of mothers, fathers, and children concerning children's academic performance. *Journal of Psychology*, 119, 113-124.
- Bloomfield, L. (1933). *Language*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Boas, F. (Ed.). (1911). *Handbook of American Indian languages*. (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 40, Part I). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.
- Boneau, C. A. (1992). Observations on psychology's past and future. *American Psychologist*, 47, 1586-1596.

- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge. UK: Cambridge University Press).
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *The political ontology of Martin Heidegger*. Oxford: Polity.
- Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and loss: Vol. 1. Attachment*. New York: Basic.
- Bowlby, J. (1973). *Attachment and loss: Vol. 2. Separation anxiety and anger*. New York: Basic.
- Bowles, G., & Klein, R. D. (Eds.). (1983). *Theories of women's studies*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in capitalist America*. New York: Basic Books.
- Box, G. E., & Jenkins, G. M. (1976). *Time series analysis: Forecasting and control* (2nd ed.) San Francisco: Holden-Day.
- Boyd, S. T. (1985). Study of the father: Research methods. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 29, 112-128.
- Brannigan, G. G., & Horn, J. L. (1985) Parental identification and personal control in young adults. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 146, 495-500.
- Brewin, C. R. (1991). The social context of explanatory style. *Psychological Inquiry*, 2, 19-21.
- Brooks, J., Ruble, D. N., & Clark, A. (1977). College women's attitudes and expectations concerning menstrual-related changes. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 39, 288-298.
- Brooks-Gunn, J. (1985). The salience and timing of the menstrual flow. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 4, 363-371.
- Brooks-Gunn, J., & Ruble, D. N. (1980). The Menstrual Attitude Questionnaire. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 42, 503-512.
- Brooks-Gunn, J., & Ruble, D. N. (1986). Men' and women's attitudes and belief about the menstrual cycle. *Sex Roles*, 14, 287-299.
- Brown, L. M., & Gilligan, C. (1992). *Meeting at the crossroads: Women's psychology and girls' development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Bruner, J. (1984). Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development: The hidden agenda. In B. Rogoff & J. V. Wertsch (Eds.). *Children's learning in the Zone of Proximal Development*. New Directions for Child Development, No. 23. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Bruner, J. (1985). Vygotsky: A historical and conceptual perspective. In J. V. Wertsch (Ed.). *Culture, communication, and cognition: Vygotskian perspectives*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bruner, J. (1986). *Actual minds, possible worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Buchwald, A. M., Coyne, J. C., & Cole, C. S. (1978). A critical evaluation of the learned helplessness model of depression. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 87, 180-193.
- Burke, R. J., & McKeen, C. A. (1992). Women in management. *International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, Vol. 7. C. L. Cooper & I. T. Robertson, (Eds.). Chichester, UK: John Wiley.
- Catalyst. (1987). A matter of personal ability, not gender. *Management solutions*, 32, 38-45.
- Catalyst. (1990). *Woman in corporate management: Results of a Catalyst survey*. New York: Catalyst.
- Caudill, W., & Weinstein, H. (1972). Maternal care and infant behavior in Japan and in America. In C. S. Lavatelli and F. Stendler, Eds. *Readings in child behavior and development*. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Chatfield, C. (1989). *The analysis of time series: An introduction*. (4th ed.). London & New York: Chapman and Hall, 1989.
- Chodorow, N. (1978). *The reproduction of mothering*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1957). *Syntactic structures*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of a theory of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1966). *Cartesian linguistics: A chapter in the history of rationalist thought*. New York: Harper and Row.

- Chomsky, N. (1975). *The logical structure of linguistic theory*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Church, A. T., Teresa, J. S., Rosebrook, R., & Szendre, D. (1992). Self-efficacy for careers and occupational consideration in minority high school equivalency students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 39(4), 498-508.
- Clark, K. & Holquist, M. (1984). *Mikhail Bakhtin*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Clarke, E. H. (1873). *Sex in education; or, A fair chance for girls*. Boston: J. R. Osgood.
- Clarricoates, K. (1983). Classroom interaction. In J. Whyld (Ed.). *Sexism in the secondary curriculum*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Cohen, J., & Cohen, P. (1983). *Applied multiple regression / correlation analysis for the behavioral sciences*. Second Ed. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Cole, M. (1985). The Zone of Proximal Development: Where culture and cognition create each other. In J. V. Wertsch (Ed.). *Culture, communication, and cognition: Vygotskian perspectives*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Coles, R. (1986). *The political life of children*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company.
- Coles, R. (1989). *The call of stories*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company.
- Compas, B. E., Forsythe, C. J., & Wagner, B. M. (1988). Consistency and variability in causal attribution and coping with stress. *Cognitive Therapy and Research*, 12, 305-320.
- Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics*. Stanford; Stanford University Press.
- Cronbach, L. J. (1982). *Designing evaluations of educational and social programs*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Cross, S. E. (1992). New wine in old wineskins. *Psychological Inquiry*, 3, 27-29.
- Cross, S., E. & Markus, H. (1991). *Possible selves across the lifespan*. *Human Development*, 34, 230-255.

- Curtis, R. (1992). A process view of consciousness and the "self": Integrating a sense of connectedness with a sense of agency. *Psychological Inquiry*, 3, 29-31.
- Cushman, C. (1990). Why the self is empty: Toward a historically situated psychology. *American Psychologist*, 45, 599-611.
- Dahl, R. A. (1957). The concept of power. *Behavioral Science*, 2, 201-218.
- Dalton, K. (1969). *The menstrual cycle*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.
- Dalton, R. J. (1982). The pathways of parental socialization. *American Politics Quarterly*, 10, 139-157.
- Darley, J. M., & Fazio, R. H. (1980). Expectancy confirmation processes arising in the social interaction sequence. *American Psychologist*, 35, 867-881.
- Darwin, C. (1871/1952). The descent of man and selection in relation to sex. In R. M. Hutchins (Ed.). *Great books of the Western world*. Vol. 49. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica.
- DeAngelis, T. (1992, October). The "who am I" question wears a cloak of culture. *The American Psychological Association Monitor*, p. 22-23.
- deBrabander, B., & Boone, C. (1990). Sex differences in perceived locus of control. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 130(2), 271-272.
- Delaney, J., Lupton, M. J., & Toth, E. *The curse: A cultural history of menstruation*. New York: Dutton, 1976.
- Dell, P. F. (1985). Understanding Bateson and Maturana: Toward a biological foundation for the social sciences. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 11, 1-20.
- Derrida, J. (1989). *Of spirit: Heidegger and the question*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Devanna, M. A. (1987). Women in management: Progress and promise. *Human Resource Management*, 26, 409-481.
- Dewey, J. (1922). *Human nature and conduct: An introduction to social psychology*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Dipboye, R. L. (1987). Problems and progress of women in management. In K. S. Koziara, M. H. Moskow, & L. D. Tanner (Eds.). *Working women: Past, present, and future*. Washington, DC: Bureau of National Affairs.

