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MEN'S DREAMS AND THE AGE THIRTY TRANSITION

by

Joshua M. Srebnick

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

2001

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THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

Men's Dreams and the Age Thirty Transition

by

Joshua M. Srebnick

Advisor: Professor Laurence Gould

This dissertation centers on the development of men in early adulthood. Using the work of Daniel Levinson Ph.D., as well as other adult development theorists, it focuses on the personal and professional choices men make during this period and examines the transformations these choices undergo during the late twenties and early thirties. As a young man individuates in complex psychosocial ways from his family of origin, he begins to forge an independent identity as an adult. In so doing, he begins to focus on how he would like his adult life to unfold. This sense of future self often has the quality of a vision or an ideal imagining of the kind of person he hopes to become. It also reflects the kind of life he wishes to live, and the kind of world he hopes to inhabit. This sense of future self is often referred to as "the Dream." While the Dream is often characterized by a certain type of job, family or life style, it transcends these achievements and represents a heroic self-image, or ego ideal, that one feels compelled to fulfill.

Early adulthood is a complicated period in a man's life. It is a time when a man begins to explore the possibilities that life has to offer. He develops interests and values and makes a variety of initial choices in regards to his occupation, relationships, family and life style. While these choices are shaped and influenced by family, class and culture, they are equally shaped by various aspects of his personality as well. Motives,

talents and anxieties both hinder and facilitate a young man's developmental path. It is one of the complications of early adulthood that one needs to explore possibilities, while simultaneously making commitments to the self and the world. As a result, social scientists argue that the years immediately around age thirty are often a time of intense reflection and reevaluation. It is a period when many men reassess the life choices they have made and attempt to change those elements that are intolerable. Although some are able to move through the years around thirty smoothly, many face a moderate to severe amount of crisis. Some men find themselves consumed by a single passion or dream that defines their lives, while others find themselves interested in a variety of possibilities. Each of these experiences has a developmental effect on the individual. In the first case, the individual approaches thirty buffeted by a defining goal that gives purpose to their life. However, other needs and talents may go largely ignored in the process. In the other instance, an individual may have gained an understanding of the possibilities that life has to offer, however he may feel that his life lacks a central focus that gives it meaning.

This dissertation is a qualitative exploration of men's dreams in early adulthood analyzed through the lens of adult developmental theory. It uses the methodology of Intensive Biographical Interviewing, designed by Levinson, to obtain information about men in early adulthood. This hypothesis generating study uses the life history narratives of men in early adulthood to explore in depth the multiple meanings that dreams have in their lives. For this study, two samples of men from similar backgrounds between the ages of 30 and 34 were interviewed about their experiences. Half of these men's lives have been characterized by a specific dream while the other half of the sample consists of

men who are equally ambitious, but have not found a single focus that defines their lives.

The primary questions that are addressed are: (1) do men have dreams? (2) how the individual first forms his dream? (3) what factors in childhood, adolescence and early adulthood facilitate or hinder the implementation of the dream? (4) are men's dreams in early adulthood occupational (or independent) in nature, or do they contain interpersonal aspects as well? (5) does the individual and his dream undergo significant changes at or around age thirty?

FOR AMY

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project emerged out of a class I took during my second year of graduate school. At the time, I was starting to become interested in the area of adult development and I was curious about how notions of masculinity affected the experiences of men. I was frustrated by the lack of literature that explored this topic and this project began as an investigation that stayed with me throughout my graduate education. None of this would have been possible without the support and interest of my professors and colleagues, and the humor, love and patience of my family and friends. The former gave me a sense of direction and helped hone my skills so that this endeavor was even a possibility, and the latter made sure the rest of my life remained fun.

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Joshua M. Srebnick
New York City, 2001

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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

I was thirty. Before me stretched the portentous, menacing road of a new decade. . . . Thirty - the promise of a decade of loneliness, a thinning list of single men to know, a thinning brief-case of enthusiasm, thinning hair. But there was Jordan beside me, who, unlike Daisy was too wise ever to carry well-forgotten dreams from age to age. As we passed over the bridge her wan face fell lazily against my coat's shoulder and the formidable stroke of thirty died away with the reassuring pressure of her hand.

Gatsby believed in the green light, the orgiastic future that year by year recedes before us. It eluded us then, but that's no matter - tomorrow we will run faster, stretch out our arms farther. . .

- F.Scott Fitzgerald, The Great Gatsby (1925, p. 91, p. 121)

As interest in adult development theory has increased, numerous researchers have written about life-cycle development. These theories have been concerned with the psychological, social and biological changes that take place in the segment of adult years that stretch from late adolescence to old age. Inspired by the work of Erikson (1963), Jung (1960) and Jacques (1981, 1965), Daniel Levinson (1996, 1978) devised a theory of adulthood using the biographical interviews of men between the ages of thirty five and forty five. From these interviews Levinson proposed one of the most significant and controversial theories of adult development. He claimed that adult development was characterized by a universal sequence of age linked developmental eras and periods. Within each, he proposed a series of developmental tasks that were critical for successful development.

In his theory of early adulthood, Levinson (1996, 1978) stressed the importance of the Dream. It is the most significant task of this era. In its purest form, the Dream represents an ideal imagining of how an individual would like their adult life to unfold.

Generally occupational in nature, a man's Dream served as the vehicle for forming an independent identity and creating a satisfying life. Upon careful examination of his interviews, Levinson concluded that the Dream's presence in early adulthood gave men a sense of vitality and purpose. He also concluded that failure to develop a Dream ultimately resulted in negative consequences. Examples of the Dream are prevalent in American popular culture. For example, Roy Hobbs, the central character of Bernard Malamud's novel The Natural (1952), speaks to Levinson's notion of the Dream. In early adulthood Hobbs has focused his life on the pursuit of becoming a baseball player. When asked what he hopes to become, Hobbs remarks, "Sometimes when I walk down the street I bet people will say there goes Roy Hobbs, the best there ever was in the game" (p. 26). Even after tragedy befalls Hobbs, and he is forced to leave the game for sixteen years, he is unwilling to give up his Dream. He returns to baseball in his mid thirties, still intent on being the best there ever was. For it is this Dream that sustains him.

On the other hand, popular culture is also filled with examples of men who never develop Dreams. Charles Foster Kane, the main character in Orson Wells' film Citizen Kane is an example of this pattern. From an early age Kane is taken away from his simple boyhood home and is placed in a life of privilege. By the time he reaches early adulthood he finds himself at the center of a world of power and prestige. When he reaches mid-life there is little that his influence can not accomplish. However, even with all his success and fortune Kane has never developed a Dream that is his own. In old age, as he lies on his deathbed he is left with a deep sense of emptiness and a longing for the unfulfilled possibilities of youth.

Levinson's (1996, 1978) claim that the Dream is a universal phenomena that determines the quality of adult development has been widely debated (Kittrell, 1998; Roberts and Newton, 1987). Subsequent research has argued that the Dream may adequately describe an important developmental process for white middle and upper class men, but it does not speak to the experience of working class individuals, women and ethnic minorities (Gooden, 1989; Ruffin, 1989). It has been argued that these individuals are beholden to a different set of societal expectations and possibilities that make the Dream less viable.¹

Levinson's (1978) study of adult development is regularly cited as the benchmark for understanding men's Dreams. While this work has influenced a generation of social scientists to further investigate development in adulthood, it is somewhat dated in regard to men's lives. The research that informed Levinson's study was conducted between 1968 and 1970 and since this time there have been dramatic shifts in American culture. The Vietnam War, the women's movement and the onset of the information age are just a few of the social and cultural changes that have taken place since this study was

¹ In his developmental study of African-American men in early adulthood, Gooden (1989) found that many of his subjects had Dreams that were stifled by circumstances beyond their control. While all of his subjects had Dreams of an occupational nature, none were able to live up to their full potential because of either societal or familial constraints. Because his subjects lacked an external network of institutions to provide support, they were unable to maintain their Dreams. Several had Dreams of becoming physicians, lawyers or Ph.D.s in early adulthood, but they had to compromise these aspirations because external circumstance kept them from coming to fruition. Gooden's subjects did not come from families that could support them financially in these endeavors and the responsibilities of family life made the pursuit of graduate education impossible. In addition, none of these men had access to mentors to serve as role models and advisors. The task for these men in the later part of early adulthood was to develop new Dreams that were viable in the environments in which they lived. While the present study centers on white men in early adulthood, Gooden's research shows how much environmental circumstance can delegate what is possible.

conducted. Moreover, Levinson's notion of the Dream has not been investigated with the generation of men currently taking on the challenges of early adulthood.

Early adulthood is a complicated period in a man's life. It is a time when a man begins to explore the possibilities that life has to offer. He develops interests and values and makes a variety of initial choices in regards to his occupation, relationships, family and life style. While these choices are shaped and influenced by family, class and culture, they are equally shaped by various aspects of his personality as well. Motives, talents and anxieties both hinder and facilitate a young man's developmental path. It is one of the complications of early adulthood that one needs to explore possibilities while simultaneously to make commitments to the self and the world. As a result, social scientists (Roberts and Newton, 1987; Furst, 1983; Levinson, 1996, 1978) argue that the years immediately around age thirty are often a time of intense reflection and reevaluation. It is a period when many men reassess the life choices they have made and attempt to change those elements that are intolerable. Although some are able to move through the years around thirty smoothly, many face a moderate to severe amount of crisis. The individual has lived long enough to know what aspects of his life are not working, yet is young enough to make changes and proceed down a path that is more satisfying. As Levinson (1978) explains, an individual has the opportunity to ask himself, "What have I done with my life? What do I want to make of it? What new directions shall I choose?" (p. 85).

A recent *New York Times* article (Barnes, 4/25/99) entitled, "Young Life Crisis" speaks to this experience. The article centers around a group of individuals in their late

twenties and early thirties who have found themselves unable to continue the life paths that they had established during their early twenties. Many had quit high paying jobs, ended relationships or significantly changed their life styles in order to live more fulfilling lives. Some of the individuals in the article had decided to finally pursue dreams that had been suppressed in their twenties, while others simply wanted to take a chance on something different. The article suggests that as we enter the twenty first century the expectations people have for themselves are beginning to change. No longer consumed with the external pressure to live in accord with societal or parental expectations, many are choosing to follow their own paths. As one of the subjects in the article commented, "I don't want a mid-life crisis, I'd rather have it now."

Early adulthood is a time when some men find themselves consumed by a single passion that defines their lives, while others find themselves interested in a variety of possibilities. Each of these experiences has a developmental effect on the individual. In the first case, the individual approaches thirty buffeted by a defining goal that gives purpose to their life. However, other needs and talents may go largely ignored in the process. In the other instance, an individual may have gained an understanding of the possibilities life has to offer, however he may feel that his life lacks a central focus that gives it meaning.²

Currently, the literature on adult development argues that men's Dreams focus on issues relating to occupation. As a result, men's Dreams have been regarded as focused

² There are also men who establish Dreams in early adulthood but find themselves unable to pursue them. For example, there are men who do not follow their Dreams because of environmental circumstances that are beyond their control (Gooden, 1989). There are also men who are pulled away from their Dreams by

and unidimensional because they center on an independent self. The more interpersonal aspects of the male experience are not viewed as central to men's development, so they have been largely absent from studies on adult development. However, in ignoring the relational aspects of the male experience, these studies have neglected to look at an integral part of male development. Although occupation is still a central component of the male experience in early adulthood, relational needs have taken a more significant role in men's lives (Levant, 1995). Moreover, with more women in the workforce, the male role of breadwinner has begun to change. No longer defined by an obligation to be a provider, many men are finding themselves desiring deeper interpersonal connections (Pollack, 1998). One wonders what place these needs have in men's Dreams and how they have affected their development overall?

In recent years, adult development has emerged as a significant area of study. This body of work has been influenced by Erikson (1963) who proposed an invariant sequence of stages in the psychosocial development of the individual. Each of these stages was linked to the accomplishment of a developmental task that was consequential for subsequent development. Although Erikson was primarily concerned with development in the first half of life, he proposed three stages that characterized the years beyond childhood. Moreover, his belief in a universal sequence of stages from birth to old age set the stage for future work in the field of adult development.

both real and imagined external and internal pressures. While these types of experiences are worthy of investigation, they are not a focus of the present study on men's Dreams.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The present study is a qualitative exploration of men's Dreams in early adulthood analyzed through the lens of adult developmental theory. This hypothesis generating study uses the life history narratives of men in early adulthood to explore in depth the multiple meanings that Dreams have in their lives. Specifically, it plans to investigate the development of men's Dreams and the manner in which these Dreams are re-assessed during the Age Thirty Transition. There is a paucity of literature on men in early adulthood which fully investigates the manner in which they make their life choices and the transformations these choices undergo. The primary questions are: (1) if men have Dreams; (2) how the individual first forms his Dream; (3) what factors in childhood, adolescence and early adulthood facilitate or hinder the implementation of the Dream; (4) if men's Dreams in early adulthood are occupational (or independent) in nature, or if they contain interpersonal aspects as well; (5) whether or not the individual undergoes significant changes at or around age thirty.

Although a full investigation of men's development is beyond the scope of this inquiry, this study will attempt to explore early adulthood in the male life cycle in a specific group of men. For this study, a sample of eight men from similar backgrounds at or around the age of thirty will be interviewed about their experiences. Some of these men's lives have been characterized by a specific Dream. These men have defined their lives in terms of a central passion. The sample also consists of men who are equally ambitious, but have not found a single focus that defines their lives. Instead, their lives have been characterized by a variety of interests and aspirations.

The literature that informs this study comes from three domains of research and theory. First, the literature on adult development, specifically early adulthood, will be examined. An emphasis will be placed on Levinson's (1996, 1978) work to see if the theoretical framework and methodology of psychobiographical interviewing he posits enable an accurate understanding of the lives of men. Second, the literature on Dreams, and the sense of future self provides a focus for this study. And lastly, the literature on masculinity and gender identity development enables a discussion on the significance of gender in men's lives (Levinson, 1996). This will also allow for a more in depth examination of how gender both influences and impedes a man's Dream.

CHAPTER TWO - REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

SECTION 1: PERSPECTIVES ON ADULT DEVELOPMENT

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC PERSPECTIVE

Psychoanalysis has not formulated a comprehensive theory for understanding normal adult development for men or women (Colarusso & Nemiroff, 1979). Most of the work on adult development exists outside the realms of psychoanalytic thought (Colarusso & Nemiroff, 1987). Although Freud's (1905) theory of psychosexual development greatly informed our understanding of adult life, it did not provide a framework for understanding the entire life cycle. According to Freud, development centered on the conflicts individuals confronted as they proceeded through a series of biologically predetermined stages in childhood. For Freud, development ended at the onset of adolescence, and adulthood was considered a time when childhood conflicts were re-enacted. As Colarusso & Nemiroff explain, "his efforts were directed primarily toward psychopathology, and his hypothesis were based on the idea that intrapsychic conflict was the major stimulus to psychic growth" (1979, p. 59). While Freud's theory argued that conscious and unconscious aspects of childhood deeply influence later experience, it did not conceive of adulthood as a period of continued growth and change.

EARLY PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT

Recently, efforts have been made to integrate psychoanalytic theory with the study of adult development (Settlage, 1992, 1988; Colarusso & Nemiroff, 1987, 1979; Shane & Shane, 1990). This body of work has been greatly influenced by Hartmann's

(1939) theory of ego development. While Hartmann agreed with Freud's (1905) assertions that conflict enabled development to take place and that drive manifestations and ego apparatus were biologically rooted, he proposed that certain ego functions developed outside the sphere of conflict. In addition, he introduced the concept of adaptation which recognized the role of the environment on ego development. According to Hartmann, adaptation refers to the reciprocal relationship between an organism and its environment. For Hartmann, the developing ego relies heavily on its environment and learns to adapt in response to it. As a result, the quality of the environment is directly related to the quality of ego development. Furthermore, object relations play a significant role in this process. By internalizing the mother's regulatory interventions, a child gains increasingly more autonomy because his self-regulatory and adaptive capacities are broadened.

