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DELAYED PARENTING: HAVING A FIRST CHILD AFTER AGE 35

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DELAYED PARENTING: HAVING A FIRST CHILD AFTER AGE 35

by

MEREDITH GOULD

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
University of New York.

1984

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology and satisfaction of the dissertation requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

DELAYED PARENTING: HAVING A FIRST CHILD AFTER AGE 35

by

Meredith Gould

Adviser: Herbert Nechin, Ph.D.

The study explored:

1. The differential impact of pregnancy on the wife and husband as related to the issues of Autonomy, Relatedness, Dependency, Achievement, and Nurturance.

2. The relationship between the age of mother and father on the attitudes toward pregnancy and parenthood by comparing subjects of two age categories: "average" 23-29, and "older" 35.

Eight couples made up the "average" group and 15 "older" couples also participated in the study. Demographic data was collected and each wife and husband were given a semi-structured interview and a Thematic Apperception Type Test designed to elicit feelings about pregnancy and parenthood. These were administered to each sometime during or shortly after the fifth month of pregnancy when fetal movement had begun. The interview responses and T.A.T. stories were evaluated by two raters on a set of clinically-anchored rating scales.

Hypotheses were tested that compared the groups on the above variables. Comparisons were made of the two genders within the age groups and hypotheses were also tested comparing the younger and older men and the younger and older women.

Major findings were that:

1. In the younger couples the women scored differently than

their husbands on all five variables. These findings supported the hypotheses that younger women tend to view relationships in a more positive manner than do their husbands.

2. The older men and women had more similar views. They differed significantly on one variable indicating that the men showed less conflict than did their wives about their dependency needs.

3. The older women were more concerned than their younger counterparts about the tension between their outside interests and their relationships, and they felt greater conflict about their dependency needs.

4. The older men, contrary to what was expected, showed a more interpersonal orientation than the younger men on only one variable.

These findings were analyzed from three different points of view: a developmental and an historical perspective were considered as were individual life events. The data raised questions about theories that have been espoused about adult development and gender differences.

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Dedicated to the many people who have been my teachers.
Who knowingly or without intent have shared their perspective and
given me the greatest gift of all -- their knowledge and experience.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Recent shifts in fertility patterns have been both the result of and the impetus for changes in the role and status of women in our society. The increasing sophistication of technology and advances in medicine have created new options for childbearing, i.e., whether or not to have children, when to have them, and how many children to have. These trends raise numerous questions and create decisions for individuals about the life style they will choose and how to time events in their lives for the greatest possible satisfaction. New fertility options also call for re-examination of traditional theories about "mothering" and "fathering" as well as a new look at concepts about adult development.

One of the most important of these trends has been the increasing number of couples delaying the onset of their parenting until they are 30, 40, and even 50 years of age. The legalization of abortions in 1973, the increasing effectiveness of contraception and methods which aid in monitoring the unborn fetus have all made this trend a possibility. It is, however, the recent changes in psychology, sociology and economic relationships that have allowed delayed parenting to become a viable and increasingly popular option.

The ongoing struggle for equality of the sexes has caused a re-evaluation and a shift in the definition of male and female roles at home and at work. This has allowed for many women to make a serious and enduring commitment to work. Thus, many women have wanted to finish their pursuit of an education and/or establish careers prior to deciding to become a parent. Because of this and because of

women's greater economic independence, many couples are marrying later and therefore beginning childbearing at a later age.

Another important reason for delaying parenting has been the recent American economic situation which can necessitate both the husband and wife's involvement in the work force in order to establish a financially secure household.

The choice, then, of when to have children becomes a considered decision and one that can be fraught with conflicts and anxieties for individual men and women. Many of these decisions will be based on practical concerns, i.e., finances, the health of the mother, the availability of social support, etc. However, the psychological dimensions of this decision become both interesting and important to investigate as well.

According to the literature on adult development, which will be discussed below, individuals are now coping with very different sets of during different periods of their adult years than previously. Will they then be better suited to parent at 30 than 20? At 40 or 50? Should men and women avoid having a first child during the time typically defined as "the mid-life crisis?" It is better to first conceive when the parents are in the stage Erikson defined as "generativity?"

If individuals choose to parent at later stages of adult development, how does this affect the nature of the stage as it has been described by adult development theorists? Are the "tasks" of the stage one enters at 40 altered by having a child then? How does a man or woman approaching middle age see his or her life differently if their first child is just being born, or their first child is

just entering adolescence?

Finally, should men and women expect to be concerned with the same issues at the same age, or are their life experiences different and do these differences affect their adult development differentially? The adult development literature has been largely based on the study of men and tells us little about the role of parenting in adult life and even less about how the experience might be different at different ages.

Therefore, the intent of this study is to:

1. Investigate the attitudes of healthy women and men toward parenthood, pregnancy, children and childbirth, particularly in regard to their feelings about Autonomy, Dependency, Relatedness, Achievement, and Nurturance as defined in this study.
2. To explore the differential impact of pregnancy on the wife and the husband.
3. To investigate the relationship between the age of mother and father on the attitudes toward and experience of expectant parenthood, pregnancy, and childbirth by comparing subjects of two different age categories: "average" 23-29 and "older" ≥ 35 .

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Psychology of Women: Especially as
it Relates to Pregnancy and Parenthood

Most of the earliest work written about women and pregnancy comes from the psychoanalytic realm. Intrinsic to that approach is the view that the desire to become a mother is part of normal development and that it is necessary to be a mother in order for a woman to be fully matured and fulfilled.

Freud (1950, 1965) states that although boys and girls follow similar patterns of psychosexual development in the early stages, when the phallic stage is reached, the female realizes she lacks a penis and she feels jealous of males and inadequate. At this point, the 3-year-old is apt to blame her mother for her failing and go to her father for attention and affection. The development of "penis envy" translates in Freudian theory into the feminine desire for a penis substitute--a child. For Freud, the oedipus complex can never really be resolved for females and normal women will always have a drive to bear children based on an inevitable desire for a penis.

Erikson, like Freud, espouses biological determinism in discussing women's desire to become mothers. He differs from Freud, however, in his attempt to show the interaction between cultural influences and the instincts, especially as a person grows older. Nevertheless, in his essay, "Inner Space," (1964) Erikson states that the very fact that women have a uterus or "inner space" leads them to be "destined to bear the offspring of chosen men and with it a biological, psychological and ethical commitment to take care of the

human infant" (p. 586).

Other early psychoanalytic writers incorporate the concept that reproduction is women's destiny. In addition to this, they introduce the concept of parenthood as a developmental stage in which psychological issues that have been dormant are re-examined and new issues are raised for the first time. The following writers describe pregnancy as a time for potential stress, regression, and growth.

Helene Deutsch (1945) in her classic work on motherhood, Psychology of Women, writes that the maternal instinct "has a biochemical source and lies beyond the psychologic sphere" (p. 19). She goes on to liken pregnancy to puberty and menopause as one of the major life stages in women's biological sexual development. In fact, she states that early oedipal issues cannot be fully resolved until one becomes a mother because a woman has not yet dealt with one of the major aspects of her sexual life.

Terese Benedek (1970a) in her study of the menstrual cycle of women, attempts to demonstrate a direct biological link to women's psychological state. She writes in "The Psychobiology of Pregnancy" that during the "follicle-ripening, estrogen phase, the oedipal wish to have a sexual role similar to the mother, with the father, is repeated" (p. 146). She also indicates that all women have a natural tendency to mother, which is regulated by changes in their hormones. In "Parenthood as a Developmental Phase: A Contribution to the Libido Theory" (1959), Benedek indicates that parenting, like adolescence, is a psychosexual stage necessary for adult status and maturity. She goes on to state that women have a natural proclivity to regress to the oral stage during each progesteron phase

of the sexual cycle and during all the stages of pregnancy. Thus, she postulates that women's sexual cycle leads them to be inherently dependent.

Throughout the psychoanalytic literature, women are almost consistently described as becoming preoccupied with themselves and increasingly dependent on others for love and attention. Their "introversion and passivity" are often presented as causing stress on the marital dyad as the woman's traditional role as nurturer is relinquished and the man begins to feel demands for support are being placed upon him.

Bibring (1961) studied 13 primiparous women and in "A Study of the Psychological Processes in Pregnancy and of the Earliest Mother-Child Relationships" she notes that especially after the quickening when the baby's movements are first felt, the following intrapsychic changes are often seen: 1) an increase in anxiety; 2) a loosening of defenses; 3) the appearance of primitive material; and, 4) a major shift in the pregnant woman's sense of other people. These changes, she believes, point to pregnancy as normally being a period of crisis and intrapsychic reorganization. Conflicts about dependency and autonomy, as well as oedipal issues, are reworked, setting the stage for greater maturity.

Wenner (1966) further investigates the concept of regression as articulated by the psychoanalytic writers. She validates the increase in dependency experienced by women during their pregnancies, but she does not explain this as due to regression. She states, instead, that women are biologically and socially dependent on men and that during pregnancy a woman's dependency is increased as an adjustment

to her physiological changes. Wenner feels that regression only occurs if the women's dependency needs are frustrated.

Woman's biological destiny to mother has been assumed to have greatly influenced her orientation to and relationships with others. Much of the research on women has viewed them as preeminently suited to the role of nurturer because their anatomy is suited to bear children. What has been implied by this view is not only that women nurture better, but that they are predestined to be more sensitive. Thus, they will be the only ones who are emotionally equipped to cope with the demands for intimacy and relatedness necessary to care for a family. This view is implied in much of the writings about pregnancy (Brody, 1956; Coleman, 1953; Deutsch, 1945; Klein, 1950).

Bowlby in his studies on Attachment and Loss: Volume I (1969) further articulates this concept. His views have subsequently provided the basis for this theory in much of the work that has followed in pregnancy and parenting. In Attachment and Loss, Bowlby proposes that it is instinctual for the child to prefer his mother over other adults and that the mother is biologically prepared to respond to infant behavior. This instinctual link between mother and child, he believes, ensures the survival of the species.

Winnicott (1958) proposes the concept of "primary maternal preoccupation" during pregnancy and immediately postpartum. This innate tendency occurs because of the fact that the woman carries the fetus in her uterus. It is manifested by the woman's tendency to withdraw from the external world and to become extremely sensitive to the fetus and the needs of the newborn baby. This biological orientation, he believes, ensures the mental health of the child.

Wyatt (1967) is one of the earliest theorists to question the Freudian notion of an innate wish to have a child. He points out that the various psychoanalytic attempts to explain the development of this wish have not been able to account for variations among individuals and within the lifetime of particular individuals. Nevertheless, in an attempt to explain why, according to him, women tend to desire parenting more than men, he resorts to Freudian concepts to explain that women have less rigid egos and a greater need to go beyond themselves and mother.

Chodorow (1978), although a feminist, stays within the psychoanalytic framework as she proposes an object relational theory, rather than an instinctual theory for the development of the motivation to mother. She notes that mother-daughter relationships differ intrinsically from mother-son relationships in that they are more intense because of the mother's primary identification with her daughter. This, she believes, creates a stronger and more narcissistic cathexis. During the oedipal phase, the daughter turns to the father as part of her move towards differentiation, but Chodorow does not see the transfer of affections as a total one, both because of the intensity of the mother-daughter relationship and because fathers tend to be more remote than mothers. The grown woman's desire to mother is seen as part of her need to recreate the female/female bond in the context of a heterosexual relationship with the husband, similar to the "relational triangle" that develops during her oedipal phase.

Many other important theorists have helped to free psychological theory from its biological reductionism. These include Horney (1969), Thompson (1964), Adler (1927), and Reich (1972) who note that cultural

factors and social relationships may play a very large, if not primary, role in psychosexual development.

More recently, with the onset of the "women's movement," numerous feminist writers have also questioned the premise that motherhood is necessary for fulfillment and satisfaction as an adult woman. Some of these have specifically studied the area of voluntary childlessness (Bram, 1978, 1982; Scott, 1980; and Veevers, 1973).

Their findings support the concept that childbearing is not a prerequisite to health and happiness for women.

Pauline Bart (1971), in an extensive study of depression in women, hypothesizes that, in fact, the maternal role can contribute to severe unhappiness. In studying women aged 40-59, she found that in a majority of these women hospitalized for the first time, "maternal role loss," (having at least one child move away from home) was apparent in their recent histories. A high percentage of these women were found to be full-time housewives and seemed to have been over-involved with their children. Judith Birnbaum (1971), in a study of gifted women ages 35-45 years old, 15-25 years after college, found that homemakers with children had the lowest self-esteem and were as lonely as the unmarried subjects. On the whole, they also had poorer mental health and a more negative view of their marriages than the married professionals. The homemakers also tended to see child-rearing as an achievement task and they were described as over-involved with the children.

Therefore, it becomes apparent that motherhood may not necessarily be a prerequisite for the maturation of the female adult. Nevertheless, it appears that when parenthood is experienced, pregnancy itself as

well as childbearing and childrearing can precipitate intrapsychic and interpersonal shifts for women. Each woman's concept of herself (i.e., her generational status, her gender concept, her feelings of worth) and her relationship to those around her (i.e., her husband, parents, friends and colleagues) will change as well. Indeed, a woman also develops a relationship with the new "being" inside of her which will later be her child.

Caplan (1960) gives a good overview of much of the literature describing these changes in women during their pregnancy. He supports the concept of pregnancy as a developmental stage and, although he suggests that each woman experiences her pregnancy differently, he writes about what he feels are some general patterns. Emotional lability is noted from the outset as well as a change in what is typically the woman's dominant mood. Women are described as suffering from an increase in anxiety and they often appear particularly irritable and sensitive.

Myrna Leifer (1980), in her important study on the Psychological Effect of Motherhood, describes the woman's changing experience in each trimester by focusing particularly on the woman's object relationships. She traces the mother's developing attachment to the fetus and notes the intrapsychic changes that take place as the woman begins to regard the fetus as an important object relationship. Shifts in her involvement with her husband and others are only peripherally noted in this study, however.

She describes the first trimester as a period in which many women are fearful of miscarriage. They desire to withhold any emotional attachment to the fetus. Even though at this stage they can still

experience the pregnancy as "unreal," Leifer interprets the anxiety related to the fetus's welfare as a sign of a beginning connection between the mother and the fetus. At this point the fetus is still viewed as part of the self rather than as a separate entity.

The affective bond between mother and fetus is typically greatly enhanced by the quickening in the fifth month. After feeling the fetus move, the women in the study were generally relieved that the fetus was alive and they began to develop some confidence that the pregnancy would be carried to term. The fetus is now, according to Leifer, thought of as a separate entity and it is often imbued with human characteristics by the parents. Fetal movements are often interpreted as a form of conversation and interaction. Leifer notes, as do other authors (Bibring, 1961; Colman & Colman, 1971; Caplan, 1960; Winnicott, 1958), the mother's disengagement from activities not related to the pregnancy. This is the period Bibring (1961) calls "turning inward" when the mother becomes preoccupied with herself and the fetus.

During the third trimester, mothers' dreams often reflect concerns with labor and the birth process. By now the mothers usually have a clear sense of having established a relationship with the fetus and many women attempt to engage their husbands in communicating with the fetus. Leifer interprets this as a means of incorporating the fetus into the marital relationship. Leifer notes, as do many authors, that women begin to seek care from their husbands as well as from their families during the pregnancy. She sees this need increasing at a faster rate during the second trimester when women often begin to try to involve their husbands in the pregnancy and

when they often begin to express concern about the husband's future role as a father. This, Leifer believes, works to reassure the women that the husbands will be involved after the birth of the child.

Jessner, Weigert and Foy (1970) propose an updated psychoanalytic view of the pregnancy experience. In their paper, "The Development of Parental Attitudes During Pregnancy," the authors espouse a position based on an inherent drive toward mothering and motherliness which transcends the particulars of an individual woman's concrete situation during pregnancy. Nevertheless, they give a well-articulated description of the dialectical interplay of emotions that women often experience in relationship to the fetus, other significant people, and the world. They describe the "turning inward" to be a state that persists from conception through delivery. They describe the woman as experiencing "a feeling of loneliness and distance from others, even the husband, and a separateness and uniqueness coincides with a changing self. At the same time, there is a strong wish to be protected, to be taken care of..." (p. 216). The woman is described as having a sense of being part of the whole animate universe and as providing a link between the past and the future. Finally, the authors note that the act of conceiving may validate a sense of femininity for women.

During the second trimester, after the quickening, the authors note that women may experience ambivalent feelings about the fetus, feeling it to be an intruder inside of them and in the marital relationship. They describe women as experiencing profound changes in their bodies that may cause them to be fearful of losing their husband's love. The woman is herself, however, withdrawing further from the

husband, feeling her unity with the fetus to be sufficient. Concurrent with this withdrawal from the husband, the authors note a tendency for the woman to orient herself toward "unspecified outsiders" as part of an increasing desire to belong to the community.

In the final trimester, the authors describe the mother as suffering with the physical discomfort of the large fetus. Nevertheless, she begins to anticipate a sense of loss with the impending birth. A new attachment develops to the husband as the two look toward the future as parents even though they now have a deeper awareness of their sex differences.

Judy Ballou (1978) studied 12 women aged 19-30 during and after pregnancy in order to more comprehensively define a woman's changing sense of herself from the point of view of object relations. Based on the psychoanalytic theory that the transition to parenthood arouses early conflicts, particularly related to dependency, Ballou studied the course of women's feeling about and relationships to their mothers. She hypothesizes that, in order to prepare oneself for motherhood, women would need to re-work this relationship. Ballou used pre- and post-partum structured interviews, projective tests, parent-child observations, nurse and doctor reports and psychologists' judgments of the level of object relations of the sample. She finds that most of the women studied experienced and recognized an increase in their dependency needs. There was a trend toward seeing their mothers more positively, viewing them as more giving and loving. Some women who had negative or ambivalent feelings about their mothers were better able to negotiate their pregnancies if they allowed their husbands to nurture them.

The Psychology of Men: Especially as it
Relates to Expectant Fatherhood and Parenthood

Until very recently, fathers have been portrayed in the psychological and some of the sociological literature as outsiders during the period of the wife's pregnancy, their child's birth and often during their experience of parenthood. Men are generally portrayed as envious of the woman's ability to bear children and as feeling excluded from and jealous of the mother-child relationship. The pregnancy experience has largely been described as the precipitant of somatic symptoms, hostility toward the wife and mental illness in men. The potential father's involvement is expressed through an increasing commitment to provide for the family or by the development of sympathetic symptoms. If a father does become more involved in a personal way with the pregnancy or childrearing, it is usually described as potentially dangerous because of the possibility of provoking homosexual anxieties.

Felix Boehm (1930), in one of the earliest works about men and childbearing, develops a number of themes based on his clinical contact with patients that are reiterated and revised in numerous later works. In his paper, "The Femininity Complex," he hypothesizes the concept of male parturition envy. He suggests that boys find conception and parturition to be "complicated," "uncanny," and "mysterious" and that these processes in women evoke intense envy of their ability to bear children. He relates the desire in men to have such capacities to their "feminine" phase of development when early in life they had dependent and tender feelings toward their fathers. Boehm also explains men's predominant need to be productive in the world

outside the family as being fueled by the envy they feel for women's ability to create children.

Boehm's idea of envy, or men's wish to share in the pregnancy, can be found in much of the sociological and clinical literature on the couvade in Western society. Couvade—which is derived from the French meaning to brood or hatch—refers to a ritual long noted in non-Western societies which involves the simulation of labor and delivery or the participation in dietary restrictions after the birth of a child. Inman (1941) suggests that men develop styes or tarsal cysts as an expression of their thoughts and fantasies about pregnancy and birth. Evans (1951) describes a man who enacted a pregnancy in a dramatic fashion on the analytic couch and Knight (1960) writes of a merchant marine with abdominal distention who believed he was pregnant.

Gregory Zilboorg in 1931 postulated a dynamic interpretation of men's anxieties related to their wives' pregnancy. This interpretation is based on the revival of oedipal issues for the husband. Zilboorg not only highlights men's feelings of exclusion from the pregnancy but he introduces the concept of men's dependency needs which he claims are evoked and potentially frustrated by the wife's involvement with the fetus and later the child. In his paper, "Depressive Reactions Related to Parenthood," Zilboorg states that these depressions are based on the husband's unresolved incestuous wishes. During pregnancy, the wife can become equal to his mother as the husband begins to identify with the child. The child's birth removes the man from his exclusive position with "mother" and simultaneously

reminds him of the sinfulness of his desires toward his mother. The child then becomes envied and hated. Zilboorg goes on to note that the father, who is already largely excluded from child care, can use this non-involvement to bolster his denial about his own paternity and become even less involved.

This untenable position, Zilboorg states, can lead the father to suicide or infanticide. Although this extreme reaction may be seen as pathological, Zilboorg feels the dynamic of viewing wife as mother with resultant feelings of exclusion are a normal dynamic for men during their wives' pregnancies.

Towne and Afterman (1955), Jarvis (1962) and Rettersol (1968) all studied men who became disturbed either during their wives' pregnancies or shortly after the birth of their child. All of these authors describe the men as reporting feelings of jealousy, inadequacy and unfulfilled dependency needs as their wives' attention shifts to the child. Wainwright (1966) describes the same phenomenon, but adds another stressor. He states that the anxiety of fatherhood may be heightened as homosexual fears increase in men secondary to the development of a loving relationship with a dependent male.

Kaplan and Blackman (1969) investigated husbands' roles in the mental illness of their wives during the period of childrearing. They find that 38 of the 43 women whose illness occurred during pregnancy or within four months postpartum, complained about their husband's ineffectuality, cruelty or neglect. The authors state that these complaints were often substantiated by independent study. In their interpretation of the husband's behavior, the authors refer to the dynamics described by Zilboorg (1931) where the wife becomes equivalent

to "mother" and the husband feels himself in competition with the child. The authors hypothesize that after being disappointed by the lack of attention they receive, the husbands express their anger by demandingness and withdrawal.

Locoursiere (1972), in a review of fatherhood and mental illness, describes four cases of men who experience severe reactions to the birth of their children. His explanation of the dynamics is similar to those stated by other authors. The shifting of the wife's attention may leave husbands "out in the cold." If the husband's own dependency needs were insufficiently or ambivalently satisfied in his childhood, beginning in the oral phase, then he has more difficulty with this transition.

The literature on fatherhood in those studies undertaken to explore normal reactions to fatherhood also tends to emphasize issues concerning the men's relationships to their wives, rather than their feelings about the coming child. It is usually the dependency needs of the men which are discussed in the literature as these are described as being heightened during this period (Munroe, 1964). Even in normal populations, however, the studies tend to describe the men as being frustrated in these needs and developing symptoms whether as a method of relating to the wife, being involved sympathetically in the pregnancy, or secondary to stress (Liebenberg, 1973; Trethowan & Conlon, 1965).

Brittman and Zalk in their book Expectant Fathers (1978) describe the ways in which men attempt to cope with their dependency needs during their wives' pregnancies. They find that especially during the second trimester expectant fathers tend to look for support from

friends who are parents, as well as from their own families. Their sample was noted to telephone and write to their families during the pregnancy more than previously. The authors note that the pregnancy is a stressful period for men and that they may feel a need to be mothered as they experience the pressure to be constantly strong, responsible and adult.

Colman and Colman (1971) describe the experience of expectant fathers in their book Pregnancy: The Psychological Experience highlighting the conflicts particular to each trimester. The Colmans' conceptualization of the pregnancy demonstrates the demands put on the husband for greater involvement in the marital relationship and the anxiety this may provoke for men. The counterpoint described that runs through the pregnancy is the men's decision whether to become more involved or to withdraw, whether to work toward greater mutuality or toward greater individuality.

In the first trimester, the authors write, men may experience anxiety about whether or not they actually fathered the child. In addition, men may have a sense of masculine pride in having impregnated their wives. The Colmans point out that this can be a selfish concern with the men viewing their wives as a vessel for their fertility. By the end of the first trimester, men, feeling burdened by their wives' dependency needs, may be searching for other companions with whom to spend their time.

During the second trimester, the authors conceptualize the husband as having the choice of involving themselves or not participating in the excitement of the quickening. Many men are described as beginning to find their wives physically unattractive just at the time

that their wives may be desiring an increase in sexual relations. The manner in which men cope with this will be important in the development of the couple's relationship. The wife may, at this point, be more concerned with the husband's safety and welfare as she becomes more dependent on him. This, the authors state, may be felt to threaten the independence of many husbands.

In the third trimester, the authors see the couple as drawing together more in preparation for childbirth. The wife's dependency may be more tolerable to the husband because labor and birth can now become concrete, anticipated events. This allows the man to feel that there is tangible justification for his wife's needy behavior. The couple's sexual relationship may change at this point, also providing a potential for growth and greater mutuality. Since many couples abstain from intercourse at this juncture, they can move to new, sometimes anxiety-provoking methods of satisfying each other's sexual desires. This exploration can bring them closer or cause divisiveness between them, depending on how they cope with the changes.

With the recent exploration of more egalitarian marriages and the increasing interest in fathers' active participation in pregnancy, childbirth and parenting, Robert Fein (1975) investigated issues related to dependency and marital sharing. He finds that men's dependency needs and anxieties peak before the birth and that these decrease after the birth, irrespective of the level or kind of involvement the father has in caring for the child either practically or emotionally. In fact, men who are more involved in "home life sharing" show higher levels of dependency wishes before the birth and they do not show a greater decrease in general anxiety after the birth.

Some of the concerns expressed by the fathers prior to their children's births are for: 1) the health of the wife and baby during and after labor and birth; 2) their ability to care for the infant and potential problems in raising the child; 3) the amount of support they and their wives will need after the birth; 4) the conflict between work life and family life; 5) the extent of the infant's intrusion into the marital relationship; 6) family and individual mobility; and, 7) the father's ability to provide for the family.