- Dodd, P., Klein, J., Noble, E., & Porat, I. (1990). *The evolution of the time analysis of groups (TAG) coding scheme*. Technical Report #CMI-90I-001. Ann Arbor, MI: EDS/Center for Machine Intelligence.
- Dole, R. (1992). *Women and the workplace: The glass ceiling hearing*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Donnell, S. M., & Hall, J. (1980). Men and women as managers: A significant case of no significant difference. *Organizational Dynamics*, 8, 60-76.
- Doty, R. L., Snyder, P. J., Huggins, G. R., & Lowry, L. D. (1981). Endocrine cardiovascular, and psychological correlates of olfactory sensitivity changes during the human menstrual cycle. *Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology*, 95, 45--60.
- Douglass, B. G., & Moustakas, C. (1985). Heuristic inquiry: The internal search to know. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 23(3), 39-55.
- Douvan, E., & Adelson, J. (1966). *The adolescent experience*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Dreyfus, H. L. (1991). *Being-in-the-world: A commentary on Heidegger's Being and Time, Division I*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Dunn, J. (1988). *The beginnings of social understanding*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Dweck, C. S. (1975). The role of expectations and attributions in the alleviation of learned helplessness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 31, 674-685.
- Dweck, C. S., & Gilliard, D. (1975). Expectancy statements as determinants of reactions to failure: Sex differences in persistence and expectancy change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 32, 1077-1084.
- Dweck, C. S., & Licht, B. (1980). Learned helplessness and intellectual achievement. In J. Garber and M. E. P. Seligman (Eds.). *Human helplessness: Theory and applications*. New York: Academic Press.
- Eagly, A. H. (1987). *Sex differences in social behavior: A social role interpretation*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Eagly, A. H., & Johnson, B. T. (1990). Gender and leadership style: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, 233-256.

- Eastman, C., & Marzillier, J. S. (1984). Theoretical and methodological difficulties in Bandura's self-efficacy theory. *Cognitive Therapy and Research*, 8, 213-229.
- Edelsky, C. (1981). Who's got the floor? *Language in Society*, 10, 383-421.
- Eisler, R. (1987). *The chalice and the blade: Our history, our future*. San Francisco: Harper & Row.
- Elshtain, J. B. (1981). *Public man, private woman: Women in social and political thought*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 25, 15th Edition. (1986). Philosophies of the branches of knowledge. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.
- Engle, M. (1980). Family influences on the language development of young children. *Women's Studies International Quarterly*, 3, 259-266.
- Ewart, C. K., Taylor, C. B., Reese, L. B., & DeBusk, R. F. (1983). Effects of early post-myocardial infarction exercise testing on self-perception and subsequent physical activity. *American Journal of Cardiology*, 51, 1076-1080.
- Fariás, V. (1989). *Heidegger and Nazism*. J. Margolies & T. Rockmore (Eds.). P. Burrell & G. R. Ricci (Trans.). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Farrari, J. R., & Parker, J. T. (1992). High school achievement, self-efficacy and locus of control as predictors of freshman academic performance. *Psychological Reports*, 71, 515-518.
- Fasold, R. (1990). Language and sex. In *Sociolinguistics of language*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.
- Fierman, J. (1990). Why women still don't hit the top. *Fortune*, July 30, 40-62.
- Fincham, F. D., & Cain, K. M. (1986). Learned helplessness in humans: A developmental analysis. *Developmental Review*, 6, 310-333.
- Fisher, A. B. (1992, September 21). When will women get to the top? *Fortune*, p. 44-48, 52, 56.
- Fishman, P. (1980). Conversational insecurity. In H. Giles, W. P. Robinson, & Smith, P. (Eds.). *Language: Social psychological perspectives*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

- Fishman, P. (1983). Interaction: The work women do. In B. Thorne, C. Kramarae, & N. Henley. (Eds.). (1983). *Language, gender and society*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Fortes, M. (1970). Social and psychological aspects of education in Taleland. In J. Middleton (Ed.). *From child to adult: Studies in the anthropology of education*. New York: Natural History Press.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Frable, D. E. S., & Bem, S.L. (1985). If you're gender-schematic, all members of the opposite sex look alike. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 49, 459-468.
- Freeman, S. J. M. (1990). *Managing lives: Corporate women and social change*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. M. B. Ramos (Trans.). New York: Continuum.
- Freud, S. (1925). Some psychical consequences of the anatomical distinction between the sexes. *Standard Edition*. Vol. 19, London: Hogarth Press.
- Freud, S. (1931). Female sexuality. *Standard Edition*. Vol. 21. London: Hogarth Press.
- Freud, S. (1933). Femininity. *Standard Edition*. Vol. 22. London: Hogarth Press.
- Frost, S. E., Jr. (1962). *Basic teachings of the great philosophers*. Revised Edition. New York: Dolphin/Doubleday.
- Futuran, G. C., J. R. Kelly, and J. E. McGrath. (1989). TEMPO: A time-based system for analysis of group interaction process. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 10, 211, 232.
- Gamberale, F., Strindberg, L., & Wahlberg, I. (1975). Female work capacity during the menstrual cycle: Physiological and psychological reactions. *Scandinavian Journal of Work Environment and Health*, 1, 120-127.
- Gantmacher, F. R. (1960). *The Theory of matrices*. Vol. II. New York: Chelsea.
- Geber, B. (1990, July). Managing diversity. *Training*, p. 23-30.

- Geddes, P., & Thomson, J. A. (1890). *The evolution of sex*. New York: Scribner & Welford.
- Gee, J. P. (1991). Memory and myth: A perspective on narrative. In A. McCabe & C. Peterson (Eds.). *Developing narrative structure*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gergen, K. J. (1973). Social psychology as history. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 26, 309-320.
- Gergen, K. J. (1982). *Toward transformation in social knowledge*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Gergen, K. J., & Gergen, M. M. (1983). Narratives of the self. In T. R. Sarbin & K. E. Scheibe (Eds.). *Studies in social identity*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Gergen, K. J., & Gergen, M. M. (1984). *Historical social psychology*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Gleason, J. B., & Greif, E. B. (1983). Men's speech to young children. In B. Thorne, C. Kramarae, & N. Henley (Eds.). *Language, gender, and society*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Gleick, J. (1987). *Chaos: Making a new science*. New York: Viking.
- Goldner, V. (1988). Generation and gender: Normative and covert hierarchies. *Family Process*, 27, 17-31.
- Golub, S. (1980). Premenstrual changes in mood, personality, and cognitive function. In A. J. Dan, E. A. Graham, & C. Beecher (Eds.). *The menstrual cycle: A synthesis of interdisciplinary research*. Vol. 1. New York: Springer.
- Golub, S. (1981). Sex differences in attitudes and beliefs regarding menstruation. In P. Komnenich, M. McSweeney, J. Noack, & Sr. N. Elder (Eds.). *The Menstrual cycle: Research and implications for women's health*. Vol. 2. New York: Springer.
- Gordon, M. (1992, September). Discrimination at the top. *Working Woman*, p. 68-71, 107.

- Gotlib, I. H. (1991). Explanatory style: A question of balance. *Psychological Inquiry*, 2, 27-30.
- Gottman, J. (1980). Analyzing for sequential connection and assessing interobserver reliability for the sequential analysis of observational data. *Behavioral Assessment*, 2, 361-368.
- Gottman, J. (1981). *Time series analysis: A comprehensive introduction for social scientists*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Gould, C. C. (1978). *Marx's social ontology: Individuality and community in Marx's theory of social reality*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Gradoll, D., & Swann, J. (1989). *Gender voices*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.
- Green, C. D. (1992). Is unified positivism the answer to psychology's disunity? Comment on Statts, 1991. *American Psychologist*, 47, 1057-1058.
- Griffin, S. (1992). *A chorus of stones: The private life of war*. New York: Doubleday.
- Grove, D. (1989). *Metaphors to heal by. Competency based training for mental health professionals*. Edwardsville, IL: David Grove Seminars.
- Guba, E. G. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries. *Educational Communication and Technology Journal*, 29, 75-02.
- Gumperz, J. J. (Ed.). (1982). *Language and social identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, J. J. & Hymes, D. (Eds.). (1972). *Directions in socio-linguistics: The ethnography of communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.
- Hale, W. D., & Cochran, C. D. (1986). Locus of control across the adult life span. *Psychological Reports*, 59, 311-313
- Hammen, C. (1991). Viewing the journey of explanatory style: A bystander's report. *Psychological Inquiry*, 2, 30-32.
- Hampson, E. (1986, June). *Variations in perceptual and motor performance related to phase of the menstrual cycle*. Paper

presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Psychological Association, Toronto.