While Hartmann's ideas expanded the realms of psychoanalytic thought, like Freud he contended that development was limited to childhood. Although he proposed a reciprocal developmental relationship between biological endowment and the environment, he argued that the ego was completely self sufficient by adulthood. For Hartmann, the environment and the individuals who occupy it are of little developmental consequence to the ego beyond childhood. Expanding on Hartmann's concepts, Loewald (1960) contributed to the scope of developmental thought when he proposed that development could take place in the analytic relationship. For Loewald, the relationship between the analyst and patient was similar to the relationship that occurs between a mother and an infant. According to Loewald, the mother's mental apparatus is functionally and structurally more developed than her infant's and it is through continued

interactions with the mother that the infant's mental apparatus is able to grow. For Loewald, ongoing interactions with the mother *lift* the child to higher levels of organization. In time the child no longer needs the mother as "an external auxiliary ego" (Settlege, 1988, p.353) and is capable of functioning on his own. According to Loewald, the therapeutic relationship serves a similar purpose because the analyst provides those structures that the patient cannot provide for himself. Development takes place as the patient internalizes the analyst's interventions and uses them to build those structures that are needed for more autonomous functioning. Loewald's theory took Hartmann's ideas a step further, and posited that ego development could continue beyond childhood. In addition, he proposed that adult relationships could have a developmental valance.

Kohut's (1981, 1978, 1977, 1971) self psychology provided another perspective on development. Although his theory centered around development in childhood, it provided a framework for understanding the origins of the self and its ideals. Central to Kohut's theory was the concept of selfobjects. According to Kohut, parents initially play the critical role of selfobjects for their developing child. The selfobjects must provide an empathic environment in which the child feels safe so that he can develop a sense of ambition and enthusiasm for life. This can only happen if the selfobjects mirror the child's developmental efforts through consistent appraisal and positive reinforcement. In such an environment the child comes to idealize the parents and view them as omnipotent. Furthermore, the child experiences the regulatory functions of the selfobjects as his own and develops a grandiose sense of self.

According to Kohut (1981, 1978, 1977, 1971), the self becomes more autonomous when the developing child experiences a break in empathy on the part of the selfobjects.

This process enables the grandiose self to transform into mature self esteem and the idealized parental imagoes to evolve into mature values, aspirations and ideals. Furthermore, if development proceeds adequately, this process takes place after the child has already internalized the selfobjects regulatory capacities. As a result, internal structures have developed that regulate self esteem and can calm and soothe the self even in the face of considerable stress. From this process the self gains a sense of direction and the ability to set challenging and realistic goals. As Kohut explains, "Our ideals are our internal leaders; we love them and are longing to reach them" (1978, p. 421). Kohut's ideas had a profound effect on developmental theory because he saw normal development as a relatively conflict-free process which took place as a result of encouragement, reinforcement and support. For Kohut, conflict (i.e. break in empathy) only served as the catalyst for autonomous functioning (Baker & Baker, 1987). On the other hand, Kohut did not explore the developmental role that selfobjects have beyond childhood. Although the adult self is able to function more independently, environmental support is still needed to provide encouragement and structure so that the individual can meet the challenges of adult life. Kohut viewed selfobjects as a childhood phenomenon. Furthermore, Kohut did not examine the role that adult ideals and aspirations have on the development of the self beyond childhood.

CONTEMPORARY PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORIES OF ADULT DEVELOPMENT

Contemporary theorists (Settlage, 1992, 1988; Colarusso & Nemiroff, 1987, 1979; Jacques, 1981; Shane & Shane, 1990) have built on earlier concepts of

development and argue that development is an ongoing dynamic process that begins in childhood and continues throughout adulthood.

In keeping with Hartmann (1939), Colarusso and Nemiroff (1987, 1979) contend that development in childhood centers around the formation of psychic structures through the processes of identification and internalization. However, their conception of adult development argues that identification and internalization continue throughout adulthood. As they explain, “the identification with the original objects deals with how the child builds psychic structure and becomes like the adult, while later identification provides specificity to the adult personality” (1979, p.63). Furthermore, Colarusso and Nemiroff have expanded on Kohut’s (1981, 1978, 1977, 1971) notion of selfobjects and Loewald’s (1960) theory of development in the analytic relationship and argue that developmental relationships continue to take place in adulthood. As they explain, “in the achievement of new and phase-specific developmental tasks of adulthood, the individual is as dependent as the child on the environment. But in adulthood the environment necessary to promote continued growth changes. For instance, parents are replaced by spouse and children and the play environment is supplemented by, for the most part, the work environment” (p. 61). In addition, Colarusso and Nemiroff have broadened the role of the personal past on development as well. While previous theorists (Freud, 1905; Hartmann, 1938; Kohut, 1981, 1978, 1977, 1971) only viewed the past of childhood as developmentally significant, Colarusso and Nemiroff argue that the adult past is just as influential on subsequent development as the past of childhood.

Also building on earlier theories of development, Settlege’s (1992, 1988) process model of development proposes that development in adulthood involves “growth,

differentiation and integration” (1988, p. 353) from lower and simpler levels to higher and more complex levels of functioning and adaptation. Development takes place when previous levels of functioning no longer serve the individual. According to Settlage, this process can be ego-syntonic, as in a self initiated desire for growth, or it can be ego dystonic, as in the case of a thrust upon, intrusive or traumatic experience that brings change. The process of moving through a transition can often be difficult because the individual’s internal state may not be congruent with their environmental circumstance. In other words, the individual may desire change, but the environment may not be able to accommodate this need. On the other hand, the individual may be obligated or forced to change even though they are internally unprepared. As he explains, “Regardless of whether the state is self initiated or thrust upon the individual, there is a conscious or unconscious sense of dissatisfaction that calls for solution and change. In response to the dissatisfaction, the individual may develop, may attempt to maintain status quo, may regress to earlier levels and modes of self regulation and adaptation, or may employ defensive moves that can lead to the formation of psychopathology” (1988, p.356).

While the theories of adult development proposed by Colarusso and Nemiroff (1987, 1979) and Settlage (1992, 1988) argue that development continues throughout the life span, they do not address the relationship between developmental process and age. In fact, they reject such a relationship outright and argue that development in adulthood does not conform to a series of age-linked stages. On the other hand, Jacques (1981, 1965) has developed a theory of developmental positions in adulthood. He argues that the paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions that Klein (1935) proposed in her theory of childhood development are re-enacted in adulthood. According to Jacques, an individual gradually

moves from the paranoid-schizoid position in early adulthood to a more mature, integrated depressive position in mid-life. Early adulthood is a time of intense ambition in which the individual must focus his energies on making it in the world. This entails increasing one's status, power and authority. As a result, paranoid-schizoid mechanisms such as splitting, projective identification, psychotic anxiety, and the inability to experience integrated whole objects are present. As the individual moves towards mid-life, he begins to integrate ambivalent feelings into his sense of self. As Jacques explains:

Late adolescent and early adult idealism and optimism accompanied by split-off and projected hate, are given up and supplanted by a more contemplative pessimism. There is a shift from radical desire and impatience to a more reflective and tolerant conservatism. Beliefs in the inherent goodness of man are replaced by a recognition and acceptance of the fact that inherent goodness is accompanied by hate and destructive forces within, which contribute to man's own misery and tragedy (p. 44).

According to Jacques, the shift from early adulthood to mid-life entails a relinquishing of the paranoid schizoid position and conceding to the depressive position. The capacity to tolerate ambivalence and uncertainty become appropriate to the tasks of mid-life. In mid-life an individual is able to accept the fact that "good" and "bad" are both aspects of the human experience. Gould (1998, 1997) has noted that this "knowledge of the world and self"(p.8) only emerge from the experience of having lived. Often such knowledge and acceptance is manifested in a desire to contribute to the development of others (Shane & Shane, 1990). It is what Erikson (1980, 1963) referred to as Generativity.

Successful development in adulthood is also contingent on the ability to have a impact on the development of others. Building on Kohut's (1981, 1978, 1977, 1971) theory, Shane and Shane (1990), propose that one of the fundamental aspects of

successful development in adulthood is the capacity to be a selfobject for another. They refer to this as otherhood. Moreover, borrowing from the work of Stern (1985), Shane and Shane contend that the developmental goal of otherhood is to be able to invest oneself in another person with the intention of enabling the other's growth. In order to maintain a relationship of this nature, an individual must have the capacity for empathy and caring. According to Shane and Shane, these capacities must be other centered. This means that concern for the other must be devoid of any desire to use the other to satisfy the personal needs of the self. For Shane and Shane, the ability to allow another to identify and internalize aspects of the self is a "measure of successful adult development" (p.496).

The psychoanalytic theories of adult development proposed by Scitlidge (1988, 1992), Colarusso & Nemiroff (1987, 1979), Jacques (1981, 1965) and Shane and Shane (1990) all recognize that development is a process that continues beyond childhood. In addition, these theories argue that growth and differentiation is an ongoing process. While these theories recognize the influence of the social world on development, their focus is largely on the growth of intrapsychic structures across the life span. The experience of the individual in their social world is not central to these theories. Those aspects of development that are influenced by society, culture and gender are largely absent from these paradigms. Also absent from discussion is the pressure that such environmental influences place on the individual's motivations and life choices. Moreover, the role that adult aspirations have on development is not mentioned in any of these theories. As a result, the sense of meaning and purpose that the individual gains from striving for a personally meaningful goal is not a subject of inquiry. Although Jacques (1981, 1965)

alludes to age specific stages of development, the psychoanalytic theories neglect to fully examine the relationship between development and age. Specifically, whether there are developmental tasks and processes that are germane to a specific time of life.

THE PSYCHOSOCIAL PERSPECTIVE

Although still in its infancy, adult development has emerged as a specialized area of research and study. The focus on adulthood as a discipline recognizes that development is an ongoing process (Settlege et. al., 1988, Ruffin, 1989). Life span psychologists seek to understand the patterns of change that individuals go through over the course of their lives (Gould, 1980, 1978, 1972). This entails a complex exploration of the sequence of events, issues and themes that characterize adulthood (Taylor, 1981). Several authors have noted that there is not a unified theory of adult development that adequately integrates the biological, psychological and social aspects of a person's life (Ruffin, 1989; Gooden, 1989). Over the last few decades life span psychologists have been interested in investigating "the engagement of self with the world" (Levinson, 1986). Such an exploration is a far reaching task because it must include all aspects of living. A variety of psychosocial theories for understanding adult development have been presented (Erikson 1949, 1963, 1980; Jung 1963; Neugarten 1969; Vaillant 1978; and Levinson 1996, 1978) and analyzed (Brewster; 1998; Ruffin, 1989; Taylor, 1981). While these theories recognize the importance of intrapsychic processes, their emphasis is on the individual's experience in the social world.

Jung (1960) proposed a theory of the entire life cycle which emphasized the importance of the social world on development. For Jung, the external influence of

institutions, culture and mythology were all significant aspects of a person's experience. According to Jung, early adulthood is a time of necessity in which a young man must establish himself in a career and family. A man is compelled to live in accord with these archetypes. However, they both structure and limit development. Although they allow a man to live in accord with society, they often keep valuable aspects of the self from surfacing. As the individual develops throughout adulthood, he is more able to use his inner resources and pursue his own aims. This developmental process, which Jung referred to as individuation enables one to become more uniquely individual. Although it often entails painful transitions, individuation enables one to gain a clearer and fuller identity. According to Jung, mid-life is a time when the individual can really begin to attend to aspects of the self that have been suppressed or neglected. The pressures and demands that society places on the individual are not as consuming and energies can be focused on the more internal needs and desires (Brim, 1976).

While Jung's (1960) theory split adulthood into two parts, and focused on the role of the social world, it was rather broad in its formulations. Erikson (1980, 1963, 1949) had a profound impact on the field of adult development when he proposed three age specific stages of development that followed adolescence. They were "characterized by the successive attainment of a capacity for intimacy, for generativity, and for ego integrity" (Settlege et. al., 1988; p.347). Erikson's conception of development emphasized the influence of other individuals as well as society on identity. He divided the life span into a series of eight stages, each with an age linked crisis for the developing ego to overcome. Development involves reconciling the crisis by integrating two opposite extremes. As he explains, "ego qualities emerge from critical periods of

development - criteria by which the individual demonstrates that his ego, at a given stage, is strong enough to integrate the timetable of the organism with the structure of social institutions” (1963, p.246).

According to Erikson, (1980, 1968, 1963, 1949) an individual must consolidate their identity before embarking on the tasks of adulthood. His stage of Identity vs. Role Confusion begins at the onset of adolescence and ends at the beginning of early adulthood. For Erikson, ego identity is the sense of continuity and constancy of oneself over time, while role confusion is the sense of uncertainty about who one is in the scheme of life. Although Erikson argued that it was imperative to attain a consistent identity by the end of adolescence, he also believed that experiencing a certain amount of confusion was a normal part of the process. According to Erikson, adolescence should be characterized by a certain degree of uncertainty and experimentation. This requires that the individual take risks and gravitate towards a variety of experiences to see what feels comfortable for them (Brockman, 1984; Blos, 1962). Erikson understood the role that society played in this process. As he explains, “in thus reinforcing the values by which the ego exists, societies create the only condition under which human growth is possible” (1963, p. 86). During adolescence the individual separates from the physical and psychological realms of the family, and society’s values and notions of worth become models for the developing adult identity. From the dialectical struggle between ego identity and role confusion the individual emerges with the psychosocial strength of *fidelity* which is “the ability to sustain loyalties freely pledged in spite of the inevitable contradictions and confusions of value systems” (1980, p. 25).

Erikson's (1980, 1968, 1963, 1949) next stage, Intimacy vs. Isolation begins at the end of adolescence and extends throughout early adulthood. Here intimacy is "the capacity to commit [one]self to concrete affiliations and partnerships and to develop the ethical strength to abide by such commitments, even though they may call for significant sacrifices and compromises" (1963, p. 263). For Erikson, intimacy is not only associated with the capacity for romantic love, it also entails the capacity to relate to others socially and professionally in an enduring and meaningful way. The other side of the polarity for Erikson is isolation. This is the avoidance of interpersonal intimacy "for fear of ego loss" (p. 264). According to Erikson, individuals who are unable to successfully emerge from this crisis are left in a state of self-absorption, isolated from relationships, their work and society. However, if the individual is able to find a balance between intimacy and isolation he gains the ego quality of *love* which not only fosters his growth, but the growth of those he loves as well (Hauser & Greene, 1991; Orlofsky, 1973).

Erikson (1980, 1968, 1963, 1949) understood the importance of society and other individuals upon development in adulthood. While his theory greatly informed our understanding of adulthood, it has been criticized for contending that certain developmental experiences transpire within a specific time frame (Vaillant, 1977). For example, subsequent studies (Levinson, 1996, 1978), have found that individuals struggle with issues of ego identity and role confusion throughout adulthood. The experience of desiring change, gravitating towards a variety of experiences and making new commitments is re-enacted at different periods in the life cycle. Such an experience is not limited to adolescence. In fact, the subjects in Levinson's (1978) study dealt with these issues most profoundly between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-three. Throughout life

we are faced with an abundance of new aspirations, responsibilities and pressures that promote development and change. Some of these emerge as a result of choice, while others are placed or forced upon us. How and when we take on these challenges is a matter of individual development. Moreover, in positing that there is an appropriate time for developmental processes to take place, Erikson does not fully explore the uniqueness of individual experience.

In contrast to Erikson's (1968) theory, Vaillant's (1977) adaptation perspective provides another view of adult development. In his longitudinal study, he extensively interviewed ninety-five male Harvard graduates at three different stages of their lives: at twenty, thirty, and forty-five. As he writes about his findings:

When the Grant Study was started, the hope was that it would allow prediction and that once all the data were in, college counselors could interview sophomores and tell them what they should do with their lives. This was not to be. The life cycle is more than an invariant sequence of stages with single, predictable outcomes. The men's lives are full of surprises (p. 373).