Fein notes that some methods men used for coping with their dependency needs are: 1) giving to and receiving from their wives; 2) identifying with the baby and caring for themselves through the care of the infant; 3) concentrating on fulfilling the role of provider; and, 4) sharing feelings often and extensively with their wives. It is notable that those men who experienced the least anxiety associated with the pregnancy were those who were described as breadwinners. These men participated in the pregnancy and in child care by significant involvement in the world outside the family.

Deanna Eversoll (1979) found support for men's comfort with the role of breadwinner in her study of college students' perceptions of the expectations for the father role. She compared 346 males and 309 females and found that, while the women placed more emphasis on fathers being nurturant rather than being a provider or a problem solver, the males placed less emphasis on fathers being nurturant and more emphasis on them being the authoritarian breadwinner.

Most recently, there have been a number of investigators who have struggled to understand men's role in parenting and to debunk myths they feel have been perpetuated about the relative unimportance of

fathers in the development of the growing child. Their emphasis has not tended to be, however, on men's reaction to or participation in the pregnancy, nor about the timing of parenthood for men. Instead, they have concentrated on father-infant interactions, the role of the father in child development, and the development of paternal identity in boys (Lamb, 1979; Parke, 1981). Others, in an effort to redefine masculine roles, have focused on innovative modes of family functioning rather than on specific images of the new father (Levine, 1976; Pleck, 1981). Their work, while important, is beyond the scope of this study.

Psychoanalytic View

The question of the instinctual nature of fathering has not been debated very much in the literature. Coleman, Kris and Provence, in "The Study of Variations in Early Paternal Attitudes" (1953), put forth their view that the father's biological link to the child in no way approximates the depth of the mother's link.

Benedek (1970b) in "Fatherhood and Providing" postulates that the "biologic root of fatherhood is in the instinctual drive for survival" (p. 171). She states that this instinct is expressed directly through the father's providing behavior which Benedek believes is natural and innate as it is in many animal species. She notes, however, that this instinctual "extraverted behavior" which is necessary for efficient fathering can, at times, become a goal in itself for ego-aggrandizement. Men's self-esteem can become wrapped up in sexual prowess, virility, productivity, and creativity. Benedek warns that an investment only in providing can take a man's energy away from the primary emotional experience of the family and that a father's ambitions

could alienate him from his children.

Benedek also notes that the role of provider and protector can be in conflict with men's dependent and emotional needs most of which she claims need to be overcome for proper male development. Josselyn (1956), a follower of Benedek, also supports the concept of a "drive toward fatherliness."

Jessner, Weigert and Foy (1970) emphasize the lack of biological immediacy of the future father's experience during the pregnancy because he does not carry the fetus. "The meaning of fatherhood is grafted upon the procreative act. There is a sense in which fatherliness crystalizes in a decision and a responsibility recognized and accepted--like adoptive parenthood" (p. 238).

Greenberg and Morris (1974) attempt to document the importance of the early infant-father interaction, especially as it appears to increase fathers' feelings of self-esteem and worth. From their observations of 30 first-time fathers, they note a tendency for men to become engrossed in the newborn. In order to explain this social phenomenon, they resort to an instinctual theory. They postulate that early contact with the newborn releases an innate tendency for engrossment with the infant.

The traditional psychoanalytic view of fathering does not describe the father as having much involvement in the pregnancy. Typically, fathers are not thought to experience emotional upheavals leading toward a new developmental stage that has been considered so vital to women in psychoanalytic theory.

Freud (1900, 1905) times the father's entrance into the mother-child relationship during the oedipal phase

when the child is 3-5 years old. Earlier than this, intimacy with the father is not essential for the child because the different zones of gratification are primary, and traditionally it is the mother who cares for the child during this period. During the oedipal phase, the male child develops rivalrous feelings toward his father as they compete for his mother's affections. The male child interprets the female's lack of a penis to be a sign that the father will castrate the child as a punishment. To avoid this, the young boy represses his affections for his mother and identifies with his father hoping that his father will not castrate someone like himself. This identification plays a crucial role in Freudian theory in the development of gender role and gender identification, as well as in the development of the superego.

The father, therefore, is conceptualized by Freud as powerful and inhibiting. With the development of ego psychology psychoanalytic writers have been attending more to pre-oedipal issues. The father takes on a more benevolent image and begins to assume the role as the object who helps the toddler move away from his or her symbiotic relationship with the mother. Their relationship allows for the child's development of an independent self.

The concept of "cutting the cord" was proposed by Joost A.M. Merloo (1956). Through his description of numerous case studies, Merloo portrays the father as rescuing the child from an all-encompassing dependent relationship with an overpowering mother. "From the outset, all education should aim at the solution of the infantile dependency needs" (p. 474).

Later psychoanalytic thinkers have followed in this tradition,

although the view of the mother has been modified. Mahler, Pine and Bergman (1975) have postulated that the small child's specific attachment to the father in the practicing subphase of development plays a decisive role in aiding differentiation and individuation.

Most recently, Ernest L. Abelin (1971, 1975) has received widespread attention for his concepts of early parent-child relationships and the development of gender identity. Abelin's complete theories about the initial relationship between child and parents are beyond the scope of this review. However, his direct observations of babies' interactions with fathers and male researchers have caused him to feel that the father is a vital presence in the child's early life and that his existence helps the child to articulate a sense of self-identity and self-consistency. For example, during the practicing subphase, the father becomes exciting and different and represents "non-mother space," while mother represents a "home base" for "refueling." This offers the child an object to begin to identify with as separate from mother and the child can also begin to represent in his mind the concept of a relationship between two distinct objects. This aids the child in developing a concept of separate objects and, by extension, will help develop his concept of self. Abelin sees the rivalry with the father associated with the oedipal phase to be a later development.

Similar to Lamb and Parke, in the psychoanalytic realm Munder-Ross (1979) and Machtlinger (1979) have been re-examining the father's role in child development and gender identification.

Marriage and the Family

Many sociological studies and some theoretical works in psychology

focus on the effect of parenthood on the couple, the family and their interactions, rather than on the individual. Most of the literature is based on the assumption that childbearing and parenting denote a major developmental change in the life of a family system. As in the early literature on expectant mothers and fathers, the early literature in this field focuses on the nature of this developmental shift and whether or not it is a crisis.

Sociology

LeMasters (1957) based his study on Hill's work about family crises. He studied 46 young couples, age 25-35, to ascertain the nature of their transitions to parenthood. LeMasters found that 83% of the couples retrospectively assessed the birth of their first child to have precipitated a crisis when they were interviewed five years later. LeMasters feels that the reorganization of the social system from two persons to three, or three to four, etc. as children are born can be considered a crisis or critical event whether the marriage is considered good or poor.

A number of researchers went on to evaluate the propriety of using the concept of a crisis in describing the birth of a couple's first child. In discussing their findings, a number of researchers found support for the work of Hill and LeMasters (1957) but went on to emphasize the positive aspects of this developmental stage as well (Dyer, 1963; Hobbs, 1965; Meyerowitz & Feldman, 1966). These authors state that in some cases the gratifications of having a child override the difficulties in the transition to becoming parents. The event can also offer the parents an opportunity for maturation. Russell's (1974) findings are pertinent to this study as

she notes that gratification during this period is negatively correlated with education for both husbands and wives, with occupational prestige for husbands and with years married for wives over 23. Gratification is positively correlated with marital adjustment and desire for children.

Rapoport and Rapoport (1968) integrate the concept of a family crisis with the birth of the first child into family developmental theory as a whole. They note that parenthood, like other stages in the development of a family, is a period of critical flux which can be anticipated and mitigated by appropriate socialization.

Rossi (1968) stands out in this group studying the "Transition to Parenthood." She states that the debate over the severity of the crisis during this period is not the vital issue. She supports the conception of the transition to parenthood as a developmental stage and she suggests that effort would be better spent studying the nature of the changes that take place during the transition, and the impact of parenthood. She is careful to point out, however, that the concept of developmental stage does not presuppose that all men and women are suited to parenting. She calls for a conceptualization that allows for choices in this area as well as a way to understand the differences between those who are successful in the role of parent and those who are not.

Rossi notes a general lack of societal support for those entering the role of parent. She feels this especially true for women who are often taught to be passive and dependent when the role of mother actually necessitates a very active stance. She calls for freedom for both sexes from the traditionally defined sex roles defined by

Parsons (1955) with the mother representing the expressive orientation and the father the instrumental orientation. Finally, Rossi is one of the earliest writers to note that the age at which a woman parents may affect her feelings about the pregnancy. She notes that women appear to have a loss of self-esteem during the early and middle years of adulthood, a period during which men are usually feeling good about themselves.

Blood and Wolfe (1960) did a large scale study of marriage in America. They interviewed 731 urban and suburban and 178 farm wives in Michigan. Interestingly, the findings of the study, Husbands and Wives, the Dynamic of Married Living, represent only the wives' points of view as the authors felt women are adequate representatives of the marital relationship. Nevertheless, the authors make some interesting observations about the timing of parenthood. They state that the typical bride at that time was in her twenties and that usually there were only two years between the time of marriage and the birth of the couple's first child. They note that the younger women tend to be more dominated by their husbands and that the close timing of children after marriage did not allow the couple time to begin to work out a more egalitarian relationship. Parenthood, they note, may be more difficult for a woman whose first child is born later in her life because she will have achieved greater power for a greater number of years, which may have to be relinquished in order to care for children. They also note that the years of middle age, 40's and 50's, appear to be the peak era of wife dominance in the marriage and that women show strength and confidence that they seldom show at earlier ages.

The authors note that throughout the family life, men's primary interest remains their work. They point out, however, that the experience of parenting seems to add to the humanization of men.

Other sociologists have focused on the value of children for parents. Hoffman and Hoffman (1973) give a comprehensive review of the literature on the psychological meaning of children to parents. Among those values which they believe act as motivations for child-bearing are: 1) adult status and social identity, 2) expansion of the self, 3) morality, 4) primary group ties, 5) stimulation, 6) creativity and competence, 7) power and influence, 8) social comparison, and, 9) economic utility.

James T. Fawcett (1978) in "The Value and Cost of the First Child," continues the work of Hoffman and Hoffman (1973). He states that the motive for the first child tends to be more symbolic than for later children. Having a first child can symbolize adulthood, femininity, virility, parenthood, fecundability, fulfillment of the marriage and establishment of a family. He also finds primary motivations to be curiosity, the desire for parents to reproduce themselves and to watch the growth and development of their own child. Additional reasons are the fulfillment of an emotional need to give and receive love and the continuity of the family name, particularly if the child is a male.

Jessie Bernard, another sociologist writing on marriage and the family (1972, 1974), looks more closely into the value of children to their parents. She notes that children are valued differently by women and men, and she points out that the timing of the arrival of children as well as the stage an individual is in their life span

will affect how stressful and how enriching parenting will be. She notes that women more often feel that children contribute significantly to their happiness than men do. She adds that despite much modern theorizing about father's involvement in childrearing that role-sharing typically means that father is "helping out."

Bernard reviews the literature that describes the happiest part of a marriage to be before the first child is born when communication, companionship and interaction between the spouses is at its peak. She observes that parenthood divides the spouses as they each pursue their prescribed sex roles individually, mother as caretaker and father as provider. Motherhood, Bernard says, is especially difficult for young mothers and even more so if the "pregnancy has come close on the heels of the marriage" because of the increased responsibility for the woman.

Psychology

A few studies in psychology describe the nature of the interaction between husbands and wives during the wife's pregnancy. Deutcher (1970) made a psychoanalytic study of 10 couples before and after the birth of their child. He notes that the couple often practices nurturing by caring for each other throughout the pregnancy and that both sacrifice their individual needs after the pregnancy in order to care for the child. It was noted by Deutcher that the mother's activity tends to center around the child and that the father "extend a protective and 'mothering' care to both of them." Anxiety was expressed by both spouses because of fears that their adult lives might forever be interfered with by the intensity of the wife's involvement with the baby (p. 29).

Cowan, Cowan, Coie and Coie (1978) note that the onset of parenthood is a stressful period and can produce dysfunction in couples. They state that some couples become more dependent on each other and some less dependent on each other. Stress, during this period, they suggest, is lessened if the life style of the couple after the baby is born does not deviate drastically from that style previously familiar to them, especially as it relates to the couple's involvement with each other. It is better, for example, if the husband and wife have been very involved with each other to assume mutual sharing of responsibility for the child. If, on the other hand, couples are used to leading fairly separate lives, then their life style after the birth of the child should support their individuality.

Gladieux (1978) supports the concept of pregnancy as a normal developmental crisis for the husband and wife as well as a significant dynamic phase of the life cycle for the couple. She interviewed 26 women, age 21-30, and 26 men, age 21-35, with a variety of instruments. The women were seen three times during their pregnancy, but the men were interviewed only once during the 10-12th week of the pregnancy. It is notable that in her sample all of the women had worked and only four were not working at the time of the study.

The author finds that, overall, women with modern sex role conceptions are more likely to be dissatisfied with their pregnancies. This is linked to the manner in which they handle their dependency needs. She notes that, especially during the second trimester, the modern woman feels threatened by the increase in dependence that is expected to occur. She describes them as trying to maintain their familiar identities by the use of denial and counterdependent

measures, not wanting to be seen as any different. While the modern women feel it is important to be thought of as special, they want to continue to be valued for excellence in their careers rather than for having children. These women tend to shun attention and aid from their husbands, relatives and friends, and they feel guilty if they accept care and concern. This leads to an increase in social isolation for the women. The husbands of the modern women are described as experiencing their wives' heightened state of autonomy as a barrier which keeps them from offering affection and assistance.

Women with traditional sex role conceptions are more certain of low-anxiety, satisfying pregnancies. Generally, their husbands are pronatal and they have the support of friends and relatives who are also parenting. Throughout their pregnancies, these women measured higher on social relatedness. The traditional women feel valued and confident during their pregnancies and they are looking forward to motherhood.

Adult Development

Studies on adult development are very relevant to the area of delayed parenting. How does the timing of pregnancy and parenting interact with one's stage of life? Most of the literature written on parenting itself does not describe the age of the parents studied, although when age is mentioned, the mothers are rarely over 30 and the fathers are rarely over 35.

The process of pregnancy has been described in a fairly systematic manner, especially for women, but we are still left wondering what the process would look like for individuals if it occurred at a different life stage. From the view of adult development theorists,

however, the issues related to parenting have rarely been addressed. There has been little written on the effect of the life stage on parenting and little about how the process of having children would affect one's experience of a particular stage.

Much of the work in adult development has used Erikson's (1980) psychosocial model of stages as a basis for conceptualizing the developmental tasks of adulthood. While his stages of childhood and adolescence are quite detailed and comprehensive, Erikson's stages of adulthood give only the outline of what might be the tasks of adulthood and he does not say at what ages these stages might take place.

The first four stages: 1) Trust vs. Basic Mistrust, 2) Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt, 3) Initiative vs. Guilt, and 4) Industry vs. Inferiority, are identical for males and females. It is notable, however, that stage 5, the task of adolescence, Identity vs. Role Confusion, is described differently for boys and girls. Boys are said to need the consolidation of their identity before Intimacy (stage 6) can be achieved. Girls, however, achieve intimacy and identity consolidation simultaneously. In attempting to develop a theory to describe the development of identity of female youth, Erikson (1964) states that the step from youth to maturity occurs when, "the young woman relinquishes the care received from the parental family...in order to commit herself to the love of a stranger and to the care to be given to his and her offspring" (p. 585).

He marks the conclusion of adolescence to be the woman's ability to be faithful. "Adulthood begins with the ability to receive and give

love and care" (p. 585).

Nevertheless, the male perspective is the one Erikson builds on as he develops his adult stages. He goes on to say that the formation of a fairly solid sense of self is vital to the period of adolescence. It is necessary for one to develop a confidence in the sameness and continuity of the self and others before one can achieve intimacy, the first task of young adulthood. Otherwise, Erikson states, ego boundaries are not solid and intimacy can be very threatening, and can be avoided in favor of isolation.

"Generativity vs. Stagnation" is stage 7 in Erikson's schema. Here, he points to the necessity of being needed. He defines generativity as the "concern in establishing and guiding the next generation" (1980, p. 103). Although Erikson states that being creative and productive is possible without bearing children, parenting is the metaphor he uses for this stage.

Stage 8, "Ego Identity vs. Despair" is the final stage in Erikson's schema. Here, the achievement of ego identity comes with an acceptance of one's own life and responsibilities.

George Vaillant, in his book Adaptation to Life (1977), describes the study of the adult development of 95 graduates from Harvard University. These men were followed from their sophomore year through their 50's and the data collected has been the basis for much research and theorizing about adult development. Nevertheless, his work contributes little to the understanding of where and how parenting fits into the life cycle. Vaillant's sample was entirely comprised of men. In addition, the focus of the study is very much on the men's development in regard to their work and career. Little

is said in any detail about these men's interpersonal lives, especially their experiences of becoming fathers. It is notable, in fact, that the men were picked for the sample because their "capacity for intimacy was valued less highly than their capacity for success" (p. 52).

Vaillant reconceptualized Erikson's stages of adult development interposing a new stage in men's lives during their 30's called "Career Consolidation." The hallmark of this era is the push toward establishing oneself in the outside world. He then pushes Erikson's era of Generativity into the 40's at which time Vaillant feels the men are entering a second adolescence and a reassessment of their life circumstances. (This has been described as the era of the "Mid-Life Crisis.") He draws attention to the fact that men of this age often begin mentoring relationships at this point and Vaillant reinterprets generativity in this light. According to his conceptualization, the 20's and early 30's, when parenting has traditionally occurred, is not when men are ready to be responsible for others and when they are ready to guide others this is done in the work place. Parenting is then squeezed out of the life cycle of men.

Daniel Levinson, in his book The Seasons of Man's Life (1978), also writes about men, feeling that his findings can, for the most part, be generalized to women. Women, "go through the same adult development periods as men, I believe, but in partially different ways that reflect the differences in biology and social circumstance" (p. 9). Once again Levinson's entire conceptualization of adult development is largely based on men's relationship to their work, with interpersonal relationships, especially parenting, playing

a very minor role in life.

Levinson describes four major life stages with important transition points: 0-17 is Childhood and Adolescence, 17-40 Early Adulthood, 40-60 Middle Adulthood, and 60 on is Late Adulthood. The first task of Early Adulthood, "Forming and Living Out the Dream," is broken down into a number of substages: 1) Early Adult Transition (17-22) has its task as separation from the family of origin and the preliminary steps into the adult world. 2) Entering the Adult World (22-28) is described as the period in which the novice adult begins to build a home base. The basic tension in this phase is the man's desire to be free to explore possible commitments (mostly in terms of an occupation) while he already wants to and begins to commit himself to a stable structure. The choice of a marriage partner, says Levinson, is based on the woman who will aid the man in his aspirations. 3) Age 30 Transition: This stage is a period of potential crisis when men reassess their progress and they begin to have the sense of a last chance to make changes before serious commitments are made.

The next major task of Early Adulthood is "Settling Down" or "Fulfilling the Dream." 1) Early Settling Down (32-36) is reflected in man's need to now maintain a stable structure. "It is a time for making one's niche in society, defining an enterprise, getting on with the work, taking care of business" (p. 143). 2) Late Settling Down or Becoming One's Own Man (36-40) is a period of greater individuation for the man. The man becomes more independent and self-sufficient. This period signals the beginning of the end of his relationship with his mentor and it is a time of major changes in his

relationship with the "special woman" who has supported him in his career.

The last stage which is relevant here is the Mid-Life Transition (40-45), subtitled "Modifying the Dream." Like Vaillant, Levinson conceptualizes this both as a critical period of reassessment of one's life's goals and the taking on of the new task of facing one's own limitations and mortality. He also sees it as the beginning of Erikson's period of Generativity. Again, the role of being a mentor encompasses the idea of fostering the development of young men in one's field.

In one of the few references to men's personal relationships with their children, Levinson notes that during their 40's fathers may be leaving young adulthood just as their children may be entering it. This can be a potential source of conflict in the father-son relationship as the father can be envious of his child's youthful exuberance.

In their paper, "On the Psychological Well Being of Women in Their Middle Years," Baruch and Barnett (1982) address some of the concepts of adult development that have been wrongly attributed to women. They support the view that age is not sufficient to hypothesize stages, but that life experience, including gender differences, will result in profound variations in how one experiences their middle years.

The authors studied 225 women ages 35-55 who are married with children, married without children, never married, and divorced with children. They range from having "low prestige work" to "high prestige work" and those who don't work are rated on prestige by

their husband's occupation. It was notable that throughout the groups, contrary to what might be expected, there is a consistent theme of a "newly experienced sense of the value and worth of the self, and of the importance of attending to one's needs" (1979, p. 6). This counters the view of the mid-life crisis for women. In addition, no correlation is found between menopausal status and either of their variables of "mastery" or "pleasure" for women with or without children. This appears to refute the commonly held belief that menopause is a traumatic period for most women and especially for those without children who realize their last opportunity for bearing their own children has passed.

They also note that employment is not the major problem which contributes to conflict and strain when a woman is assuming multiple roles, but it is being a mother. In fact, they find that working is an additional strain but that overall employment was felt to be beneficial for both mothers and nonmothers.

Carol Gilligan, In a Different Voice (1982), focuses on the differences in moral and psychological development of men and women. She critiques Erikson, Vaillant and Levinson, citing their proclivity to define adult development from data gathered on men. She hypothesizes that, in fact, women's development may be very different from men's development in childhood as well as in adulthood. Gilligan notes that the emphasis in Vaillant and Levinson's work is on career and individual achievement in adult development. When relationships are discussed, men are understood to need to individuate by separation from relationships in order to grow. This she feels is a concept based on theories about the early development of infants and

children when they must grow away from the mother. Women, on the other hand, says Gilligan, seem to develop within relationships and through their attachment to others. This harkens back to Erikson when he states that women hold their identities in abeyance until they are joined with the men who will define them by name and status. For women, Gilligan states, "Intimacy goes along with identity, as the female comes to know herself as she is known, through her relationship to others" (p. 12).

Gilligan thus concurs with Chodorow (1978). From the beginning, girls come to know themselves through their attachment to their mother. Thus, they fuse the experience of attachment with the process of identity formation. Boys, however, must separate from mother for proper gender identification. Thus, Gilligan hypothesizes, "Since masculinity is defined through separation, while femininity is defined through attachment, male gender identity is threatened by intimacy while female gender identity is threatened by separation" (p. 8). She gives research evidence to support the notion that "...males tend to have difficulty with relationships while females tend to have problems with individuation" (Pollack & Gilligan, 1982).

This conceptualization presents some interesting questions about the ways men and women might react differentially to the arrival of a new family member with the concomitant demands for involvement and relatedness. It also raises questions about the sequence of adult development as it has been traditionally formulated. This may have some important consequences as we look at the timing of parenthood in adult life.

Later Parenting

Very little work has been done studying couples who are having their children later in life. One popular book was written to begin to inform women about some of the issues they might be facing in making the decision whether or not to have children as they feel the increasing pressure of time. Up Against the Clock by Marilyn Fabe and Norma Winkler (1979) contains descriptions of older mothers' personal concerns and experiences about their relationships, work and child care from retrospective interviews. The authors have done work comparable to James Levine's (1976) work on fathers in proposing and investigating the viability of alternative options of parenting styles for older women: single older women, gay older women, and married older women.

A major study has been completed on couples whose timing of their first child ranges from their late teens to their early 40's. Pamela Daniels and Kathy Weingarten, in their book, Sooner or Later (1980), have written about the results of a study of 86 couples who gave retrospective accounts of their pregnancies with their first child.

The sample was comprised of 36 couples who had their first child in their late teens or early 20's ("early-timing") and 36 who had their first child in their late 20's or early 30's ("late-timing," mother's average age 30½). Later, the authors, taking note of the shift to even later pregnancies, added a final group of 14 couples who had their first child in their late 30's or early 40's ("mid-life timing").

The authors assert that contrary to the traditional theorists in

adult development, they feel the stages can be described in terms of the tasks of parenthood rather than defined by age, i.e., 1) Starting out on one's own--Individuation, 2) Marriage--Intimacy, 3) Parenthood--Generativity. Nevertheless, in their examination of the three different groups, the authors demonstrate how the stage the parents are in (Individuation, Intimacy and Generativity) affects their individual experience of having a child. They ultimately describe the developmental stages as they are related to age.

The "early timers" are seen as attempting to cope with identity issues. They often either feel they do not know where they are going in life, or they feel that their future is blocked by a lack of options. A pregnancy at this stage seems to give the couples a sense of direction or a way out. According to the authors, as Gilligan (1982), hypothesized the women often describe their identity as having been built upon the concept of having a family, while the men's identity is galvanized through the role of provider. These men, who are in Levinson's "provisional stage" feel forced to make an early choice of occupation.

Women in their late teens and early 20's tend to depend more on their own mothers than on their husbands. In fact, besides being almost the total caretaker of the child, these women are often mothering young, insecure husbands. The men are involved outside of the home, either "providing" through work or spending time with friends.

In the "late-timing" group, the authors state that the issues concerning the couples no longer center around identity and intimacy. In fact, for many individuals becoming a parent signals the end of

that era. Now the issues become "What do I do?" instead of "Who am I?" as the couples enter the era of Generativity.

In these couples, the wives are described as expressing greater dependency needs than their husbands. There is reportedly a greater struggle for reciprocity in mutual nurturing and caring for the child with less dependence on the parents. Conflicts arise for couples as they try to integrate work and personal lives.