- Harari, H., & Peters, J. M. (1987). The fragmentation of psychology: Are APA divisions symptomatic? *American Psychologist*, 42, 822-824.
- Harding, L. (1989). The reporting of premenstrual symptoms and treatments: Differences between anxiety patients and non-patients. *Journal of Reproductive and Infant Psychology*, 7, 147-160.
- Harding, S. (1975). Women and words in a Spanish village. In R. Reiter (Ed.). *Towards an anthropology of women*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Harding, S. (1986). *The science question in feminism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Hare-Mustin, R. T. (1987). The problem of gender in family therapy theory. *Family Process*, 26, 15-27.
- Hare-Mustin, R. T., & Marecek, J. (1990). Beyond difference. In R. T. Hare-Mustin & J. Marecek (Eds.). *Making a difference: Psychology and the construction of gender*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hartman, A. (1992). In search of subjugated knowledge. *Social Work*, 37, 483-484.
- Heidegger, M. (1962). *Being and time*. J. Macquarrie & E. Robinson, (Trans.). New York: Harper & Row.
- Heidegger, M. (1985). *History of the concept of time*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Heider, F. (1958). *The psychology of interpersonal relations*. New York: John Wiley.
- Heisenberg, W. (1958). *Physics and philosophy: The revolution in modern science*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Helgesen, S. (1990). *The female advantage: women's ways of leadership*. New York: Doubleday.
- Hennig, M., & Jardim, A. (1977). *The managerial woman*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday.
- Hermans, H. J. M., Kempen, H. J. G., & van Loon, R. J. P. (1992). The dialogical self: Beyond individualism and rationalism. *American Psychologist*, 47, 23-33.

- Hickman, M. (Ed.) (1987). *Social and functional approaches to language and thought*. Orlando: Academic Press.
- Hilton, D. J. (1990). Conversational processes and causal explanation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 107, 65-81.
- Hirschman, L. (1973). *Female-male differences in conversational interaction*. Paper presented at Linguistic Society of America, San Diego.
- Hirst, G. (1982). An evaluation of evidence for innate sex differences in linguistic ability. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 11, 95-113.
- Holland, D. C., & Eisenhart, M. A. (1990). *Educated in romance: Women, achievement, and college culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Holquist, M. (1981a). The politics of representation. In *Allegory in representation: Selected papers from the English institute*. S. Greenblatt (Ed.). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Holquist, M. (1981b). Answering as authoring. In *Bakhtin: Essays and dialogues on his work*. G. S. Morson (Ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Holquist, M. (1986). Introduction. *Speech genres and other late essays*. M. M. Bakhtin. C. Emerson and M. Holquist (Eds.). V. W. McGee (Trans.). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Holquist, M. (1990). *Dialogism: Bakhtin and his world*. New York: Routledge.
- Howard, A., & Bray, D. W. (1988). *Managerial lives in transition*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Hudgens, G. A., Fatkin, L. T., Billingsley, P. A., & Mazurcysk, J. (1988). Hand steadiness: Effects of sex, menstrual phase, oral contraceptives, practice, and handgun weight. *Human Factors*, 30, 51-60.
- Humphreys, P., & Berger, J. (1981). Theoretical consequences of the status characteristics formulation. *American Journal of Sociology*, 86, 953-983.
- Huston, A. C. (1983). Sex-typing. In P. H. Mussen (Ed.). *Handbook of child psychology* (Vol. 4). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

- Hyde, J. S. (1990). Meta-analysis and the psychology of gender differences. *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture in Society*, 16, 55-73.
- Hyde, J. S., & Linn, M. C. (Eds.). (1986). *The psychology of gender: Advances through meta-analysis*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Hyde, J. S., & Linn, M. C. (1988). Gender differences in verbal ability: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 104, 53-69.
- Hymes, D. (1974). *Foundations in sociolinguistics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ilgen, D. R., Fisher, C. D., & Taylor, M. S. (1979). Consequences of individual feedback on behavior in organizations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 64, 349-371.
- James, W. (1890/1950). *The principles of psychology*. Vol. 1. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Jensen, B. (1982). Menstrual cycle effects on task performance examined in the context of stress research. *Acta Psychologica*, 50, 159-178.
- Johnson, M. (1987). *The body in the mind*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Johnston, W. B., & Packer, A. H. (1987). *Workforce 2000: Work and Workers for the 21st Century*. Indianapolis, IN: Hudson Institute.
- Jonnes, D. (1990). *The matrix of narrative: Family systems and the semiotics of story*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Jordan, J. V., Kaplan, A. G., Miller, J. B., Stiver, I. P., & Surrey, J. L. (1991). *Women's growth in connection: Writings from the Stone Center*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Josselson, R. (1990). *Finding herself: Pathways to identity development in women*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Kahn, A. S., & Gaeddert, W. P. (1985). From theories of equity to theories of justice: The liberating consequences of studying women. In V. E. O'Leary, R. K. Unger, & B. S. Wallston (Eds.). *Women, gender and social psychology*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Kanter, R. (1977a). Some effects of proportions on group life: Skewed sex ratios and responses to token women. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82, 965-990.

- Kanter, R. (1977b). *Men and women of the corporation*. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Kaplan, R. E. (1979). The conspicuous absence of evidence that process consultation enhances task performance. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 15, 346-360.
- Kazdin, A. E. (1978). Conceptual and assessment issues raised by self-efficacy theory. *Advances in Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 1, 177-185.
- Kelley, H. H. (1967). Attribution in social psychology. *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*, 15, 192-238.
- Kenshalo, D. R. (1970). Psychophysical studies of human temperature sensitivity. In W. D. Neff (Ed.). *Sensory physiology*. Vol. 4. New York: Academic Press.
- Kerby, A. P. (1991). *Narrative and the self*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Kessler, S. J., & McKenna, W. (1978). *Gender: An ethnomethodological approach*. New York: John Wiley.
- Kiecolt-Glaser, J. K., & Glaser, R. (1992). Psychoneuroimmunology: Can psychological interventions modulate immunity? *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 60, 569-575.
- Kirsch, I. (1982). Efficacy expectations or response predictions: The meaning of efficacy ratings as a function of task characteristics. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 42, pp. 132-136.
- Kitayama, S. (1992). Some thoughts on the cognitive-psychodynamic self from a cultural perspective. *Psychological Inquiry*, 3, 41-43.
- Kockelmans, J. J. (1972). Language, meaning and ek-sistence. In *On Heidegger and language*. J. J. Kockelmans, (Ed. & Trans.). Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Koeske, R. D. (1976). Premenstrual emotionality? Is biology destiny. *Women and Health*, 1, 11-14.
- Koeske, R. D. (1981). Theoretical and conceptual complexities in the design and analysis of menstrual cycle research. In P. Komnenich, M. McSweeney, J. Noack, & Sr. N. Elder (Eds.). *The Menstrual cycle: Research and implications for women's health*. Vol. 2. New York: Springer.