According to Vaillant, external events continually precipitate growth and change. His study found that successful development in adulthood was related to how well an individual's adaptive capacities met the challenges they were confronted with. According to Vaillant, adaptation was highest among subjects who had had the opportunity to exhibit autonomy and initiative during childhood and adolescence. In addition, successful life adjustment was contingent upon the availability of positive models to identify with over the life course. Furthermore, men who had significant individuals to provide emotional support during times of transition evidenced the highest levels of personal and professional success in adulthood. This was particularly true for men who had been able to sustain an enduring romantic relationship with a women. Vaillant

suggests that the development of a capacity for intimacy in early adulthood is one of the best predictors of mature ego development and success in later adulthood.

LEVINSON'S THEORY OF ADULT DEVELOPMENT

Levinson (1996, 1978) has devised the most comprehensive theoretical perspective of adult development. His theory is based on two landmark studies he conducted using the life history narratives of forty men and forty five women who ranged in age from thirty-five to forty-five years old. Using these narratives Levinson constructed a theory that attempts to provide a systematic approach to understanding adult development. According to Levinson, adult development is best understood through an examination of the life structure. This entails understanding "the underlying pattern or design of a person's life at a given time" (1996, p.22). The central component of the life structure is the matrix of relationships that a person engages in. This matrix includes various aspects of the social world such as family, friendships and work.

Levinson's (1996, 1978) conception of development attempts to understand adult life in all its complexity. Levinson's theory is both a process model of development as well as an age/stage model. According to Levinson, adult development is a process of adaptation to more satisfying and autonomous functioning in the world. As he explains:

In successive periods of development, as this process goes on, the person forms a clearer boundary between self and world. He forms a stronger sense of who he is and what he wants, and a more realistic, sophisticated view of the world: what it is like, what it offers and demands of him. Greater individuation allows him to be more separate from the world, to be more independent and self-generating. But it also gives him the confidence and understanding to have more intense attachments in the world and to feel more fully a part of it (1978, p.195).

While Levinson believed that each person's life structure was unique, he argued that there was an underlying order to adult life that was universal. For Levinson, adult life proceeds through a relatively stable sequence of eras. He conceived of a total of five age linked eras, each lasting roughly twenty years. The five eras include: Preadulthood (birth to age twenty), Early Adulthood (age twenty to age forty), Middle Adulthood (age forty to age sixty), Late Adulthood (age sixty to age eighty) and Late Late Adulthood (after age eighty). Each era has its own biopsychosocial character and makes a unique contribution to the entire life cycle. As he explains, "there are major changes in the nature of our lives from one era to the next, and lesser though still crucially important, changes within eras" (1986, pa. 5). For most people, adulthood contains periods of discontinuity and change, but the eras provide a relatively stable scaffolding or macrostructure in which adulthood takes its shape.

Within each of Levinson's (1996, 1978) eras is an orderly sequence of age linked structure building, and transitional structure changing periods. According to Levinson, a structure building period generally lasts between five and seven years. As he explains, "our primary task in a structure building period is to form a life structure and enhance our life within it: We must make certain key choices, form a structure around them, and pursue our values and goals within this structure" (1986, p. 7). Within each of these structure building periods are *developmental tasks* which ask a person to make firm choices about the nature of their life structure. According to Levinson, failure to

accomplish or meet the requirements of these tasks at a given period can hamper successful development and lead to a developmental crisis.³

A structure building period is followed by a transitional structure changing period. Transitional periods last roughly five years and include the termination of an existing life structure, and the building of a new one. According to Levinson (1996, 1978), almost half of adult life is spent in transition. As Levinson explains, “the primary tasks of every transitional period are to question and reappraise the existing structure, to explore the possibilities for change in self and world, and to move toward commitment to the crucial choices that form the basis for a new life structure in the ensuing period” (1996, pp. 24-25). Transitional periods are often times of moderate to severe crisis in a person’s life, as the individual feels caught between moving their life forward and fearing that the choices and decisions they make will leave them feeling unfulfilled. A transitional period ends when the need to re-evaluate no longer has its sense of urgency, and when new commitments have been made or old commitments have been re-affirmed.

For example, Levinson (1996, 1978) divides the era of early adulthood into four distinct periods. According to Levinson, early adulthood is characterized by a tremendous amount of transition, as a young man progresses from being a “novice adult” to a senior member of society. Early adulthood is the most energetic era of a man’s life as he attempts to follow his youthful aspirations, while simultaneously establish his niche in society. As he explains:

This can be a time of rich satisfactions in terms of love, sexuality, family life, occupational advancement, creativity, and realization of major life goals. But there can

³ Levinson also posited that there were *adaptive crisis* that were qualitatively different from developmental crisis. An adaptive crisis focused on “a problem in coping with a highly stressful situation” (1996, p.35).

also be crushing stresses. Most of us simultaneously undertake the burdens of parenthood and of forming an occupation. We incur heavy financial obligations when our earning power is still relatively low. We must make crucially important choices regarding marriage, family, work, and life-style before we have the maturity or life experience to choose wisely. Early adulthood is the era in which we are most buffeted by our own passions and ambitions from within and by the demands of family, community, and society from without. Under reasonably favorable conditions, the rewards of living in this era are enormous, but the costs often equal or exceed the benefits (1986, p. 5).

While the era of early adulthood embodies a great deal of energy and potential, there are also immense external pressures. The individual must often work to find a balance between personal desires and societal requirements. At times they reinforce each other, but often they exist in stark contrast. The era begins with the *Early Adult Transition* which takes place between the ages of seventeen and twenty-two. It is the first cross era transition and constitutes the end of childhood, and the beginning of adulthood. It is here that a man begins to form an adult identity, and takes initial steps towards finding a place in the world of adults. The primary tasks of this period are to terminate adolescence and relinquish the world of childhood. This process entails modifying relationships with family, peers and other aspects of the social world so that the self is able to engage in the “responsibilities, burdens and satisfactions of adult life” (1996, p.69).

According to Levinson (1996, 1978), as the Early Adult Transition draws to a close the individual enters the period of *Entering the Adult World*. This structure building period, which extends from age twenty-one to twenty-eight is a time when a man takes his initial steps into the adult world. Now that he has separated from his family of origin, a man makes a variety of first choices in regards to his occupation, love relationship, peer relationships, values and life style. It is a complicated period whose requirements consist of two antithetical tasks. On the one hand, it is a time of exploration

in which a young man must take risks and see what life has to offer. This entails taking part in occupations, relationships and a life style that may not last. On the other hand, as a young man “tests the waters” of life he also needs to begin to establish a stable life structure that will lead him on a course that is both rewarding and fulfilling. Levinson posits that there are young men who exist at both ends of the spectrum. There are those who feel that they need to explore as many of the possibilities that life has to offer, and there are those who feel an immense pressure to commit to a stable life structure that includes an established career, relationship and lifestyle. In either case, Levinson argues that a person is too young and inexperienced to resolve the conflicting tasks they are faced with. As a result, Levinson’s study (1978) found that very few men felt satisfied with their lives during this period. In fact, by the end of the period fifty-seven percent of his sample experienced their lives as either incomplete, oppressive or heading in the wrong direction. As he explains, “no matter how satisfactory his life has been, no matter how integrated or fragmented the present structure, new developmental tasks are pushing to the fore in the late twenties” (p. 83).

As a result, it is not surprising that Levinson referred to the next period of development as the *Age Thirty Transition*. (Levinson, 1996, 1978). The Age Thirty Transition takes place between the ages of twenty-eight and thirty-three and is a time when a man re-evaluates and questions his current life structure. This period affords him the opportunity to work on its flaws and limitations. Men either make new choices in regards to their occupation, relationships and life style or re-affirm the choices they have already made. Developmental work during this period does not necessarily have to involve overt changes, it can also manifest itself purely psychologically through changed

meaning in current commitments (Newton, 1987). For some this is an easy time in which minor adjustments are made and the life structure proceeds relatively unchanged. However, others experience “the age thirty crisis,” and find that their life structure is unfulfilling and intolerable. These men have great difficulty taking on the developmental tasks of this period because they feel that their dreams and talents are not being realized. According to Levinson, many men feel that this is the last chance they have to make significant changes in their lives. They may have had doubts all along, but now the questions require answers.

The Age Thirty Transition (Levinson 1996, 1978) is profoundly important because the life structure does not have the capacity to allow a person to live out all aspects of the self at a given time. During a transitional period the neglected parts of the self generally force one to make new choices and set different priorities. According to Levinson, “the life structure is satisfactory to the extent that “it is viable for society and suitable for the self” (1978, p. 73). As a result, a life structure may be externally viable, but it may limit a man from living out crucial aspects of himself. On the other hand, the life structure may be suitable for one’s inner goals and values, but unsuitable in the world. The Age Thirty Transition provides a space to work on this. For Levinson, this period, along with the Early Adult Transition and Entering the Adult World stage make up the Novice phase of adulthood.

Levinson (1996, 1978) has provided the most ambitious theoretical conception of adult development. However, like Erikson, Levinson has been criticized for his claim that adult life proceeds through a series of age-linked periods (Ruffin, 1989; Levine, 1986; Furst, 1983; Droege, 1982; Stewart, 1977). While subsequent studies have loosely

agreed on the sequence of Levinson's developmental periods in early adulthood, the sequence of the later periods has been widely debated.

CONCLUSION

Both the psychoanalytic and the psychosocial theories of adult development are critical for the current study. These theories argue that development takes place beyond childhood and view adulthood as a time of continued growth and change. In addition, these theories denote the importance that others have in this process. According to Colarusso and Nemiroff (1987), Erikson, (1950) and Shane and Shane (1990), continued growth is contingent on a reciprocal developmental relationship with others who can encourage and stimulate subsequent development. This is particularly salient to the present study because a central focus of this investigation is the role that others have on a man's developmental course.

In addition, the theories of adult development indicate the early adult striving to establish oneself in the world of adults. For Jacques (1981) and Jung (1960) this is a critical point. A young man wants to live in accord with the male images of his culture. In addition, he is buffeted by energies that encourage him to achieve a sense of status, power and independence within the framework of the adult world.

Lastly, the role of adult aspirations and goals is of central importance to several of these theories. This is the primary focus of the present investigation. Levinson (1996, 1978) has made this a central element of his theory of adult development. In his view, adult goals and aspirations make adult life meaningful. The next section will expand on this idea and its developmental importance.

SECTION 2: THE DREAM

LEVINSON'S THEORY OF THE DREAM

Early adulthood is a profound time in a man's life. As a young man individuates in complex psychosocial ways from his family of origin he begins to forge an independent identity as an adult. In so doing, he begins to focus on how he would like his adult life to unfold. This sense of future self has the quality of a vision or an ideal imagining of the kind of person one hopes to become. It also reflects the kind of life one wishes to live, and the kind of world one hopes to inhabit (Newton, 1983). Levinson (1996, 1978) refers to this sense of future self as the Dream. According to Levinson, by early adulthood the individual has within him the rudimentary elements of the Dream, an idealized fantasy of adult self in a desired world. While the Dream is often characterized by a certain type of job, family or life style, it transcends these achievements and represents a heroic self-image or ego ideal that one feels compelled to fulfill. As Roberts & Newton (1987) explain, "for the young adult, the Dream may direct initial choices and motivate subsequent decisions that structure adult life. It is not, in Levinson's view, that everyone has or should have a Dream, but rather that its presence (and nature) or absence is consequential for later development" (p.157). The Dream is an organizing passion that provides purpose and meaning and motivates a young man towards committing to the responsibilities that it demands (Gooden, 1989).

The Dream is the cornerstone of Levinson's (1996, 1978) theory of early adulthood. For Levinson, the conviction that one's life is meaningful stems from having a Dream that can be pursued. At the onset of early adulthood the Dream is a poorly

articulated vision, and it is the task of the era to give it greater shape so that it can generate a sense of vitality and purpose. As a result, the Dream has a profound impact on an individual's growth and development. It establishes goals and aspirations and enables the individual to direct his energies towards an adult life in which they can be realized.

Explaining Levinson's (1978) theory of the Dream, Gooden (1989) writes:

In the most developed form, the Dream gives shape and substance to the wishes, longings, and fantasies to be a special person in the world of adults. Forming a viable adult life requires, in Levinson's view, the capacity to dream, to form illusions that sustain the striving and effort which brings achievement to fruition (p. 176).

Potentially, the Dream provides a psychological basis for making life choices in early adult adulthood, for assessing one's progress at mid-life, and for fashioning one's legacy in old age (Kittrell, 1998).

In many respects the Dream is the embodiment of the ideal self (Levinson, 1996, 1978). Certain aspects are conscious and tied to reality while others are less conscious and more illusory. The Dream provides a space in which omnipotent illusions of self can be envisioned. One is reminded of Muhammad Ali's statement after he defeated Sonny Liston for the heavyweight boxing championship. He exclaimed, "I shook up the world. I'm the greatest of all time." Early adulthood provides a context in which such illusions can be made more rational and reality based. However, the Dream does not have to take on such heroic proportions. Dreams can be more mundane and center around a particular type of life style that one hopes to have. For example, the American Dream of having a good job, owning your own home and being able to provide for your family represents this type of Dream. While less dramatic than being "the greatest," it is as significant an

accomplishment for many. In either case, the Dream needs to evolve from an imagined possibility into something that can be lived out.

Levinson's notion of the Dream is largely based on Winnicott's (1958) work on transitional phenomena in early childhood. In his exploration of children's play, Winnicott noticed that play forged the boundary between reality and fantasy. The *make believe* that occurs during play gives a child a context in which the boundary between *what is* and *what might be* is permeable. In a "good enough" environment with the support of "good enough" care takers the child is able to transform the illusions created in make believe into something that is more reality based. According to Winnicott, this process enables a child's sense of self to take shape. Similarly, Levinson's Dream is a transitional phenomena which enables a young man to play with different notions of what he might become. The process of making the Dream something that is viable for both the self and the world is the task of early adulthood.

Notions of the Dream have existed throughout history, the arts and mythology and have found their place in popular consciousness as well. For example, Eugene O'Neill's *The Iceman Cometh* (1946), centers around a group of men whose days and nights are spent in a seedy Chicago bar. Their lives are consumed by two passions, their love of alcohol and the Dreams they will never realize. The alcohol enables them to blur the line between fantasy and reality so that they can deny the inevitable demise of their Dreams. None of them are willing to admit the tragic state of their lives and just how far removed they are from the society in which such Dreams can be fulfilled. But it is precisely these Dreams, these visions of their lives in the future that give them a reason to go on even in the most bleak and desperate of circumstances.

According to Levinson (1996, 1978), the Dream begins at the onset of early adulthood as a vague sense of self in the adult world and develops into a desired possibility that generates excitement and vitality. Though it has its roots in childhood and adolescence, the Dream is a distinctly adult phenomenon which enables the individual to separate more fully from his family and establish himself in the world of adults. It is the task of early adulthood to give greater shape and definition to the Dream and create a life that enables it to be realized. This is a critical point for Levinson because development in adulthood often hinges on how well one's life enables their Dream to be achieved. Moreover, there are consequences whether one chooses a life that is infused with the Dream or opposed to it. Those who choose to structure their lives around the Dream often must endure great hardship and sacrifice in the process. Although Levinson argues that living a life that is consonant with the Dream generally leads to greater fulfillment later on, he concedes that it is often a difficult task to adequately integrate it into one's life. The Dream must evolve with the various transitions of adulthood so that it keeps its integrity and the individual does not suffer in order to bring it to fruition. One is reminded of Willy Lowman, the main character of Arthur Miller's, *Death of a Salesman* (1949). Willy is so rigidly attached to his Dream of being a great salesman that he is unwilling to focus on anything else. For Willy, this Dream represents a fantasy of a better life and success. Even though his Dream has died long ago, he forces his wife and adult children to hold onto it and a future that is already lost. As a result, all of their lives are ruined and Willy's only escape ultimately is death. On the other hand, those who allow their Dreams to be destroyed, denied or compromised, as a result of external or internal pressures may never feel truly fulfilled. No matter how successful these

individuals become in their work or lives, their passion will always lie somewhere else. For Levinson, it is a true tragedy to deny a Dream and never allow it to come to fruition. Such individuals generally pay for this choice later in life. According to Levinson's study (1978), men who never developed Dreams, or who were unable to incorporate their Dreams into their lives, never gained a deep sense of purpose and meaning in early adulthood. Moreover, those who betrayed their Dreams or chose lives that opposed them suffered similar consequences (Betcher & Pollack, 1993; Staples & Smar, 1991). Many of these men found themselves confronted with a "mid-life crisis" later in life because they had not pursued a personally meaningful goal. As Levinson writes, "a life devoid of a Dream could be at best a compromise and at worst a defeat" (1996, p. 238).