Finally, in the "mid-life" group, all of the men except one, and one-half of the women studied felt that parenthood was a "supplement" to their lives. They felt little stress or strain but were rather able to integrate the child easily into an established life style. Men, as in the other two groups, continued to feel work to be their priority. The difference now was that in their late 30's and early 40's the men didn't invest more time in work with the coming of the child, but rather spent more time at home. The seven women in this group felt no radical shift in their lives. They continued with established careers, having their children cared for by caretakers with little anxiety experienced. The women are described as having a sense of themselves in their lives that allowed them to keep limits on the demands made of them.

A second group dubbed, "new chapter" mothers felt the birth of their child created a distinctly different new life structure for them. Sometimes this was described as "rejuvenating" and sometimes as "devitalizing," but indicated that the birth had more of an impact on the structure of the women's lives than the previous group.

The final group included three women and one man. They experienced the birth of the child as a "crunch." For them, the real

experience of having the child differed so drastically from what was expected that it became very stressful. The women noted, however, that their relationship to their work was a stabilizing force in their lives.

This study has made a valuable contribution to issues of parenting and the stages of adulthood for both men and women. It is, however, limited by the fact that the study was retrospective and depended on the memories of the individuals interviewed 5-to-20 years after the experience. In addition, the men and women were interviewed together. While this was noted by the authors to have been done purposely to help stimulate the memory of events, it probably allowed less freedom for individuals to express their true feelings. Finally, the authors included a number of subjects with children from previous marriages in their "mid-life" group. Having a child for individuals in their late 30's will be a very different experience if one person in the couple has already had children from another marriage than if both members are having the experience together for the first time.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The research design called for two groups of English-speaking, middle-class couples who are in their first marriage and are primiparas with no serious fertility problems. These groups were to be broken down as follows: 10 "average" aged couples (both men and women, ages 24-29) and 15 "older" aged couples (both men and women, ages 35-40). In this design, the smaller average aged group was to provide baseline information on the average experience for primipara couples which would serve to highlight the data from the older group.

Subjects were recruited by three major methods during the period April 1983 to December 1983: 1) Notices describing the study were distributed by local obstetricians and midwives in the metropolitan area who had indicated an interest in the study (Appendix A). Those females who were interested in participating then called one of the two primary investigators. 2) Women who were enrolled in Lamaze classes or exercise classes for pregnant women were called and informed about the study. Those who expressed an interest were screened for the necessary criteria for participating in the study. 3) Networking: Couples were contacted through referrals from friends and acquaintances.

Study Population

In total, eight couples were collected in which both the husband and wife were 30-years-old or younger. Two couples participated in which the wife was under 30 but their husbands were over 35. In addition, one couple was selected where the wife was over 35 but her

husband was under 30-years-old. Finally, 17 couples participated in which both the husband and wife were over 35-years-old.

Subjects were, on the whole, very cooperative with the study. Only one of the wives in the older group refused the Thematic Apperception Type Test because she felt uncomfortable with the idea that we would be interpreting data to mean something she had not intended. Therefore, this couple was not included in this study. Another older couple could not be included because the wife gave birth prematurely before her husband could complete all of the instruments necessary prior to the birth of their child. Lastly, after the data was collected, it appeared that the three irregular couples, in which one of each of the spouses was in a different age group, really did not fully represent what was meant by a pure younger or a pure older couple. Therefore, this data was not included in the study. The total sample for this study will then be 8 younger couples, representing the norm, and 15 older couples as a comparison group.

The realities inherent in collecting the sample for the study forced some additional modifications in the sample. We extended the age criteria, while still maintaining a five-year difference between the groups. The ages in the younger group range from 23-29 and the older group now includes subjects who are over 35. In addition, some of the individuals in both groups are in their second marriages although none of them have had pregnancies that were carried to term previously. Surprisingly, it was not possible to include a subsample of nonworking women as everyone willing to participate in the study was employed at the beginning of their pregnancies. We were able to include subsamples of women who had some difficulty conceiving,

couples who purposely postponed their pregnancies, and couples in which the timing of their life events naturally put-off the timing of their parenthood.

Data Collection

Before describing the method of collecting data, it is important to note that our study population yielded data for two different studies. Because of this, some subjects received additional interviews. As had been planned, all subjects received a semi-structured interview and the Thematic Apperception Type Test sometime after they experienced fetal movement (the quickening). Meeting with the subjects at this time was felt to be vital because it is at this point that the fetus has made its presence undeniable. The fantasy life of the expectant parents appears to be at a peak after the quickening, making the subjects' thoughts and feelings about pregnancy, childbirth and parenthood especially vivid. While it was not always possible to administer these two instruments during the fifth month, they were administered during or after the fifth month, sometimes in the second trimester or in the very early weeks of the third trimester.

In addition to this interview, a subsample of subjects were contacted early enough in the pregnancy that they received an interview during their first trimester. This information was not used in the present study but will be used by the other principal investigator to map changes in behavior and attitudes during the pregnancy.

Since the Initial Interview collected historical data as well as questions about the subjects' present attitudes and behavior, the subjects were given this interview whenever they were initially seen

whether that was during their first or second trimester. The Current Status Interview was then given to those couples who were given the Initial Interview during the first trimester and were seen again during the second trimester. It replicated the questions about current attitudes and behavior given in the Initial Interview. Therefore, the same questions about current status were given to all subjects during the second trimester whether it was in the form of the Initial Interview or the Current Status Interview. The seven couples who were seen for both the Initial Interview and the Current Status Interview showed no observable effects from having been asked some of the questions previously. Therefore, for these seven couples, the Current Status Interview, given during their second trimester, will provide the data for this study.

Finally, 16 of the couples received an interview after the birth of their child. Again, this information is not felt to be vital for the present study and will, therefore, not be used as part of the data base.

Measures

The measures used for both studies will be described below. Those measures used in the present study will be indicated.

1. Demographic Questionnaire including factual historical information, i.e., birthplace, parents' employment, individual and work history, etc. (Appendix B).*

2. Initial Interview (adapted from Ballou, 1978 and Bram, 1982): This is a semi-structured interview designed to elicit information

*The data collected from these instruments is used in the present study.

on personality and life style variables. The purpose of the interview is to expand on the historical data collected, including memories of experiences related to pregnancy, childbearing and parenting. Part of the interview also explores the current experience of pregnancy for the couple, their attitudes toward having children and their thoughts and feelings about their current life situation, i.e., their relationships with their spouses, their work and their leisure activities. It is the latter part of this interview which gathers information on the current experience and attitudes of the couple and which relates to the variables which are being included in this study (Appendix B).*

3. Current Status Interview (adapted from Ballou, 1978 and Bram, 1982): This semi-structured interview repeats questions about the couples' present experience of the pregnancy, their attitudes toward having children and their present thoughts and feelings about their life situation. In addition, questions are included about the changes that have already taken place in the couples' experience, behavior and attitudes since the first trimester. After collecting pilot data those questions that most often elicited responses related to the variables were determined and included in this study (Appendix B).*

4. Third Trimester and Post-Partum Interview (adapted from Ballou, 1978 and Bram, 1982): This interview was conducted six weeks after the birth of the child and questions were directed toward capturing a retrospective account of the pregnancy, a description of

*The data collected from these instruments is used in the present study.

the birth and delivery and feelings about these experiences. The current life situation was reassessed since the child's arrival (Appendix B).

5. Thematic Apperception Type Test Cards: The cards were especially selected to show scenes of individuals, couples and families as well as work life in order to elicit the thoughts and fantasies of the men and women interviewed about these topics. Because the couples interviewed were in the midst of a pregnancy, these pictures were expected to stimulate them to speak about their current concerns about their changing identities, their relationships to others and their involvement with their work. In addition, according to the literature already reviewed, the fact that the individuals are in the midst of a major life change, and entering a new developmental stage made it reasonable to expect the cards to stimulate the articulations of conflicts and concerns about Autonomy, Dependence, Relatedness, Achievement, and Nurturance, all of which are hypothesized to be dealt with actively during this period. One's Gender Identity and sense of Adult status should also be of concern to the subjects.*

There were two sets of cards developed, one with male protagonists and one with female protagonists, although both sets had six cards in common. A number of the cards were created from photographs in Our Bodies, Ourselves (1971) and Ourselves and Our Children (1978). Others were taken from the collection of photographs at the New York Public Library. These cards (Appendix C) were briefly as follows:

*The data collected from these instruments is used in the present study.

1) a pregnant woman, 2) a mother or father with an infant, 3) two family scenes, 4) men or women socializing with members of the same sex, 5) a man or woman at work with a child, 6) a middle-aged man or woman alone at work.

In addition, two cards from the standard T.A.T. battery developed by Murray (1943) were added: 1) an adult couple embracing (a card typically used to elicit feelings and concerns about heterosexual intimacy) and 2) a figure in distress (a card which calls for the individual's current anxieties and fears).

Finally, two cards were reproduced which were used by McClelland (1975): 1) a couple sitting by a river, near a bridge, and 2) a man at work, looking at a picture of his family. These cards were added because they were used in a study by Pollack and Gilligan (1982) to compare men and women's feelings about affiliation and achievement. In all, each subject received a total of 11 cards (Appendix C).

The instructions used during the administration of the T.A.T. cards were adapted from Rapaport (1968) and were as follows:

I'm going to show you some pictures on which there are people doing things. I'd like you to make up a story about the people. Tell me what they are doing and feeling. I'd also like you to tell me what happened before the picture and what is going to happen afterward. There are no right and wrong answers. So then, I'm asking you to use your imagination and tell me a story with a beginning, a middle, and an end which includes the thoughts and feelings of the people.

Inquiry was limited so as not to bias the subjects, in keeping with Rapaport's (1968) concept of "free inquiry." This asks the subjects to comply with the instructions, to make statements specific and to clarify over-ambiguous points. The order of the cards was

kept constant for all subjects.

6. Mother-Infant, Father-Infant Interaction Observation: A 20-minute interaction between mother-infant and father-infant observed by an independent rater who scored parental behavior on such dimensions as responsiveness to infant, warmth and control (adapted from Divitto & Goldberg, 1979) (Appendix B).

The following checklists were incorporated into all of the above interviews and were filled out by the subjects:

7. Pregnancy Symptom Checklist (Leifer, 1980): Checklist of common health problems in pregnancy (Appendix B).

8. Appearance Checklist (Leifer, 1980): Checklist of self-evaluation of appearance (Appendix B).

9. Child Trait Checklist (Leifer, 1980): Measure of parents' image of child (Appendix B).

Rationale

The study utilized a combined methodological approach. The interviews consisted of open- and closed-ended questions. A subset of these questions in the Initial Interview and the Current Status Interview oriented the subjects toward the areas under investigation in this study but they also allowed the subjects freedom in responding so that they could elaborate on their own concerns.

Specific questionnaires and scales were included in the interviews because they have been used in related studies and they have gained some measure of reliability. These measures both expanded the data that emerged from other instruments and either corroborated or negated other information gathered. The interviews and questionnaires were distinctly different from the Thematic Apperception Type

Test because these instruments asked the subjects directly about various attitudes, behaviors and concerns. This gave them the opportunity to respond in the way they felt most closely represented those feelings and beliefs of which they are most aware. Therefore, these instruments allowed the subjects to communicate to the interviewer consciously held beliefs about pregnancy, childbirth and parenting.

Thematic Apperception Type Tests have been used extensively in studies of personality as well as in studies of pregnancy and sex roles. Responses to the cards should differ from the interviews and questionnaires in that they should be relatively uncensored and, therefore, more closely related to the responder's personal concerns than those they might feel constrained to give to more direct questions. In addition, it is an instrument appropriate for exploration of any issues that might be of concern to expectant parents about the areas of pregnancy and parenthood.

Method of Data Collection

After the subjects were gathered, they were contacted by telephone by one of two research assistants. During this phone call, the subjects were told that all information gathered would be treated in a strictly confidential manner. Then, demographic data was collected by the research assistant, and an appointment was made for their initial interview. All subjects were interviewed either in their homes or in a New York City office. Men and women were interviewed separately by two different trained interviewers. One female interviewer met with all the women and another with all the men throughout the study. Verbatim notes were taken during the

interviews and tape recordings were made simultaneously.

As noted above, because the subjects were being interviewed for two different studies, their schedule of appointments varied somewhat and this will be detailed below:

1. Telephone Contact (Demographic Questionnaire, all couples)

Husband and wife interviewed separately.

2. First Trimester: (Initial Interview, 7 couples)

Husband and wife interviewed separately.

Pregnancy Symptom Checklist--both husband and wife

Appearance Checklist--wife only

Child Trait Checklist--both husband and wife

3. Second Trimester or Early Third Trimester, after fifth month of pregnancy (Current Status Interview, all couples)

Husband and wife interviewed separately.

Pregnancy Symptom Checklist--both husband and wife

Appearance Checklist--wife only

Child Trait Checklist--both husband and wife

4. Second Trimester or Early Third Trimester, after Current Status Interview (all couples, Thematic Apperception Type Test)

Husband and wife interviewed separately.

5. Six Weeks Postpartum (Postpartum Interview and Observation, 16 couples)

Husband and wife interviewed separately.

Pregnancy Symptom Checklist--both husband and wife

Appearance Checklist--wife only

Child Trait Checklist--both husband and wife

Observation--both husband and wife

Rating of the Study Variables

Selection of Raters

Originally it was planned that the writer and another female graduate student in psychology would be the raters for the study. Neither person had been involved in the collection of the data. It became apparent, however, during our training sessions on the use of the scales that we were not able to obtain reliability. In fact, as training progressed, our reliability fell. One of the difficulties obtaining reliability in scoring seemed to be that we stimulated each other to become more and more abstract in our interpretation of the data, and we found it difficult to stick to the data itself. In addition, there appeared to be a competitive element in our training sessions in which we each tried to analyze the data in a more sophisticated manner than the other. A second rater, a male neurobiologist, volunteered to score the data. Our reliability reached an acceptable level after a brief training period. We were better able to base our rating on the concrete information conveyed in the interviews and T.A.T. stories, while also incorporating shifts in emotional tone conveyed by nuances in language and delivery into our scores. It was then decided he would be the rater for the study.

Training of the Raters

Both of the raters were trained by the writer in a similar fashion. They were briefly introduced to the concepts of the study without reference to the hypotheses. They were asked to use the scales to rate pilot interviews and T.A.T. data which were simultaneously scored separately by the writer. Areas of agreement and disagreement

on the pilot cases were discussed so that the raters could stabilize their criteria for the ratings. Reliability studies were then performed to assess the level of agreement in two ways: 1) to see how often the judges agreed to apply the scales to a particular story or interview; 2) to see, when the judges had agreed to use a scale, how often the judges were in agreement as to which scale point to use. Reliability was computed by means of a Kappa statistic and was determined to be at an acceptable level when the ratings of judge #2, the neurobiologist, were used. $\underline{K} = .71$ for our agreement to use the scales, and $\underline{K} = .92$ measuring how often we agreed to use the same scale point.

Construction of Coding Schemata

All seven of the scales were developed to be clinically anchored, categorical scales. Although they were constructed in a similar fashion, there are some differences between the scales which need to be recognized. The scales measuring Autonomy, Dependency, and Relatedness were originally to be 5 point scales. Each number on the scale, 1-5, would represent a discreet level of the particular variable which would be described in everyday language and would have associated with it a clinical example to facilitate rating the actual data from the study. The categorical scales measuring Nurturance and Achievement would be constructed in a similar way but would only have 2 scale points (Nurturance, Material or Interpersonal and Achievement, Individual or Interpersonal). Finally, the scales for Adult Status and Gender Identity would also have definitions and clinical examples but would be scored + only if these themes existed in the story or interview response, or — if they were absent.

There were a number of steps in the development of the scales used to quantify the variables in the study. First, pilot material on ten T.A.T. stories and four interviews was collected from pregnant women and their husbands of various ages in order to obtain the scale points for each of the variables. From these were chosen stories or interview responses which contained in them issues relating to the seven variables. Five stories were chosen for the Autonomy, Dependency and Relatedness scales each, and two T.A.T. stories or interview responses were chosen for the Nurturance and Achievement scales. Examples were also found indicating when Adult Status and Gender Identity were being discussed. These examples were prototypic of numerous other stories and responses and were, therefore, apt for the development of scale points. The writer then attempted to describe, in everyday language, the dynamic being displayed in the particular stories or interview response.

Then a study was executed to determine the rank-ordering and scale value of the clinical "anchors." This was done by typing each clinical example and each scale point description on separate index cards. These were randomized and put into separate groups for each variable. These were then presented to two judges who were asked to perform two tasks: 1) to rank order the clinical vignettes for the three variables, Autonomy, Dependency and Relatedness, from highest to lowest, and 2) for these and the other four scales, to match the description they felt best fit the clinical vignette. Agreement between the raters was quite high with disagreement on only 1 point each on two of the 5 point scales. The order for these was decided by referring to a third judge.

The scales were then subjected to a pilot test of reliability to determine the degree of agreement among the psychology graduate student and the writer. After considerable training on the scales and after scoring two sets of T.A.T. cards and four interviews, reliability remained low. It was felt that the scales were constructed in such a manner that they called upon the raters to make such fine distinctions on clinical material that it would be impossible for them to agree consistently. Therefore, revisions were made and the three 5 point scales, Autonomy, Dependency and Relatedness, were condensed into 2 point scales that called for less fine distinctions to be made. These 2 points + and - were created by combining scale points that had existed on the 5 point scales and choosing new clinical examples that matched these data points. These three scales now were created to make a more general distinction of whether a particular variable was being discussed in a manner that demonstrated conflict for the individual or whether it seemed to be a relatively conflict-free issue for the subject. Now all of the scales were 2 point scales. Then when scored in the study, each variable would have a "cumulative score" developed by separately combining the results of the points scored for all of the T.A.T. stories and the responses to the interview questions. This would create, for each subject, a score on each of the seven variables. The range of scores for each subject on the T.A.T. would be -11 to +11 and on the interview would be -9 to +9.

Again, the psychology graduate student and the writer scored pilot data and reliability remained low. At this point, an assessment was made that the problems in reliability might no longer be due to

the scales, but rather might reflect difficulties between the judges. A second judge, the neurobiologist, replaced the psychology graduate student and, after training on the new scales, reliability was again measured by the Kappa statistic. After scoring four sets of T.A.T. stories and four sets of responses to interview questions, reliability reached acceptable levels (see page 54) and the decision was made to use the scales for the study. (These scales are available upon request from the author.)

Coding

Each of the two judges received photostatic copies of 23 sets of T.A.T. stories and 23 interviews. There was no identifying data on the above, although the sex of each subject was apparent either because of the particular T.A.T. cards used or the way in which the interview questions were phrased. Each judge was asked to score all of the female T.A.T. stories first, and male T.A.T. stories second, the female interviews third and the male interviews last. The model for scoring the data was to read each T.A.T. story or interview response and to refer to the scales. The judge then decided if any of the variables were being discussed by the subject and, if so, to find which description and clinical example pair best exemplified how the variable was being discussed. The judges, of course, scored all of the data independently.

Treatment of the Data

The Wilcoxon Matched Pairs Signed Ranks Test, a non-parametric statistic, was used to compare the groups of the same age, but different gender, i.e., younger women to younger men, and older women to older men, and to compare the groups of the same gender but

in different age groups, i.e., younger women to older women and younger men to older men. In addition, the Spearman Correlation Coefficient was used to test the hypothesis that the total years subjects have been married would affect the seven variables studied.

Study Hypotheses

In summary, this study is attempting to investigate the effect of the timing of the first child on the experience of two different age groups. The variables to be studied have been chosen because they are mentioned frequently in the literature as being the major issues re-awakened and dealt with anew in the developmental upheaval that is described during pregnancy.

Before stating these hypotheses, it is important to define the variables that will be examined. These concepts are further elaborated in the scales themselves (see Appendix D).

1. Dependency--the need to rely on others, the desire for security, support, protection and love.
2. Autonomy--independence, the freedom to go one's own way, the desire to be free from constraints.
3. Relatedness--to draw near and enjoyably cooperate or reciprocate with an allied other, closer involvement with others, giving and taking.
4. Nurturance--to give sympathy, to gratify the needs of a more "helpless" other, to feed, help, support, protect and comfort.
5. Interpersonal Achievement--sense of mastery related to successful exercise of one's abilities as they reflect a commitment to others.
6. Individual Achievement--sense of mastery related to

successful exercise of one's individual abilities.

7. Interpersonal Providing--personal caretaking, intimacy, affection, support.

8. Material Providing--caretaking by providing for a material environment, i.e., money, objects, home, schooling, etc.

9. Gender Identity--one's sense of femininity (for women) or masculinity (for men), feelings related to having fulfilled requirements of one's sex role.

10. Adult Status--one's sense of having moved from the position of child to adult with accompanying feelings of responsibility.

Hypotheses Related to Gender Within Age Groups

The conceptualization underlying the hypotheses related to gender is one based broadly on some of the theories of Carol Gilligan in her book, In a Different Voice (1982). She states that due to the differences in development between boys and girls, on the whole, women are more comfortable and secure in intimate personal relationships and that their identities are formed and solidified through such relationships. Men, on the other hand, find an independent, autonomous stance enhances their identities and the prospect of close personal relationships is often anxiety provoking.

In addition, much of the literature on fathering suggests that the wife's pregnancy will raise fears of displacement and homosexual anxiety for the men as a result of their dependency needs. It is stated that men see their role during the pregnancy and usually during parenthood as that of the breadwinner. Their concerns will be more likely centered not around how well they care for the child in an intimate, personal manner as their wives might, but rather they will

be concerned with how they will provide for the material needs of their families.

I. Younger women will be better able than younger men to tolerate their increased dependency needs, the needs of their spouse and the fantasized needs of the coming child. This will also be true of older women as compared to older men.

II. Younger women will feel the pregnancy less threatening to their feelings of autonomy than will their husbands. This will be true for the older couples as well.

III. Younger women will find the concept of increased demands for relatedness that go along with the pregnancy to be less anxiety provoking and potentially more gratifying than younger men who may find this prospect fearful. This finding should also be evident with the older couples.

IV. Achievement will be conceptualized by younger and older women in terms of success in the context of interpersonal relationships. Younger and older men will conceptualize achievement in terms of individual success.

V. Nurturance will be conceptualized by younger and older women in terms of "interpersonal providing" while men will think more in terms of "material providing."

Hypotheses Related to Age for Men and Women

Because there is little adult development literature that describes the stages of growth for women, these hypotheses are largely exploratory. The conceptualization underlying the age hypotheses for the women is again based on Gilligan's theories (1982). The hypotheses assume that women will maintain a basic interpersonal

orientation throughout their lives and this will be notable during pregnancy at any age. This is expected to be shown in equivalent findings for the younger and older groups on the variables Relatedness, Achievement and Nurturance. The fact, however, that these women have chosen to spend a greater number of years without having a child, possibly developing themselves, might create greater conflict for the older women in the areas of Dependency and Autonomy as they become pregnant.

The hypotheses for the men are based on Levinson (1978), Vaillant (1977) and on some of the findings by Daniels and Weingarten (1982). According to the adult development theorists, younger men are going to be in conflict as they begin to commit themselves to stable life structures while still desiring the freedom to explore possible options. This might be reflected in their Autonomy scores and in a fairly individualistic view of achievement. Daniels and Weingarten (1982) in studying their three groups of parents, appear to have noted a trend in the husbands of greater mutuality and involvement in the pregnancies if they are older. If true, this data might bring some of Gilligan's concepts into questions. Therefore, it is hypothesized that older men will be more related, will be more comfortable with their own dependency needs and the needs of those around them, and they will view nurturance in a more interpersonal manner.

I. Dependency will be more difficult for older than younger women and more difficult for younger than older men to tolerate.

II. Older women will find their autonomy threatened to a larger extent by the pregnancy than will younger women. The

opposite will be true for the men in that younger men are expected to show greater conflict about their autonomy than older men.

III. Relationships will be conceptualized as equally rewarding for younger and older women, and as more rewarding for older men than for their younger counterparts.

IV. All women will more often conceptualize achievement in the context of interpersonal relationships than as an individual pursuit. Younger men will, however, view achievement more individualistically than older men.

V. All women will tend to view taking care of others in a personal manner, no matter what their age. Younger men, however, will more often view nurturance in a material way, while older men will also conceptualize it more personally.

The following hypotheses are based on the theory set forth by Daniels and Weingarten (1982) that becoming a parent can, for a younger person, make identity consolidation easier for them.

I. Gender Identity: Younger men and women will be more concerned with the validation of their masculinity or femininity than older men and women.

II. Adult Status: Attainment of adult status will be more related to the pregnancy for younger men and women than for older men and women.

Additional Hypotheses

I. The variables will be influenced by the total years married including previous marriages.

Description of the Sample

The final sample chosen consisted of eight younger couples and

15 older couples. The average age for the younger women is 26.37, with a range of 23-29, and the average age for the younger men is 27.87, with a range of 27-29. The average age for the older women is 37.67, with a range of 35-41, and the average age for the older men is 39.53, with a range of 35-48 (Table 1).

The average length of the present marriage for the younger couples is 3.63 years, with a range of 1-7 years, and for the older couples is 5.27 years, with a range of 1-14 years (Table 2). Two of the younger women and none of the younger men had a previous marriage. This was true of five of the older women and five of the older men as well. None of the subjects had more than one previous marriage (Table 3). When we examine the total years married for each group, we find that the average of the total years married for the younger women is 3.88 and for the younger men is 3.63. The average of the total years married for the older women is 7.07 and for their husbands is 6.27 (Table 2).

There were two younger and two older women who had consulted M.D.'s because of fertility problems. One younger woman had a previous pregnancy that ended in a miscarriage, and eight older women had previous pregnancies, one of whom lost the fetus in a miscarriage. One woman in each of the two groups said the present pregnancy was an accident, although they had planned to have children in the near future. One younger woman and seven older women had previous abortions (Table 4).