- Kollock, P., Blumstein, & Schwartz, P. (1985). Sex and power in interaction: Conversational privileges and duties. *American Sociological Review*, 50, 34-46.
- Kommenich, P. (1974). Hormonal influences on verbal behavior in women. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 35, 3065B.
- Kozulin, A. (1986). Vygotsky in context. In *Thought and language*. L. S. Vygotsky. Revised edition. A. Kozulin (Ed.). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Original Russian version published in 1934.
- Kozulin, A. (1990). *Vygotsky's psychology: A biography of ideas*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kuhn, T. (1970). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lacey, H. M. (1979). Control, perceived control, and the methodological role of cognitive constructs. In L. C. Perlmutter and R. A. Monty. (Eds.). *Choice and perceived control*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Lakoff, R. T. (1975). *Language and women's place*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Lakoff, R. T. (1990). *Talking power: The politics of language in our lives*. New York: Basic Books.
- Lakoff, R. T., & Scherr, R. L. (1984). *Face value: The politics of beauty*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lamb, M. E. (1975). Fathers: Forgotten contributors to child development. *Human Development*, 18, 245-266.
- Lamb, M. E. (1981). *The role of the father in child development*. Rev. Ed. New York: John Wiley.
- Lamb, M. E. (1986). The changing roles of fathers. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.). *The father's role: Applied perspectives*. New York: John Wiley.
- Lane, R. E., & Sears, D. O. (1964). *Public opinion*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Langer, E. J. (1979). The illusion of incompetence. In L. C. Perlmutter and R. A. Monty. (Eds.). *Choice and perceived control*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Lankton, C. H., & Lankton, S. R. (1989). *Tales of enchantment: Goal-oriented metaphors for adults and children in therapy*. New York: Brunner/Mazel, Publishers.
- Lasch, C. (1977). *Haven in a heartless world: The family besieged*. New York: Basic Books.
- Lavendera, B. R. (1988). The study of language in its socio-cultural context. In F. J. Newmeyer (Ed.). *Linguistics: The Cambridge survey. Vol. IV Language: The socio-cultural context*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Laws, S. (1983). The sexual politics of premenstrual tension. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 6, 19-31.
- Lea, J. F. (1982). *Political consciousness and American democracy*. Jackson, MI: University Press of Mississippi.
- Lee, B. (1987). Recontextualizing Vygotsky. In *Social and functional approaches to language and thought*. M. Hickman (Ed.). New York: Academic Press.
- Lee, C. (1984). Accuracy of efficacy and outcome expectations in predicting performance in a simulated assertiveness task. *Cognitive Therapy and Research*, 8, 37-48.
- Leonard, V. W. (1989). A Heideggerian phenomenologic perspective on the concept of a person. *Advances in Nursing Science*, 11(4), 40-55.
- Leontiev, A. N. (1975). *Activity, consciousness, personality*. Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literaturi.
- LeUnes, A. D., Nation, J. R., & Turley, N. M. (1980). Male-female performance in learned helplessness. *Journal of Psychology*, 104, 255-258.
- Lewin, K. (1933). Environmental forces. In C. Murshison (Ed.). *A handbook of child psychology*. Worcester, MA: Clark University Press.
- Lewin, K. (1939). Field theory and experiment in social psychology: Concepts and methods. *American Journal of Sociology*, 44, 868-896.
- Lewinsohn, P. M., Mischel, W., Chaplin, W., & Barton, R. (1980). Social competence and depression: The role of illusory self-perceptions. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 89, 203-212.

- Lewis, H. B. (1976). *Psychic war in men and women*. New York: New York University Press.
- Lincoln, B. (1989). The tyranny of taxonomy. In *Discourse and the construction of society*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lin, E. H., & Peterson, C. (1990). Pessimistic explanatory style and response to illness. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 28, 243-248.
- Littlejohn, S. (1989). *Theories of human communication*. Third edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Littleton, C. A. (1987). Reconstructing sexual equality. *California Law Review*, 75, 1279-1337.
- Loden, M. (1985). *Feminine leadership or how to succeed in business without being one of the boys*. New York: Times Books.
- Logue, C. M., & Moos, R. H. (1988). Positive perimenstrual changes: Toward a new perspective on the menstrual cycle. *Journal of Psychosomatic Research*, 32, 31-40.
- Lopez, L. C., & Staszkiwicz, M. J. (1985). Sex differences in internality-externality. *Psychological Reports*, 57, 1159-1164.
- Losada, M., Sánchez, P., & Noble, E. E. (1990). Collaborative technology and group process feedback: Their impact on interactive sequences in meetings. *Proceedings of the Conference on Computer-Supported Collaborative Work*. October 7-10. Los Angeles, CA. New York: Association for Computing Machinery, 53-64.
- Losada, M., & Markovitch, S. (1990, January 2-5). GroupAnalyzer: A system for dynamic analysis of group interaction. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Hawaii Conference on System Sciences*, Kailua-Kona, HI.
- Losada, M., Dodd, P., Hobson, J., López, A., Noble, E., & Porat, I. (1992). *IT: An interaction-by-task coding scheme*. Technical Report #CFAR-92-004. Ann Arbor, MI: EDS/Center for Advanced Research.
- Lukes, S. (1974). *Power: A radical view*. London: The Macmillan Press, Ltd.

- Luepnitz, D. A. (1988). *The family interpreted: Feminist theory in clinical practice*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.
- Lyotard, J-F. (1990). *Heidegger and "the jews."* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Original French publication 1988.
- Maccoby, E. E. (1988). Gender as a social category. *Developmental Psychology*, 24, 755-765.
- Maccoby, E. E. (1990). Gender and relationships: A developmental account. *American Psychologist*, 45, 513-520.
- Maccoby, E., E. & Jacklin, C. N. (1974). *The psychology of sex differences*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- McCabe, A., & Peterson, C. (1991). Getting the story: A longitudinal study of parental styles in eliciting narratives and developing narrative skill. In *Developing narrative structure*. A. McCabe & C. Peterson (Eds.). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- McCauce, R. A., Luff, M. C., & Widdowson, E. E. (1937). Physical and emotional periodicity in women. *Journal of Hygiene*, 37, 571-605.
- McClintock, M. K. (1981). Major gaps in menstrual cycle research: Behavioral and physiological controls in a biological context. In P. Komnenich, M. McSweeney, J. Noack, & Sr. N. Elder (Eds.). *The Menstrual cycle: Research and implications for women's health*. Vol. 2. New York: Springer.
- McConnell-Ginet, S., Borker, R., & Furman, N. (Eds.). (1980). *Women and language in literature and society*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- McDermott, R. P., & Tylbor, H. (1987). On the necessity of collusion in conversation. In L. Kedar (Ed.). *Power through discourse*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- McGoldrick, M., Anderson, C. M., & Walsh, F. (Eds.). (1989). *Women in families: A framework for family therapy*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- McGrath, E., Keita, G. P., Strickland, B. R., and Russo, N. F. (1990). *Women and depression: Risk factors and treatment issues*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- McLeod, P. L., J. K. Liker, & Lobel, S. A. (1992). Process feedback in task groups: An application of goal setting. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 28, 15-41.