In order for a man's Dream to be realized it needs the support of two central figures, a mentor and a special woman (Levinson, 1978). According to Levinson, the mentor relationship is perhaps the most complex and developmentally significant relationship in early adulthood. The mentor is a transitional figure who believes in his mentee's Dream and enables him to envision a future in which his heroic self-image can be realized. Furthermore, in being a "sponsor, teacher, advisor and confidant" (Gooden, 1989, p. 178) the mentor acts as a sort of adult selfobject that a young man can identify with and whose confidence he can internalize. According to Levinson, the Dream also needs the support of a special woman. In providing encouragement, reassurance and guidance, she confirms his sense of himself as an adult and helps to affirm his Dream. In Levinson's study, a successful Dream was almost always accompanied by both a mentor and a special woman.

Levinson's (1978) study found that men's Dreams are occupational in nature. For Levinson, forming an occupation provides a man with a vehicle for pursuing his lifelong goals. Work both facilitates and confirms a man's sense of himself as an adult because it gives him something to do that is of value to himself and society. As a result, men's Dreams tend to focus on issues relating to independence and personal achievement. Levinson's study is regularly cited as the benchmark for understanding men's Dreams. Although men's Dreams appear to have relational elements, this study concluded that men's lives in early adulthood are consumed by occupational considerations and their Dreams reflect this pre-occupation.

OTHER PERSPECTIVES ON THE DREAM

Significantly absent from Levinson's (1978) theory is an examination of men who do not form specific Dreams. The main line of investigation of this study is to explore the reasons why some men are able to find a specific goal to center their lives around, while other men are not. Unfortunately, with the exception of Levinson's study there has been relatively little research on men's Dreams. In fact, most of the current work on the Dream has emerged from the studies on women's adult development (Brewster, 1998; Levinson, 1996; Roberts and Newton, 1987; Furst, 1983; Adams, 1983; Stewart 1977). In keeping with Levinson's major findings, these studies argue that the quality of development in adulthood is contingent on having personally meaningful goals and aspirations to strive for. However, these studies have taken a more in depth look at the Dream. For example, the studies on women's development have explored the childhood

and adolescent antecedents of the Dream. In addition, they have examined the various internal and external factors that influence its conception and developmental course.

Roberts and Newton (1987) examined several Levinsonian studies of women's development and found that the Dream is profoundly influenced by an individual's past experience. As they explain:

Very early adulthood may be, in part, a movement toward rectifying the flaws and shortcomings of one's original condition. Internal factors, such as talents, abilities, and temperaments, influence the formation of those components of the Dream that are self-generated. Ultimately, the fully developed Dream arises out of a complex interaction of internal (personality) and external (social) influences during the individual's pre-adult development (p. 157, 1987).

This finding is supported by Furst's (1983) developmental study of women's Dreams. For her research, Furst probed downward to uncover the origins of the Dream. She found that the Dream always originated in pre-adult experiences. Furthermore, several of the subjects in her study formed Dreams in their early twenties that served to compensate for the difficulties of the past. Furst also discovered that many of her subjects established Dreams that were based on rectifying the flaws they perceived in their parents' lives. As a result, pre-adult development served as the catalyst for their Dreams. However, at the Age Thirty Transition the priorities of the Dream began to shift to personally meaningful imaginings. While only a few of her subjects actually changed the direction of their Dreams, they were now more endogenous and independently generated. Furst hypothesized that a movement towards increased individuation at age thirty enabled independently created goals and fantasies to surface. Moreover, she argued that aspects

of the self that had previously gone unacknowledged were able to find a place in the Dream.

According to Furst (1983), at the onset of early adulthood many of her subjects were more aware of what they did not want in their adult lives, than what they wanted. As a result, they organized their lives in early adulthood around an effort to keep the experiences of the past from being repeated. In effect, the Dream was more characteristic of the self-I-do-not-want-to-be than of the self-I-want-to-be. Although correcting the difficulties of the past proved to be a satisfying endeavor that provided a sense of purpose to early adulthood, choices made in this manner are not indicative of Levinson's conception of the Dream.

Several of the subjects in the present study explained that their life choices were made in a manner similar to the one Furst (1983) describes. Although unable to figure out how they wanted their adult lives to unfold, they were acutely aware of what they wanted to avoid. For example, one of the subjects in this study explained that he made the choice to go to law school when he was twenty-two in order to have something to do with his life. As he explained, "It's not that I wanted to be a lawyer, but the thought of not having an idea of what to do really terrified me" (Nelson, July 15, 1999). Another subject in the pilot study explained that his choice to enter graduate school for a teaching certificate in a state far from his family provided him with a way to leave his parent's home. As he explained, "I was twenty-two years old and living at home. I wasn't getting along with my parents and I had to get out of their home and the opportunity to go to graduate school presented itself. A friend of mine was going and it wasn't as if there was some long application process. You called and if they had space you were in. In time

teaching became a calling for me, but at the time it was a way to get away from home. It also enabled me to stop feeling so dependent on my parents which I really hated” (Tim, June 17, 1999) For both of these subjects the self-I-don’t-want-to-be provided the impetus for the choices they made. For one having no career goal was his greatest fear; for the other it was a lack of independence and dependency on his parents.

Markus and Nemus (1986) have included this idea in their theory of possible selves. According to Markus and Nemus, an individual has many possible selves which represent what they might become. While possible selves can symbolize hopes and dreams, they also symbolize an individual’s needs and fears. Taken together these possible selves give meaning, organization and direction to adult life. They serve to both motivate and discourage future choices. As Markus and Nemus explain, “Positive possible selves can be exceedingly liberating because they foster hope that the present self is not immutable. At the same time, negative possible selves can be powerfully imprisoning because their associated affect and expectations may stifle attempts to change or develop” (p. 964). As strongly as an individual identifies with heroic images of self, there are often negative images of self that weigh just as powerfully. The sense of fear and anxiety they instill can equally motivate (or discourage) subsequent choices (Kaplan & Whitman, 1965).

For many individuals the period of early adulthood is a time when diverging interests, pressures and responsibilities are placed upon them. Ideally the Dream represents what the individual aspires to become as an adult. However, adulthood is a time of great responsibility in which ideal imaginings of self are often hindered by a variety of internal and external forces. As a result, an individual’s sense of what they can

become is often in conflict with what they ought to become. “One of the great complications of adult life is to find a way to successfully merge those notions of self that represent what one can become, with those that represent what one ought to become” (Dr. Jeffrey Rosen, personal communication, February 3, 1999). Freud’s (1905) theory of the ego ideal helps to explain this conflict. In addition to being an agency of aspiration, the ego ideal is also a self observing and critical agency. It compels the individual to strive for its standards because they represent the “self-I-ought-to-be” (Chasseguet-Smirgel, p. 78, 1985).

Stewart’s (1977) study on women’s adult development speaks to this conflict. Stewart found that several of her subjects were unable to form one specific Dream in early adulthood. Her subjects had to choose between a “relational Dream” that included a family, or an “individualistic Dream” that included a career. Many of Stewart’s subjects felt paralyzed between these two choices. In addition, those that established a professional identity during their twenties felt like they were not adults because they were yet to take on the expected responsibilities of wife and mother. Many of her subjects had both a relational Dream and an individualistic Dream, but the two were generally mutually exclusive. There was simply not enough time to accomplish both pursuits successfully. As a result, those who chose to have both a family and a career generally had to live out one part of the Dream at a time. At the Age Thirty Transition these subjects switched the focus of their Dreams. Those that had been consumed by professional aspirations found themselves longing for more significant relationships at age thirty, while those who had spent their twenties raising a family found themselves longing to fulfill more individualistic goals.

In keeping with Stewart's (1977) findings, the subjects in Adams (1983) developmental study of African-American professional women found a similar shift in priorities at age thirty. The pursuit of occupational success during her subjects twenties suppressed their interest to marry and have children. Adams' subjects had been compelled by their parents' values of hard work, financial security and advancement during their twenties. However, an increased sense of individuation at age thirty enabled them to move beyond the need for parental approval. As a result, they were able to address relational needs that had been largely ignored up until this point (Roberts and Newton, 1987). While occupation still played a vital role in their lives, it no longer served as the sole focus of their Dreams. Both Stewart's and Adams' studies of women's development note the presence of the "split dream" (Roberts & Newton, 1987, p. 158) in women's lives and the impact it has on their development. It is significant to note that although the absence of a single Dream may have diffused the focus of their lives, it did not necessarily take away from the quality of their experience.

On the other hand, several of the subjects in Brewster's (1998) developmental study of female executives felt that the pursuit of professional Dreams had come at a great personal cost. Although all of her subjects had achieved a great deal of success professionally, several felt that their personal lives had suffered significantly. Those that were married with children often experienced a deep sense of guilt over the limitations their professional goals placed on the amount of time they had with their families. Frequently, the various requirement of their personal and professional lives made them feel as though neither aspect of their experience was being realized to its full potential.

A COMPARISON OF MEN'S AND WOMEN'S DREAMS

In an analysis of women's development Roberts and Newton (1987) found that men's Dreams generally focus on an heroic self who is an independent achiever, while women's Dreams almost always include others. As they explain, "female subjects approached the tasks of early adulthood fettered by relational requirements, whereas men approached the same tasks intoxicated with occupation" (p. 162). For Roberts and Newton, a man in his twenties and early thirties is obligated to direct his energies towards establishing an independent self that includes a career. As a result, men's Dreams tend to be unidimensional and focused. As Roberts and Newton explain:

Men's Dreams which tended to incorporate an image of independent achiever in an occupational role, were fundamentally different from the kind of dream most reported by women. Women's dreams contained an image of self-in-adult-world in relation to others such as husbands, colleagues and friends (p. 159).

According to Roberts and Newton, happiness for a man has less to do with the quality of his relationships than with career success.

Similarly, in an analysis of men's and women's Dreams Kittrell (1998) found that the male ideals of independence and personal achievement enable men to individuate in ways women can not. According to Kittrell, it is easier for men to aspire to a personally meaningful goal because it is a normal part of their development. As a result, men's Dreams tend to be more unidimensional and focused while women's Dreams are complicated by commitments to marriage and family. Kittrell even argues that such commitments make it virtually impossible for women to form Dreams. As Kittrell explains, "perhaps men have been able to have both work and family because women

have historically assumed primary responsibility for shouldering the burdens of family, leaving men relatively free to pursue their occupational Dreams” (p. 114).

Unfortunately, this finding discounts the complexity of men’s Dreams and their developmental experience. Absent from discussion is the male experience of having to live up to the societal expectations that have been placed on them. It is easy to view women’s Dreams as more complicated than men’s if the role of wife and mother is seen as a requirement, and the role of provider is seen as an aspiration. However, this minimizes the strain that forming an occupational identity often places on men. The studies on women’s development allude to the overwhelming pressure that relational requirements place on their development. However, work has become so synonymous with male identity that the expectations and boundaries it places on development have been largely overlooked (Pasick, 1990). In addition, male relational needs and the place they have in the Dream and male development have been largely ignored as well (Levant, 1995).

Recent work on masculinity has argued that men both seek and desire attachment to others (Pollack, 1998; Levant, 1995). It also finds that many men are not able to truly act on these needs because they are consumed by professional responsibilities that require long hours away from their families and friends. According to Mesner (1987), providing for one’s family often becomes a man’s way of seeking attachment both to his family, and more abstractly, to society.

CONCLUSION

The research on women's development conducted by Stewart (1977), Adams (1982) and Furst (1983) has taken a more in depth look at the nature of women's Dreams. While their findings have not been examined within the context of male development, they provide significant questions for the present investigation. For example, Stewart's and Furst's findings indicate that early experiences play a vital role in Dream formation. Furst has argued that Dreams formed in early adulthood are often reactive and do not constitute an individual's true adult aspirations. She suggests that the period of reflection around age thirty enables one to focus on those aspects of the Dream that are more endogenous and personally meaningful that gives one a deeper and richer sense of purpose and self. This finding presents a significant question in relation to the developmental course of men's Dreams and the period around age thirty.

Levinson (1996) has stated that the life structure does not have the capacity to allow a person to live out all aspects of the self at a given time. The research on women's Dreams speaks to this finding. For example, Brewster (1998), Stewart (1977), Furst (1983) and Roberts and Newton (1987) denote the presence of the split Dream in women's lives. These studies argue that women Dreams are often divided between personal needs and societal requirements. However, men's Dreams have not been examined within this context. Instead they have been viewed as unidimensional and personally motivated. However, in the present study, several of the men spoke about the importance that interpersonal relationships play in their lives. The next section will briefly examine the male gender and explore the ways in which it both limits and facilitates a man's Dream and his development overall.

SECTION 3:

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GENDER IN MEN'S LIVES (Levinson, 1996)

While a full investigation of masculinity is beyond the scope of this investigation, it is important to consider the role that gender plays in a man's development. As previously stated, the prior studies on adult development have concluded that men's Dreams are occupational in nature. However, these studies have neglected to fully examine the role that occupation plays in a man's life. In addition, these studies have largely dismissed the pressure that forming an occupational identity places on men. The link between masculinity and work has not been examined. In fact, it is only fairly recently that masculinity has been the subject of investigation (Kimmel, 1987). According to Kimmel, women's studies emerged because traditional scholarship had reflected a male-oriented, or androcentric bias and women's' experience had been written out of history. Women's studies sought to rectify these deficiencies through an in depth evaluation of gender. While the body of theory and research that was formulated from this investigation was both groundbreaking and informative, it used masculinity as a normative agent against which other standards were assessed. Instead of making masculinity the subject of inquiry, it made male the benchmark gender (Brod, 1987). As a result, the experience of what it means to be a man has been largely excluded from consideration. But as Rotundo (1990) explains, "like any human creation, manhood can be shaped and reshaped by the human imagination; that is, manhood has a history" (p. 164).

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON WORK

In order to understand the connection between men and work, it is important to examine the historical context in which this connection developed. With the onset of the industrial revolution the workplace established itself as a separate sphere for middle class men (Messner, 1987). Prior to the nineteenth century the workplace centered almost exclusively around the home. Men generally conducted their business near where they lived. More often than not, work took the form of a family business and a man who entered the work force without a network of family connections was an anomaly (Messner; Kimmel, 1992).

The industrial revolution changed this reality. According to Rotundo (1990), "at the opening of the nineteenth century, the United States was becoming a nation where no formal barriers prevented white men from achieving a position of wealth, power and prestige" (p.168). Large business operations began to emerge and soon dominated the American economy. Men began to leave their family businesses in order to enter this new arena. Recruitment became an open and competitive part of this emerging professional scene. By the end of the nineteenth century, a considerable number of men were working in the offices of large organizations.

At the onset of the twentieth century, the workplace had emerged both physically and psychologically as a separate sphere for men and men began to define themselves in the context of the professional world (Rotundo, 1990). While the workplace had an "economic rationality" (Rotundo, p.170) that satisfied "class interests" (Rotundo, p.170), it was also a product of masculinity. When a young man entered the workforce it established him in the male world. It was a place where the gender associations of

adulthood were made. As a result, men identified themselves very closely with their work. Men's work was no longer based on family connections, a career was something that could be measured in terms of hard work and a man was able to establish himself in society through his own efforts. In addition, the world of work became the place where a man could determine the social position of his family. Men were defined in terms of their ability to produce, and the family came to rely on them as the breadwinners.