TABLE 1
AGE OF SUBJECT

	Women	Percentage	Men	Percentage
23	1	12.5	0	-
24	1	12.5	0	-
25	1	12.5	0	-
26	0	-	0	-
27	3	37.5	3	37.5
28	0	-	3	37.5
29	2	25.0	2	25.0
30	0	-	0	-
35	3	20.0	1	07.0
36	2	13.0	2	13.0
37	3	20.0	1	07.0
38	1	07.0	3	20.0
39	3	20.0	3	20.0
40	0	-	0	-
41	3	20.0	2	13.0
42	0	-	0	-
43	0	-	1	07.0
44	0	-	0	-
45	0	-	1	07.0
46	0	-	0	-
47	0	-	0	-
48	0	-	1	07.0
Total:	23		23	

TABLE 2
MEAN YEARS MARRIED

	Years Present Marriage	Years Previous Marriage	Total Years Married
Younger Women	3.62	.25	3.87
Older Women	5.27	1.80	7.07
Younger Men	3.62	.00	3.62
Older Men	5.27	1.00	6.27

TABLE 3
NUMBER OF TOTAL MARRIAGES

	1 Marriage	2 Marriages
Younger Women	6 (75%)	2 (25%)
Older Women	10 (67%)	5 (33%)
Younger Men	8 (100%)	0 (0%)
Older Men	10 (67%)	5 (33%)

TABLE 4
WOMEN'S FERTILITY AND PREGNANCY DATA

	Younger Women	Older Women
Fertility Problem-- Sought M.D. Help	1 (13%)	2 (13%)
Previous Pregnancies	2 (25%)	8 (53%)
Abortions	1 (13%)	7 (47%)
Miscarriages	1 (13%)	1 (7%)

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter will review the study findings. First, relevant demographic information will be reported. Then, some considerations about analyzing the data will be discussed. Finally, the results of the testing of the hypotheses listed in Chapter III will be described. A discussion of these results will follow in Chapter V.

Demographic Data

The following demographic data is relevant to an understanding of the findings of the study:

Birth Order

It is notable that in all four groups approximately the same percentage of subjects were either the first born child in their family or the only child. In the sample, 51% of the younger women, 53% of the older women, 63% of the younger men, and 60% of the older men were in this position in their families (Table 5).

Income of the Family of Origin

A large percentage of the families in each group were middle income. This was true for 73% of the younger women, 80% of the older women, 63% of the younger men, and 80% of the older men (Table 6).

Subjects' Mothers Who Worked

It is interesting to note that in the four groups, similar proportions had working mothers when they were growing up. This was the case for 63% of the younger women, 60% of the older women, 63% of the younger men, and 53% of the older men (Table 7).

TABLE 5
BIRTH ORDER

	Younger Women	Older Women	Younger Men	Older Men
First Born	3 (37.5%)	6 (40%)	2 (25%)	8 (53%)
Only Child	1 (12.5%)	2 (13%)	3 (37.5%)	1 (7%)
Other	4 (50%)	7 (47%)	3 (37.5%)	6 (40%)
Total	8	15	8	15

TABLE 6
INCOME: FAMILY OF ORIGIN

	Younger Women	Older Women	Younger Men	Older Men
Upper Class	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (12.5%)	0 (0%)
Upper Middle Class	2 (25%)	2 (13%)	1 (12.5%)	0 (0%)
Middle Class	6 (75%)	12 (80%)	5 (62.5%)	12 (80%)
Working Class	0 (0%)	1 (67%)	1 (12.5%)	3 (20%)
Not Well Off	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	8	15	8	15

TABLE 7
SUBJECTS WHOSE MOTHERS WORKED

	Younger Women	Older Women	Younger Men	Older Men
Worked Outside the Home	5 (63%)	9 (60%)	5 (63%)	8 (53%)
Did Not Work Outside the Home	3 (7%)	6 (40%)	3 (7%)	7 (47%)
Total	8	15	8	15

Religion of the Family of Origin

The younger men and women have a somewhat higher percentage of subjects who came from Catholic families: 62% of the younger women, 50% of the younger men, 20% of the older women, and 27% of the older men. The distributions for the older groups in the other denominations are slightly higher. Families described as having traditional religious beliefs represented 100% of the younger women, 75% of the younger men, and 93% each of the older men and women (Table 8). This becomes significant when it is compared to the subjects' report of their present religious beliefs. In the older group, 47% of the older women and older men switched from one of the three traditional denominations--Catholic, Protestant or Jewish--to describing themselves as having no religious affiliations. This was only true for 13% each of the younger men and the younger women (Table 9).

Age When Subjects' Parents Had Their First Child

Mothers. The average age for bearing a first child in the younger group of women was 23.37 and for the older women was 26.67. The younger men's mothers had their first child, on the average, at the age of 27.00 and the older men's mothers were 24.87 (Table 10). It is notable that the older women's mothers were on the average 3 years older than the younger women's mothers even though they bore children approximately 10 years earlier. The men's mothers, on the other hand, show the historical trend toward later parenting as the older men's mothers are younger than the younger men's mother (Table 10).

Fathers. The average age for bearing a first child in the four

TABLE 8
RELIGION OF FAMILY OF ORIGIN

	Younger Women	Older Women	Younger Men	Older Men
None	0 (0%)	1 (7%)	2 (25%)	0 (0%)
Catholic	5 (62%)	3 (20%)	4 (50%)	4 (27%)
Protestant	1 (13%)	6 (40%)	0 (0%)	4 (27%)
Jewish	2 (25%)	5 (33%)	2 (25%)	6 (40%)
Other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (7%)
Total	8	15	8	15

TABLE 9
CURRENT RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	Younger Women	Older Women	Younger Men	Older Men
None	1 (13%)	8 (53%)	3 (38%)	7 (47%)
Catholic	3 (37%)	2 (13%)	2 (25%)	1 (7%)
Protestant	2 (25%)	1 (7%)	1 (12%)	2 (13%)
Jewish	2 (25%)	4 (27%)	2 (25%)	5 (33%)
Total	8	15	8	15

groups was approximately the equivalent. For the younger women, it was 28.37 years of age, for the older women 29.07, for the younger men 29.71, and for the older men 28.53 (Table 10).

Present Income

Currently, only 12.5% of the younger women are making \$25,000 or more a year. This is substantially less than the older women, 53% of whom are making greater than or equal to \$25,000 a year. The men are equivalent in their salaries. A yearly income of \$25,000 or more is earned by 62.5% of the younger men, and 67% of the older men (Table 11).

All of the above information will be discussed in relation to the study findings in Chapter V.

Some Considerations About Analyzing the Data

The Instruments

Because the study was designed on the basis of responses to two different instruments, they will be analyzed separately. It was assumed that the responses to the Interview represent views the subjects are aware of and might consciously want to convey to others, while the T.A.T. might stimulate views and feelings the subjects might be less aware of and less likely to censor. Analysis of the variability by the Spearman Rank Correlation showed a significant correlation between the two instruments at the $p < .05$ level only for the variable measuring Achievement for the women and Relatedness for the men. This then substantiated analyzing the data from the T.A.T. and the Interview separately.

Total Responses

The mean for the total number of scores per variable for each

TABLE 10
 MEAN AGES OF SUBJECTS AND THEIR PARENTS
 WHEN BEARING FIRST CHILD

	Younger Women	Older Women	Younger Men	Older Men
Subject	26.37	37.68	27.87	39.53
Subject's Mother	23.37	26.67	27.00	24.87
Subject's Father	28.37	29.07	29.71	28.53

TABLE 11
 CURRENT INCOME

Yearly Income	Younger Women	Older Women	Younger Men	Older Men
0-5,000	2 (25%)	2 (13%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
5-15,000	1 (12.5%)	2 (13%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
15-25,000	4 (50%)	3 (20%)	3 (37.5%)	5 (33%)
25-50,000	1 (12.5%)	7 (47%)	4 (50%)	6 (40%)
50-75,000	0 (0%)	1 (7%)	1 (12.5%)	3 (20%)
>75,000	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (7%)
Total	8	15	8	15

instrument will be shown below. These means are evidence that the instruments did elicit issues related to the variable on five out of the seven scales. Gender Identity and Adult Status were excluded from the analysis because they were scored two times or less throughout the study. Tables 12 through 15 show information about the total plus and minus scores on each variable for the four different groups on the responses to the T.A.T. and Interviews.

The variable means for all the groups show a similar pattern on the two instruments. The mean Relatedness scores show that the subjects talked most often about relationships in a general way throughout the study. Autonomy and Nurturance were the topics discussed second most frequently with their means across the groups approximately the same. The means for Dependency are slightly less than Autonomy and Nurturance and the topic discussed the least on both the T.A.T. and the Interview was Achievement.

Normalizing the Scores

It was important to have a score for each variable that would be the best clinical representation of the subjects' feelings about the issues being studied. A two-step procedure was instituted to develop such a score for each of the variables.

1. First, all the total negative scores were subtracted from the positive scores on the Relatedness, Autonomy and Dependency variables. The resulting score, then, would represent the groups' views on these topics in the positive direction, or the direction indicating less conflict. A similar procedure was instituted for the Achievement and Nurturance variable scores for each of the groups. On the Achievement variable, the total scores for

TABLE 12
THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TYPE TEST: GROUP RAW SCORES

	Younger Women (N = 8)		Older Women (N = 15)		Younger Men (N = 8)		Older Men (N = 15)	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Autonomy +	14.65	7.41	9.63	6.14	7.20	3.65	10.18	5.88
Autonomy -	2.16	4.50	6.76	7.00	5.80	4.22	4.41	4.09
Relatedness +	45.27	7.49	41.55	10.84	35.32	13.33	38.26	9.10
Relatedness -	9.79	5.31	13.79	8.97	20.32	15.33	17.58	10.88
Dependency +	7.64	5.70	7.10	5.19	5.28	4.35	6.45	2.84
Dependency -	1.73	2.42	3.82	4.70	6.47	3.54	6.32	5.81
Achievement Individual	1.52	2.81	.72	1.98	1.92	2.66	1.84	2.76
Achievement Interpersonal	1.25	2.32	1.15	3.37	1.26	2.35	2.95	4.13
Nurturance Material	2.33	3.58	2.95	3.51	3.23	2.72	2.18	3.04
Nurturance Interpersonal	13.66	4.03	12.51	4.43	13.19	4.28	9.83	6.40

TABLE 13
THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TYPE TEST: TOTAL RAW SCORES

	Total Women (N = 23)		Total Men (N = 23)	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Autonomy +	11.38	6.89	9.14	5.33
Autonomy -	5.16	6.53	4.90	4.10
Relatedness +	42.84	9.79	37.24	10.55
Relatedness -	12.40	8.00	18.53	12.32
Dependency +	7.28	5.25	6.04	3.39
Dependency -	3.10	4.12	6.37	5.05
Achievement Individual	.99	2.27	1.87	2.67
Achievement Interpersonal	1.19	2.99	2.37	3.64
Nurturance Material	2.75	3.47	2.54	2.92
Nurturance Interpersonal	12.91	4.24	11.00	5.88

TABLE 14
 INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: GROUP RAW SCORES

	Younger Women (N = 8)		Older Women (N = 15)		Younger Men (N = 8)		Older Men (N = 15)	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Autonomy +	15.63	10.96	19.39	11.30	23.50	7.48	15.11	9.15
Autonomy -	5.45	7.75	3.36	5.80	1.79	5.05	8.42	11.96
Relatedness +	48.54	17.01	41.81	13.57	40.93	14.79	38.75	11.46
Relatedness -	16.37	15.68	21.80	15.53	12.87	12.91	20.20	9.20
Dependency +	7.01	8.25	1.30	3.46	6.33	8.82	4.12	6.30
Dependency -	1.79	5.05	6.88	6.03	4.42	6.22	4.09	5.20
Achivement Individual	0	0	.83	3.23	6.21	6.79	1.94	4.02
Achievement Interpersonal	1.04	2.95	1.85	4.00	0	0	1.16	3.07
Nurturance Material	1.04	2.95	.56	2.15	1.14	3.21	2.09	4.34
Nurturance Interpersonal	3.12	6.20	2.22	4.69	2.81	5.25	4.12	5.28

TABLE 15
 INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: TOTAL RAW SCORES

	Total Women (N = 23)		Total Men (N = 23)	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Autonomy +	18.09	11.08	18.03	9.37
Autonomy -	4.09	6.45	6.16	10.47
Relatedness +	44.15	14.83	39.51	12.42
Relatedness -	19.91	15.45	17.65	10.93
Dependency +	3.28	6.09	4.89	7.15
Dependency -	5.11	6.12	4.20	5.44
Achievement Individual	.54	2.60	3.42	5.41
Achievement Interpersonal	1.57	4.34	.76	2.51
Nurturance Material	.72	2.40	1.76	3.94
Nurturance Interpersonal	2.54	5.14	3.66	5.19

Individual Achievement was subtracted from the total scores for Interpersonal Achievement. On the Nurturance variable, total Material scores were subtracted from total Interpersonal scores. This allowed a single score to be analyzed later that would represent the level of the subject's interpersonal orientation.

2. Next, each variable score was normalized for each of the four groups so that it represents a percentage of each groups total number of responses across all of the T.A.T. stories or Interview responses. This was important because each group's productivity on each instrument would skew the findings if the pure total scores on each variable was used. An analysis of responses showed that, in fact, the mean number of responses for the younger women, older women, younger men and older men were roughly equivalent on each of the instruments. There was, however, great variability due to individual differences within the groups (Table 16). Therefore, normalizing the scores should increase the validity of the measures. The means and standard deviations of the normalized scores used in the statistical analysis of the data is shown in Tables 17, 18, 19 and 20.

Statistical Analysis

As stated in Chapter III, the Wilcoxon Matched Pairs Signed Ranks was used to make all group comparisons. The Spearman Correlation Coefficient was used to test the hypothesis related to the subjects' total number of years married.

Findings

This study was designed to highlight five areas of concern that arise for both men and women during what is described as the develop-

TABLE 16

TOTAL RESPONSES FOR GROUPS ON EACH INSTRUMENT

	T.A.T.		Interview	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Younger Women (N = 8)	19.17	3.52	9.12	2.53
Older Women (N = 15)	19.12	4.49	8.47	1.60
Both Women (N = 23)	19.17	4.10	8.70	1.94
Younger Men (N = 8)	19.12	1.96	8.75	1.75
Older Men (N = 15)	19.53	4.10	9.67	1.29
Both Men (N = 23)	19.39	3.46	9.35	1.49

TABLE 17

THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TYPE TEST: GROUP NORMALIZED SCORES

	Younger Women (N = 8)		Older Women (N = 15)		Younger Men (N = 8)		Older Men (N = 15)	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Autonomy	12.49	11.31	2.88	11.38	1.38	7.18	5.76	7.92
Relatedness	35.48	10.66	27.75	16.97	15.00	28.38	20.69	17.37
Dependency	5.91	6.62	3.27	7.65	-1.19	7.07	.14	7.34
Achievement	- .26	4.20	.43	4.13	- .66	1.86	1.12	4.91
Nurturance	11.34	6.24	9.54	6.20	9.96	6.27	7.65	7.71

TABLE 18

THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TYPE TEST: TOTAL NORMALIZED SCORES

	Total Women (N = 23)		Total Men (N = 23)	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Autonomy	6.22	12.04	4.24	7.80
Relatedness	30.44	15.28	18.71	21.35
Dependency	4.19	7.27	- .32	7.11
Achievement	.19	4.07	.50	4.14
Nurturance	10.16	6.13	8.45	7.18

TABLE 19
 INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: GROUP NORMALIZED SCORES

	Younger Women (N = 8)		Older Women (N = 15)		Younger Men (N = 8)		Older Men (N = 15)	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Autonomy	10.18	14.06	16.03	14.47	21.71	10.91	6.69	20.45
Relatedness	32.17	32.29	20.01	14.47	28.05	25.97	18.54	19.27
Dependency	5.23	11.06	-5.58	7.59	1.91	13.44	.03	8.42
Achievement	1.04	2.95	1.02	6.22	-6.21	6.79	-.78	5.52
Nurturance	2.08	5.89	1.67	4.40	1.68	6.72	2.03	8.07

TABLE 20

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: TOTAL NORMALIZED SCORES

	Total Women (N = 23)		Total Men (N = 23)	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Autonomy	14.00	14.29	11.92	18.91
Relatedness	24.24	29.06	21.85	21.73
Dependency	-1.82	10.16	.68	10.17
Achievement	1.03	5.23	-2.67	6.41
Nurturance	1.81	4.84	1.91	7.48

mental stage of becoming parents. A number of hypotheses were formulated in Chapter III that define the expected differences among the groups being studied. The study findings will now be reported.

Hypotheses Related to Gender Within

Age Groups (Table 21)

I. Dependency: Younger women will be better able than younger men to tolerate their increased dependency needs, the needs of their spouse and the fantasized needs of the coming child. This will also be true of older women as compared to older men.

Results I. a) Younger Groups: The data from the T.A.T. suggested that younger women feel more comfortable with their own dependency needs and/or confident in their ability to be available for others' needs than do the younger men. This finding was significant at the $p < .05$ level with $Z = 2.10$.

Results I. b) Older Groups: The findings from the Interview was in the opposite direction of the hypothesis. The older women showed more doubt in the reliability and security of their interpersonal environment and/or doubt about their own ability to care adequately for others. A comparison of the two groups yielded a Z value = 1.96, $p < .05$.

II. Autonomy: Younger women will feel the pregnancy less threatening to their feelings of autonomy than will their husbands. This will be true for the older couples as well.

Results II. a) Younger Groups: The data suggested that younger women did feel less tension between their outside interests and their relationships than did the younger men. This difference was significant when data from the T.A.T. was analyzed ($Z = 1.96$,

TABLE 21

FINDINGS: GENDER COMPARISONS WITHIN AGE GROUPS

	Variable	Instrument	<u>Z</u>	<u>p</u>
Younger Women vs Younger Men	Dependency	T.A.T.	2.10	.05
Older Women vs Older Men	Dependency	Interview	1.95	.05
Younger Women vs Younger Men	Autonomy	T.A.T.	1.96	.05
Younger Women vs Younger Men	Autonomy	Interview	-1.99	.10
Older Women vs Older Men	Autonomy	--	--	NS
Younger Women vs Younger Men	Relatedness	T.A.T.	1.82	.10
Older Women vs Older Men	Relatedness	T.A.T.	-1.66	.10
Younger Women vs Younger Men	Achievement	Interview	-1.83	.10
Older Women vs Older Men	Achievement	--	--	NS
Younger Women vs Younger Men	Nurturance	--	--	NS
Older Women vs Older Men	Nurturance	--	--	NS

NS = not significant

$p < .05$). This finding was supported by a trend in the same direction noted from the Interview data ($Z = 1.86, p < .10$).

Results II. b) Older Groups: There was no difference measured, by either instrument, between the older men and older women.

III. Relatedness: Younger women will find the concept of increased demands for relatedness that go along with the pregnancy to be less anxiety provoking and potentially more gratifying than younger men who may find this prospect fearful. This finding should also be evident with the older couples.

Results III. a) Younger Groups: Data gathered from the T.A.T. showed an important trend in the direction hypothesized. The younger men evidenced more concern about relatedness than did their wives as a group ($Z = 1.82, p < .10$).

Results III. b) Older Groups: A comparison of the two groups on the data collected from the T.A.T. showed a trend in the direction expected, yielding a Z value of -1.66 at the $p < .10$ level of significance.

IV. Achievement: Women in both groups will tend to conceptualize achievement in interpersonal terms as it relates to the enhancement or benefit of others. The younger men and older men will tend to view achievement as enhancing themselves.

Results IV. a) Younger Groups: The data from the Interview demonstrated a trend in the direction hypothesized. The younger women more often conceptualized achievement as an interpersonal phenomenon than did the younger men ($Z = -1.83, p < .10$).

Results IV. b) Older Groups: There was no difference noted between the older women and the older men on either of the instruments.

V. Nurturance: Younger and older women will more often conceive of caretaking in a personal, intimate manner than will younger and older men.

Results V. a) Younger Groups: Contrary to what was hypothesized, there was no difference between the younger women and men.

Results V. b) Older Groups: Again, there was no difference noted between the two groups.

Hypotheses Related to Age for Women and Men (Table 22)

I. Dependency: Dependency needs will be more difficult for older than younger women and more difficult for younger than older men to tolerate.

Results I. a) Women: The data from the Interview supported the hypothesis. The younger women's scores were significantly different from the older women's scores in the positive direction. This demonstrates that they were less conflicted about their dependency needs and/or ability to provide for the needs of others ($Z = 2.17, p < .05$).

Results I. b) Men: Statistical comparisons of the two groups of men showed no significant difference between the groups.

II. Autonomy: The older women will feel there to be a greater conflict between their outside interests and their relationships with others than will the younger women. This will be the opposite for the men, where younger men will find the pregnancy threatens their autonomy more than the older men do.

Results II. a) Women: This hypothesis was supported by the T.A.T. data. A comparison of the two groups yielded a Z value of 1.97 which is significant ($p < .05$).

Results II. b) Men: The responses from the Interview showed a

TABLE 22.
FINDINGS: AGE COMPARISONS FOR WOMEN AND MEN

	Variable	Instrument	<u>Z</u>	<u>p</u>
Older Women vs Younger Women	Dependency	Interview	2.17	.05
Older Men vs Younger Men	Dependency	--	--	NS
Older Women vs Younger Women	Autonomy	T.A.T.	1.97	.05
Older Men vs Younger Men	Autonomy	Interview	2.11	.05
Older Women vs Younger Women	Relatedness	--	--	NS
Older Men vs Younger Men	Relatedness	--	--	NS
Older Women vs Younger Women	Achievement	--	--	NS
Older Men vs Younger Men	Achievement	Interview	1.98	.05
Older Women vs Younger Women	Nurturance	--	--	NS
Older Men vs Younger Men	Nurturance	--	--	NS

NS = not significant

difference between the younger and older men that was in the opposite direction of what was expected. Statistical analysis yielded a Z value of 2.11 which is significant at the $p < .05$ level, indicating that the younger men were less conflicted about autonomy than were their older counterparts. There was no difference between the groups on the T.A.T.

III. Relatedness: Younger and older women will not differ in their response to the increased demands for relatedness that go along with the pregnancy and the upcoming birth of the child. Older men, however, will find the prospect of greater relatedness more gratifying than will younger men who may find it anxiety provoking.

Results III. a) Women: There was no significant difference between the groups. Therefore, the data supported the above hypothesis.

Results III. b) Men: When the younger men and the older men were compared statistically on this variable, there was no difference observed between the two groups. This finding was not in support of the above hypothesis.

IV. Achievement: All women will tend to more often conceptualize achievement in interpersonal terms with no observable differences between the groups. The younger men are expected to conceptualize achievement more often in terms of individual accomplishment while the older men will be more interpersonally oriented.

Results IV. a) Women: As expected, there was no significant differences between the older and younger women on either the T.A.T. or the Interview. On three out of four measures, the women had positive scores, indicating a proclivity to see achievement in

interpersonal terms (Older women \underline{M} 's: .43, 1.10; Younger women \underline{M} 's: -.26, 1.04)

Results IV. b) Men: The Interview data supported the hypothesis about men's view of achievement. Statistical analysis yielded a \underline{Z} value of 1.98 which is significant at the $p < .05$ level with the means for the older men suggesting they see achievement in more interpersonal terms than do the younger men. The means for the older men were 1.12 for the T.A.T. and -.78 for the Interview. The means for the younger men were -.66 for the T.A.T. and -6.21 for the Interview.

V. Nurturance: All women will tend to view taking care of others in a personal manner, no matter what their age. Younger men, however, will more often view nurturance in a material way while older men will also conceptualize it more personally.

Results V. a) Women: The data on both instruments supported the hypothesis. Women, irrespective of their age, conceptualized nurturance in an interpersonal fashion. The mean for the older women on the T.A.T. was 9.54 and on the Interview was 1.67. The mean for the younger women on the T.A.T. was 11.34 and on the Interview was 2.08. There was no significant difference between the groups.

Results V. b) Men: The hypothesis is not supported by the data. Both older men and younger men conceptualize nurturance in a predominantly interpersonal manner as evidenced by the positive direction of their mean scores (Older men, \underline{M} 's: 7.65, 2.03 and Younger men, \underline{M} 's: 9.96, 1.68). There was no significant difference between the groups which might indicate the tendency for the younger group to view nurturance in a more material way.

Hypothesis Related to Total Years Married (Table 23)

It was hypothesized that the five variables would be affected by the total years married for each group. This was an exploratory hypothesis to see what these effects might be. The significant findings will be reported below.

Younger Women

Results I. The younger women showed a correlation between the total number of years they have been married (including previous marriages) and higher Autonomy scores on the Interview that was significant at the $p < .05$ level. This indicates that those women married longer report feeling less conflicted about the relationship between their outside interests and their commitments to others.

Results II. They also showed a correlation between the number of years married and their confidence in their ability to provide for others and/or their confidence in others' ability to care for them. This was reflected in the younger women's scores on the Dependency variable on the Interview which showed a significant correlation with number of years married at the $p < .05$ level.

Older Women

Results I. The responses from the older women on the T.A.T. showed that those who were married longer had a more positive view of relationships. Their Relatedness score was correlated with number of years married and was statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level.

Results II. On the Interview, the older women demonstrated that they more often conceptualized achievement as relating to the benefit of others if they have been married longer ($p < .05$).