- Maddux, J. E., Sherer, M., & Rogers, R. W. (1982). Self-efficacy expectancy and outcome expectancy: Their relationship and their effects on behavioral intentions. *Cognitive Therapy and Research*, 6, 207-211.
- Mahoney, M. J. (1991). *Human change processes: The scientific foundations of psychotherapy*. New York: Basic Books.
- Maltz, D. N., & Borker, R. A. (1982). A cultural approach to male-female miscommunications. In J. J. Gumperz (Ed.). *Language and social identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Mancuso, J. C., & Sarbin, T. R. (1983). The self-narrative in the enactment of roles. In *Studies in social identity*. T. E. Sarbin & K. E. Scheibe (Eds.). New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Mandler, J. (1984). *Stories, scripts and scenes: Aspects of schema theory*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Mantei, M. M. (1988). Capturing the Capture Lab concept: A case study in the design of computer-supported meeting environments. *Proceedings of the Conference on Computer-Supported Cooperative Work*. Portland, OR.
- Markus, H. R., & Nurius, P. (1986). Possible selves. *American Psychologist*, 41, 954-969.
- Marcus, H. R., & Cross, S. (1990). The interpersonal self. In L. A. Pervin (Ed.). *Handbook of personality: Theory and research*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Markus, H. R., Cross, S., & Wurf, E. (1990). The role of the self-system in competence. In R. J. Sternberg & J. Kolligan, Jr. (Eds.). *Competence considered*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98, 224-253.
- Martin, D. (1993, June 20). For many fathers, roles are shifting. *The New York Times*, p. Y11.
- Marx, K. (1959). Theses on Feuerbach. In *Marx and Engels: Basic writings on politics and philosophy*. L. S. Feuer (Ed.). Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Marzillier, J. S., & Eastman, C. (1984). Continuing problems with self-efficacy theory: A reply to Bandura. *Cognitive Therapy and Research*, 8, 257-262.

- Matherly, T. A. (1985). The distortion of self perception by learned helplessness. *The Journal of Psychology*, 119, 297-301.
- Maturana, H. R., & Varela, F. J. (1980). *Autopoiesis and cognition: The realization of the living*. Boston: Reidel.
- Maturana, H. R., & Varela, F. J. (1987). *The tree of knowledge: The biological roots of human understanding*. Boston: Shambala Publications.
- Mead, G. H. (1974). *Mind, self and society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Originally published in 1934.
- Meany, M. J. (1988). The sexual differentiation of social play. *Trends in Neurosciences*, 11, 54-58.
- Medvedev, P. N. (1988). *The formal method in literary scholarship: A critical introduction to sociological poetics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Meichenbaum, D. (1977). *Cognitive-behavior modification: An integrative approach*. New York: Plenum.
- Mies, M. (1983). Towards a methodology for feminist research. In G. Bowles & R. D. Klein (Eds.). *Theories of women's studies*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Miller, J. B. (1986). *Toward a new psychology of women*. Second Edition. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Milwid, B. (1990). *Working with men: Professional women talk about power, sexuality, and ethics*. Hillsboro, OR: Beyond Words Publishing.
- Minnich, E. (1977, April). Discussion. *The scholar and the feminist IV: Connecting theory, practice, and values*, a conference sponsored by The Barnard College Women's Center.
- Mishler, E. (1984). *The Discourse of medicine: Dialectics of medical interviews*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Mishler, E. (1986a). *Research interviewing: Context and narrative*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Mishler, E. (1986b). Analysis of interview-narratives. In *Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct*. T. E. Sarbin (Ed.). New York: Praeger Publishers.

- Moos, R. H. (1968). The development of the Menstrual Distress Questionnaire. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 30, 853-867.
- Morrison, A. M., White, R. P., Van Velsor, E., & The Center for Creative Leadership. (1987). *Breaking the glass ceiling: Can women reach the top of America's largest corporations?* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Morrison, E.W., & Bies, R. J. (1991). Impression management in the feedback-seeking process: A literature review and research agenda. *Academy of Management Review*, 16, 522-541.
- Morson, G. S. (Ed.). (1986). *Bakhtin: Essays and dialogues on his work*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Morson, G. S., & Emerson, C. (1990). *Mikhail Bakhtin: Creation of a prosaics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Mos, L. P. (1990). *Publication, specialization, and fragmentation: Psychology in the academy*. *Canadian Psychology*, 31, 278-282.
- Moses-Zirkes, S. (1993, August). Women bosses' uphill trek not due to family demands. *The APA Monitor*, p. 51.
- Moustakas, C. (1990). *Heuristic research: Design, methodology, and applications*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Nadler, D. A. (1979). The effects of feedback on task group behavior: A review of the experimental research. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 23, 309-338.
- Nasar, S. (1992, October 18). Women's progress stalled? Just not so. *The New York Times*, p. 3-1, 10.
- Neske, G. & Kettering, E. (1990). *Martin Heidegger and National Socialism*. L. Harries (Trans.). New York: Paragon House.
- Newmeyer, F. J. (1986). *The politics of linguistics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Nicolson, P. (1992). Menstrual-cycle research and the construction of female psychology. In J. T. E. Richardson (Ed.). *Cognition and the Menstrual Cycle*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Nietzsche, F. (1968). *The will to power*. W. Kaufmann & R. J. Hollingdale (Trans.). New York: Vintage Books.
- Noble, B. P. (1992, November 22). And now the "sticky floor". *The New York Times*, p. F23.

- Nock, S. L. (1988). The family and hierarchy. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 50, 967-981.
- Noe, R. A. (1988). Women and mentoring: A review and research agenda. *Academy of Management Review*, 13, 65-78.
- Nolen-Hoeksema, S. (1987). Sex differences in unipolar depression: Evidence and theory. *Psychological Bulletin*, 101, 259-282.
- Nolen-Hoeksema, S., Girgus, J. S., & Seligman, M. E. P. (1986). *Sex differences in depressive symptoms in children*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Norton, C. S. (1989). *Life metaphors: Stories of ordinary survival*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Oakley, A. (1974). *Woman's work: The housewife, past and present*. New York: Random House.
- Oakley, A. (1981). *Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms*. In N. H. Roberts (Ed.). *Doing feminist research*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Olsen, Tillie. (1978). *Silences*. New York: Delta Books.
- Ott, H. (1972). Hermeneutic and personal structure of language. In J. J. Kockelmans, (Ed. & Trans.). *On Heidegger and language*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Oyserman, D., & Markus, H. R. (1990). Possible selves and delinquency. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59, 112-125.
- Parenti, M. (1978). *Power and the powerless*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Parlee, M. B. (1974). Stereotypic beliefs about menstruation: A methodological note on the Moos Menstrual Distress Questionnaire and some new data. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 36, 229-240.
- Parlee, M. B. (1979). Psychology and women. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 5, 121-133.
- Parlee, M. B. (1980). Positive changes in moods and activation levels during the menstrual cycle in experimentally naive subjects. In A. J. Dan, E. A. Graham, & C. Beecher (Eds.). *The menstrual cycle: A synthesis of interdisciplinary research*. Vol. 1. New York: Springer.

- Parlee, M. B. (1981). Gaps in behavioral research on the menstrual cycle. In P. Komnenich, M. McSweeney, J. Noack, & Sr. N. Elder (Eds.). *The Menstrual cycle: Research and implications for women's health*. Vol. 2. New York: Springer.
- Parsons, T., & Bales, R. F. (1955). *Family, socialization, and inter-action process*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Parsons, J. E., Adler, T. F., & Kaczala, C. M. (1982). Socialization of achievement attitudes and beliefs: Parental influences. *Child Development*, 53, 310-321.
- Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. 2nd ed. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Pfeffer, J. (1981). *Power in organizations*. Marshfield, MA: Pitman.
- Peterson, C. (1986). [Appraisal of bad events]. Unpublished data. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Peterson, C. (1988). Explanatory style as a risk factor for illness. *Cognitive Therapy and Research*, 12, 119-132.
- Peterson, C. (1991a). The meaning and measurement of explanatory style. *Psychological Inquiry*, 2, 1-10.
- Peterson, C. (1991b). Further thoughts on explanatory style. *Psychological Inquiry*, 2, 50-57.
- Peterson, C., & Barrett, L. C. (1987). Explanatory style and academic performance among university freshman. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 53, 603-607.
- Peterson, C., & Seligman, M. E. P. (1984). Causal explanations as a risk factor for depression: Theory and evidence. *Psychological Review*, 91, 347-374.
- Peterson, C., & Seligman, M. E. P. (1987). Explanatory style and illness. *Journal of Personality*, 55, 237-2654.
- Peterson, C., Seligman, M. E. P., & Vaillant, G. E. (1988). Pessimistic explanatory style as a risk factor for physical illness: A thirty-five year longitudinal study. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 55, 23-27.
- Phares, V. (1992). Where's poppa? The relative lack of attention to the role of fathers in child and adolescent psychopathology. *American Psychologist*, 47, 656-664.