As America was transformed into an industrial power, middle class men were taken away from the context of the home and the workplace became a separate sphere. As a result, a distinction was drawn in terms of the roles each sex had. While childcare and the maintenance of the home had always been the responsibilities of women, the industrial revolution now made it a necessity (Pleck, 1987). The public sphere of work became the place for men, and the private sphere of the home became the place for women. The division of responsibilities was split according to gender. Masculine work was work that rested on independence, power and public eminence while work that was considered feminine involved nurturance and human connectedness. As a result, the image of masculinity became enveloped in a mythology of work and the image of femininity in the mythology of relationships and care (Wilentz, 1984; Johnson, 1978).

MEN AND WORK

The construct of masculinity has been largely defined within the context of work. The male socialization process encourages boys to be achievement oriented, competitive and self contained. Since boyhood, men have been trained to associate overproductivity and action with male worth (Pollack, 1998; Smelser, 1980). As a result, boys are pushed

away from interpersonal connection and emotional relatedness because these qualities are not masculine (Chodorow, 1978). For a man to be considered masculine he must strive for an independent style of achievement (Komarovsky, 1976) and demonstrate “incompetency in all feminine activities” (Thompson & Pleck, 1987, p.29). Acquiring these attributes is critical for the world of work where a man must not let his emotions interfere if he wants to achieve. These traditional notions of masculinity are deeply ingrained in the American psyche and provide a script that prescribes certain ways for men to think, feel and behave. Anything that deviates too far from this script is deemed feminine and therefore unacceptable (Meth, 1990).

In early adulthood men have historically defined themselves in terms of their position in the public world of work (Messner, 1987). The professional world has been the primary place where men have located their social identity and inner sense of self (Rotundo, 1990). In the traditional definition of masculinity men are supposed to develop a professional life. Men are consumed with their work because it provides a space where power and authority can be gained and acted upon (Meth, 1990). It gives men a place where they can produce and achieve. Since childhood men have been raised to develop the skills and values that are appropriate for the workplace. As Tolson (1977) explains:

For every man, the outcome of his socialization is his entry into work. His first day at work signifies his “initiation” into the secretive, conspiratorial solidarity of working men. Through working, a boy, supposedly becomes a man: he earns money, power and personal independence from his family. The money in his pocket symbolizes freedom - to bargain and consume. More generally, through his work a man can feel himself extended beyond local horizons, becoming part of a vast economic organization. As a worker, the boy enters the marketplace of negotiation and exchange. He is part of a collective masculine history of confrontations and alliances (p. 47).

In early adulthood men decide what they will do in the occupational sphere. It is a complex decision that determines how an individual will spend a large portion of his everyday life. As Lidz (1977) explains:

An occupation represents much more than a set of skills and functions; it means a way of life. It provides and determines much of the environment, both physical and social in which a person lives; it selects out traits that are utilized most frequently and strengthened; and it usually carries with it a status in the community and provides social roles and patterns for living. Through determining with what sorts of persons one spends much of one's life, a vocation markedly influences value judgments and ethical standards. Occupational choice, then, forms one of the crucial decisions of a lifetime (p. 392).

It is common in early adulthood for men to define themselves primarily in terms of their position in the world of work (Pasick, 1990). Work provides a modality for the expression of masculine strivings as well as an arena in which a man's primary responsibilities can be carried out. As a result, traditional male role expectations encourage a commitment to work at the expense of everything else. This explains the intense, often obsessive early adult aspiration for career success.

MASCULINITY

What has been regarded as masculine and feminine has varied in terms of social class, culture and historical periods (Pollack, 1998; Levinson, 1996). However, in virtually every society there has been a division between what is considered masculine and feminine. To varying degrees men and women have lived in different social worlds and had different social roles, identities and psychological attributes. These roles have had a profound impact on the way each gender thinks, feels and behaves. Central to many of the Western theories of gender identity development is the assertion that men are raised to develop an independent self, whereas women are raised to develop a self that

incorporates others (Levinson, 1996; Pollack 1995; Levant, 1995; Gilligan, 1982; Chodorow, 1978). The studies on women's development have examined the impact this has on women's Dreams (Brewster, 1998; Levinson, 1996; Newton & Roberts, 1987; Furst, 1983; Adams, 1983; Ogilivy, 1983; Droege 1982; Stewart, 1977), however, the influence this has on men's Dreams has not been fully explored.

Chodorow (1978) has developed a theory which attempts to explain the social construction of gender roles. Her theory, which is derived from psychoanalytic object relations theory, is based on the assumption that all children form a primary attachment to their mother. According to Chodorow, an infant's dependence on the mother for all its emotional and physical needs creates a relational climate that exerts a powerful influence on the emerging gender identity. However, the nature of this attachment is different for boys and girls. From birth, the mother experiences her male child differently because he is male and needs to form a gender identity that is different from her own. According to Chodorow, when a male child reaches the age of three his mother begins to separate herself from him. As a result, the experience of dependency and relational bonding are not available to him in the same proportion that they are to a developing female child. Consequently, male gender identity development takes place away from the mother both intrapsychically and interpersonally. The male infant's sense of connectedness with his primary caretaker becomes an ambivalent relationship.

According to Chodorow (1978), the male child is caught between the need for a sense of emotional intimacy and the need to develop a male identity. For the male child this is a very traumatic experience because he is thrown out of the pre-oedipal relationship without an adequate holding environment to fall into. As a result, gender

identity development yields insecurity and ambivalence in males which they must defend against by developing rigid defensive ego boundaries that ensure separation between the self and others (Pleck, 1995; Pleck, 1981). On the other hand, girls grow up with a sense of continuity and similarity with their mother. For girls, gender identity formation occurs through the identification with an ongoing relational attachment to the mother. Unlike male children who develop an identity that is based on independence, female children develop an identity that incorporates a self in relation to others. According to Gilligan (1982), girls develop within the context of relationships. As Gilligan explains, “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. Thus males tend to have difficulty with relationships, while females tend to have problems with individuation” (p. 8).

Chodorow’s (1978) theory attempts to explain the male need for independence from an intrapsychic perspective, but it underestimates the influence of the social world. Studies (Brody, 1995; Fagot, Hagen, 1993; Fagot, 1974) have shown that parents often raise their children according to certain male or female stereotypes. Although these stereotypes are often heavily dependent on matters of culture and class, it is clear that by the age of three boys are aware of what constitutes masculine and feminine behavior. According to Kimmel and Messner (1992), the male socialization process creates powerful gender distinctions that restrict boys to certain ways of behaving. This socialization process begins within the context of the family. Primary caregivers impart both conscious and unconscious messages to their developing child about what is considered appropriate behavior for their gender. Furthermore, the larger framework of

society imparts a masculine ideology that organizes a developing male's understanding of gender roles (Lazur and Majors, 1995). For Kimmel and Messner, boys learn to evaluate their sense of worth in terms of how well they live up to the gender expectations of their culture. In addition, they learn to integrate into their sense of self those thoughts, feelings and behaviors that are deemed acceptable for their gender. As a result masculinity is determined by a complex interplay between a person's physical, psychological and emotional development as it interacts with social and cultural norms. As Kimmel and Messner explain, "men are not born, growing from infants through boyhood to manhood, to follow a predetermined biological imperative encoded in their physical organization. To be a man is to participate in social life as a man, as a gendered being. Our sex may be male, but our identity as men is developed through a complex process of interaction with culture in which we both learn the gender scripts appropriate to our culture and attempt to modify these scripts to make them more palatable (p. 8)."

Meth (1990) and others (Pollack, 1998; Levant, 1995) argue that in the United States this developmental pathway socializes boys to gravitate towards several male ideals. These male ideals are as follows:

1. Being an independent achiever
2. Having power, exercising control over others, and being recognized as ambitious and a leader
3. Having strength, toughness, and stamina
4. Logical and analytical in thought, and intellectually competent

In addition, men are expected to avoid:

1. Weakness, frailty, submissiveness, and unassertive behavior
2. Decisions based on emotions and intuition, rather than on careful analysis
3. Nurturing disposition, including taking care of others' needs (Meth, p.15)

According to Meth, achievement for males is measured in terms of personal accomplishment, not in the context of relational success. In order to achieve this boys are taught from an early age that they must be self-reliant.

Masculine identity becomes linked to action and doing, rather than intimate bonding and connection. Women are socialized to develop the skills that enable them to maintain relationships. On the other hand, boys tend to see themselves from a removed vantage point of an independent self. According to Pasick (1990), a man may wish to develop beyond these traditionally narrow notions of masculinity, but these male ideals are vital if he wants to take his place in the world as a male adult. For Pasick, the male socialization process encourages boys to develop an independent identity because it is an asset in the world of work. The more connected needs of the self are often a hindrance in this sphere so they are discouraged. As a result, boys are taught to mask feelings of vulnerability and upset and sublimate them through assertive and competitive behavior. According to Pasick, men are “raised to work” (p. 35) and this has a profound impact on their development.

Men may have a desire for more intimate interpersonal connections, but they are not considered appropriate for their gender (Pollack, 1995). According to Baumeister and Sommer (1997), men have a deep need to belong, but it is acted out in “the context of a broad sphere of social relations” (p. 39) where they can assert their status and power. Although Baumeister and Sommer contend that this reflects the male aspiration to connect to others, they ignore the inherent dynamic that such connections entail. Competition and power may enable men to interact with others, but the act of asserting

authority for this purpose does not enable one to relate to others in a way that fosters mutual growth and development (Lipman-Blumen, 1984).

According to Doherty, Moses and Perlow (1998) men are taught to be assertive because it reflects a desire to achieve. As they explain:

Historically, men have been encouraged to compete and are rewarded for winning. Women on the other hand, have been actively discouraged from competing and are taught that beating others is a destructive act. While men are expected to develop traits of strength, fearlessness, and independence, women are taught to be timid, compliant, and approval-seeking. Girls have been cautioned to avoid taking risks, to be nice, to seek comfort when they are hurt or experience failure, and to give comfort when others are hurt. They have also been encouraged to gain satisfaction from the interpersonal aspects of an activity as much as the activity itself. Having been taught to be more comfortable with their aggressiveness, men naturally use their aggression for competition. Women having been socialized to avoid being aggressive, tend to be conflicted about competitive behaviors (p. 200).

According to Campbell (1993), men and women are socialized to view aggression and competition in very different ways. Men are raised to view these qualities instrumentally. It is a way for them to establish control and gain what they want and need. Success and achievement, especially in the workplace, are often dependent on a man's ability to be aggressive and competitive. On the other hand, women are taught to experience these qualities as a temporary loss of control that occurs as a result of overwhelming pressure. According to Campbell, aggression and competition are useful in the quest for personal success, but they are relatively useless in the maintenance of relationships that are built on intimacy. As a result, men are taught to embrace this part of themselves, while women are taught to experience this part of themselves with a sense of shame and guilt.

However, males have a need to be connected to others. Although the pressure to simultaneously be independent often complicates it, many men struggle with this

contradiction (Brooks, 1995; Bergman, 1995). For example, in the present investigation five of the eight men interviewed were either married or involved in significant relationships with women. For several of these men, their relationships served as the center of their lives. While success and independence were also central components of their experience, the ability to maintain intimate attachments was deeply important to them.

In addition, the professional world is undergoing a profound transition in the late twentieth century. The increase in the number of women entering the professional world has had an impact on the professional and personal development of both men and women. As women have entered the work force in great numbers their need to rely on men for economic support has begun to wane (Kahn, 1994). Perhaps more significantly, the public sphere of work, an arena once exclusively occupied by men, is now a shared space (Jome and Tokar, 1998). As Messner (1987) explains, “the bureaucratization and rationalization of work, along with the decline of the family wage and women’s gradual movement into the labor force, [has] undermined the breadwinner role as the basis for male identity” (p.55).

The cohort of men being used in this study have come of age during a time of transition. Although some of the subjects were raised in traditional households in which their fathers worked and their mothers stayed home, several were raised in families in which both parents worked. In addition, of the eight men used in this study four were married and one lived with his fiancé. All five of these men felt that their significant others’ Dreams and aspirations were as much a priority as their own. The literature on

adult development has explored the role that women play in men's Dreams, but it has not examined the role that men play in women's Dreams.

One of the primary purposes of this study is to explore the ways in which a man's gender both shapes and influences his Dream. In addition, it hopes to examine how the masculine ideals of independence and success find a place with relational needs and the desire for intimacy.

A COMPARISON OF MEN AND WOMEN AT THE AGE THIRTY TRANSITION

The literature on women's adult development (Levinson, 1996, Roberts & Newton, 1987; Furst, 1983; Adams, 1982; Stewart 1977) suggests that the Age Thirty Transition is fundamentally different for men and women. These studies indicate that women are faced with a choice to either begin careers or start families as they enter their twenties. Often driven by societal and familial expectations, or a reaction to them (Furst, 1983), women forge relational or independent Dreams (Stewart, 1977) at this stage of development. According to these studies, the Age Thirty Transition provides a developmental space where a significant shift can take place and women either connect to a more endogenous aspect of their Dream, or switch the focus of their Dreams entirely so that unacknowledged aspects of the self can be voiced. Specifically, for women who had established careers, the Age Thirty Transition was the time when relational needs became the focus, and women who had centered their lives around the responsibilities of having a family looked towards more independent and professional aspirations at this stage of development. Other women simply found themselves investing themselves more deeply in the choices they had previously made. In many respects, these studies demonstrate

Levinson's (1996, 1978) assertion that the Age Thirty Transition is a time when fundamental changes are made to the life structure or prior commitment are more fully realized. However, these studies imply that men are not faced with the same kinds of choices. They argue that men are encouraged to forge an independent identity (Chodorow, 1978) throughout early adulthood. As a result, these studies contend that the Age Thirty Transition is a time when a man is able to more fully commit to the independent identity and life structure he has chosen, or make changes to it in fundamental ways. However, a man's identity still remains an independent construct.

As previously mentioned, Kitrell (1998) has argued that men are not forced to make a choice between having a career or a family the way that women are. She claims that men have more freedom to act on their individualistic passions because society does not prescribe an expected role onto them. As a result, she argues that men are capable of having both a career and a family simultaneously, and they are given the societal latitude to invest themselves in each according to their own needs and desires. However, this does not appear to be entirely true (Pollack, 1998; Levant, 1995; Pasick, 1990). The early twenties have historically been a time when men are expected to invest themselves deeply in their careers (Rotundo, 1990) and relational aspects of the male self have to be suppressed. In Levinson's (1978) study, the Age Thirty Transition was a period when a man might change careers or enter into a new relationship. However, it was not a time when fundamental changes were made to his priorities. In other words, a man's career still remained the central component of his life structure and his relationships found their place around this focus. However, the choices a man has to make in regard to his career

and family have not been examined within the context of male development at the Age Thirty Transition.

This study hopes to illuminate how these choices shape a man's Age Thirty Transition. Given the shift that has taken place in the professional world over the past two decades (Brewster, 1998; Mesner 1987) it seems appropriate to explore the effect these choices have had on male development. It is possible that the Age Thirty Transition is fundamentally different for men and women (Roberts & Newton, 1987) however, this comparison needs to be examined more closely. The studies on women's adult development (Levinson, 1996, Roberts & Newton, 1987; Furst, 1983; Adams, 1982; Stewart 1977) have clearly stated that this period centers on the choices women make in regards to career and family. At the present time, it is somewhat unclear what decisions a man undertakes at the Age Thirty Transition in regards to these choices, his Dream and the overall content of his life.

SECTION 4: STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Very little has been written about men's Dreams in early adulthood. This study hopes to shed some light on an under-researched area in adult development.

The intention of this study is to examine what factors enable some men to form and pursue specific Dreams in early adulthood. It also seeks to explore the essential components of the Dream. In addition, this study hopes to examine the differences between men who develop specific Dreams during this period and men who do not.