TABLE 23
EFFECTS OF TOTAL YEARS MARRIED

	Younger Women	Older Women	Younger Men	Older Men
Dependency				
T.A.T.	NS	NS	NS	NS
Interview	.05	NS	NS	NS
Autonomy				
T.A.T.	NS	NS	NS	NS
Interview	.05	NS	NS	NS
Relatedness				
T.A.T.	NS	.05	NS	NS
Interview	NS	NS	NS	NS
Achievement				
T.A.T.	NS	.05	NS	NS
Interview	NS	NS	NS	NS
Nurturance				
T.A.T.	NS	NS	NS	NS
Interview	NS	.05	NS	NS

NS = not significant

.05 = significant at $p < .05$

Results III. Interview responses for the older women also indicated a correlation between number of years married and a tendency to view nurturance as providing for others in an intimate, personal way rather than in a material way ($p < .05$).

Younger Men

Results I. The younger men showed no correlation between any of the variables and the number of years they have been married that were significant.

Older Men

Results I. The older men also showed no correlations between any of the variables and the total number of years they have been married that were significant at the $p < .05$ level.

Summary

This chapter first considered the statistical procedures employed in the data analysis. Then, it described the results of the testing of 20 sets of study hypotheses by means of the Wilcoxon Matched Pairs Signed Ranks Test. Of 20 significance tests, 8 analyses supported the hypotheses in a manner that was significant at the $p < .05$ level; 3 revealed trends toward significance at the $p < .10$ level. These findings will be briefly summarized.

Findings Related to Gender Within Age Groups

Younger Groups

On two of the five major variables, younger women scored significantly differently from their husbands in the direction hypothesized when their responses from the T.A.T. were analyzed. In addition, the data revealed strong trends in the direction hypothesized on three of the variables. The younger women showed

significantly less concern than their husbands about depending on others and/or having others depend on them. They also demonstrated less conflict about autonomy than their husbands and this statistically significant finding was supported by a trend noted in the Interview data. In addition, trends were noted in the expected direction for Relatedness in the T.A.T. data and for Achievement in the Interview data. These findings support the hypotheses that younger women tend to view relationships in a more positive manner than do their husbands and they tend to view Achievement as an interpersonal phenomenon more often than their husbands.

Older Groups

The older groups differed from each other significantly in only one area. It appears from responses to Interview questions that, contrary to what was expected, older men have considerably fewer conflicts about their dependency needs and/or their ability to provide support for others than their wives. There was also a trend noted in the direction hypothesized indicating that older women tend to view relationships in a more positive manner than their husbands.

Findings Related to Age for Men and Women

Women

All of the findings yielded by comparing younger women to older women were expected. On three of the five variables, there were no differences of significance between the groups (Relatedness, Achievement and Nurturance). The older women, as hypothesized, scored lower than the younger women on Autonomy on the T.A.T. and Dependency on the Interview data. These findings demonstrated that during their pregnancies, the older women were more concerned about

the tension between their outside interests and their commitments to relationships and they felt greater conflict about their ability to provide for and/or rely on others.

Men

While differences were expected on all of the variables when comparing older and younger men, Achievement and Autonomy were the only variables that differentiated the groups. The older men, as hypothesized, spoke about achievement as an interpersonal phenomenon significantly more often on the Interview than the younger men. In terms of Autonomy, the data revealed a difference in the direction opposite of what was expected. In response to Interview questions, the younger men felt less conflicted about their individual pursuits and their relationships with others than the older men. The groups revealed no significant differences on the remaining variables (Dependency, Relatedness and Nurturance). It is notable that both the younger and older men talked about nurturance in a personal rather than a material manner.

Correlation of Length of Total Years

Married With All Variables

The Spearman Correlation Coefficient was used to explore possible relationships between the number of years the subjects in each group have been married and the variables examined in this study. Correlations were found for the women only, that were significant at the $p < .05$ level. These will be discussed below.

Younger Women

Two of the five variables showed a significant correlation with number of years married. It appears that those younger women who had

been married longer were less conflicted about issues related to autonomy and dependency as demonstrated in their responses to the Interview questions.

Younger Men

Younger men show no correlation between number of years married and any of the variables. Therefore, the length of time they are married appears unrelated to their views on Autonomy, Dependency, Relatedness, Achievement or Nurturance.

Older Women

There was a significant correlation ($p < .05$) between the total number of years the older women have been married and three variables. Those older women who have been married longer have a more positive view of relationships, as indicated on the T.A.T. and they are more interpersonally oriented in their views of both Achievement and Nurturance as measured by the Interview.

Older Men

The older men show no correlation that is significant between years married and any of the variables.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Overview

This study is based upon certain hypotheses about the way in which expecting a first child might be different for younger and older men and women. These hypotheses were derived from the psychological and sociological literature about pregnancy and theories of adult development. Since, until recently, the experience of expectant parenthood has only been described for those in their late teens or in their 20's, it was important to see if this experience would be similar or different for older, first-time parents. This study was designed to study this phenomenon by attempting to describe the experience of these older men and women by comparing them to men and women ages 23-29.

In attempting to study an adult developmental process, questions arise as to how to interpret the findings. One school of thought (Levinson, 1978; Vaillant, 1977) believes that developmental stages unfold naturally as the person ages. This process would be fairly generalizable to all adults irrespective of particular life experiences. In this case, we would expect to see the experience of pregnancy defined for the two groups of adults largely by their current stage of development. Another theory stated, but not developed, by Daniels and Weingarten (1982) is that life stages are defined by life events, i.e., Marriage delineates the developmental stage of Intimacy, Pregnancy-Generativity, etc. These two perspectives will be discussed separately below.

In all research that studies two different age groups

simultaneously to chart a developmental process, another factor must be considered in interpreting the data. These two different groups have had different personal experiences and they have been born and lived in two different periods historically. Therefore, a third perspective will be discussed in which the two groups are conceptualized as representing two different age cohorts.

Total Responses

It appears that of the seven areas expected to be of importance to husbands and wives during pregnancy, five were clearly of relevance to them. These were Autonomy, Dependence, Relatedness, Achievement, and Nurturance. The subjects did not seem concerned, at this point, with confirmation of their Gender Identity or shifts in their Generational Status. It is possible, however, that while Gender Identity and Generational Status were important to the subjects, the Interviews and T.A.T. cards were not the instruments best suited to gather this information.

From the data collected, it appeared that the fact that the men and women were experiencing a pregnancy during the time of the study clearly affected their response patterns. This was more easily demonstrable on the T.A.T. which was a more neutral stimulus than the Interview questions. Many of the cards simply depicted people alone or with other adults and, nevertheless, the subjects often told stories concerning the upcoming birth of a child. As noted in the summary scores detailed in Chapter IV, the T.A.T. cards were very successful in eliciting responses that could be scored on the variables Relatedness, Dependency, Autonomy, and Nurturance. Issues relevant to Achievement were not spontaneously discussed as often,

but were referred to when more direct questioning took place on the Interview.

Without a control group of non-pregnant women and their husbands, it would be impossible to say definitively that concerns about the above issues are more prominent during the developmental stage hypothesized to occur when one is in the process of becoming a parent, but it can be stated that these topics appear to be very relevant for the subjects as they contemplate this major life change.

Developmental Perspective: The Psychology of

Gender Differences and Developmental Stages

Gender Differences

As described above, both the traditional psychoanalytic view of femininity and the more current feminist perspective on women suggest that women are more interpersonally oriented than men, throughout their lives. The psychoanalytic writers attribute this to an innate, biologically determined proclivity toward mothering (Benedek, 1959; Deutsch, 1945; Erikson, 1964; Freud, 1950, 1965, etc.). More current views base this belief on developmental theory by proposing that girls, from the beginning, form their identities through a close relationship with a same-sex parent (Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982). Therefore, from the outset, their identities are formed within the context of interpersonal intimacy. Boys, on the other hand, must form their identities through identification with the same-sex parent who is usually not their primary caretaker. In order to consolidate a male gender identity, they must separate from the mother. Therefore, some authors hypothesize, throughout their lives male development proceeds at the cost of personal relationships,

and intimacy can threaten men's sense of identity.

Younger Men Versus Younger Women

As expected, in the younger group the women's scores generally indicated that they are more comfortable with their interpersonal world than are their husbands. This was demonstrated by higher scores, for the women, on four out of the five variables examined. Their scores for Autonomy and Dependency on the T.A.T. were statistically different from their husbands, showing that they were less conflicted about these issues. In addition, there were important trends noted when comparing the groups' scores for Relatedness on the T.A.T. and for Achievement on the Interview responses.

More specifically, the findings suggest that the younger women generally view their relationships with others in a positive light. They feel a new relationship with the coming child will more likely enhance existing relationships rather than intrude upon them (Relatedness). The younger women have more confidence than do their husbands that their relationships with others will provide them with reliable support. The women also feel more certain that they are capable of giving to others and caring for their child in a manner that is competent (Dependency). The following examples of a 27-year-old woman and a 28-year-old man's response to equivalent T.A.T. cards illustrates this difference. The card shows a female or male holding an infant.

Female:

I would just have to say it is a nice quiet time. That the mother and baby are enjoying being close with one another. She'll probably feed him for awhile and they'll just play together until he falls asleep. (Before?) Oh...my first reaction would be that it was time, she knew it was time

to feed him. The picture doesn't seem to indicate that he was crying and that's why she was feeding him. (Thinking?) Just about the baby and about being close to him. Just more or less enjoying the moment.

Male:

Okay, the man is the baby's father and he and his wife just finished giving the baby a bath and she told him to hold the baby til she gets the clothes. So he's playing with the baby, waiting for his wife to get back so they can dress the child. He's making sounds to the baby, trying to make the baby laugh, and someone called up so the wife answered the phone and is in conversation. So he's wondering what to do next. So he screamed to his wife to hurry back because he doesn't know what to do and his wife is on the phone laughing, telling her mother that her husband is getting nervous having to hold the baby. The baby is just recently home from the hospital so the father hasn't had very much opportunity to get any confidence in handling the baby and the wife is enjoying the scene. She's laughing and she finally hangs the phone up and takes the baby. The baby is tense and feels the father's tenseness. They both wanted her to come back...

The stories that the younger men and women told to the T.A.T. cards also demonstrated support for the hypothesis that the men more often felt that there was a conflict between outside interests, particularly work and their connections with others. The women, on the other hand, often told stories in which thinking of their relationships with family members made their work easier. The following are stories a 27-year-old female and a 29-year-old male told to the same card; one in which a man is sitting at a desk at which there is a picture of a family.

Female (laughs):

All of these are family-related pictures. This man is an architect and, uh, he's supposed to be drawing but he got distracted. He's kind of got a block, a creative block. And he's just distracted and he's looking at the picture of his family, at his children, 'cause usually they give him inspiration...take his mind off the pressure he's under to complete the project. It gives him a lot of good memories and good things to think about. It makes him feel

better. Then he'll probably get up and go to the bathroom and stop off and talk to a couple of people, kid around, pick up a soda on the way back to his office, and try to finish that work. Then he'll go home and take the kids a surprise. He'll take them all to an amusement park after dinner or on the weekend.

Male:

Here we have a father of a family who does not work at home. Possibly he's an urban planner or an engineer. He works a tight, intense schedule, long hours. He has to appear professional. As he looks at the picture of his family, his look is one of pride. The placement of the picture leads one to suspect that his family, like his work, is an object of personal accomplishment. I would suspect that this man has made a decision for his job to be the one of primary importance. His rationale for his long hours being the support of his family. His children see him rarely and I would project divorce within a few years, and, if not, staying together for the sake of the children, with each spouse making personal arrangement with some other significant person in his or her life. Within the picture, I see the potential for myself and I am pleased I did not get an M.B.A. afterall.

Finally, the trend noted for the Achievement variable indicated that younger women were more likely to associate a sense of mastery with achievement in areas that enhanced others or demonstrated a commitment to others while young men were more inclined to feel an increase in self-esteem as they exercised their own individual abilities.

Therefore, on the whole, it appears that as younger couples anticipate the birth of their child and they experience an increase in their dependency needs and/or question their ability to care for others. The way in which the couples describe their experiences supports the gender differences hypothesized by both psychoanalytic and more modern theorists noted above.

Older Men Versus Older Women

The older men and women present a significantly different

picture than the younger group. There was only one trend in the hypothesized direction with older women scoring higher on the Relatedness scale when their T.A.T. stories were analyzed. This indicates that when they talked about relationships, the older women tended to represent them as more intimate and cooperative while the older men often described relationships as distant or conflictual.

Contrary to what was expected, the older men were more confident in the support of their interpersonal environment and/or in their ability to provide care and protection for those people in their lives (Dependency). The difference between the groups was significant and was especially apparent in responses to the following Interview questions. "How do you imagine it will be when you first come home from the hospital?" The older women tended to give answers to this question that indicated significant anxiety about their ability to handle the stress and their capability of coping with the baby and the changes in their lives. Typical responses were similar to the following:

35-Year-Old Woman. "Confusing. A little scary. A little tiring. I have fears of being isolated, though I probably won't be. Initially, there will be chaos. I'll have to learn a lot."

37-Year-Old Woman. "Very difficult. It will be chaotic for the first month. I'll be tired, disoriented, and overwhelmed. There will be no regular schedule."

The men, on the other hand, viewed the upcoming event with more equanimity and with confidence. While the women often talked as if they would be alone, or worried others would not be available to help, the men saw themselves as being helpful.

39-Year-Old Man. "I know J. (wife) will be in bed alot and I'll take the baby to her and change the baby and she can stay in bed and rest for a few days."

36-Year-Old Man. "There will be a need for a lot of special care which will take up a lot of time...a new schedule. It will be a very happy time. I expect to be tired for the next year."

Taken as a whole, the findings for the older couples run contrary to the gender differences described by the above authors. The men do not appear substantially different from the women in their interpersonal orientation as indicated by the fact that scores on only one variable were significantly different for the groups, and on that variable, Dependency, the men were more comfortable in their interpersonal environment. The findings for the older group were very different than for the younger group who appear to be acting more in accord with clearly defined societal expectations of men and women.

This finding raises some questions that will be answered, in part, by a further analysis of the data: 1) Is it that as couples get older gender differences become less clearly defined? If so, do older men become more like the traditional definition of women, or is it the other way around? 2) Are these two different age cohorts with differing approaches to the world based on the time in which they were raised or, 3) Does the pregnancy itself affect these two groups of men and women differentially?

Developmental Stages and How They May Influence the Groups' Performances

Levinson (1978) and Vaillant (1977) describe in some detail the stages of adult development for men. Since there has not yet been

published a similar account for women, it is necessary to generalize the stages for women from their theories.

The younger couples in the study fall into the stage Levinson (1978) describes as "Entering the Adult World" (ages 22-28). This stage culminates in the "Age 30 Transition." During this period, he describes young men as being in the process of building what he calls a "home base." This process contains within it some conflicting trends. The "novice," is attempting to create a stable structure at home and at work at the same time he wants to continue to be exploring his options. Therefore, a tension is created between commitments and the freedom to continue to explore. This culminates in a phase that can potentially become a crisis where the young man feels his commitments are slowly closing off various opportunities. At 30, he may suddenly begin to feel that it is his last chance to make substantial changes in his life before a structure becomes solidified.

The older couples actually span two of Levinson's (1978) developmental stages which appear, in some ways, to have basic tenets which are contradictory. Interestingly, the concerns of the older group parallel those of the younger group. Those subjects aged 36-40 years old fall into the stage he calls "Late Settling Down." His description of this period sounds like the beginning of what is known as the mid-life crisis when a man moves into a stage of greater independence and individuation. In order to progress, Levinson states, the man often modifies or gives up relationships which he has depended on to reach this level of development. This includes wives and mentors. In addition, men sometimes make major career changes. As men reach the ages of 40-45 ("Modifying the Dream"),

they go through a critical reassessment of their goals as they begin to face their own mortality and the implicit limitations therein. It is after this point that men often become mentors themselves, usually teaching subordinates at work. Levinson (1978) now describes them as being in the stage of Generativity.

It is somewhat difficult to compare the stages of the older and younger couples in terms of the degree of each variable (i.e., which group would be more conflicted about autonomy) because Levinson does not talk about the conflicts for men in quantitative terms. Nevertheless, the findings of this study will be discussed in the light of his conceptual framework.

It appears that our younger couples are, as predicted by Levinson, establishing a home base. They have recently married, they are starting a family, and they are interested in financial rewards. The older men and women, however, do not show evidence of the mid-life crisis as he describes it. These are not men and women who have had marriages and families for 10-to-15 years and now have children beginning adolescence. They do not seem to be men who have chosen a "special woman" early in life who has supported them during their career advancement and who they now feel has outlived her purpose.

Clearly, the older couples are at a transition point marked by the fact that they are all having a child and a large percentage of them have been married recently (60% in the last five years) (Tables 24 and 25). This may, as Levinson (1978) suggests, represent a reassessment of their goals in life. In fact, a number of the women discuss their decision to have a child at this time by saying

TABLE 24
LIFE CHANGE DATA--OLDER MEN

Age	Age of Present Marriage	Age of Previous Marriage	Age of Divorce	Age of Career Change
35	32	--	--	33
36	35	--	--	--
36	35	--	--	--
37	35	22	24	--
38	33	--	--	--
38	32	24	30	33
38	32	--	--	--
39	27	23	24	--
39	35	--	--	--
39	29	--	--	--
41	37	--	--	--
41	39	--	--	--
43	37	22	28	--
45	31	--	--	43
48	47	35	37	--

TABLE 25
LIFE CHANGE DATA--OLDER WOMEN

Age	Age of Present Marriage	Age of Previous Marriage	Age of Divorce	Age of Career Change
35	31	--	--	--
35	23	--	--	--
35	33	25	30	--
36	35	--	--	--
36	26	--	--	--
37	36	23	28	--
37	31	--	--	--
37	23	--	--	--
38	34	23	33	32
38	37	--	--	28
39	34	--	--	--
39	33	22	27	--
41	39	30	33	--
41	39	--	--	--
41	34	--	--	--

they have begun to want more meaning in their lives. Nevertheless, these men and women are not coping with this stage by an increasingly independent stance and by separations from long-term relationships, but rather through the consolidation of existing relationships and the promise of commitment to the more social existence of family life. It is notable that the divorces for the group have not been at all recent, but have, on the average, occurred 10 years ago (Tables 15 and 16). In addition, of the 15 older couples, only 2 of the men and 1 of the women have recently made any kind of major shift in their work lives. One couple took a year off to travel before having a child and the husband came back to a new job at the age of 34. Another man left his job to become self-employed one year ago at the age of 40. The rest of the older sample have progressed rather steadily in their careers (Table 24 and 25).

Therefore, it appears that in these older couples of this sample, men and women alike, are coping with a major transition (i.e., facing their mortality) in a manner more in line with Gilligan's (1982) view of women than Levinson's (1978) description of men by deepening their interpersonal connections. In this way, their current developmental stage may be seen more as a fruition than a crisis.

In light of this assessment, it becomes somewhat difficult to understand the fact that on the Interview, the younger men had scores demonstrating less conflict between their outside interests and their individual pursuits (Autonomy) than did the older men. The same trend is reflected on the T.A.T. for the women, with the younger women's Autonomy score indicating significantly less conflict in this

area. It would be expectable that the younger couples, who are making the commitment to have children, would be concerned about the loss of their freedom. The finding in this study, that older couples are showing more concern about their autonomy than their younger counterparts, also runs counter to the findings of Daniels and Weingarten (1982) who found that in their "mid-life" group, despite prolonged commitments to jobs, etc., 50% of the women and all but one of the men retrospectively saw the child as adding something important to their lives. They describe the transition to parenthood as fairly smooth.

It may be, then, that historical factors offer a more comprehensive understanding of these findings. This approach will be discussed later.

Generativity has also been noted to be an important dimension of adult development and one that has to be interpreted by numerous theorists and placed at a number of different points in the life cycle (Erikson, 1980; Levinson, 1978; Vaillant, 1977). The question arises as to whether generativity refers to parenting and/or mentoring: Whether it begins just after Erikson's (1980) stage of Intimacy or whether it is a stage that can come only after one has reached 40 and has a sense of being part of the older generation, ready to teach others (Levinson, 1978).

The act of having a child can be interpreted in both the younger and older groups as an expression of generativity. Levinson's (1978) theories, however, would lead us to expect all of the variables to be high in the older men as they are in the stage he describes as mentoring, and they should be interested in guiding and caring for a

protege. This then might be expected to be reflected in a greater interpersonal orientation throughout the variables. Since this orientation is expected throughout the life cycle of women, there was no difference hypothesized between these groups.

In this light, it is interesting to note that although younger and older men are equal in terms of Dependency, Nurturance and Relatedness, their views on Achievement as stated on the Interview shows a difference that may speak to issues of generativity. Older men think about achieving as it relates to the benefit of others. This finding was significant.

The following are responses by a 29-year-old man and a 35-year-old man when asked, "What are your goals for yourself in your work?" The differences in orientation are notable:

29-Year-Old Man. "Eventually I'd like to be recognized as a good scientist in my own right, with my own lab, and a reputation of my own with publications, etc. I'd like to be known in my own field as good."

35-Year-Old Man. "Michael Cole is my model. I'd like to teach a course, travel for work, do research and have a shop of people working for me...and some terrific graduate students."

Approaching this from a developmental perspective, it is possible to hypothesize that this reflects a shift in orientation. When the men are younger, they may be concentrating on developing themselves and establishing themselves in the world. As they reach their late 30's or early 40's, however, this view may change with men desiring to take on more responsibility for the development of others.

This may, then, offer some support for Levinson's (1978) and

Vaillant's (1977) view that as men, in particular, age, they become less concerned with their own development, which can often occur at the cost of interpersonal relationships and more interested in the growth of others. In fact, they begin to measure their own achievement in terms of how it benefits others. If, then, generativity is conceived of as a particular orientation toward life and not just the fact of parenting or mentoring, it appears to develop as one approaches 40, as hypothesized by Levinson (1978) and Vaillant (1977).

Historical Perspective on the Study Findings:

An Overview

The developmental approach to the data discussed above implies that the stages outlined by adult development theorists are ahistorical and would most likely occur as the psychology of an individual man or woman unfolds in any historical period.

For a fuller understanding of the findings, however, it is important to look at the two groups of expectant parents to see whether some of the results we have found in this study may, in part, be a result of the historical and cultural settings in which the subjects were raised. Although in some of the cases there is only a five-year difference between the oldest member of the younger group (30) and the youngest member of the older group (35), on the average, these groups are 11 years apart in age. With the speed of cultural and technological changes in the modern era, this can be a significant difference.

On the average, an older group member was born sometime between 1945 and 1947. An average younger group member was born between

1956 and 1958. These two decades were similar in some ways, but they differed as well. For example, during and after the close of World War II, patriotism was pervasive throughout the United States. This trend continued in the 1950's but the tenor of the country was very different. Those children born to parents married during the tenuous time of World War II most likely had significantly different early years than those born in the mid-50's when there was an economic boom and families were filled with optimism about their futures.

As their development continued, the members of the older group reached late adolescence and the beginning of their college years in the midst of the social upheaval of the 1960's. At the point when they were separating from their parents and developing their own ideas, the country as a whole was going through a period of profound questioning of the traditional values that had been promulgated during the 1950's. Our participation in the Vietnam War drastically changed many long-held beliefs about the American system and our position in international politics. In addition, the women's movement flourished. Feminist writings began to be more widely produced and read and radical changes took place in sexual mores, views of the family, race relations, and the relationships between the sexes. All of this occurred as those individuals in the older group were moving out of their nuclear families and creating lives of their own.

The members of the younger group, on the other hand, were largely early adolescents during this period of social upheaval. While there is no question that these changes of necessity helped to shape

their view of the world, the older group would most likely have been subjected to contradictions, conflicts and struggles that the younger group would not have experienced to the same extent.

It may be useful to conceptualize the older group as being in the forefront of some of these changes; as potential innovators. The younger group, in many ways, had the road paved for them and probably grew into young adulthood in a world already changed by the 1960's.

In addition to the broader sociological, political and economic differences that may have existed for the two groups, it is also important to look at the more personal contexts in which these subjects lived as they grew up because these, too, may have interacted with the historical setting to have created differences among the groups. While all of these can never be measured or fully assessed, there are some trends in the demographic data collected that are worthy of discussion.

Demographic Data

Group Similarities

There are a number of personal variables in the history of the younger and older couples that do not vary significantly between the groups and, therefore, most likely do not affect the findings of the study variables. For example, most of our subjects came from economic backgrounds they describe as middle class. This includes 63% of the younger men, 75% of the younger women, and 80% each of the older men and women (Table 6). In addition, approximately the same percentage of each group were first born in their family, a variable which has been studied at length in terms of its effect on ambition, achievement and affiliation (first born or only child:

younger women 51%, older women 53%, younger men 63%, and older men 63%, Table 5).

Finally, another finding which does not differentiate the groups is the number of cases in which the subjects' mother worked during the time the subject grew up. Interestingly, 63% of the younger women, 60% of the older women, 63% of the younger men, and 50% of the older men had working mothers (Table 7). The finding that at least one-half of the mothers of the subjects in each of the groups worked raises the question of whether a large percentage of both the younger and older subjects did not come from non-traditional families. This, then, would bring into question whether the older group alone should be thought of as holding innovative values. In light of the data reported below, it continues to appear useful to conceptualize the groups differently.