- Piaget, J. (1959). *The language and thought of the child*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Piaget, J. (1969). *Judgment and reasoning in the child*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Pogrebin, L. C. (1983). *Family politics: Love and power on an intimate frontier*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Polanyi, L. (1989). *Telling the American story*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Polanyi, M. (1983). *The tacit dimension*. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith.
- Powell, G. N. (1988). *Women and men in management*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Radzikhovskii, L. A. (1991). The historical meaning of the crisis in psychology. *Soviet Psychology*, 29, 73-96.
- Ragins, B. R., & Sundstrom, E. (1989). Gender and power in organizations: A longitudinal perspective. *Psychological Bulletin*, 105, 51-88.
- Reddy, M. J. (1979). The conduit metaphor: A case of frame conflict in our language about language. In *Metaphor and thought*. A. Ortony (Ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Reinharz, S. (1983). Experiential analysis: A contribution to feminist research. In G. Bowles and R. D. Klein (Eds.). *Theories of women's studies*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Reinharz, S. (1992). *Feminist methods in social research*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Reivich, K. J. The measurement of explanatory style. In Buchanan, G. W., & Seligman, M. E. P. (in press). *Explanatory style*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Renshon, S. A. (1974). *Psychological needs and political behavior: A Theory of personality and political efficacy*. New York: The Free Press.
- Renshon, R. A. (1975). The role of personality development in political socialization. In D. Schwartz & S. K. Schwartz, (Eds.). *New Directions in political socialization*. New York: The Free Press.
- Richardson, J. T. E. (1992). The menstrual cycle, cognition, and paramenstrual symptomatology. In J. T. E. Richardson (Ed.). *Cognition and the Menstrual Cycle*. New York: Springer-Verlag.

- Riger, S. (1992). Epistemological debates, feminist voices: Science, social values, and the study of women. *American Psychologist*, 47, 730-740.
- Riskind, J. H., Rholes, W. S., Brannon, A. M., & Burdick, C. A. (1987). Attributions and expectations: A confluence of vulnerabilities in mild depression in a college student population. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 53, 349-354.
- Robertson, J. O. (1980). *American myth, American reality*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Robinson, J. A., & Hawpe, L. (1986). Narrative thinking as a heuristic process. In T. E. Sarbin (Ed.). *Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Rockmore, T. (1992). *On Heidegger's Nazism and philosophy*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rockmore, T., & Margolis, J. (Eds.). (1992). *The Heidegger case: On philosophy and politics*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Rodin, J. (1976). Menstruation, reattribution, and competence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 33, 345-353.
- Rogoff, B. & Wertsch, J. V. (Eds.). (1984), *Children's learning in the Zone of Proximal Development*. New Directions for Child Development, No. 23. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Rose, S. D. (1990). *Working with adults in groups*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Rosenbaum, M., & Jaffe, Y. (1983). Learned helplessness: The role of individual differences in learned resourcefulness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 22, 215-225.
- Rosenbaum, M., & Ben-Ari, K. (1985). Learned helplessness and learned resourcefulness: Effects of noncontingent success and failure on individuals differing in self-control skills. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 48, 198-215.
- Rotter, J. B. (1954). *Social learning and clinical psychology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Rotter, J. B. (1966). Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs*, 80, 1-28.

- Rotter, J. B., Seeman, M. & Liverant, S. (1962). Internal versus external control reinforcement: A major variable in behavior theory. In N.F. Washburne (Ed.). *Decisions, values and groups*. Vol. 2. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Ruble, D. N., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (1979). Menstrual symptoms: A social cognition analysis. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, 2, 171-194.
- Ruvolo, A., & Markus, H. R. (1992). Possible selves and performance. The power of self-relevant imagery. *Social Cognition*, 10, 95-124.
- Sadker, M. (1986). Abolishing misperceptions about sex equity in education. *Theory into Practice*, 25, 219-226..
- Sahakian, W. S. (1968). *History of philosophy*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Saltzer, E. B. (1982). The relationship of personal efficacy beliefs to behaviour. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 21, 213-221.
- Sanford, L. T., & Donovan, M. E. (1984). *Women and self-esteem*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Sankoff, D. (1988). Sociolinguistics and syntactic variation. In F. J. Newmeyer (Ed.). *Linguistics: The Cambridge survey. Vol. IV Language: The socio-cultural context*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Sapir, E. (1921). *Language: An introduction to the study of speech*. New York: Harcourt.
- Sarbin, T. E. (Ed.). (1986). *Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Sass, L. (1988). Humanism, hermeneutics, and the concept of the human subject. In S. Messer, L. Sass, & R. Woolfolk (Eds.). *Hermeneutics and psychological theory: Interpretive perspectives on personality, psychotherapy, and psychopathology*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Saussure, F. de (1959). *Course in general linguistics*. New York: Philosophical Library. Original French version published in 1916.
- Sayers, J. (1982). *Biological politics: Feminist and anti-feminist perspectives*. London: Tavistock.
- Schachter, S., & Singer, J. E. (1962). Cognitive, social and physiological determinants of emotional state. *Psychological Review*, 69, 379-399.

- Schattschneider, E. E. (1960). *The semisovereign people: A realist's view of democracy in America*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Schuckit, M. A., Daly, V., Herrman, G., & Hineman, S. (1975). Premenstrual symptoms and depression in a university population. *Diseases of the Nervous System*, 36, 516-517.
- Schultz, M. (1975). The semantic derogation of women. In B. Thorne & N. Henley (Eds.). *Language and sex: Difference and dominance*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Searle, J. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Seligman, M. E. P. (1975). *Helplessness: On depression, development, and death*. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman.
- Seligman, M. E. P. (1991). *Learned optimism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Seligman, M. E. P., & Maier, S.F. (1967). Failure to escape traumatic shock. *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 74, 1-9.
- Seligman, M. E. P., & Miller, S. M. (1979). The psychology of power: Concluding remarks. In L. C. Perlmutter and R. A. Monty (Eds.). *Choice and perceived control*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Seligman, M. E. P., Peterson, C., Kaslow, N. J., Tanenbaum, R. L., Alloy, L. B., & Abraham, L. Y. (1984). Explanatory style and depressive symptoms among children. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 93, 235-238.
- Seligman, M. E. P., & Elder, G. (1986). Learned helplessness and life span development. In A. Sorenson, F. Weinert, & L. Sherrod (Eds.). *Human development and the life course: Multidisciplinary perspectives*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Seligman, M. E. P., & Schulman, P. (1986). Explanatory style as a predictor of productivity and quitting among life insurance sales agents. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 50, 832-838
- Seligman, M. E. P., Nolen-Hoeksema, S., Thornton, N., & Thornton, K. M. (1990). Explanatory style as a mechanism of disappointing athletic performance. *Psychological Science*, 1, 143-146.
- Seward, G. H. (1944). Psychological effects of the menstrual cycle on women workers. *Psychological Bulletin*, 41, 90-102.