CHAPTER III - METHODOLOGY

“To say that biographers are engaged in empirical work reminds us that there is more than one kind of empiricism, more than one way of making observations and representing them, and that there is more than one way of contributing to science” (Newton, 1995, p. 147).

In order to investigate the role of the Dream in men’s development, an open and flexible methodological approach is needed. The method of biographical interviewing enables an individual to tell his story in his own voice and in so doing, allows for a deep and nuanced sense of his experience. Rather than verifying or validating specific research questions, this methodology provides an exploratory approach for generating data in an area that is under-researched (Furst, 1982). According to Newton (1995), this methodology “is best suited for research whose primary concern is to illuminate an area, rather than refine variables, or support and reject hypothesis” (p. 149).

RATIONALE FOR THE PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL METHOD

This study will use the methodology of Intensive Biographical Interviewing designed by Levinson (1996, 1981, 1978) to obtain information about men in early adulthood. In understanding the life course of individual people, Levinson found that only a limited amount could be learned using standard research methods such as questionnaires, surveys, tests, and structured interviews. These methods were poorly suited for exploratory research in a field that was relatively lacking in theory, descriptive knowledge and measuring instruments of demonstrated validity. In addition, Levinson argued that Intensive Biographical Interviewing allowed an individual’s life to be

revealed in more depth than other available methods and opened up new areas for research and inquiry. It facilitates the collection of the data without prematurely reducing the phenomenon being studied into quantifiable variables. Moreover, it provides a chronological basis for organizing the data on men's development. As Brewster (1998) explains, "The approach of generating data by listening to individuals tell the story of their lives in their own words diverges from variable-based research or methods reliant on preconceived psychometric scales. In quantitative research the focus is on specific dependent or independent variables; whereas in biography it is on the identification of complex patterns in individual development as they emerge from the narrative data. Biographical research is specifically intended to generate and explore hypotheses and suppositions rather than to test hypothesis through variable manipulation. Instead, the variables, or patterns in individual development, are an outcome of the inquiry and data analysis" (p. 67).

In a study of male career development, Ochberg (1988) found that biographical narratives enabled the researcher to gain a true sense of "who people know themselves to be" (p. 174). While he conceded that this method had obvious limitations, because of its reliance on memory and reconstruction, he found that "the stories people tell are important not only because they offer an unmatched window into subjective experience, but because they are part of the image people have of themselves" (p. 173). As Ochberg explains, "these narrative self-representations exert enormous power. They shape how we conduct our lives, how we come to terms with pain, what we are able to appropriate of our own experience, and what we disown - at the familiar price of neurosis. From this

perspective a life story is considerably more than a method of investigation. It is a crucial feature of psychological and social life in its own right” (p. 173-174).

Psychobiography is a specific method of biographical research. The basic goal of psychobiography is to gain an understanding of an individual’s life as it evolves over time. According to McAdams (1988), the primary task of psychobiography is to gain as complete a representation as possible of the “whole person” being studied. As McAdams (1988) explains, “to the extent that the psychologist systematically and self consciously employs psychological theory to aid in this process of discerning the story, he or she is doing psychobiography. Psychobiography is, thus, the systematic use of theory to transform a life into a coherent and illuminating story” (p. 2). It is only after the participant relates his life story in his own words that the researcher examines the underlying patterns, themes and symbols “in order to discern, discover, or even formulate the central, organizing, animating story of that person’s life” (p. 2).

Psychobiography has a long history. Freud (1910) is credited with the first psychobiography (McAdams, 1988). In *Leonardo da Vinci and a memory of his childhood*, Freud attempted to understand the life and work of Leonardo da Vinci using psychosexual theory. From this study Freud derived four basic guidelines for engaging in the work of psychobiography: 1. avoid arguments built on a single clue; 2. avoid arguments pathologizing the subject; 3. avoid arguments idealizing the subject; 4. avoid drawing strong conclusions from inadequate data. Although Freud was unable to adhere to his own guidelines they are important principles for research in this field. Later, Erikson (1958) used his stage theory to understand the life of Luther. Erikson explored how the underlying conflicts and dynamics of Luther’s early years impacted his

development in adulthood. For Erikson, issues of identity were the central focus of this work and he attempted to understand the “ideology” that Luther consciously and unconsciously employed to forge his path in adulthood.

In recent years psychobiography has become a widely used methodological approach. Using an unstructured life history interview, Levinson (1996, 1978) constructed narratives to devise a theory regarding male and female development across the life cycle. Levinson’s two landmark studies on adult development has influenced further research in this area (Newton, 1995, 1995, 1984). His work has also been instrumental in influencing a variety of dissertations on topics relating to both male and female adult development (Brewster, 1998; Gooden, 1989; Adams, 1983; Hobbs, 1982, Taylor, 1981).

The purpose of this study is to explore the role of the Dream in men’s lives. Very little is known about this aspect of male development. This study was conducted with the intention of gaining an understanding of how men make their life choices and of exploring the effect these choices have on subsequent development. In using psychobiography, the research strategy was to generate ideas, raise and answer questions, and formulate hypotheses about a particular group of men.

THE STUDY DESIGN

The design of this study is organic in nature (Jeff Rosen, personal communication, November 23, 1999). In order to explore the role of the Dream in men’s development the design needs to allow for a great deal of flexibility. Newton (1995) has proposed a set of

suggestions for doing psychobiographical research. These guidelines will be followed in this study, and they are as follows:

1. Use biographical methods for exploratory, hypothesis generating, rather than hypothesis testing purposes (p. 149).
2. Study individuals about whom there exists, or can be elicited, sufficient empirical data to allow a detailed reconstruction of the life (p. 150).
3. Present sufficient empirical data to allow the reader to come to his or her own view of the individual's life (p. 151).
4. In analyzing data, empirical patterns should be identified before proceeding to higher levels of theoretical abstraction (p. 153).
5. The analysis should be connected explicitly to existing theory and evidence (p. 156).

The aim of the present study is to develop theoretical hypotheses on men's Dreams from life history narratives. As a result, the rigid boundaries between data collection and data analysis need to be blurred. A simultaneous involvement in the data collection and data analysis means that the researcher's emerging understanding of men's Dreams shapes the ongoing interviewing procedures and data collection (Charmaz, 1995). A pilot study was conducted which highlighted several areas, or themes, which were instrumental in shaping the study design.

In a pilot study, a thirty-one year old man who had not developed a specific Dream in early adulthood was interviewed. Although he had followed several interests during this period, he explained that his early adult life had not been defined by a single Dream. However, as he entered his Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978) a more specific Dream was taking shape. The findings from this narrative and the literature

reviewed in Chapter II were instrumental in generating the themes and data analysis and presentation (see Data Presentation & Analysis, page 73) components of this study.

THEMES GENERATED FROM THE LITERATURE AND PILOT STUDY

At the onset of the study three themes were identified as the focus of the investigation. First, the role that occupation plays in a man's development. All of the subjects to be used in this study regard the development of an occupational identity as a central component of their lives. As a result, explicit content regarding this aspect of their experience will be elicited for a theme entitled, "DEVELOPING A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY IS A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULthood." A key question regarding this part of the study is why some men view their occupation as the development and pursuit of a Dream, while others do not? In addition, another theme was generated in order to examine the role that the male ideals of autonomy, success and power have in a man's early adulthood and occupational development. Hence, a second theme entitled, "THE MALE IDEALS OF AUTONOMY, SUCCESS AND POWER ARE AN IMPORTANT PART OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULthood" was created to explore this question.

A second question regarding the role that relationships play in a man's development was also identified as central to this study. Explicit content will be elicited for a theme entitled, "RELATIONSHIPS ARE A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULthood." Once again, a key question regarding this part of the study is why some men view their relationships as the development and

pursuit of a Dream, while others do not? Lastly, a theme regarding the Dream was developed. Prior to the study, the subjects (see Subjects, page 65) identified themselves as either having, or not having a Dream in early adulthood. Data will be elicited that relates to these experiences. Those who characterized themselves as having a Dream will be included in a theme entitled “MEN’S DREAMS IN EARLY ADULthood ARE RELATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL” while those who do not will be included in a theme entitled, “MEN’S DREAMS IN EARLY ADULthood ARE NOT RELATIONAL OR OCCUPATIONAL.”

THEME GENERATED FROM THE STUDY

Once the study was underway it became apparent that two of the men from the sample who identified themselves as not having a Dream actually had partial Dreams. Although neither could identify a specific occupational Dream in early adulthood they both had relational Dreams. As a result, a third theme regarding the Dream had to be developed. A theme entitled, “MEN’S DREAMS IN EARLY ADULthood ARE RELATIONAL BUT THEY ARE NOT OCCUPATIONAL” was included in the study.

SUBJECTS

The subjects are men between the ages of thirty and thirty-four who agreed to be in a study that entailed an in-depth examination of the various stages of their development. The sample consists of a total of eight men who can be divided into two pools. Four of the subjects are men who have followed a specific Dream throughout

early adulthood, while the other four subjects have not pursued a focused Dream during this period.

The goal is to compare and contrast the experiences of the two groups of men and to ascertain the impact of a specific Dream on individual development in adulthood.

Specific criteria for the selection of subjects are as follows:

1. The subjects chosen are between the ages of thirty and thirty-four. The intention is to capture a sample of men who could reflect on the experiences of their twenties as well as discuss the challenges of embarking on a new decade. This age range also coincides with the Age Thirty Transition as defined by Levinson (1996, 1978).
2. The subjects chosen have attended the top universities and colleges in the United States (six of the eight subjects attended Ivy League universities).
3. In an attempt to keep matters of culture constant within this sample, the men chosen for this study will all be Caucasian, heterosexual and of similar middle and upper/middle class socioeconomic status. In addition, all of the men were born in the United States.
4. An attempt will be made to pair the men from each sample according to marital status.

The time demands for doing this type of research was substantial so the sample was kept to eight men. Each interview took between four and eight hours, and required between two to four meetings with each participant. In the time between each of these meetings, the researcher had a chance to review the data for areas that needed further exploration, and to formulate new questions that arose from the material.

While the sample size is too small to make generalizations and interpretations regarding the male experience in early adulthood, it is large enough to generate hypotheses about this particular group of men. Furthermore, it is considered large enough for interindividual comparisons (Ruffin, 1985).

RESEARCH MATERIALS

The primary instrument for this study is the semi-structured interview (see appendix A). The interview is based on the interviews devised by Levinson (1978) Brewster (1998) and Furst (1982) in their studies of adult development. Like these studies, the present study attempted to cover the entire life sequence from childhood to the present. However, some of the areas these studies investigated were not relevant to the focus of this study, while other areas such as childhood and adolescence were deemed more important. As a result, the structure of the interview was modified to fit the needs of this study. More emphasis was placed on the pre-adult years and more specific questions on the Dream were included.

In exploratory research it is important that the subject's production be spontaneous so that unexpected material emerges. However, a framework is necessary for both the subject and the investigator, thus certain relevant areas were identified prior to data collection. As a result, the interview is structured like a research interview to make sure that certain topics are covered, but the sequence in which the material unfolds is variable because it is the product of an ongoing transaction. It begins with an open ended question, "what is your life like right now?" in order to get an initial window into the subject's subjective experience. This question begins a relationship between the interviewer and the subject out of which a narrative will be generated. Together they will explore how the subject's past and future are symbolically represented in the present. The researcher and the subject work together to uncover the multiple layers of personal meaning that lay hidden in the subject's experience.

According to Levinson (1996), the Intensive Biographical Interview integrates aspects of a research interview, a clinical interview and a conversation between two friends. Because the rigid boundary between the data collection and data analysis does not exist the researcher must be an active and empathic listener who comments and questions at various points during the interview. This will help to facilitate the story and enable the researcher to follow the multiple meanings of the material as they lead to other topics. The researcher must be careful that such probes are not too leading, but allow him to modify the interview according to the idiosyncrasies of each subject (Maslow, 1939). However, there is no way to avoid the subjectivity inherent in such a procedure. The methodology is a collaborative process between the researcher and the participant in which material should be related in a comfortable and mutual learning atmosphere. Given that each subject will be interviewed on a few occasions, there will be enough interactions for a relationship to develop between the researcher and each participant.

PROCEDURES

This study consists of a series of semi-structured interviews given to men between the ages of thirty and thirty-four. Unlike a structured interview that follows a set format, a semi-structured interview allows the researcher to inquire deeper into specific areas of a participant's life as relevant material unfolds. In her study, Brewster (1998) ruled out questionnaires and rating scales, because they tended to focus on certain aspects of a participant's experience, and limited the researcher's ability to investigate material that was unanticipated at the outset of the study. The semi-structured interview allows the researcher to explore in a more open-ended manner the various aspects of an individual's

experience. While the primary purpose of this study is to examine men's Dreams in early adulthood, other aspects of living will be taken into account. Levinson (1981, pp. 61-62) has posited several recommendations about the content of psychobiographical research:

- The researcher must make sure that the various aspects of living are taken into account. That is; family of origin; marriage and children; important relationships with men and women; education; occupational choice and work history; leisure, involvement in ethnic, religious, political and other interests.
- As the interview progresses, the researcher should get a sense of the various periods in a person's life (i.e. parent's divorce, high school, first job). It is important to get a sense of the overall character of each period as well as the changes that took place within them. The researcher must pay careful attention to the forms of integration, gaps, and contradictions that emerge from the material.
- Within each of these areas, the sequence of events must be examined. This includes major events and turning points such as death and loss of loved ones, good times and bad times, as well as periods of stability.
- Interpenetration of the various events and themes that make up a person's life must be taken into account. For example, the researcher needs to pay attention to how occupation and family are intertwined. It is often the role of the researcher to facilitate these connections. In exploring these connections, new dimensions are added to the research and broader life patterns emerge.
- The various high points and low points within the life structure must be examined. These events often constitute the end of one period and the beginning of another. These periods should be examined from many vantage points. In addition, the researcher should pay close attention to the events that led up to, and immediately followed, these high and low points to see what other factors were taking place.
- The purpose of the research is to get the participant's view of his life as a whole and see the interrelations among the various components of his life; in other words, to examine how past life experiences are represented in the present, and see how plans for the future are represented in the present and past as well.

Although such a method results in a great deal of data, overinclusion of material reduced the risk of inadvertently ignoring critical aspects of a the subjects' experience.

Volunteers were recruited through the personal and professional contacts of the researcher. Letters and phone contacts solicited the interest of volunteers. Prospective subjects were informed that the investigator was a doctoral candidate in the Clinical Psychology program at the City University of New York. They were told that the purpose of this study was to explore the lives of men in early adulthood with the objective of gaining a better understanding of the role that Dreams play in their lives.

The subjects were not paid a fee, but were given a chance to examine and share their life experience in depth. Each subject was told that the interviews would take between four and eight hours and would be taped and transcribed so that portions could be used verbatim in the researcher's doctoral thesis. The interviews took place either in the participant's home, the researcher's home, or the participant's place of business.

Each subject signed an informed consent form (see appendix B) before the interview which allowed the researcher to tape record the interview and transcribe the contents. The subjects was told that all information would be kept confidential and any identifying information would be altered when the material was presented in written form. The study meets the criteria of the Institutional Review Board of the City University of New York.

All data was collected on tape. In addition, the researcher wrote down notes and follow up questions before, during and after each interview. The interviews were transcribed verbatim for presentation and data analysis. Several copies of each interview transcript were made. Portions of each were presented in their original form, while others were used for the purpose of data analysis. Prior to data analysis the subjects' biographies will be constructed and presented (Chapter IV).