It is interesting, for example, to look at the ages of the subjects' parents when they first had children. While the average ages of the fathers remains approximately the same (28-29) for all four groups, there are some differences shown in the ages of the mothers. The older men's mothers are, on the average, two years younger than the younger men's mothers (older men's mothers: 24.87; younger men's mothers: 27.00) when they had their first child (Table 10). This is not a large difference, and it is the direction expected as there has been a trend toward later parenting. The women's mothers are, however, distinctly different. The older women's mothers are, on the average, greater than three years older than the mothers of the younger women (older women's mothers: 26.67; younger women's mothers: 23.37) (Table 10). This finding is not in

the direction expected. While the delay in having children, for the older women's mothers may be attributable to the effects of the war, it is notable that this did not occur with the older men. Therefore, it may indicate that the mothers of the older women were less traditional than those of the younger women who had their first children at a conventional age. These differences in age of the subjects' mothers may indicate something about the views of sex role imparted to the women in the study.

Another finding of note is that, while it might be expected that the subjects in this study would be parenting at an age somewhat later than their parents because of societal trends, the younger men are having their first child on the average of two years earlier than their fathers (younger men: 27.87, fathers: 29.70) (Table 10).

A further analysis of the descriptive demographics of the subjects' present life styles also supports the conception of the older group as being more progressive and clinging less to traditional values than the younger group. For example, in each of the groups a large percentage of the individuals were brought up in families that they say espoused traditional Jewish, Catholic or Protestant beliefs and/or ethics. This is true for 100% of the younger women, 75% of the younger men, 93% of the older women, and 100% of the older men (Table 8). It is important to note, however, that it is in the older group alone that a major shift has taken place in terms of the individuals' current religious beliefs. In both of the younger groups, only one individual now defines himself as having no religious conviction (13% of each group). In contrast to this, seven men and seven women, or 47% of each older group, describe

themselves as having moved away from the religious traditions of their families. They now say they have no religious affiliation (Table 9).

Current income also indicates that the two groups may, in fact, be representative of two very different cohorts. The following data supports the hypothesis that the values of the younger group may represent a more conservative backlash to the shift in values that took place in the 1960's as espoused by the older group. In the younger group, currently 63% of the men and only 12% of the women are making \$25,000 or more a year. In the older group, however, 67% of the men and 54% of the women are making \$25,000 or more a year (Table 11).

In the younger couples, it appears that the men have taken on the role of the breadwinner for the family while their wives are less significant contributors. In addition, it is notable that the younger men are making nearly as much money as their older counterparts. It is true that the younger group, men and women alike, would have benefited from higher starting salaries, but the older men and women have been working for approximately 11 years longer. Therefore, a comparison of the level of income seems warranted and the differences, significant. It appears then that the fact that the younger men are making as much money as the older men may indicate a more ambitious, possibly individualistic attitude toward work on the part of the younger men.

In the older couples, the family's income is much more evenly divided among husband and wife. In these families, there is no defined breadwinner. These men are clearly entering into marriages

in which they will not be forced to fulfill traditional role expectations. The women, on the other hand, are highly achieving women, an accomplishment not easily won during the era in which they entered the work world.

In light of the above findings, it seems warranted to interpret the data as coming from two distinct cohorts. Gladieux (1978), in her study of pregnant women, defines two groups: those with traditional role conceptions and those with modern sex role orientations. It would be useful to keep these categorizations in mind in an attempt to understand the variable findings.

Women--Younger Versus Older

In general, the findings for the women can be seen as replicating Gladieux's (1978) study results. She found that those women with modern role orientations had significantly more conflicts during the pregnancy. She describes them as feeling more secure with an identity based on career achievements. They found it difficult to cope with the increase in their dependency needs during their pregnancies and they were uncomfortable gaining recognition as a mother rather than as a career woman. On the whole, the husbands of these women felt that their wives used defenses during this period that made it difficult for the men to be supportive of them. They felt their wives isolated themselves through the use of denial and counterdependent behavior.

In this study, the older women also show conflicts in precisely the areas described by Gladieux (1978). Their scores on Autonomy and Dependency show them to be having conflicts about giving up their outside interests and relying on those around them. In

telling stories to a card in which a mother brings her child to work, the older women often talked about issues related to autonomy. They saw themselves as "super moms" attempting to both work and parent and doing neither one of them well enough. The following stories exemplify this dilemma:

41-Year-Old Woman

This is a young mother who went back to work when her daughter was a year old and she has a sitter who comes in to take care of the girl during the day. But her sitter was sick so she took the baby to work and it's not really working out too well. The baby is playing with all her papers and pencils and everything and she's not getting too much work done and I think she's feeling pressured. I think she feels like there's too many demands on her all at once and I think she feels a little resentful of the baby cause she can't do her jobs the way she'd like to. I think she feels a little guilty. I think the baby will be fine. The baby will get all the attention she needs but I think it's going to be very hard on the mother.

35-Year-Old Woman

This is a woman who is making a mistake. She is attempting to be super woman--capital S, capital W. She believes that she can easily integrate her toddler daughter into her professional environment. She hopes to offer her daughter a role model for the future. However, the odds of this woman being able to achieve this super woman profile is very slim. She brought her daughter to her office because the baby sitter was taken ill suddenly. Although the woman realized it would be more difficult to work with her daughter present, she had underestimated the impact a toddler has on this exciting new world of papers and pencils and telephones. The mother feels guilty both for bringing the child to the office and disrupting her colleagues, and for not being able to permit her child to stay at home that day. In the future, this conflict poses no ready solution. The practical impact will be that the mother will expend tremendous amounts of energy trying to be the best executive and the best mother that money can buy.

When asked in the Interview about how they imagined it would be when they first came home from the hospital, the older women felt

they couldn't rely on others, that they would not be competent in handling the baby or that there would be some health-related problem. Two 35-year-old women gave the following responses which were scored a minus on the Dependency scale:

"It will be overwhelming. I worry about feeling tired...not well and having to take care of the baby. I plan to have full-time help for a month. I can't call my family and I don't know how much time my husband will have."

"...I worry about the baby dying or me dropping it or it suddenly getting sick."

The younger women, on the other hand, may be more like Gladieux's (1978) traditional sex role group. She described these women as fulfilling expectations by becoming pregnant. Therefore, they did not experience a difficult change in their identities, but rather a fulfillment of emotional strivings. They were able to be comfortably dependent on those around them and to take sustenance from husbands and friends who affirmed their role as expectant mothers. The younger group in this study may feel less conflicted about their pregnancies because it fulfills role expectations. The following stories are typical of the younger version of the "mother at work" card described above. These stories, in which the mothers are comfortable with a dual role, were scored positive Autonomy:

27-Year-Old Woman

Joan Landon--mother at work....Actually, she's a woman who's come home for lunch from her job. She comes home at lunchtime to visit with her daughter, her new, new daughter. She comes home at lunchtime everyday to spend time with her daughter and she got a business call while she was at home and she's just talking to her office on the phone right now...talking to her secretary, I guess.

Her husband is out of town on a business trip, yeah... probably and she spends about an hour and a half with the baby. They have lunch and she feeds the baby as well as plays with her in that time. She has a woman who lives there and takes care of the child the rest of the day, but she shares that feeding time and that playing time with her daughter. Then she goes back to work....Oh, she's very happy and contented with her life. She'd like to spend a little more time with her daughter, but she feels the time she does spend with her is precious and the most she can spend.

23-Year-Old Woman

Oh boy! Well, this is a mother and a child. The mother is a professional person. She appears to be at work. I assume, outside of the house because she wouldn't get dressed up like that to stay home. Maybe she works for one of those big companies where they have day care and maybe this is her lunchtime and she picked up the baby, but she had to take just one more phone call before she left. The phone was ringing as they were about to leave and it seems like she's very happy to be able to work and have the baby nearby and the baby looks happy trying to put something in her mouth and the mother, I don't think, wants her to put that in her mouth. She'll probably pick up something else to give her to chomp on....I think she's happy too that she's able to be working and have the baby nearby. She's feeling a little anxious now... she wants to get this phone call over with. But, she's content she is handling it all.

The younger women's responses to the Interview question, "How do you imagine it will be when you first come home from the hospital?" differ from the older group. The following responses were scored positive on the Dependency scale and are indicative of the younger women's greater confidence in themselves as mothers and in their interpersonal environment. They have concerns similar to the older women but their expectations are, more often, of positive resolutions.

27-Year-Old Woman: "Chaotic. I have to decide whether we want a baby nurse. I don't know if I like having a stranger in my home. I'll have sufficient help from relatives and my husband will be available..."

29-Year-Old Woman. "Wonderful. There are the realistic things of knowing I'm going to be in pain and I will have to get up in the night....I think I'll be flying if the baby is okay. My husband will take a week off and my mother will be here. It will be a big party."

It would not be accurate, however, to say that this group of younger women simply represents the traditional view of mothering. The fact that they are all working women runs counter to that interpretation. It may be more meaningful to understand them as following in the wake of the older group who, most likely, were pioneers in the movement for women's rights. It is possible the younger women's values represent somewhat of a conservative backlash or it may be that for these women it is now easier to put the worlds of work and family life together without fearing the loss of a newly gained status. If either of these hypotheses are true, the younger women would be less likely to feel having a child risks their careers. In addition, they would not feel a newly won sense of equality with men will be threatened by an openly dependent stance.

Again, in terms of Relatedness, Achievement and Nurturance, the fact that there was no significant difference between the groups on these variables suggests that they may be a measure of women's basic interpersonal orientation which would be expected to remain fairly constant, irrespective of the period they were raised.

Men--Older Versus Younger

The significant findings when comparing the older group of men to the younger men can also be understood by viewing the younger men as having traditional sex role orientations while the older men's

views are more modern. The younger men have married fairly early and they are already making substantial incomes to support their families. If having a child will not, in fact, threaten their role as provider in the family, there is little reason to expect that their feelings of autonomy will be threatened. These men are unlikely to feel their outside interests will be profoundly affected by the birth of their child because it is their role expectation to continue in their present way of functioning. An example of this view is given by a 27-year-old man when he was asked, "How do you think having children will affect your work" on the Interview. His response gained him a positive Autonomy score. "My work is very important to me in the future. I'll probably be wishing that I wasn't working and that I could spend more time with them (children) than at work."

The older men may have more conflicts about their autonomy as they feel they are going to be more equal participants at home after the birth of the child. A 48-year-old first-time father gave the following response, scored negative Autonomy when he was asked, "How do you imagine it will be when you first come home from the hospital?" "That's where I have the most concern. It will be difficult to learn how to deal with the demands of a child. It will be interruptive to our lives. We both like to be able to plan and predict and that will be absent." The older father has more concerns, but he also describes himself as much more immediately involved in the experience.

The fact that younger men view achievement as individual attainment significantly more often than the younger men on the Interview is not surprising if they have more traditional sex role expectations. They may feel it is necessary for them to make their way in a competi-

tive society by "looking out for themselves." This will be especially true if they see themselves as the main breadwinner in their families. Older men may not feel under similar pressures as they may see their marriages as more cooperative endeavors.

One would expect, however, if we are to use the framework of traditional versus modern role expectations to understand the findings, that the older men would also score higher on the Relatedness scale and they would be more comfortable with their dependency needs and their abilities to care for others. These hypothesized trends would be expected to reflect a greater comfort with a more intimate relationship to their families. These trends are not, however, reflected in the data. This may be due to the fact that, similar to women, these are aspects of men's personalities that are more basic orientations and will not vary with different sex role orientations. Therefore, we would not expect to see differences when scoring views of the self in relation to marriage and parenthood.

Couples--Older Versus Younger

As stated above, the older men and women are more like each other on the variables examined than are the younger couples. This fits with the conception that the younger men and women are more sex role bound than the older groups who may be more androgynous in their view of the world. On four out of the five variables, younger women scored higher than their husbands demonstrating a more interpersonal orientation. These differences are statistically different when the Autonomy and Dependency variables were scored on the T.A.T. responses. In addition, strong trends were noted with the women scoring higher on Relatedness on the T.A.T. stories and Achievement on the Interview

responses.

The older couples, in contrast, are very similar in their scores on most of the variables. This indicates that at least during this period of expectant parenthood their view of the world, as measured in this study, is more consonant. This greater consonance appears to reflect some conflicts for the older women which are more typically expected of men (i.e., autonomy and dependency) and some views, on the part of older men, which are more typically described as feminine (i.e., being more comfortable with giving to and/or depending on others). The older groups' attitudes toward dependency may actually reflect an exchange of typical sex role orientations.

Life Experience Perspective

A third perspective is one that would look at the study findings as being explained by the effects of differing life experiences of the subject groups. An attempt will be made to interpret the life events of the subjects as they reflect on the trends in the data.

Relationships

As noted above, both the older and younger groups share approximately the same number of total years married. Although it would be expected that this variable could be factored out in an analysis of the data, the total years married was correlated for each group with the variables studied and there were some significant correlations. This will be discussed below.

Because the total number of years married did not vary significantly for the older and younger groups, it indicates that the older group had considerably more years single than did the younger group. The effect of this variation in life experience will be taken into

consideration in the discussion below:

Women--Older Versus Younger

The fact that the older women scored significantly lower on Autonomy and Dependency than the younger women may be understood in the context of their greater number of years unmarried. It may be that the older women have had more difficulty relying on others and/or feeling they can care for others. Therefore, they may have delayed entering into marriages and having children. In addition, it may be that they put more energy into developing their careers and other outside interests. The older women, then, might find it more disturbing to think about those commitments being impinged upon by a new relationship with their baby and an increase in family responsibilities.

Effects of Years Married

In analyzing the relationship of the total number of years married to the study variables, it is notable that although both groups of women had higher scores on certain variables when they have been married longer, the experience of marriage appears to affect the groups differentially. The number of previous marriages for the two groups of women is nearly equivalent (25% of the younger women and 33% of the older women had one previous marriage), therefore, this should not influence the following findings (Table 3).

The younger women show a correlation between the total number of years they have been married and increasingly positive scores on Autonomy and Dependency as they were scored on the Interview responses. These two dimensions are the ones on which the younger women scored higher than the older women in the previous quantitative analysis.

It is difficult to know precisely whether it is the effects of marriage that caused the younger women to surpass the older women on these variables or whether, if studied at the beginning of their marriages, this difference would have already existed between the groups. Nevertheless, the correlation is significant and warrants interpretation.

It may be that as the longer the younger women are married, the more they feel affirmed in their role as wife. This, then, could be reflected in their Autonomy and Dependency scores when they were interviewed during the pregnancy. Those younger women who have been married longer will be less likely to see their relationships and their outside interests as conflictual and they will feel relatively more confident in their ability to provide for others and/or in the security of their interpersonal environment. In the older group, the women who have been married longer show increasingly high scores on Relatedness, Nurturance, and Achievement. Again, it is difficult to understand precisely why this might be the case. It is reasonable to assume, however, that this trend might reflect the effects of intimate interactions with another person in women who have spent a significant number of years single. The closeness of a marriage may help the older women to see relationships as potentially more gratifying. In addition, it may support the development of a more intimate view of caretaking and a less individualistic approach to achievement as evidenced by the correlation between number of years married and the older women's Nurturance and Achievement scores.

The fact that the younger and older women benefit from the number of years they have been married in different ways gives further support to the fact that they may be qualitatively different groups

who are reacting to both the number of years they have been married, and their pregnancies differently. It makes the interpretation that a comparison of the groups illustrates how women change and develop over a life span less likely.

Men--Older Versus Younger

As with the women, the average number of years married does not differ substantially between the two groups of men (Table 2). Therefore, the younger men have spent a larger proportion of their lives married. There is, however, a difference between the number of previous marriages in the groups. The younger men have had no previous marriages. This means that they are choosing to have children with their first wives. On the other hand, 33% of the older men have had previous marriages (Table 3). The nature of these marriages may have affected the following findings, but it would be impossible to hypothesize in what way, as this data has not been gathered.

The younger men, on the whole, are comfortable making early commitments to wives and to parenthood. It is these younger men who had elevated Autonomy scores on the Interview and who report themselves as relatively unconflicted as they choose to take on early family commitments in the midst of pursuing fairly profitable careers. The older men, having committed a greater number of years to work life and outside interests are having more conflict about their ability to maintain these activities as they become parents.

It is interesting to note that it is the older men who see achievement as an interpersonal phenomenon even though they have had many more years single to pursue careers for their own self-development. In addition, the older men do not show lower scores on the

Relatedness or Dependency variables which might be indicators of some interpersonal problems that have lead them to delay marriages and parenthood. Therefore, it does not appear that the life experience perspective is adequate for understanding the data fully.

Effects of Years Married

Contrary to what had been hypothesized, neither group of men show a statistically significant correlation between the total number of years the men have been married and any of the variables. It had been expected that the opportunity afforded by marriage for interpersonal intimacy would affect the men's scores so that their scores would be higher if they were married longer. This hypothesis was set forth, in part, to test Gilligan's (1982) theory that men remain individually oriented throughout their life cycle without regard to opportunities for change as a result of deepening intimacy with others. The finding noted above offers some support for this hypothesis. It is possible, however, that the effects of marriage on men's view of the world would only become evident after a greater number of years married.

It is notable that women show correlations between number of years married in five out of the five variables while the men show none. This offers support for the concept that women are more involved with others and might, therefore, show the benefits of having a close personal relationship with a spouse.

Work

Women--Older Versus Younger

The effect of one's work history and current work status may have had some influence on the study findings. For example, as stated

above, on the average, the older women have an income that is considerably higher than their younger counterparts (Table 11). Taking into consideration both the fact that the older women have been working longer, and the fact that the younger women would have started at higher salaries with greater opportunities of advancement, we can interpret level of present income to reflect a greater commitment to work advancement on the part of the older women. It is possible that parenthood was delayed because of the importance of work in the older women's lives. If this is the case, it is more understandable that the older women would have greater difficulty contemplating the relationship between their work and their responsibilities as mothers. In addition, the older women's lower Dependency scores on the Interview may reflect the difficulty they are having coping with the increase in their dependency needs during their pregnancies as this may run counter to their primary identity as working women. In considering the life experience perspective, it is interesting to note that like older men, older women view achievement as intimately related to the benefit of others, although it might be expected that the pursuit of their careers has been in the interest of self-enhancement.

Men--Older Versus Younger

Like the older women, the older men have been working longer. It is again important to note that both the younger and older men have approximately the same level of income (Table 11). This seems to reflect a commitment to self-advancement on the part of the younger men as demonstrated in their Achievement scores on the Interview. The older men's lowered score on Autonomy, as measured by the Interview, may be indicative, as it may be for the older women, of a prolonged

and absorbing commitment to their work lives.

Concerns About Fertility and the
Effects of the Pregnancy Itself

Since both 13% of the older women and 13% of the younger women had fertility problems prior to this conception that caused them to seek medical help (Table 4), it would not be expected that fertility problems affected the scores of the groups differentially. It would be important, however, to interpret the study findings in light of the fact that being in the midst of a pregnancy might effect the groups differently. While it was assumed that this developmental stage would bring to the surface many concerns that become prominent at critical turning points in the lives of individuals, it is possible the pregnancy itself may have affected the study findings in other ways. For example, the current pregnancy may bring up feelings related to past pregnancies for the subjects. Of the older women 53% had previous pregnancies, while only 25% of the younger women had them. In each group, one woman had a miscarriage (Table 4). It is possible that the higher number of previous pregnancies may make the older women more concerned about the health of their present fetus, especially if guilt was associated with abortions. This may have been one of the factors contributing to the very low score the older women had on Dependency when their Interview responses were scored. If they evidenced concern about the health of the fetus or their capacity to provide a healthy environment, physically or emotionally, for the baby, this would have given them a negative Dependency score.

There is another important "life experience" fact that may have depressed the older women's Dependency score. Women over 35 have

traditionally been considered at risk for complications during delivery as well as for higher incidences of birth defects and mental retardation in their offspring. As a group, they receive more specialized care during the pregnancy usually including amniocentesis. These health concerns could certainly elevate the older group's anxiety about the health of their child and might have affected their scores on Dependency. The older group was not controlled for whether they had amniocentesis and whether they had received the results at the time of Interviewing. Therefore, the effects of this procedure cannot be monitored in the present study.

Finally, it should be considered that the fact that the women are having the very immediate experience of bearing the child may have affected the findings as well when their responses are compared to their husband's. Since, for them, it is an ever-present physical and emotional experience and because they face the prospect of labor and delivery these factors may be influencing their responses differentially in the study. The findings will also be affected by which of the spouses feels they will have the greater caretaking role and to what extent. But this analysis lies outside the realm of the present study.

Limits to Generalizability and Methodological Difficulties

The present study is descriptive, not experimental, therefore, limits to external validity or the generalizability of the findings to populations differing from those in the study are the greatest. In addition, the design of the study does not allow for an understanding of direction and the specific nature of causal relationships. There are also some additional limitations to internal validity.

Generalizability

Subjects in the sample do not represent a random sample of the larger population in that they sought prenatal care and this care was specific in that it included regular check-ups and/or Lamaze training. In addition, the study population was all middle class or above and they all came from a geographical area within a relatively small radius surrounding the New York metropolitan area. This makes generalizability to individuals in different geographic locations, from different types of communities or with different socioeconomic status, impossible.

Another limitation to the generalizability of the study is the fact that those participating in the study did so because of a willingness on the part of both partners. This, in itself, most likely indicates a greater level of involvement in the pregnancy than would be true of the general population.

Internal Validity

The absence of an experimentally designed control or comparison group presents a constraint on the interpretation of the findings. Although it is hypothesized that couples who are experiencing a pregnancy will be more likely to be concerned with the issues studied, it is difficult to ascertain the extent of this concern without a non-pregnant control group. This limitation in the design does not diminish the importance of the differences found between the groups, but a control group would also have yielded more information about the differences between men and women's experience of the pregnancy as it can be assumed that the immediacy of the event will have a larger impact on the women. Baseline data of nonpregnant women and their

husbands would have provided a comparison of the extent to which these changes affect the groups differentially.

Critique of the Variable

The possible lack of independence of the study variables may also have limited the fullest interpretation of the study findings. Because the variables describe aspects of personality functioning, they do not represent discrete categories. For example, the variable Relatedness had a somewhat general description and may have had subsumed under it aspects included in the other variables (i.e., Dependency). While this type of overlap does not affect the differences observed, it may have washed-out some potential differences among the groups (i.e., Relatedness showed no significant differences). In addition, the possible overlap raises questions as to whether discrete psychological dimensions are being examined.

Instrument and Rater Bias

Some bias may have been introduced into the study by the fact that the men were seen by one interviewer and the women by another because of possible different interviewing styles and the effects of same sex versus different sex interview pairs. Nevertheless, there did not appear to be any consistent trends in a particular direction in the findings which would have indicated such a bias.

In addition, bias in assessing gender differences may have been introduced into the study because of the fact that some of the T.A.T. cards differed in order to have male and female protagonists. It was also impossible, as a result of this, to have the raters blind to the genders of the subjects. Again, no consistent trends were found when comparing those cards that both men and women saw and those in

which they had cards with protagonists of their gender. In addition, attempts were made to guard against preconceived sex role expectations by the use of one female and one male rater.

Although precautions were taken to guard against it, internal validity may have been threatened by the experimenter's involvement in scoring the data. This does not appear to be significant, however, because of the high rate of reliability in scoring when comparing the two raters.

Design

Finally, as alluded to previously, in all studies of this kind in which an attempt is made to investigate developmental phenomena by comparing a cross-section of older and younger subjects at the same point in time, it is difficult to separate out the effects of an historical period. Attempts were made, in interpreting the data, to describe the effects of the era on the subjects and the study findings.

Summary and Conclusions

Despite the limitations mentioned above, the present study has attempted to explore a number of areas that have been addressed in the literature on parenting, adult development and gender differences. The recent phenomenon of having a first child later in one's adult life has raised issues in all of these areas and has made it apparent that, until now, the study of the psychological dimensions of pregnancy and expectant parenthood have been severely limited.

For both women and their husbands, parenthood has been thought to be a natural event that has occurred in early adulthood. Women have, on the whole, been thought to be biologically and psychologically inclined toward caretaking. Their husbands, on the other hand, have

been thought to be oriented toward providing for their families by participation in the outside world and have been described as reacting to their wives' pregnancies by feeling extremely threatened by the potential bond between their wives and their babies. Parenting, based on data gathered from men, has not been integrated into the adult life cycle. The impact of this life experience of expectant parenthood on a particular stage of adult development has not been studied, nor has the effect of age and stage of development on the experience of pregnancy been understood.

The findings of this study do not prove or disprove existing theories of the psychology of pregnancy, adult development or gender differences, but they do raise questions about our present understanding of some of these issues; particularly about the generalizability of the adult development literature to women and to the experience of expectant parenthood for both sexes. In addition, the findings indicate that the psychological experience of pregnancy is not a universally identical phenomenon and that it will most likely be subject to influence by the age of the person, their life experience, and the historical era. For example, the finding that older men were more comfortable with their dependency needs than were the older women, runs contrary to the pregnancy literature which describes men as having significant problems because of feelings of displacement (Zilboorg, 1931). It also does not confirm the adult development literature which describes men of this age as in a mid-life crisis of separation and individuation (Levinson, 1978), nor does it support the literature on gender differences which sees men as very threatened by interpersonal closeness (Gilligan, 1982).

Striking, also, was the finding that older couples were more alike and more non-traditional in their view of the variables measured than the younger couples who seemed more bound by expected sex role orientations. Because of the design of the study, it would be impossible to know whether this is a result of a developmental change that leads men and women to be more alike as they grow older or whether this is a reflection of the differential effects of differing life experiences or historical eras. Most likely, the findings are a result of the interaction of all of these phenomena and need to be understood in this light, but this warrants further study.