- Sexton, V. S. (1990). American psychology at the crossroads: Science or profession? *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 602, 51-61.
- Shannon, C., & Weaver, W. (1949). *Mathematical theory of communication*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Sharpe, E. F. (1970). Psychophysical problems revealed in language: A study of metaphor. *Revista de Psicoanalisis*, 27, 393-409.
- Sherif, C. (1979). Bias in psychology. In J. A. Sherman, & E. T. Beck (Eds.). *The prism of sex: Essays in the sociology of knowledge*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Sherif, M. (1952). Group influences upon the formation of norms and attitudes. In G. E. Swanson et al. (Eds.). *Readings in Social Psychology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Shumway, R. H. (1988). *Applied statistical time series analysis*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Siler, J. F. (1990; June 25). The corporate woman: Is she really different? *Business Week*, 14.
- Siltanen, J., & Stanworth, M. (1984). The politics of private woman and public man. *Theory and Society*, 13, 91-118.
- Silverman, E-M., & Zimmer, C. H. (1975). Speech fluency fluctuations during the menstrual cycle. *Journal of Speech and Hearing Research*, 18, 202-206.
- Silverman, E-M., & Zimmer, C. H. (1976). Replication of "speech fluency fluctuations during the menstrual cycle." *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 42, 1004-1006.
- Silverstein, B., Peterson, B., & Perdue, L. (1986). Some correlates of the thin standard of bodily attractiveness in women. *International Journal of Eating Disorders*, 5, 145-155.
- Silverstein, M. (1985). The functional stratification of language and ontogenesis. In J. V. Wertsch (Ed.). *Culture, communication, and cognition: Vygotskian perspectives*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Skaalvik, E. M. (1990). Gender differences in general academic self-esteem and in success expectations on defined academic problems. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 82(3), 593-598.

- Skinner, B. F. (1938). *The behavior of organisms*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Skinner, B. F. (1957). *Verbal behavior*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Skinner, B. F. (1990). Can psychology be a science of mind? *American Psychologist*, 45, 1206-1210.
- Smith, K. K., & Berg, D. N. (1987). *Paradoxes of group life*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Solomon, P. R., Kavanaugh, R. D., Goethals, G. R., & Crider, A. (1982). Overcoming fragmentation in the undergraduate psychology curriculum. *Teaching of Psychology*, 9, 201-205.
- Sommer, B. (1973). The effect of menstruation on cognitive and perceptual-motor behavior: A review. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 35, 515-534.
- Sommer, B. (1981). Menstrual cycle research: Yesterday, today, and tomorrow. In P. Komnenich, M. McSweeney, J. Noack, & Sr. N. Elder (Eds.). *The Menstrual cycle: Research and implications for women's health*. Vol. 2. New York: Springer.
- Sommer, B. (1982). Cognitive behavior and the menstrual cycle. In R. Friedman (Ed.). *Behavior and the menstrual cycle*. New York: Marcel Dekker.
- Sommer, B. (1983). How does menstruation affect cognitive competence and psychophysiological response? *Women and Health*, 8, 53-91.
- Sommer, B. (1992). Cognitive performance and the menstrual cycle. In J. T. E. Richardson (Ed.). *Cognition and the menstrual cycle*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Spencer, H. (1873). Psychology of the sexes. *Popular Science Monthly*, 4, 30-38.
- Spencer, S. W., & Snyder, M. L. (1984). The menstrual cycle and punitiveness. *Health Psychology*, 3(2):143-155.
- Spender, D. (1982). *Invisible women: The schooling scandal*. London: Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative.
- Staats, A. W. (1991). Unified positivism and unification psychology: Fad or new field? *American Psychologist*, 46, 899-912.
- Stanley, J. P., & Robbins, S. W. (1978). Sex-marked predicates in English. *Papers in Linguistics*, 11, 487-516.

- Stern, D. (1985). *The interpersonal world of the infant*. New York: Basic Books.
- Stipp, D. (1992, September 11). The gender gap: Our schools make it hard for girls to pursue math and science. *The Wall Street Journal*, B8.
- Strickland, B. R. (1989). Internal-external control expectancies: From contingency to creativity. *American Psychologist*, 44, 1-12.
- Sue, S. (1977). Psychological theory and implications for Asian Americans. *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 55, 381-389.
- Sweeney, P. D., Moreland, R. L., & Gruber, K. L. (1982). Gender differences in performance attributions: Students' explanations for personal success or failure. *Sex Roles*, 8(4), 359-373.
- Sweeney, P. D., Anderson, K., & Bailey, S. (1986). Attributional style in depression: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 50, 974-991.
- Sweetzer, E. E. (1984). *Semantic structure and semantic change*. PhD Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley.
- Tannen, D. (1986). *That's not what I meant*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Tannen, D. (1990). *You just don't understand: Women and men in conversation*. New York: Morrow.
- Tavris, C. (1992). *The mismeasure of women*. New York: Touchstone, Simon & Schuster.
- Taylor, C. (1985a). Language and human nature. In *Human agency and language: Philosophical papers 1*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, C. (1985b). Theories of meaning. In *Human agency and language: Philosophical papers 1*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, C. (1989). *Sources of the self: The making of modern identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Teasdale, J. D. (1978). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavior change. *Advances in Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 1, pp. 211-215.
- Tennen, H., & Affleck, G. (1990). Blaming others for threatening events. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, 209-232.

- Tennen, H., & Affleck, G. (1991). The meaning and measurement of explanatory style: Unresolved issues. *Psychological Inquiry*, 2, 39-42.
- Terry, D. J. (1992). Stress, coping, and coping resources as correlates of adaptation to myocardial infarction patients. *British Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 31, 215-225.
- Theriot, N. M. (1990). The politics of "meaning-making": Feminist hermeneutics, language, and culture. In D. C. Raymond (Ed.). *Sexual politics and popular culture*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press.
- Thiele, B. (1986). Vanishing acts in social and political thought: Tricks of the trade. In C. Pateman & E. Gross (Eds.). *Feminist challenges: Social and political theory*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Thomas, D. A., & Alderfer, C. P. (1989). The influence of race on career dynamics: Theory and research on minority career experiences. In M. Arthur, D. Hall, & B. Lawrence (Eds.). *Handbook of career theory*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Thorne, B., & Henley, N. (Eds.). (1975). *Language and sex: Difference and dominance*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Thorne, B., Kramarae, C., & Henley, N. (Eds.). (1983). *Language, gender and society*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Tindale, R. S., Kulik, C. T., & Scott, L. A. (1991). Individual and group feedback and performance: An attributional perspective. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 12, 41-62.
- Tolstoy, L. (1964). Why do men stupefy themselves? In *Leo Tolstoy: Selected essays*. A. Maude (Trans.). New York: Random House.
- Toth, E., Delaney, J., & Lupton, M. J. (1981). The menstruating woman in the popular imagination. In P. Komnenich, M. McSweeney, J. Noack, & Sr. N. Elder (Eds.). *The Menstrual cycle: Research and implications for women's health*. Vol. 2. New York: Springer.
- Travis, C. B., Phillippi, R., & Henley, T. B. (1991). Gender and causal attributions for mastery, personal, and interpersonal events. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 15, 133-249.
- Trow, G. W. S. (1984). *Within the context of no context*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