DATA CODING

In order to explore why some men can form Dreams in early adulthood and others cannot, the coding system needs to be an active and open process that helps to shape the ongoing interviews. This will generate data that focuses on the most interesting and relevant material. Alexander (1988) compares this process to the analytic therapeutic hour in which the trained psychodynamic ear attempts to reduce seemingly overwhelming content into its underlying themes and conflicts. For example, in his study of male career development in Ochberg (1988) examined the symbolic connection between a man's career and the longings and frustrations of his childhood. The events and characters who populated his subjects' narratives provided a window into their internal experience. Ochberg found that underlying the manifest content of his subjects' aggressive drive to be successful lay a hidden need to deny an overwhelming desire for paternal love and acceptance. Career advancement became a psychodynamic symbol for disavowing the longing for personal attachment. Using dynamic theory Ochberg was able to explore the connection between a man's relationship to the workplace and the relationship he has with his father.

DATA PRESENTATION & ANALYSIS

DATA PRESENTATION

After the interviews are conducted first person life history narratives will be constructed in chronological order. The intention behind constructing life history narratives of each subject is to discern and formulate the central organizing story of each person's life. Narratives will be presented in the first person in order to give the reader a

sense of how each subject construes reality in as objective a way as possible. Although the researcher will prepare the narratives for presentation, an attempt will be made to maintain the integrity of each subjects' voice. As a result, the narratives may appear a bit choppy at times.

Levinson's (1996, 1978) stages of development in early adulthood will provide a framework for presenting the narratives. As a result, the narratives will be divided into the four periods that Levinson envisioned (i.e. pre-adulthood, early adult transition, entering the adult world, Age Thirty Transition). An attempt will be made to give equal time to each period of a subject's life so the reader can see the course of events that define each man's experience.

A comprehensive amount of biographical material will be presented so that the reader can see where the researcher's thinking was directed and why. In addition, an attempt will be made to present sufficient enough data so the reader can derive his own ideas and opinions (Newton, 1995). As Newton explains, "an illuminating explanation is one that is consistent with most of the data and unites apparently disparate pieces of it; the reader feels, not that the explanation is certainly correct, but that it may very well be" (1995, p.154).

After the narratives have been presented, each subjects' life will be explored in relation to the themes generated from the literature and the pilot study (see page 64). Raw data from the interviews will be presented that explicitly relates to these themes. As Charmaz (1995) explains, the researcher "generally provides enough verbatim material to demonstrate the connection between the data and the analysis, but give more weight to the concepts derived from the data" (p.38). Each man has a unique life story so the

content contained in this section will be diverse. Furthermore, the data presentation aims at revealing the data to the reader in as straight forward a way as possible. Aside from the subjects' observations, exploration and analysis of the data will be minimal.⁴

DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis of the data has two aims. The first aim is to examine the suitability of this sample of men for the concepts and theories of adult development. The second aim is to present the findings on the developmental course of men's Dreams. The transcripts of each subject will be read and re-read several times and were arranged according to the themes that emerged from the narratives using Strauss' and Corbin's (1990) method of grounded theory. The data analysis section of the study will follow Newton's (1995) recommendation that the analysis should be connected to existing theory and direct evidence that is contained in the narratives.

Regarding the applicability of this sample to Levinson's (1996, 1978) developmental model of the ages and stages of a man's life, the following questions will guide the analysis of the data:

- 1) Does the narrative give evidence of an evolution of developmental periods?
- 2) Does the narrative give evidence of an alternation between stable and transitional periods?

⁴ The data collected in this study is not intended to be examined in quantified measures. However, a section entitled Summary of the Data (pgs. 231-235) has been included in order to provide an abridged examination of the data. In this section the terms "Central," "Moderate" and "Peripheral" have been used to denote the degree to which a particular theme was experienced in a subject's life. Specifically, if a man organized his life around a certain theme in a Peripheral manner it means that he acknowledged this aspect of his experience, but did not fully invest himself in it because other interests were more critical during this period. Moderate organization around a particular theme indicates that the man recognized this feature of his life as significant, but it was not the main priority. Lastly, Central organization around a particular theme denotes that the theme is an essential motivating force in a man's life that he is unwilling to compromise; it is vital that it come to fruition. While these terms indicate a quantitative measure, they were used as a way to address a great deal of data in a succinct manner.

- 3) Does the narrative give evidence of the core developmental issues outlined by Levinson (1978) during each stable and transitional period?
- 4) Does the narrative give the same age range for the inception and completion of periods as outlined by Levinson?

Regarding the Dream and the developmental process and experience of men in early adulthood, the following questions will serve as to guide the thematic analysis of each man's narrative:

- 1) Does each man have a Dream? If not, why not? If a man has a Dream, how was it first formed? What factors from childhood, adolescence and early adulthood facilitate or hinder the implementation of the Dream? What are the essential components of each man's Dream.
- 2) Does the narrative illustrate current behaviors or experiences that repeat significant events of childhood? What are the recurring symbols or themes of these experiences? Do they transform and change over time? If so, how? How does each man identify with his father, mother, or significant other(s)?
- 3) Is the primary focus of a man's Dream his occupation as Levinson (1978) posits? Are the masculine ideals of autonomy, success and power influential in the progression and development of the Dream? Or do other factors influence a man's Dream. For example, does the desire for marriage, children and relationships play a significant role in Dream formation?
- 4) Does the narrative give an indication of conflicts around the expression of a need for interpersonal connection and emotional relatedness? Conversely, does the narrative give indication of conflicts around the expression of aggressive and assertive strivings?
- 5) Does the narrative give insight into the transitional nature of early adulthood. Moreover, do all men experience transitions during early adulthood, or is there an indication of continued stability for some men during this period?
- 6) Does the narrative give evidence of the developmental issues of early adulthood as described by Jung (1960), Jacques (1965) and Levinson (1996, 1978)? Is there a significant re-assessment of life at or around the age of thirty. How does this reassessment affect the Dream?

CHAPTER IV - DATA PRESENTATION & ANALYSIS

In this section the narratives of eight men are presented and analyzed. The first four narratives come from subjects who have followed a focused Dream throughout the course of early adulthood. The other four narratives come from subjects who have not followed a specific Dream during this period. All of the narratives are presented in the first person to give the reader a sense of each man's subjective experience⁵. The narratives are followed by raw data from the subjects' life history interviews that pertain to a series of themes discussed in the methodology. Lastly, the themes are analyzed and discussed.

⁵In order to keep the identities of the eight subjects confidential their names and other biographical information has been changed.

SECTION 1: MEN WITH DREAMS

THE LIFE OF RALPH - AGE 33

I was born and raised in New York City. When I was born my father was forty-five and my mother was forty-two. We lived in a gigantic apartment on the Upper West Side that was in walking distance from my school. When I was eight years old my parents divorced. They had been married almost twenty-five years. To be honest, the divorce wasn't that hard on me. In fact, it was a relief. During the last few years of their marriage they were fighting all the time and it was very upsetting to be around. My two older brothers had a more difficult time with the divorce and were very angry at my father for moving out. After he left, I split time between his apartment and my mother's.

I had a wonderful relationship with my father when I was growing up. He had a Ph.D. in English literature and worked as a professor at St. John's University. I remember watching him teach when I was a kid. I was totally captivated by the way he related to his students and led the discussion. He had a wonderful way of teaching. He had a powerful presence in the classroom which kept the students completely enthralled. At the same time, he was open to their questions and ideas. It was a great thing for me to see. I'm sure my interest in teaching was deeply influenced by him.

My father and I spent a lot of time together. On the nights that I stayed at his apartment we would cook dinner and then spend hours talking and playing chess. I did well in school so he never had to worry about me in that capacity. As a result, he never put any pressure on me or forced me to take a particular path. In fact, I remember coming home exhausted one night after soccer practice when I was in high school. I had an

english paper due the next day so I went to bed and set the alarm for midnight so I could wake up and write the paper. At midnight the alarm started ringing, but I didn't wake up so my father came into my room and shut the alarm off. The next morning when I woke up it was too late to write the paper. I was a bit upset at my dad for turning off the alarm. He sort of smiled at me and said, "listen, you've been working really hard and I think that a lost night of sleep would hurt you a lot more than a late paper."

I also had a very close relationship with my mother during my childhood and adolescence. Up until I was about nineteen we spent a few weeks together each summer on Cape Cod. She was a psychologist and she used our living room as her office. It was the ideal situation for a parent because it meant she could work from home. She didn't talk a lot about her work, but I know that it was very important to her. In addition, she made a very good income which enabled my brothers and I to go to private school. We were definitely upper middle class, but material things didn't hold a lot of value in my family. The only things that really mattered to my mother were education and travel. I think those values really affected me and as a result money has never been a big priority in my life.

I was very awkward when I entered high school. I was short and I wore thick coke bottle glasses which made me self-conscious about my appearance. As a result, I had a difficult time socially, especially with girls. School came very easily to me and I excelled academically, but I was definitely a bit of a nerd. Towards the middle of high school it became clear that I had some real proclivities in math. I really enjoyed it because I approached it as if it were a game. When I was in tenth grade my best friend was having a hard time in geometry and he asked me to study with him the night before

the final. I worked with him for about four hours and it was a totally amazing experience. Being able to help him go from a state of confusion to a state of understanding made me feel great. At that moment a light bulb went on for me. I realized that math was not only something that I enjoyed, but teaching it was a real thrill. After that I sought out opportunities to work in the math department at my school. I became a peer tutor and assisted some of the teachers in the middle school. I think the idea of becoming a teacher was already beginning to solidify for me at that point.

In the later years of high school things really began to change for me socially. Getting contact lenses had an incredible affect on my life. I became much more confident about my appearance. In addition, I had a really big growth spurt in eleventh grade and I suddenly developed muscles. I joined some sports teams and my social life improved dramatically. I was still a bit awkward around girls, but I began to go on some dates and I had some female friends. In my senior year I had a relatively serious girlfriend for about seven months.

Two months before I went to college my father had a triple bypass. I remember seeing him after the operation and he looked like he had aged twenty years. I was always aware that my parents were older, but they were both very youthful people and their ages had never really mattered. When my father's health began to decline I realized how much older my parents actually were.

EARLY ADULT TRANSITION

I attended Harvard University for college. I applied to schools that had good math departments and I'm not sure what ultimately drew me to Harvard. I wanted to get a

solid background in mathematics so I could eventually teach and Harvard was a very good place to receive that kind of education. Leaving home wasn't really that big a deal for me. During high school I had worked at a youth center in Massachusetts in the summer, so I had been away from home for significant periods of time.

I enjoyed college and made a lot of good friends, but it wasn't an unbelievable experience. The academic climate at Harvard was fantastic, but my social life wasn't as fulfilling as it could have been. During my freshman year I got a terrible eye infection which forced me to wear my thick glasses again. It really had a detrimental affect on my social life. It may sound superficial, but it made me very self-conscious about my appearance.

At Harvard I majored in math and took every educational psychology course that was offered. The math department at Harvard was terrific because it gave me a lot of opportunities to teach. I assisted several professors and taught at a local public school. At the time, I had a lot of kinks to work out in my teaching style. I really loved working with kids and teaching math came naturally to me, but talking in front of a group was a challenge.

During my senior year I began to look into Ph.D. programs in research mathematics. I had a strong desire to start my teaching career, but I was also curious about how far I could go in mathematics. I applied to graduate school and got into Stanford University. I decided that I had to give academic mathematics a chance. I had the momentum and there was nothing to lose. In addition, I knew that a Ph.D. in mathematics would be an asset when I was looking for a teaching job. I was only twenty-one years old and five years of graduate school wasn't going to make that big a

difference. Furthermore, Stanford was going to pay my tuition and give me a stipend to teach two classes. The only thing that made my decision to go to graduate school difficult was leaving my girlfriend. During my senior year I had become involved with a fabulous woman named Daphne who really meant a lot to me. Unfortunately, she had another two years at Harvard and I was going to spend the next five years in California.

ENTERING THE ADULT WORLD

I absolutely loved graduate school. As soon as I got there I felt like I was in the right place, doing the right thing. After a few weeks I joined the rugby team and I became an R.A. in one of the dorms. It was a real blast. Almost immediately it became crystal clear that teaching was what I was meant to do.

I worked as a teaching assistant in the math department and I was responsible for two classes a semester. In the beginning I used to come to class with everything completely planned out. It took some time, but I was able to get more comfortable standing in front of a classroom and I developed a real rapport with my students.

As graduate school progressed, I got more and more involved in teaching and became less interested in research. I was never that interested in the theory or the craft of mathematics. Math was something that I was good at and enjoyed. I didn't have the passion to be a true academic. In addition, I didn't want to become a professor because that involved publishing papers and attending conferences. Those things held no interest for me. In fact, my thesis advisor was continually trying to get me to present papers at conferences and he wanted me to become more involved in the visiting lecture series. I simply couldn't commit to math on that level. I was more interested in playing rugby and

volunteering at a local children's hospital. I knew that I was an OK mathematician, and I could have had a decent career in research mathematics, but I was never going to be a superstar. I didn't have that kind of drive. I wanted to teach.

At the beginning of my final year of graduate school I applied for a position in the Peace Corps in Nepal. I had always wanted to go to India and they had an opening for a job that involved teaching mathematics to potential math teachers. I was accepted for the position, but I decided not to go. During my fourth year of graduate school I had become involved with a woman named Francesca. I didn't want to jeopardize the relationship. I realized that I could go to Nepal at some other point in my life, but I wouldn't have another chance with Francesca. She had just graduated from college and was going to Washington DC for a job. I decided to follow her so I sent my resume to several independent schools in the DC area. I applied quite late, but luckily I landed a job that July.

When I began my first teaching job I was twenty-six. I was working at a second tier school in Maryland. I absolutely loved the job and it ended up being a very good place for me to cut my teeth. Furthermore, I had a lot of independence and the school really valued my input. After my first year I volunteered to be the head of the math department. The position enabled me to gain some experience in school administration. Unfortunately, Francesca and I broke during my second year of teaching. We were at very different points in our lives and the relationship ultimately ended.

One day I got a call from my high school guidance counselor. We had kept in touch over the years and he had always been interested in my career. He told me that they were looking for someone to head the math department and he wanted to know if I

was interested. It was a job at one New York City's top private schools so I jumped at the chance. In addition, I was ready to leave Maryland. I wanted to be closer to my parents. They were both in their seventies and had significant health problems. My father's health was particularly bad and I wanted to be able to help him. About a year after I moved back to New York he passed away.

AGE THIRTY TRANSITION

When I got back to New York a friend introduced me to Tina. She was a producer at CNN and we began dating almost immediately. At the time I was still getting over Francesca so the relationship progressed somewhat slowly. Tina was a wonderful person and I loved spending time with her. Things really picked up when it was time for her to renew her lease. My lease was also about to end and Tina put all her cards on the table. She essentially told me that she wanted to spend the rest of her life with me and she wanted to know where I stood. It didn't take me very long to answer. A month later we moved in together and we were engaged later that year.

I settled into my new job relatively quickly. I loved being back in New York and the job was terrific. Most days I was at school for about twelve hours. I got involved in every aspect of the job. I was responsible for planning the entire math curriculum for the upper school. I was also in charge of all the hirings and firings in my department. It was an intense job and I felt well suited for it. However, the pace slowed down considerably when my daughter Lucy was born. It was the most transformative experience of my life. I had always wanted to have children, but I had no idea how much it would change my life.

These days I just can't wait to get home because I love every minute I spend with Lucy. My work is still very important to me, but I don't take it as seriously as I used to. I won't let my job interfere with my ability to be a father. I suddenly feel like I have a lot to lose.

At the present time, my life is in a state of flux. I just switched from my job as head of the math department and became the academic dean of students. I'm a bit ambivalent about the change because it's going to take me out of the classroom. I eventually wanted to move in that direction, but I wanted to wait a few years. I accepted the job because I wanted to gain some experience as an administrator. I will basically be in control of the educational mission of the school. There will be a lot of useless paperwork, but I'm looking forward to having a real voice in the process. In addition, the job pays better, and Tina and I need the extra income. We would like to have another child and Tina would like to cut down on her hours at work. She enjoys her job, but the thing that really drives her is being a mother. It's the one thing she has always wanted to be. If it was possible she would stop working altogether so she could take care of our kids. I even offered to get a job on Wall Street for a couple of years so that she could have that option. Tina decided that teaching was too important to me and she didn't want me to give it up - even for a couple of years. Hopefully, CNN will allow her to work part-time so that she can spend a significant amount of time at home.