Implications for Future Research

Clearly, there are limitations to the present study. It would be most useful and clarifying to be able to do both a cross-sectional and longitudinal study of men and women who are expecting their first child with a control group. This could best be accomplished by studying four groups at one point in time: a younger and older pregnant group, and a younger and older nonpregnant group. This group would then be studied approximately 10 years later for a current assessment of their personality and a retrospective account of their experience, pregnant or not, 10 years earlier. At this point (10 years from the first assessment), a comparison group would be studied. Again, older and younger pregnant and nonpregnant groups would be interviewed to compare the effects of historical era on the pregnancy experience. This design would be more conducive to clarifying the issues discussed in this study.

In terms of the present work, a follow-up study is currently being planned in order to gather data on the experiences of these

couples as parents and to compare their fears and expectations to the reality of their lives.

APPENDIX A
REQUEST FOR VOLUNTEERS

****REQUEST FOR VOLUNTEERS****

If you are pregnant and planning to have your first baby, you and your spouse are age 24-30 or 35-40, we request you and your spouse's participation in a study of new parents of different ages. The goal of the study is to learn more about the effects of parental age on attitudes toward parenthood, the experience of pregnancy and childbirth, and the early relationship to the newborn child.

If you decide to participate, you and your spouse will be asked to meet with the research team at your home or in our New York City office on three occasions during the next eight months. On each occasion you will be interviewed about your thoughts, feelings, and experiences in regard to pregnancy, childbearing, and parenthood. On the final occasion, we would like to observe you and your newborn infant. In all, you will need about 6-8 hours of time. There will be no compensation other than costs of transportation, but you will be given a copy of the Final Report if you wish and will have the satisfaction of contributing to an important piece of research.

If you are interested, please call to make an appointment. At that time, we will describe the study in more detail and answer any questions you may have.

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White Plains, New York 10605

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

INITIAL INTERVIEW

CURRENT STATE INTERVIEW

THIRD TRIMESTER AND POST-PARTUM INTERVIEW

PARENT-INFANT OBSERVATION

Demographic Questionnaire

Parenthood Study

Name _____

Address _____

City State Zip

Home Phone _____

Time available at that number

Work Phone _____

Time available at that number

Date _____

Time _____

Interviewer _____

Preferred times for interviews _____

TO THE INTERVIEWEE: This is an exploratory study of women and men experiencing their first pregnancy and parenthood. We are simply interested in knowing how you feel and what you think about this experience. Be assured that all information will be treated as confidential (i.e., only the interviewers and principal investigator will know your identity, data will be coded for the purposes of analysis and disguised in research reports.) Please answer as many questions as you can on this "preliminary interview". We will be happy to give you feedback on the study and send you a summary when the research is completed.

1. What is your date of birth? _____
month/ date/ year
2. How old are you as of your last birthday? _____
3. Where were you born? _____
4. Is that a:
(circle one.)
- 1) Rural setting -- on a farm
 - 2) Rural setting -- not on a farm
 - 3) Small town -- under 15,000
 - 4) Town of 15,000 -- 50,000 -- not a suburb
 - 5) Town of 15,000 -- 50,000 -- a suburb
 - 6) City of 50,000 - 250,000
 - 7) Large city of 250,000+
5. Where did you spend most of your growing up years? _____
town

state
6. Is that a:
(Circle one.)
- 1) Rural setting -- on a farm
 - 2) Rural setting -- not on a farm
 - 3) A Small town -- under 15,000
 - 4) Town of 15,000 - 50,000 -- not a suburb
 - 5) Town of 15,000 - 50,000 -- a suburb
 - 6) City of 50,000 - 250,000
 - 7) Large city of 250,000 +
7. What do/did your parents do for a living while you were growing up?
- a) Mother _____ / _____ / _____
- | Please give: Position (describe) | Employer | Part or Full time? |
|----------------------------------|----------|--------------------|
| b) Father _____ / _____ / _____ | | |
| Position | Employer | Part or Full time? |
8. How old are your parents now? (Please check and give date if deceased.)
- a) Mother _____ / _____
deceased? date
- b) Father _____ / _____
deceased? date

9. Did both of your parents live at home while you were growing up?

- 1) Yes
2) No (please check where appropriate.)

Parents separated _____ Date _____
 Parents divorced _____
 Parent died _____
 Other _____ (Explain) _____

10. What was your family's religious affiliation?

- 1) None
2) Catholic
3) Protestant
4) Jewish
5) Other

11. What is your current religious affiliation?

- 1) None
2) Catholic
3) Protestant
4) Jewish
5) Other

12. How old were your parents when their first child was born?

- a. Mother _____
b. Father _____

13. How old were your parents when you were born?

- a. Mother _____
b. Father _____

14. How many children were in your family growing up? _____

15. What was your birth rank in the family?

- 1) First born
2) Last born
3) In between
4) Only child
5) Other (Explain.)

16. About how well off was your family while you were growing up?

- 1) Upper class. _____
2) Upper middle class. _____
3) Middle class. _____
4) Working class. _____
5) Not well off. _____
(Unemployed, welfare.)

17. To get a better idea of your family, we need a brief list of your siblings, their age, occupation, and number of children. You may use first names or initials.

<u>Sibling</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Current occupation</u>	<u>Number children</u>
1. _____			
2. _____			
3. _____			
4. _____			
5. _____			

18. Please list where you went to school, starting with high school.

<u>School & Location</u>	<u>Major</u>	<u>Degree</u>	<u>Years attended.</u>
1. High school _____			
2. College _____			
3. Graduate school _____			

19. What is your highest educational degree or specialization? _____
Degree

<u>Field</u>	<u>Year attained</u>
_____	_____

20. Please describe the major position you have held since high school, starting with your current position. Describe the position, employer, years at that job, and salary.

	<u>Position</u>	<u>Employer</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Salary</u>
1.	Current position	_____	_____	_____
2.	Before that?	_____	_____	_____
3.	Before that?	_____	_____	_____
4.	Before that?	_____	_____	_____
5.	Before that?	_____	_____	_____

21. How long have you been married? _____
22. Date of marriage? _____ / _____ / _____
Month date year
23. Is this your first marriage? _____ (if no, please explain
prior marriage and dates.)

24. Is this your first pregnancy? _____ (if no, please explain
briefly.) _____

25. At this time, how far along are you in your pregnancy? (Be as specific as
possible.)

Initial Interview*

Parenthood Study

Name _____

Address _____

City

State

Zip

Home Phone _____

Time available at that number

Work Phone _____

Time available at that number

Date _____

Time _____

Interviewer _____

Preferred times for interviews _____

*Questions used for present study (25, 30, 51, 68, 69, 70, 71)

TO THE INTERVIEWEE: This is an exploratory study of women and men experiencing their first pregnancy and parenthood. We are simply interested in knowing how you feel about this experience. Be assured that all information will be treated as confidential (i.e., only the interviewers and principal investigator will know your identity; data will be coded for the purposes of analysis and disguised in research reports.) We will be happy to give you feedback on the study and send you a summary when the research is completed. We are also interested in your comments about the study. Now let's begin.

SYMPTOM CHECKLIST: PREGNANCY

A list of health problems appears below. Read each of the items and then report whether or not you have had that problem.

If you have had that problem, check the degree of intensity of the symptom:

	S (Severe)		Mod (Moderate)		M (Mild)	
	Yes	No	S	Mod	M	
Do you have morning sickness or nausea?						
Have you been troubled by vomiting?						
Do you have indigestion?						
Do you have trouble falling asleep or staying asleep?						
Do you have loss of appetite?						
Are you not gaining enough weight?						
Are you troubled by muscular aches?						
Are you troubled by constipation?						
Do you urinate frequently?						
Are you troubled by diarrhea?						
Do you suffer from backaches?						
Do you get very hungry?						
Are you troubled by clumsiness?						
Do you have trouble keeping your weight down?						
Have you gained too much weight?						
Do you have trouble with your complexion?						
Have you had swollen feet or legs?						
Do you need to sleep more?						
Have you had a lack of energy?						
Have you been spotting or bleeding?						

15. Are there any individuals you have spent regular time with talking about pregnancy so far?

16. Are there any individuals you have spent time with preparing for the pregnancy, childbirth, the baby? (Like shopping, etc.)

17. How have the following people reacted to your being pregnant so far?

a. Spouse

b. Mother

c. Father

d. Siblings

1.

2.

3.

e. Grandparents

f. In-laws

g. Colleagues

h. Friends with children

i. Friends without children

j. Others

18. How is your relationship with your physician and nurse-midwife so far?

19. Over all, how has the experience of pregnancy compared to what you expected? Any surprises?

20. (Appearance Checklist. Hand to interviewee.) This is a list of parts of the body. Please read it and circle the number that best represents how you felt about each item before you were pregnant. Then look at the second copy of the list and circle the number that best represents how you feel about each item now.

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT YOUR APPEARANCE?

Here are some things related to the appearance of your body. Consider each one of the items and circle the number that would have best represented your feelings about it before you became pregnant.

- Circle
1. If you felt very dissatisfied with that part of your body.
 2. If you didn't like it, but could put up with it.
 3. If you had no particular feelings one way or the other.
 4. If you felt satisfied.
 5. If you were very pleased with it.

Hair	1	2	3	4	5
Facial appearance	1	2	3	4	5
Legs	1	2	3	4	5
Breasts	1	2	3	4	5
Hips	1	2	3	4	5
Complexion	1	2	3	4	5
Weight	1	2	3	4	5
Abdomen	1	2	3	4	5
Height	1	2	3	4	5
Waistline	1	2	3	4	5

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT YOUR APPEARANCE NOW?

Here are some things related to the appearance of your body. Consider each one of the items and circle the number that would best represent your feelings about it now?

- Circle 1. If you felt very dissatisfied with that part of your body.
 2. If you didn't like it, but could put up with it.
 3. If you had no particular feelings one way or other.
 4. If you felt satisfied.
 5. If you were very pleased with it.

Hair	1	2	3	4	5
Facial appearance	1	2	3	4	5
Legs	1	2	3	4	5
Breasts	1	2	3	4	5
Hips	1	2	3	4	5
Complexion	1	2	3	4	5
Weight	1	2	3	4	5
Abdomen	1	2	3	4	5
Height	1	2	3	4	5
Waistline	1	2	3	4	5

- 11 FANTASIES ABOUT PREGNANCY, CHILDBIRTH, PARENTHOOD. Now we're going to talk a bit about some of your feelings about being pregnant and having children.
21. Please think back and try to give me your earliest memory, daydream, or night dream of how it would be to:
- a. Have children

 - b. Be pregnant

 - c. Go through childbirth and delivery

 - d. Be a parent

 - e. Have your spouse be a parent
22. What is the earliest picture you have in your mind of how your child would be, if you were to have a child? (Note the sex, age, appearance, posture, setting of the image.)
23. How do you envision these same things now?
- a. Having children

 - b. Being pregnant

 - c. Going through childbirth and delivery

d. Being a parent.

e. Having your spouse be a parent.

24. How has your image of these things changed over the years?

* 25. At this point in time, how do you imagine your child?
(Note sex, age, posture, setting.)

26. How do you imagine your child will be when it grows up?

27. Have you had any daydreams, night dreams about your child?

28. Have you had any daydreams, night dreams about your pregnancy?

29. Have you had any daydreams, night dreams about childbirth and delivery?

*30. How do you imagine it will be when you first come home from the hospital?

31. (CHILD TRAIT CHECKLIST. Hand to interviewee.) This is a list of personal qualities that might be passed on to your child from you or your spouse, through either heredity or early experiences in the family. Please read each item and check the person from whom you would like your child to receive each of the following items.

CHILD-TRAIT CHECKLIST

Below is a list of qualities that might be passed on to your child from you or your husband, through either heredity or early experiences in the family.

Choose the person from whom you would like your child to receive each of the following items, and check the corresponding column.

	Self	Husband	Mother	Father	Other	Don't Care
Lips						
Sense of humor						
Hair color						
Warmth						
Social skills						
Complexion						
Appearance of teeth						
Intelligence						
Nose						
Eyes						
Ears						
Self-confidence						
Ability to express self						
Self-discipline						
Independence						

111. ATTITUDES TOWARDS HAVING CHILDREN. Now we're going to talk about how you arrived at having children at this point in your life.
32. Thinking of a woman's life, how do you think a woman's life is changed by having children?
33. Thinking of a man's life, how do you think a man's life is changed by having children.
34. When you've thought about having children in the past, what things did you look forward to?
35. What are some of the things that have made you hesitate, delay, or not want to have children in the past?

36. Could you tell me in your own words how it came about that you are having a child now?

a. What sorts of things went into the "decision"?

b. How much was it an individual or a couple "decision"?

37. Are there any specific experiences or events that have led to your having children now (For example, medical problems in your self or spouse, family events, job changes, experiences with children, friends, siblings).

38. How many children would you like to have altogether?

39. Over all, how would you say your feelings about having children have changed over the years (both having or not having, number of children, timing)?
40. Over all, how was the experience of parenthood for your parents? (Anecdote or vignette would be fine.)
41. For your mother, how important would you say being a mother was to her (in relationship to working, marriage, other interests, friends, her own family of origin). What makes you think this?
42. For your father, how important would you say being a father was to him (in relationship to working, marriage, other interests, friends, his own family of origin). What makes you think this?
43. What was your mother's attitude towards combining work and motherhood? Fatherhood?
44. What was your father's attitude towards combining work and motherhood? Fatherhood?

45. Thinking about your siblings now, have any of their experiences with having or not having children affected your own childbearing? How?
46. Thinking about your friends, have any of their experiences with having or not having children affected your childbearing? How?
47. Now what about your spouse, how have his/her experiences or attitudes about having or not having children affected your childbearing?
48. How have your own feelings about work, career or other interests affected your childbearing?
49. What do you plan to do as your pregnancy proceeds about your job or career or schooling? When the baby arrives?
50. How does your spouse feel about combining work and parenthood for you? For him/her?
51. How would you like to care of your child to be arranged?

- 1V. HISTORY - Now I'd like to ask you a few things about your self and your background.
52. Please describe yourself in a few words.
53. Would you say you are more like your mother or your father? How?
54. How would you describe your parents' relationship (re warmth and affection, roles, conflict)?
55. Over all, was your family as happy, less happy, or happier than others around you? How?
56. Were there any major problems in your family we should know about to understand you? (Probe for illness, death, mental, financial problems).

57. As a child (up to age 12) - how would you describe yourself? (Looks, Likes, Friends, Family, School. Independence or dependence. Autonomy vs. compliance. Sex-typing.)
58. As an adolescent (12-18) how would you describe yourself? (Looks. Likes. Friends. Family. School. Sex-typing. Identity concerns. Values. Interests.)
- a. What do you remember about your first menstrual period?
(Anecdote, vignette, or feelings.)
59. As a young adult (18 - 25), how would you describe yourself? (Looks. Likes. Friends. Family. School, work, career. Sex-typing. Close relationships.)
- a. What do you remember about your first sexual experience?
(Just a vignette or a few phrases is fine.)

60. As an adult, what did you expect for yourself concerning your future in regard to:
- a. Work or career
 - b. Relationships
 - c. Parenting
61. So far, how have these expectations changed?
62. Prior to your current marriage, are there serious close relationships that have had an influence on your current life choices? (Just describe briefly those that come to mind.)
63. Could you describe how you met your spouse?
64. Could you describe your use of contraceptives since you've been sexually active? (Just brief facts.)
- Methods
 - Regularity
 - Problems with contraception
 - Any miscarriages?
 - Abortions?
 - Pregnancies?

65. Have you ever been in therapy? Now? How long? Effect on your having children?

V. CURRENT LIFE SITUATION. Finally, we want to get a picture of your current life style.

66. To get a picture of your life right now, could you tell me approximately what proportion of time and energy you spend at the following things:

- a. Work
- b. With spouse
- c. At home alone
- d. With friends
- e. With other activities or interests

67. How satisfied are you with this arrangement?

*68. Thinking of your work now,

a. How satisfied are you with your current work situation?

b. What is dissatisfying about it to you?

c. What are your goals for yourself in your work?

d. How would you rate yourself in terms of where you are in your work or career compared to where you feel you should be now?

e. How important is it to you to continue working in the future?

f. How do you expect having children to affect your work?

69. Thinking of your marriage now.

a. Please describe your relationship to your spouse? (Probe for division of labor, decisionmaking, activities.)

b. What is the thing you like most about your relationship?

c. What is the think you would most like to change about your marriage?

d. How do you think having children will affect your relationship?

*70. Thinking of other relationships to friends and relatives.

a. How satisfied are you with these relationships?

b. Do you expect having a child to affect any of these relationships? How?

*71. Thinking of other outside interests of yours.

a. Which are most satisfying now?

b. Do you expect having a child to affect your involvement in that (those) activities?

72. Over all, how are things going for you now?

73. What is the most satisfying part of your life?

74. What is missing in your life now?

75. What would you like to be doing in five years?

76. What would you like to be doing in 25 years?

77. Is there anything else we should know about you?

78. We would appreciate any thought you have on how this interview has been for you. Thank you.

Current Status Interview*

Parenthood Study

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Home Phone _____

Time available at that number _____

Work Phone _____

Time available at that number _____

Date _____

Time _____

Interviewer _____

Preferred Times for Interviews _____

*Questions used for present study (16, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28)

TO THE INTERVIEWEE: As you may recall from the previous interview, this is an exploratory study of women and men experiencing their first pregnancy and parenthood. We are simply interested in knowing how you feel about this experience. Be assured that all information will be treated as confidential (i.e., only the interviewers and principal investigator will know your identity; data will be coded for the purposes of analysis and disguised in research reports.) We will be happy to give you feedback on the study and send you a summary when the research is completed. We are also interested in your comments about the study. Now let's begin.

I ACTUAL EXPERIENCE OF PREGNANCY

1. How far are you (is your wife) along in your (the) pregnancy now?
(Number of weeks since estimated date of conception).

2. How has your (the) pregnancy been for you so far?
(Describe in general terms).

3. How do you feel physically?

4. How do you feel personally?

5. What are some of the things you especially like about (your wife) being pregnant?

6. What are the things you especially dislike about it?

7. (SYMPTOM CHECKLIST. Hand to interviewee.) This is a list of problems that some women and men have in pregnancy. Please read this list and check off if you have had the problem or not during this trimester. If you have had the problem, check if it has been severe, moderate, or mild. (Go over list and inquire about the severe symptoms. Get "doctor's statement" about it, e.g., diagnosis or what the doctor says to do about it.)

SYMPTOM CHECKLIST: PREGNANCY

A list of health problems appears below. Read each of the items and then report whether or not you have had that problem.

If you have had that problem, check the degree of intensity of the symptom:

	S (Severe)		Mod (Moderate)		M (Mild)	
	Yes	No	S	Mod	M	
Do you have morning sickness or nausea?						
Have you been troubled by vomiting?						
Do you have indigestion?						
Do you have trouble falling asleep or staying asleep?						
Do you have loss of appetite?						
Are you not gaining enough weight?						
Are you troubled by muscular aches?						
Are you troubled by constipation?						
Do you urinate frequently?						
Are you troubled by diarrhea?						
Do you suffer from backaches?						
Do you get very hungry?						
Are you troubled by clumsiness?						
Do you have trouble keeping your weight down?						
Have you gained too much weight?						
Do you have trouble with your complexion?						
Have you had swollen feet or legs?						
Do you need to sleep more?						
Have you had a lack of energy?						
Have you been spotting or bleeding?						

e. Grandparents

f. In-laws

g. Colleagues

h. Friends with children

i. Friends without children

j. Others

12. How is your relationship with your physician and nurse-midwife so far?

13. Over all, how has the experience of pregnancy compared to what you expected? Any surprises?

14. (Appearance Checklist. Hand to interviewee.) This is a list of parts of the body. Please read it and circle the number that best represents how you feel about each item now.

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT YOUR APPEARANCE NOW?

Here are some things related to the appearance of your body. Consider each one of the items and circle the number that would have best represented your feelings about it now?

- Circle
1. If you felt very dissatisfied with that part of your body.
 2. If you didn't like it, but could put up with it.
 3. If you had no particular feelings one way or other.
 4. If you felt satisfied.
 5. If you were very pleased with it.

Hair	1	2	3	4	5
Facial appearance	1	2	3	4	5
Legs	1	2	3	4	5
Breasts	1	2	3	4	5
Hips	1	2	3	4	5
Complexion	1	2	3	4	5
Weight	1	2	3	4	5
Abdomen	1	2	3	4	5
Height	1	2	3	4	5
Waistline	1	2	3	4	5

17. How do you imagine your child will be when it grows up?

18. Have you had any daydreams, night dreams about your child?

19. Have you had any daydreams, night dreams about your pregnancy?

20. Have you had any daydreams, night dreams about childbirth and delivery?

- *21. How do you imagine it will be when you first come home from the hospital?

22. (CHILD TRAIT CHECKLIST. Hand to interviewee.) This is a list of personal qualities that might be passed on to your child from you or your spouse, through either heredity or early experiences in the family. Please read each item and check the person from whom you would like your child to receive each of the following items.

CHILD-TRAIT CHECKLIST

Below is a list of qualities that might be passed on to your child from you or your husband, through either heredity or early experiences in the family.

Choose the person from whom you would like your child to receive each of the following items, and check the corresponding column.

	Self	Husband	Mother	Father	Other	Don't Care
Lips						
Sense of humor						
Hair color						
Warmth						
Social skills						
Complexion						
Appearance of teeth						
Intelligence						
Nose						
Eyes						
Ears						
Self-confidence						
Ability to express self						
Self-discipline						
Independence						

III. CURRENT LIFE SITUATION. Finally, we want to get a picture of your current life style.

23. To get a picture of your life right now, could you tell me approximately what proportion of time and energy you spend at the following things: Please describe any changes that have occurred since your pregnancy.

- a. Work
- b. With spouse
- c. At home alone
- d. With friends
- e. With other activities or interests

24. How satisfied are you with this arrangement?

*25. Thinking of your work now,

* a. How satisfied are you with your current work situation?

* b. What is dissatisfying about it to you?

* c. What are your goals for yourself in your work?

* d. How would you rate yourself in terms of where you are in your work or career compared to where you feel you should be now?

* e. How important is it to you to continue working in the future?

* f. How do you expect having children to affect your work?

g. Please note any changes in your work that have occurred since your pregnancy.

* 26. Thinking of your marriage now,

* a. Please describe your relationship to your spouse? (Probe for division of labor, decisionmaking, activities.)

* b. What is the thing you like most about your relationship?

* c. What is the thing you would most like to change about your marriage?

* d. How do you think having children will affect your relationship?

e. Please describe any changes that have occurred since your pregnancy.

- *27. Thinking of other relationships to friends and relatives.
- * a. How satisfied are you with these relationships?

 - * b. Do you expect having a child to affect any of these relationships? How?

 - c. Please describe any changes that have occurred since your pregnancy.
- * 28. Thinking of other outside interests of yours.
- * a. Which are most satisfying now?

 - * b. Do you expect having a child to affect your involvement in that (those) activities?

 - c. Please describe any changes that have occurred since your pregnancy.
29. Over all, how are things going for you now?
30. What is the most satisfying part of your life?

31. What is missing in your life now?

32. Is there anything else we should know about you?

33. We would appreciate any thought you have on how this interview has been for you. Thank you.

/nh

Third Trimester and Post-Partum Interview

Parenthood Study

Name _____

Address _____

City State Zip

Home Phone _____

Time available at that number

Work Phone _____

Time available at that number

Date _____

Time _____

Interviewer _____

Preferred times for interviews _____

TO THE INTERVIEWEE: As you may recall, this is an exploratory study of women and men experiencing their first pregnancy and parenthood. We are simply interested in knowing how you feel about this experience. Be assured that all information will be treated as confidential (i.e., only the interviewers and principal investigator will know your identity; data will be coded for the purposes of analysis and disguised in research reports.) We will be happy to give you feedback on the study and send you a summary when the research is completed. We are also interested in your comments about the study. Now let's begin.

1 ACTUAL EXPERIENCE OF PREGNANCY

1. a. When did you have your baby? (Day, date, time.)

b. Is it a boy, a girl?

c. What is her/his name?
2. How was the last trimester of the pregnancy for you?
(Describe in general terms.)

3. How did you feel physically?

4. How did you feel personally?

5. What were some of the things you especially liked about (your wife) being pregnant?

6. What were the things you especially disliked about it?

7. (SYMPTOM CHECKLIST. Hand to interviewee.) This is a list of problems that some women and men have in pregnancy. Please read this list and check off if you had the problem or not during the last trimester. If you had the problem, check if it was severe, moderate, or mild. (Go over list and inquire about the severe symptoms. Get "doctor's statement" about it, e.g., diagnosis or what the doctor says to do about it.)

SYMPTOM CHECKLIST: PREGNANCY

A list of health problems appears below. Read each of the items and then report whether or not you have had that problem.

If you have had that problem, check the degree of intensity of the symptom:

	S (Severe)	Mod (Moderate)	M (Mild)
	Yes	No	S Mod M
Do you have morning sickness or nausea?			
Have you been troubled by vomiting?			
Do you have indigestion?			
Do you have trouble falling asleep or staying asleep?			
Do you have loss of appetite?			
Are you not gaining enough weight?			
Are you troubled by muscular aches?			
Are you troubled by constipation?			
Do you urinate frequently?			
Are you troubled by diarrhea?			
Do you suffer from backaches?			
Do you get very hungry?			
Are you troubled by clumsiness?			
Do you have trouble keeping your weight down?			
Have you gained too much weight?			
Do you have trouble with your complexion?			
Have you had swollen feet or legs?			
Do you need to sleep more?			
Have you had a lack of energy?			
Have you been spotting or bleeding?			

8. Were there any difficulties in keeping the pregnancy?
(Get the "doctor's statement" about the problem, if any.)

9. Were there any individuals you spent regular time with talking about pregnancy?

10. Were there any individuals you have spent time with preparing for the pregnancy, childbirth, the baby? (Like shopping, etc.)