- Unger, R. K. (1979). Toward a redefinition of sex and gender. *American Psychologist*, 34, 1085-1094.
- Ussher, J. M. (1989). *The psychology of the female body*. London: Routledge.
- Ussher, J. M. (1992). The demise of dissent and the rise of cognition. In J. T. E. Richardson (Ed.). *Cognition and the Menstrual Cycle*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Ussher, J. M., & Wilding, J. M. (1991). Performance and state changes during the menstrual cycle, conceptualized within a broad band testing framework. *Social Science and Medicine*, 32, 525-534.
- Valsiner, J. (1984). Construction of the Zone of Proximal Development in adult-child joint action: The socialization of meals. In B. Rogoff & J. V. Wertsch (Eds.). (1984), *Children's learning in the Zone of Proximal Development*. New Directions for Child Development, No. 23. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- van der Veer, R., & Valsiner, J. (1988). Lev Vygotsky and Pierre Janet. *Developmental Review*, 8, 52.
- Vandenberg, B. (1991). Is epistemology enough? An existential consideration of development. *American Psychologist*, 46, 1278-1286.
- Vanden Belt, A., & Peterson, C. (1991). Parental explanatory style and its relationship to the classroom performance of disabled and nondisabled children. *Cognitive Therapy and Research*, 15, 331-341.
- Varela, F. J. (1984). The creative circle: Sketches on the natural history of circularity. In P. Watzlawick (Ed.). *The invented reality: Contributions to constructivism*. New York: Norton.
- Varela, F. J., Thompson, E., and Rosch, E. (1991). *The embodied mind: Cognitive science and human experience*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Verhave, T., & van Hoorn, W. (1984). The temporalization of the self. In K. J. Gergen & M. L. Gergen, (Eds.). *Historical social psychology*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Vierling, J.S., & Rock, J. (1967). Variations in olfactory sensitivity in exaltolide during the menstrual cycle. *Journal of Applied Physiology*, 22, 311-315.
- Voloshinov, V. N. (1973). *Marxism and the philosophy of language*. L. Matejka and I. R. Titunik (Trans.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard

University Press. Originally published as *Marksizm i filosofiiia iazyka: Osnovnye problemy sotsiologicheskogo metoda v nauke o iazyke*. 2nd ed. Leningrad: Priboi, 1930.

- Voloshinov, V. N. (1988). *Freudianism: A critical sketch*. I. R. Titunik (Trans.) Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1956). *Izbrannie psikhologicheskie issledovaniya [Selected psychological research]*. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Pedagogicheskikh Nauk.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. M. Cole, V. John-Steiner, S. Scribner, & E. Souberman (Eds.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1981). The genesis of higher mental functions. In *The concept of activity in Soviet psychology*. J. V. Wertsch (Ed.) Armonk, NY: Sharpe.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1986). *Thought and language*. Revised edition. A. Kozulin (Ed.). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Original Russian version published in 1934; original MIT version published in 1962.
- Walford-Kraemer, P., & Light, H. (1984). Depression and mastery in women: Differences according to personal characteristics. *Psychological Reports*, 54, 710.
- Walsh, R. N., Budtz-Olsen, I., Leader, C., & Cummins, R. A. (1981). The menstrual cycle, personality, and academic performance. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 38, 210-221.
- Walter, G. A. (1975). Effects of video tape feedback and modeling on the behaviors of task group members. *Human Relations*, 28, 121-138.
- Walters, M., Carter, B., Papp, P., & Silverstein, O. (1988). *The invisible web: Gender patterns in family relationships*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Ward, M. M., Stone, S. C., & Sandman, C. A. (1978). Visual perception in women during the menstrual cycle. *Physiological Behavior*, 20, 239-243.
- Watts, A. (1980). *OM: Creative meditations from Alan Watts*. J. Johnstone, (Ed.). Berkeley, CA: Celestial Arts.
- Watzlawick, P. (Ed.). (1984). *The invented reality: Contributions to constructivism*. New York: Norton.

- Webber, R. A. (1987). Changes in perception and behavior in mixed gender teams. *Human Resource Management*, 26, 455-467.
- Weber, M. (1947). *The theory of social and economic organization*. A. H. Henderson and T. Parsons (Eds.). Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Weinberg, R. S., Gould, D., & Jackson, A. (1979). Expectations and performance: An empirical test of Bandura's self-efficacy theory. *Journal of Sports Psychology*, 1, 320-331.
- Weisz, J. R., & Stipek, D. J. (1982). Competence, contingency, and the development of perceived control. *Human Development*, 25, 250-281.
- Wells, L., Jr. (1992). Feedback, the group unconscious, and the unstated effects of experimental methods. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 28, 46-53.
- Wertsch, J. V. (Ed. & Trans). (1979). The concept of activity in Soviet psychology: An introduction. In *The concept of activity in Soviet psychology*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Wertsch, J. V. (1985a). *Vygotsky and the social formation of mind*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wertsch, J. V. (Ed.). (1985b). *Culture, communication, and cognition: Vygotskian perspectives*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wertsch, J. V. (1991). *Voices of the mind: A sociocultural approach to mediated action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wertsch, J. V., & Stone, C. A. (1985). The concept of internalization. In *Culture, communication, and cognition: Vygotskian perspectives*. J. V. Wertsch (Ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Westen, D. (1992). Personality, culture, and science: Contexts for understanding the self. *Psychological Inquiry*, 3, 74-81.
- White, M., & Epston, D. (1990). *Narrative means to therapeutic ends*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Whorf, B. (1956). *Language, thought, and reality: Selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. J. Carroll (Ed.) Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Wilber, K. (1979). *No boundary*. Boston: Shambala Publications Inc.

- Williams, J. H. (1987). *Psychology of women: Behavior in a biosocial context*. 3rd Ed. New York: Norton.
- Wilson, E. O. (1975). *Sociobiology: The new synthesis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wineman, E. W. (1971). Autonomic balance changes during the human menstrual cycle. *Psychophysiology*, 8, 1-6.
- Winograd, T., & Flores, F. (1986). *Understanding computers and cognition*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Wittgenstein, L. (1972). *Philosophical investigations*. G. E. M. Amscombe (Trans.). Oxford: Basil Blackwell and Mott.
- Wolin, R. (1990). *The politics of being: The political thought of Martin Heidegger*. NY: Columbia University Press.
- Wolin, R. (Ed.) (1991). *The Heidegger controversy: A critical reader*. NY: Columbia University Press.
- Wood, D. J. (1980). Teaching the young child: Some relationships between social interaction, language, and thought. In *The social foundations of language and thought*. D. R. Olson (Ed.). New York: Norton.
- Wood, D. J., Bruner, J. S., & Ross, G. (1976). The role of tutoring in problem solving. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 17, 89-100.
- Wood, D. J., Wood, H., & Middleton, D. (1978). An experimental evaluation of four face-to-face teaching strategies. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 2, 131-147.
- Wood, W. (1987). Meta-analytic review of sex differences in group performance. *Psychological Bulletin*, 102, 53-71.
- Wortman, C. B., & Dinzer, L. (1978). Is an attributional analysis of the learned helplessness phenomenon viable? A critique of the Abramson-Seligman-Teasdale reformulation. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 87, 75-90.
- Wrong, D. (1979). *Power: Its forms, bases and uses*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Yoder, J. D., & Kahn, A. S. (1993). Working toward an inclusive psychology of women. *American Psychologist*, 48, 846-850.

- Zambelli, G. C., & DeRosa, A. P. (1992). Bereavement support groups for school-age children: Theory, intervention and case example. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 62, 484-493.
- Zimmerman, B. J., Bandura, A., & Martinez-Pons, M. (1992). Self-motivation for academic attainment: The role of self-efficacy beliefs and personal goal-setting. *American Education Research Journal*, 29, 663-676.
- Zimmerman, D. H., & West, C. (1975). Sex roles, interruptions, and silences in conversation. In B. Thorne & N. Henley (Eds.). *Language and sex: Difference and dominance*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Zinchenko, V. P. (1985). Vygotsky's ideas about units for the analysis of mind. In J. V. Wertsch (Ed.). *Culture, communication, and cognition: Vygotskian perspectives*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Zullo, H. M. (1984). *The interaction of rumination and explanatory style in depression*. Unpublished master's thesis. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.