11. How did the following people react to the last stage of pregnancy?
 - a. Spouse

 - b. Mother

 - c. Father

 - d. Siblings
 - 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.

 - e. Grandparents

 - f. In-laws

 - g. Colleagues

h. Friends with children

i. Friends without children

j. Others

12. Over all, how was your relationship with your physician and nurse-midwife?
13. Over all, how did the experience of pregnancy compare to what you expected? Any surprises?
14. (Appearance Checklist. Hand to interviewee.) This is a list of parts of the body. Please read it and circle the number that best represents how you feel about each item now.

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT YOUR APPEARANCE NOW?

Here are some things related to the appearance of your body. Consider each one of the items and circle the number that would have best represented your feelings about it now?

- Circle
1. If you felt very dissatisfied with that part of your body.
 2. If you didn't like it, but could put up with it.
 3. If you had no particular feelings one way or other.
 4. If you felt satisfied.
 5. If you were very pleased with it.

Hair	1	2	3	4	5
Facial appearance	1	2	3	4	5
Legs	1	2	3	4	5
Breasts	1	2	3	4	5
Hips	1	2	3	4	5
Complexion	1	2	3	4	5
Weight	1	2	3	4	5
Abdomen	1	2	3	4	5
Height	1	2	3	4	5
Waistline	1	2	3	4	5

11. CHILDBIRTH and DELIVERY

15. Please describe the childbirth and delivery (onset, length, tempo, use of techniques, presence of spouse, others).

16. Were there any complications?

17. How did it compare to what you expected?

18. How did you feel when you first saw your baby?

19. Who did you tell first? Next?

20. How is your baby doing now?

d. Siblings.
1.

2.

3.

e. Grandparents

f. In-laws

g. Colleagues

h. Friends with children

i. Friends without children

j. Others

III. FANTASIES

26. a. How would you describe your baby to someone who never met him/her?

b. Does your baby remind you of anyone? How?

c. Does your baby seem different from other babies? How?

27. How do you imagine your child will be when it grows up?

28. Have you had any daydreams, night dreams about your child?

29. Have you had any daydreams, night dreams about your pregnancy?

30. Have you had any daydreams, night dreams about childbirth and delivery?

31. (CHILD TRAIT CHECKLIST. Hand to interviewee.) This is a list of personal qualities that might be passed on to your child from you or your spouse, through either heredity or early experiences in the family. Please read each item and check the person from whom you would like your child to receive each of the following items.

CHILD-TRAIT CHECKLIST

Below is a list of qualities that might be passed on to your child from you or your husband, through either heredity or early experiences in the family.

Choose the person from whom you would like your child to receive each of the following items, and check the corresponding column.

	Self	Husband	Mother	Father	Other	Don't Care
Lips						
Sense of humor						
Hair color						
Warmth						
Social skills						
Complexion						
Appearance of teeth						
Intelligence						
Nose						
Eyes						
Ears						
Self-confidence						
Ability to express self						
Self-discipline						
Independence						

IV. CURRENT LIFE SITUATION. Finally, we want to get a picture of your current life style.

32. To get a picture of your life right now, could you tell me approximately what proportion of time and energy you spend at the following things:

- a. Work
- b. With spouse
- c. At home alone
- d. With friends
- e. With other activities or interests
- f. With baby

33. How satisfied are you with this arrangement?

34. Thinking of your work,

- a. What are your goals for yourself now?
- b. Are you working now?
- c. How important is it to you to continue working in the future?
- d. How do you expect having children to affect your work?

35. Thinking of your marriage now.

- a. Please describe your relationship to your spouse? (Probe for division of labor, decisionmaking, activities.)
- b. What is the thing you like most about your relationship?

35. c. What is the thing you would like to change about your marriage?
- d. How do you think having children is affecting your relationship?
36. Thinking of other relationships to friends and relatives.
- a. How satisfied are you with these relationships?
- b. How do you think having children is affecting any of these relationships? How?
37. Thinking of other outside interests of yours.
- a. Which are most satisfying now?
- b. How is having a child affecting your involvement in that (those) activities?
38. Over all, how are things going for you now?
39. What is the most satisfying part of your life?
40. What is missing in your life now?

41. What would you like to be doing in five years?

42. What would you like to be doing in 25 years?

43. Is there anything else we should know about you?

44. We would appreciate any thought you have on how this interview has been for you. Thank you.

PARENT-INFANT OBSERVATION

NAME _____

DATE _____ TIME _____

OBSERVER _____

PARENT BEHAVIORS:

1. What is parent doing? Holding _____ Feeding _____ Burping _____
 Comforting _____ Showing baby _____

2. How is parent holding baby
 (most of the time)?
 On lap _____
 On lap and arms _____
 Cradled in arms _____
 Shoulders _____
 Combination _____

3. How does parent seem holding baby?

Very Relaxed & comfortable				Very Nervous & awkward
5	4	3	2	1

4. How does parent respond to baby's noises, movements?

Responds to Everything				Not at all
5	4	3	2	1

5. What responses does parent make? Looking _____ Smiling _____
 Baby talk _____ Noises _____
 Talks _____ Touching _____
 Combination _____

BABY BEHAVIORS:

1. What is baby doing? Sleeping _____ Lying quietly _____
 Vocalizing _____ Crying _____
 Fretting _____ Feeding _____
 Combination _____

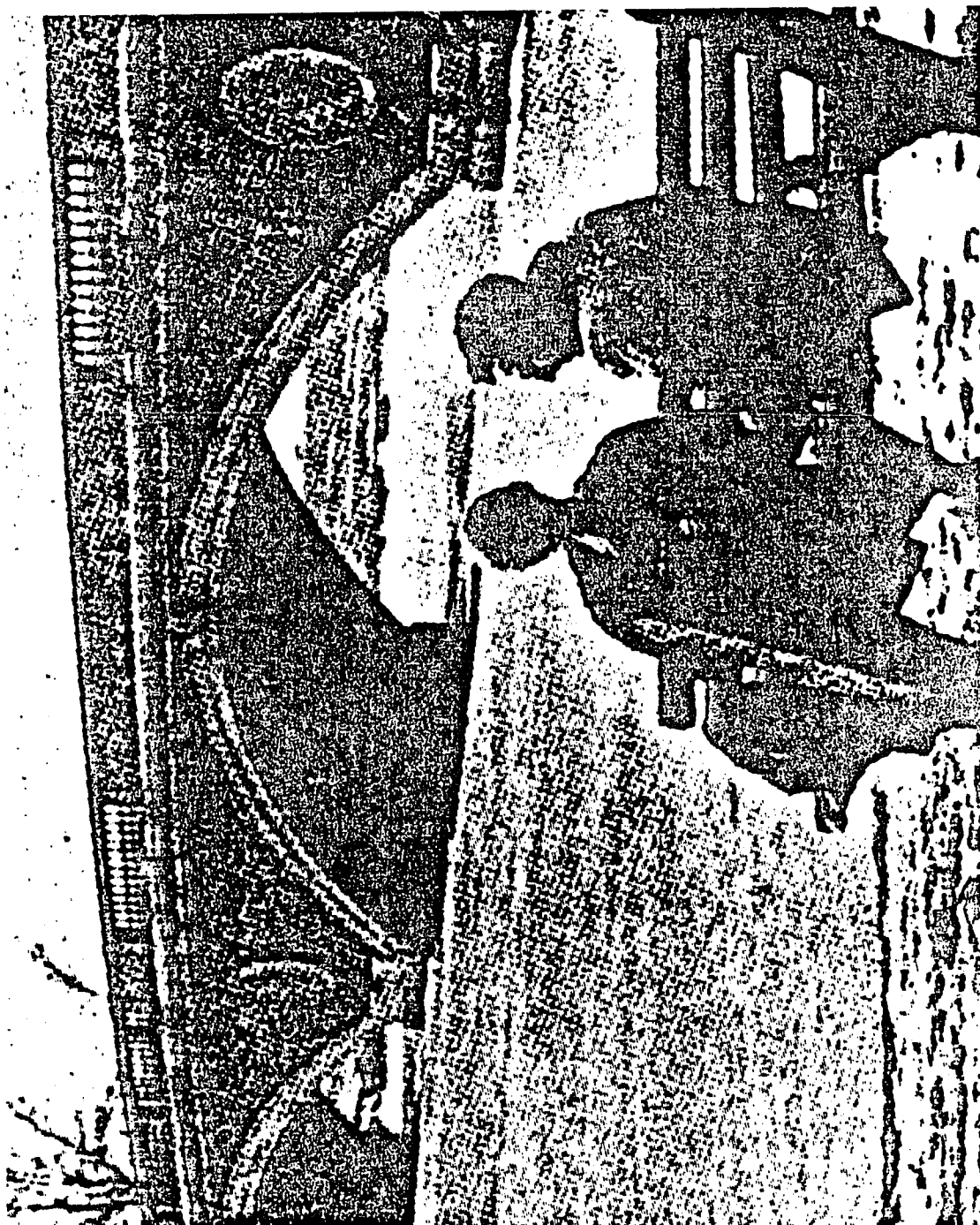
2. How relaxed is baby?

Very				Not at all
5	4	3	2	1

APPENDIX C
THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TYPE CARDS

FEMALE SET







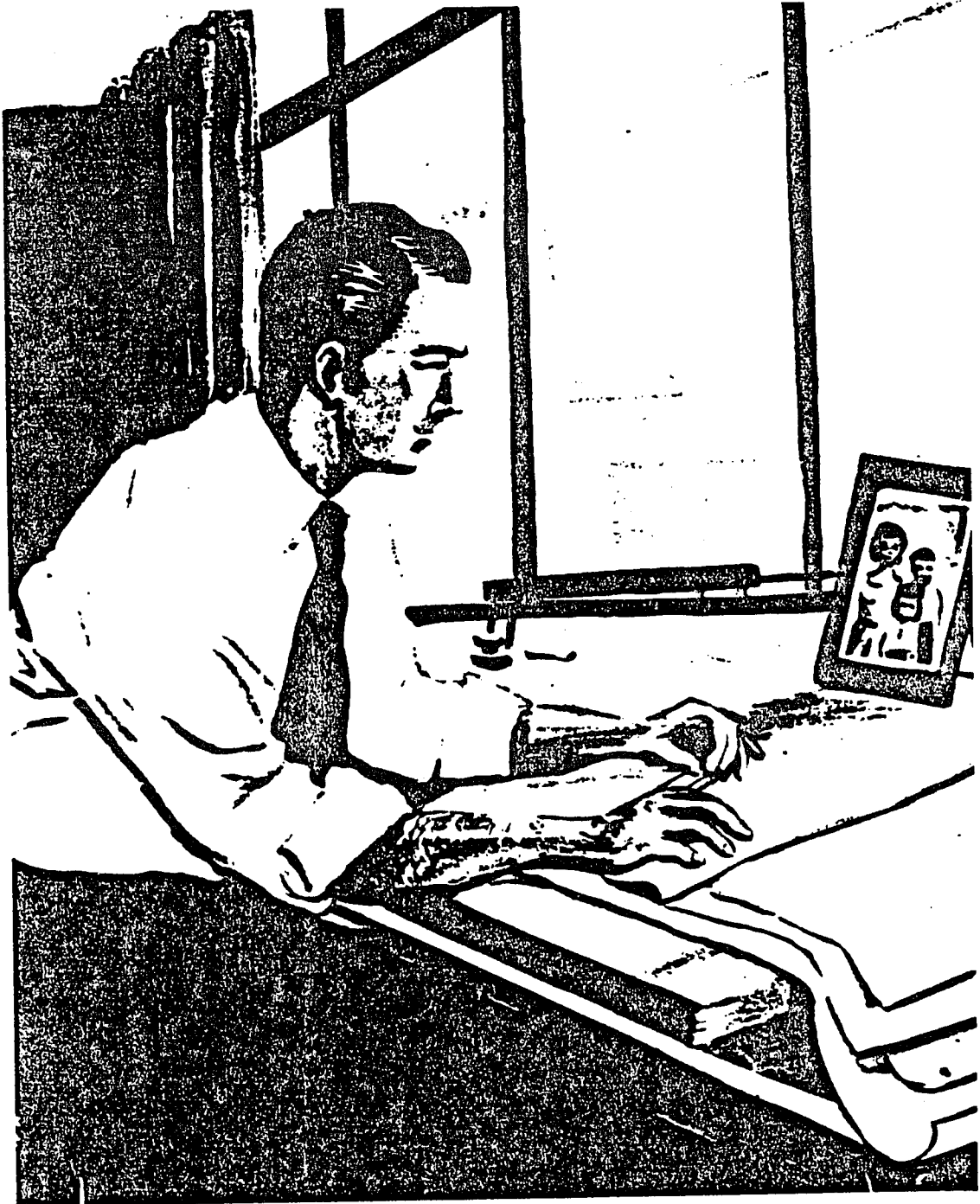










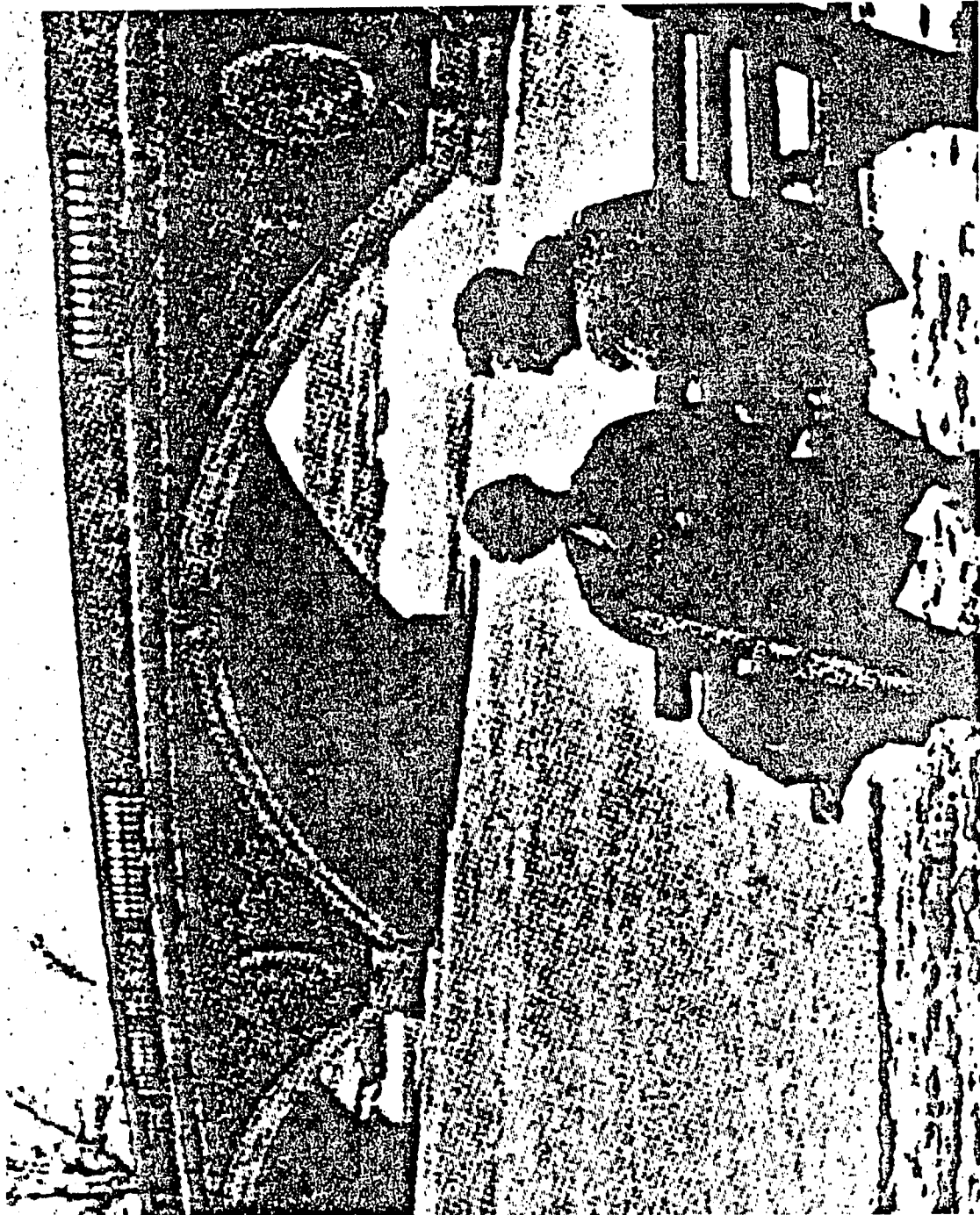






MALE SET























APPENDIX D
CODING SCHEMATA

Autonomy

+ It is an enjoyable and satisfying experience to be both close and involved with another and to be able to experience oneself as separate from that person possibly pursuing other interests. One's current or described future commitment can be primarily to an individual pursuit or interest, but one's connection to others is still prominent and seen in a positive light. There is no implicit or explicit need to be free of the relationship(s). Therefore, there is no sense that one's involvement in one's pursuit provides relief, but simply a sense that this is or will be present business.

Examples:

They're either dancing or holding each other. They're probably thinking of their lives and the things they've been through. When the dance is over, they separate and go back to their friends. It's a nice experience being together, but being separate while being together at the same time.

This man is in his office. He's an architect and he's been working very hard the last week on a job. He's about two-thirds of the way through with it and he's taking a minute-break and a mental-break and he's looking at the picture of his family because it makes him feel very good. He's thinking a little bit about what each of them are doing at that moment and then he'll put the picture aside and finish his work.

— Although there may be an awareness of another person and possibly of their needs, the individual feels their primary commitment (at this point) is to themselves or to their outside interests. Relationships with others can be largely felt to be a drain on one's energies, imposed or burdensome. There can be a desire to shake off restraint. One may feel that one's sense of individuality is

threatened by close interaction and the involvement in outside interests can be seen as necessary to maintain one's sense of one's own identity.

Examples:

This is an engineer who travels a great deal. Now he's on the road and he takes a picture of his family with him wherever he goes. He thinks about them a lot but he's really unable to change his professional life to spend more time with them and, in fact, if he had his way, he wouldn't change his life style. He kind of likes admiring them and enjoying them from a distance.

This guy's a real work-aholic. He hasn't bothered to put his pencil down. He wants to keep the kid away. "Daddy's busy. Go play somewhere."

Dependency

+ Mutual reliance is acceptable and comforting. One has the sense that others can provide a support system or are available for one's needs for either material or personal sustenance and security. On the whole, one feels largely equipped to provide support and protection for others. Even if there is some anxiety about this ability to provide, either by oneself for others or by others for oneself, there is a general sense that this will be forthcoming.

Examples:

A man and a woman...who've just been...or are waiting, anticipating new they expect to be bad...relating to a child--either it's very ill or dead. They're bracing themselves and trying to support each other. They're both terrified but feeling the support of the other. Based on the way they hold each other they have a good relationship and trust each other.

This looks like some sort of woman's group. They're discussing something like how they're going to manage with younger children and work at the same time. They feel really good about each other. They want good solutions and are angry about the lack of resources to make life easier for them....For some reason, I see these women as single mothers.

— One feels significant concern about one's own ability to provide for the needs of others and/or their ability to provide security and support for the individual. Others can be seen as making demands that are felt to be too great, burdensome or even overwhelming. The individual may feel unequipped to cope with these needs. Not much is described in the way of support for the individual and others can be seen as unreliable or unavailable. Significant anxiety, worry or anger may be associated with one's own fears about their ability to provide or with a perceived or

imagined lack of support.

Examples:

She's worried, wondering...worried about whether she's going to have enough for the newborn baby. Something isn't as good as she would like, her financial situation... at the moment...and she's wondering how she's going to manage. I keep needing to make these women single. Try as I might, I can't bring her husband back in here. Well, she could have a husband. Something is not right and she's worried about how they are going to manage. They end up doing really okay. They do things in a simple way.

She's not happy about the situation with the pregnancy.... The baby's father is either not involved supportively or she's not married or possibly something is wrong with the pregnancy and she's worried. There are problems in the relationship with the baby's father and she's contemplating the effects on the relationship with the child. Maybe he doesn't want the responsibility...finances, the emotional responsibility and time.

Relatedness

+ The individual(s) feel positively about close, cooperative relationships with others (adults or children). Those others are not necessarily very intimately involved with them, and can even be friends, but the valence of the affect described is positive with mutual enjoyment and/or cooperation. A new relationship is seen in a positive light and not felt to interfere with existing relationships.

Examples:

These parents talk to each other and they include the kid in their adult lives...the child is part of them. The dad has a nice relationship with his son. The son climbed up on the sofa to kiss his father on the top of his head. The dad is not reacting to this like it is an unusual event.

It doesn't look as though they're lovers....they're far apart, but comfortable with each other. It sort of reminds me of Washington. They're talking about politics or people they know in politics. It looks as if they're enjoying each other and probably this will lead them to getting closer.

— The individual(s) can feel mixed or ambivalent, or negatively about the described relationships with others. Others can be described as distant, cold or absent, or they may be unwilling to participate cooperatively in relationships or fantasied relationships. Someone can be seen as intruding on another relationship and this can be viewed as problematic.

Examples:

Something is going on between the parents but it's hard for them to talk about it directly because the boy is there. They're enjoying his presence but they might want to be alone together. It's hard to tell if they're disagreeing about something. They don't feel they can be totally open or maybe they are just enjoying each other's company and they want to go and have sex. It was

simpler to just be together before the little boy, but they're also glad to have him there.

The child waits for attention from his mother but he's unable to pry her away from her work. Although the mother isn't angry or abusive to the child, she's aloof. The child will be able to get attention for one minute but it's clear the mother is going to go back to her work. She will be turning away from the child. The child will be hurt and look for attention elsewhere.

Achievement

I. Individual: One's sense of mastery in a difficult situation, or in life generally and the concomitant increase in one's self-regard is related to one's exercising of their individual abilities.

Examples:

He's probably a newspaper man who's been working at his desk. He's a hard worker who spends a lot of his time sitting at his desk. He enjoys what he does and he's good at it. I think he feels a little threatened by the young people coming up behind him. He thinks his days in this position may be running out. He's thinking about retiring but he can't really give it all up. His wife is even sick and that's more motivation to give it up, but, it's been his whole life...

I'm basically satisfied with my work but the idea of leaving is nice. I'm tired of having been in the same place so long. The everyday frustrations get to me and I don't like having to depend on other people. Mostly, I work with kids who don't make much progress and they have many problems. My immediate goal is to start a private practice. I'd like more independence.

II. Interpersonal: One's sense of mastery in a difficult situation or in life generally and the concomitant increase in one's self-regard is related to one's exercising of their abilities as they reflect a commitment to others or as they enhance others.

Examples:

All right...she's a student adviser in a university and she's extremely busy in general. She has a lot of responsibilities and she's in her office. She remembered something she had to do...what she had to do and what she forgot was to tell a student about a possible job. She was relieved that she remembered because she thought it would be a good job for that person. She's pleased because she thinks that it will work out.

I think working in the future is very important for me. From childhood on, I have been imbued with the Protestant ethic....I enjoy my work and it provides

an important social function as well. I also really like the people I work with and we work well together.

Nurturance

I. Material Providing: Caretaking of others is conceptualized by providing material goals for them. This can include a house or apartment, money, objects, schooling, etc.

Examples:

Here's a man, not unlike myself...at the moment he's at his desk paying bills and what should happen... his son comes in. There's nothing he'd prefer to do then play with his son, but he's got to pay his bills because paying the bills takes care of the child.

The last few years the kid has been talking and he's not so dependent on his mother. The father feels more involved and he misses them and wishes he could spend more time with them but he's also enormously gratified by being able to provide for them through his job.

As the pregnancy proceeds, I will probably need or want to make more money which might force a career change.

II. Interpersonal Providing: Caretaking of others is conceptualized by providing in an emotional way or in an intimate physical way. This includes affection, support, holding, feeding, etc.

Examples:

They're taking turns. He's doing it now...late at night. It's his turn to get up and feed the baby. He's comfortable with it. It looks new, but comfortable. The baby is perfectly happy and content. The husband is pleased when the baby is full.

This is a mother nursing her child and she's watching the baby and feeling really good and feeling how precious this little thing is and how amazing it is that it gets all it needs to live from her.

When a man has children, there's a sense of responsibility that wasn't there before and a sense of being needed. I've been thinking about reading her stories, introducing her to the world and imposing my philosophy on her (said ironically).

Adult Status

+ Reference is made to the sense of having moved from the position of child, or the younger generation, to adult, or the parental generation. Accompanying feelings of responsibility may be mentioned.

Examples:

He basically enjoys being a father and feels equal to his mother who brought him up as a parent. She's (the mother) interested in what he's saying and she's treating him like an equal--like a parent.

So the son tells him his wife is pregnant and he is happy for his son and congratulates him and he shakes his hand and they go off to have lunch together. The son has worried about telling his father...in many ways he felt his father had failed him. He's going to be a better father than his father was. He's feeling guilty that he's going to be a better father than his father was.

I have the fantasy I'm going from being a child to being an adult. The role of an adult seems frightening. Emotionally, it feels like I'm giving up being a child and becoming a grown-up adult.

— The above issues are not mentioned.

Gender Identity

+ Reference is made to feeling that one's activity is contributing to a more secure sense of oneself as particularly feminine or masculine. Whatever is being explained or described indicates that the requirements of one's sex role, however that is conceptualized, are now more fully being met.

Examples:

(Feminine) I feel really good about myself--as a woman. It's fulfilling that I'm having a child. I feel magical and proud.

(Masculine) The fact that she could become pregnant makes me proud and since then I've had this sudden new concern about being able to provide for my new family and it makes me feel manly.

— The above issues are not mentioned.

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