I have a couple of fantasies about the future. It would be great if I could get a job as an administrator at either a boarding school or one of the private schools in Riverdale. The assumption among many of my bosses and colleagues is that I'll be a headmaster

before I'm forty. That would be great, but we'll have to see. A lot of those jobs offer free housing for the families of administrators. It would mean that our living expenses would be minimal and our children could go to school for free. In addition, Tina would have the opportunity to spend more time with our kids.

About a year ago my mother died and it has left a noticeable void in my life. My mother was very important to me and I definitely relied on her support and encouragement. In addition, my brothers and I are not that close which makes her loss more difficult. We love each other, but were very different people and being together is not something that comes naturally to us. It's the one thing I would really like to change about my life. I never had a really tight family growing up and I think it was something that I always wanted. Being with Tina has made me acutely aware of the importance of family. She comes from a gigantic family that gets together on a regular basis. I'm grateful that I'm a part of it. Before I met Tina I couldn't conceive of a relationship that lasted the rest of my life. I had never seen that, but with Tina I think in those terms. She is my best friend and the family we have together - it's everything.

THEMES GENERATED FROM THE NARRATIVE

OCCUPATION

THEME 1: DEVELOPING A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY IS A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

Ralph's professional Dream of becoming a teacher had its origins in his pre-adult experience. As a child Ralph watched his father teach. The experience had a profound impact on him.

I went to my dad's classes when I was a kid. He was great. Just the control he had over his class. He had them totally enthralled. He showed a movie based on a book he was teaching. It was amazing and they really got into it. He had such a presence in the classroom and they loved him. It was a great thing for me to see and I'm sure in some ways it led to my interest in teaching.

Ralph traces his interest in teaching back to an experience he had in high school helping a friend study for a geometry final.

In ninth or tenth grade I had a couple of sort of teaching opportunities. One of them was before our tenth grade geometry final and my best friend at the time, who still is my best friend. He was my best man at my wedding. He said I really need some help with some stuff why don't you come over. I spent like four hours with him going over things with him, just explaining it to him. And I had been good at math, but wasn't really excited about being good at math and all of a sudden it hit me. I'm good at explaining this stuff. I can make other people see it and that's cool. I really enjoyed getting him to the point where he could do it. And seeing that light bulb go off I was pretty directed after that. It sort of became this would be very natural thing for me to do because I'm good at the stuff and I can make other people see it too. And as I sort of progressed through college I started to find that I really enjoyed kids. So at that point I was like this is it.

Graduate school helped to confirm Ralph's occupational Dream of becoming a teacher.

That decision was very clear. I always had the sense that I didn't like the math that much. I liked it in a game kind of way and that was it, but I had the momentum. And I just had a sense that if I embark on a teaching career I would never go back and then I would be stuck thinking I wonder how I would have done in that environment and on what level. And graduate school confirmed what I knew which is that I'm a good mathematician and I could have had a fair to midland career, but I'm not the kind of talent that ends up being a professor at Harvard or Yale or Stanford because it wasn't what I really wanted. I wasn't cut out to be an academic in research mathematics. I wanted to teach and to be in the classroom working with the kids.

THEME II: THE MALE IDEALS OF AUTONOMY, SUCCESS AND POWER ARE AN IMPORTANT PART OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

Ralph has had a very successful career as a teacher and administrator.

I might have stayed at my first job, but an unbelievable opportunity presented itself. It was at that point that my old college guidance counselor called me up and said a job as head of the math department has opened up. It was a totally fortuitous thing. I've done the job now for four years and it really feels great. I sort of feel uniquely suited for it and it allows me to bring all of my skills into it. I was really young to get to that point and success career wise.

Ralph's Dream for the future includes having a leadership position at a school in the New York City area.

The assumption is, there is an assumption by many of my colleagues and that has been made by both of my bosses that I'm going to be a headmaster. I'm on track and I'm in a place in school administration way early by most standards. I don't know. We'll have to see how this works out. But a job like that would give me a lot of ability to do interesting things in education. Really have a say over how things happen and the way kids are taught. I can't imagine not enjoying it and I wouldn't be upset if it presented itself.

ANALYSIS

From a relatively early age Ralph placed a great deal of importance on establishing a professional identity. By the time he was in high school he was already interested in a career in teaching. In fact, he made the decision to attend Harvard

University because he believed it would help him in this pursuit. This decision was reinforced when he went to graduate school in research mathematics. In keeping with Levinson's theory (1978), Ralph's professional Dream has been a central focus of his early adulthood. In a relatively short period of time Ralph has moved up the ranks as a teacher and administrator.

Ralph's occupational Dream had its origins in his pre-adult experience (Furst, 1983). Ralph's father played a critical role in the creation of his Dream. Although Ralph never had a professional mentor, his father served as an important role model in his life. During his childhood Ralph watched his father teach a class and it had a profound impact on him. He was captivated by the way his father led the discussion and related to his students. His father had a command over the classroom and created an environment where learning was exciting and fun. It was an experience that Ralph identified with strongly and it is not surprising that Ralph ascribes his interest in teaching to his father.

Ralph's Dream also served to repair experiences from his past (Roberts & Newton, 1987). During his adolescence Ralph was self-conscious about his appearance. He was short and wore thick glasses that made him feel awkward. However, Ralph was able to feel a tremendous sense of competence when he helped his friend prepare for a geometry final. Being able to help his friend go from a state of confusion to a state of understanding was a powerful experience for Ralph. He realized that he had the ability to teach. At an otherwise difficult time in his life, mathematics was an area where Ralph felt a sense of strength and competence. After this experience Ralph actively sought out other opportunities to teach mathematics. To a certain extent, Ralph's Dream emerged as a reaction to the experience of feeling inferior during adolescence (Roberts & Newton,

1987). In college Ralph had a similar experience. An eye infection left him feeling out of place socially so he concentrated on mathematics. Ralph was given several opportunities to teach and he excelled in his classes. After college he was accepted into a top graduate program. Throughout Ralph's life mathematics has enabled him to feel good about himself

The progression of Ralph's career has followed a relatively straight path. However, Ralph made sure that his identity as a teacher was the "self" he wanted to be. At various points Ralph tested his Dream to make sure it was truly satisfying. He never wanted to question his choices and regret the opportunities he might have missed. For example, Ralph went to graduate school because he wanted to see how far he could go in the field of mathematics. In graduate school Ralph realized that research mathematics was interesting, but it was not enough to sustain him. Graduate school confirmed that his true passion was teaching and attaining a Ph.D. became an enjoyable means to an end.

Ralph has experienced a great deal of success in his career. He has been able to reach a powerful position in the New York City private school system at an early age. As he advanced in his career, he has gained more autonomy and control. These factors play heavily into Ralph's Dream. He currently runs the math department in his school and will become the academic dean of students in the fall. The position will enable him to have a powerful voice in the academic mission of his school. As he looks towards the future, he envisions becoming the headmaster of a New York school. The job will allow him "to do a lot of interesting things in education," and give him a great deal of control over the curriculum and the way children are taught.

Ralph's thirties have been a very transformative period in his life (Levinson, 1996, 1978). Although deeply satisfied by the choices he has made, the realities of raising a family have led him to make significant professional changes. It is clear that Ralph would have entered school administration at some point in his career, but the decision to raise a family accelerated the process. At the present time, the central focus of Ralph's life is his family and his choices reflect this preoccupation. Although his job as the head of the math department was satisfying, Ralph is presently taking a promotion (partially) for financial reasons. It is a change that he is looking forward to, but he would have preferred to wait a few years. Ralph loves teaching and his new job will take him away from the classroom. However, he needs to provide more for his family than his current job allows (i.e. self-I-need-to-be). The next section will explore how Ralph's relational Dream (Stewart, 1977) has changed the course of his career and shifted the focus of his overall Dream.

RELATIONSHIPS

THEME 1: RELATIONSHIPS ARE A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

Becoming a husband and father were always part of Ralph's Dream.

Certainly having kids was something that I aspired to relatively early on and wanting that kind of relationship with a wife as well. But I could never have imagined what being a father would do to me and being involved in a life with Tina.

Relationships have played a important role in Ralph's development in early adulthood.

After graduate school Ralph decided not to join the Peace Corps because he wanted to see how far his relationship with Francesca might progress.

I became one of the leading candidates for a position in the Peace Corps which I had applied to to teach mathematics to potential teachers. And I got placed after a very grueling process in Nepal, turned it down at the last minute to follow my girlfriend who had gotten a job after her senior year in college in Washington DC. But I was, you know, at that point again where I'm going to have to say well what if I had never done this. And I thought to myself and I said to myself I am not sure if I could deal with a lifetime of I'm not sure if that relationship would have worked out. It was going so great. I mean not going to Nepal, I was going to go there for a few years and it was going to be an adventure and then I was going to come back and start my life for real anyhow.

Ralph relationship with his wife Tina has played a critical role in his development.

I have a lot of wonderful friends who I care about a great deal. But my wife and daughter are really my life. I really do a lot of things with her and we enjoy spending time together. Before I met Tina I could not envision a marriage lasting fifty or sixty years or whatever because it was not what I had seen. Now I think in terms of that, and that's because of the impact she has had on my life. She's a totally wonderful person. I feel very lucky and to have been folded into her family, and her extended family. Just letting me be part of that. Our life together and our family is really everything. Tina is my best friend.

The birth of Ralph's daughter changed his life.

My life has been a relatively straight path. And I wouldn't have said thirty was a particular transformation. So work wise no, it was a progression but nothing really that big in terms of change. But, but the birth of my child was. Just in the sense that I can't describe it. I just have felt like I have so much to lose. And it changed a lot of things.

THE DREAM

THEME 1: MEN'S DREAMS IN EARLY ADULthood ARE RELATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL

Ralph's relationship with his daughter is deeply significant to him and has changed his perspective on work.

Becoming a parent has really been an amazingly transformative experience. I still take my work home with me because that is my nature and I care a lot about the kids and I want to do a good job and everything else but the perspective has totally shifted in terms of wanting to get home to be able to spend time with my daughter. And just in terms of the extent to which I let things at work get to me, just because being a parent is just so much fun. It's just such a fabulous experience. It's not that I let things get to me in the past. I'm relatively even keeled, but I just used to obsess more about doing things as well as I could. At a certain point I'm more able to just say I've done what I can. I'm not willing to sacrifice my time with my daughter. You know I definitely used to go to a lot more school plays and sports events and stuff like that. I was definitely more involved in all of that. I have just decided that for a handful of years while my child, and hopefully children are a certain age I'm going to cut down on that stuff.

I've made some very conscious decisions about some things that I used to pride myself on doing in terms of my professional life. In terms of going to see the kids games and shows and really getting involved in what they were doing. I've just cut way down on that and that's fine. And I think the balance will change when my child or children decide that they don't want to spend so much time with me. Then I can think about that. It will be a while.

Ralph's Dream for the future contains both professional and relational components.

The ideal world would be that ten years down the road I have a job as a head of a math department or a headmaster at a school where my kids can also go. A place in Riverdale would be ideal because it would give us more space, we could afford more than in the city. And presumably my kids could go to the school for free if I had a position like that. You know that would be a fabulous way to spend my forties. And to have my kids at the school where I worked and to be able to do it in such a way that, then I would really be providing much more for the family in terms of salary and educational benefits which I would really love to be able to do just to give Tina some more options.

ANALYSIS

Relationships are a central part of Ralph's Dream. Throughout early adulthood, Ralph has placed a great deal of importance on his relationships. From a relatively early age Ralph aspired to a life that included a wife and family. In fact, at various points in his development Ralph has placed more importance on his relationships than he has placed on his careerⁿ. Although his Dream is split (Roberts & Newton, 1987; Adams, 1983; Stewart, 1977) between relational and occupational aspirations, Ralph's relationships occupy a more significant place in his life. The choices he has made as he enters his thirties speak to this reality.

Ralph's relationship with his wife Tina is the central focus of his life. Tina is a developmentally significant figure who has enabled Ralph to accomplish a great deal in his early adulthood (Levinson, 1978). Tina has provided Ralph with an enduring relationship that he expects will last for the rest of his life. In addition, Ralph and Tina have a shared Dream that consists of their lives together and the family they are in the process of making (Shane & Shane, 1990). Although early adulthood has been a time of great personal and professional accomplishments for Ralph, it has also been a period of profound loss. In the last five years he has had to face the deaths of both his parents. These losses have compounded the sense of distance that exists between Ralph and his brothers. However, Tina's presence in Ralph's life has helped to offset these difficulties. She has provided him with an enduring relationship and a family that is the most

ⁿFor example, when Ralph was twenty-six he chose to follow his girlfriend Francesca to Washington, DC instead of taking a teaching position in the Peace Corps. Although the relationship ultimately ended,

significant thing in his life. As he explained, “I just have felt like I have so much to lose.”

Over the course of Ralph’s early adulthood his Dream has been split between professional ambitions and relational desires (Roberts & Newton, 1987; Adams, 1983; Stewart, 1977). Ralph loves the work he does as a math teacher and as head of the math department. It is a vital part of his identity and he has spent years developing the skills and credentials to establish himself at one of New York City’s top private school. However, the relational component of Ralph’s Dream has become more central since he became a father. In fact, Ralph has significantly cut down on the number of hours he spends at work and has reduced the amount of emotional energy he invests in his job. His career is still a very important part of his life, but he is not willing to let it interfere with the time he spends with his daughter. These findings challenge Roberts’ and Newton’s (1987) and Kittrell’s (1998) assertion that men’s Dreams are unidimensional and focus primarily on occupation. The life Ralph has with Tina and their daughter has changed the level of commitment he brings to his work.

Ralph’s commitment to his family has shifted the focus of his Dream. The birth of Ralph’s daughter created a new set of priorities in his life. In fact, Ralph offered to get a job on Wall Street so could become the family’s sole breadwinner. He wanted to give Tina the chance to pursue her Dream of being a full-time mother. Although Tina declined the offer, Ralph left his job as head of the math department and became the academic dean of students at his school so that he could make more money to support

Ralph did not want to miss the opportunity to see how far it might have developed.

their family. It is a job that Ralph has some ambivalent feelings about because it will take him away from the classroom. However, it will provide added income for his family and allow Tina to spend more time with their daughter.

Ralph's thirties have been the most transitional period in his life (Levinson, 1996, 1978). Ralph has shifted the course of his career so that he can support his family. Although he has made these choices willingly, it is precisely these types of compromises that are seldom discussed in the literature on adult development. The literature has focused on the personal and professional compromises women have had to make in order to take on the obligations of becoming a wife and mother (Brewster, 1998; Adams, 1983; Gilligan, 1982; Chodorow, 1978; Stewart, 1977), but it has just begun to explore the compromises men have to make to become husbands and fathers. Ralph's professional Dream has been modified so that he can live up to the commitment he has made to Tina and their family. Although Ralph may grow to find school administration rewarding, he concedes that he is leaving a job he loves (at least partly) for financial reasons. Ralph had planned to eventually consider such a position, but the responsibilities of family life accelerated the process.

THE LIFE OF MELVIN - AGE 33

I was born and raised in a small middle-class neighborhood in Massachusetts. My father was the local doctor. In the town where I grew up being a doctor was considered the pinnacle of the community and my father carried himself that way. He always drove a Mercedes or an Audi, and it was important that people referred to him as Dr. Cohen. Becoming a physician was his lifelong Dream and he took great pride in the level he had reached in life. I was totally in awe of him when I was a kid.

My mother was a nurse before I was born, but she stopped working in order to raise a family. She never liked being a nurse so leaving her job wasn't that big a deal. My father worked long hours so my brother and I spent a great deal of time with her. She was a wonderful mother and an incredibly loving person. At the same time, I think she had other aspirations. There were a series of odd jobs she did while I was growing up and she was always taking courses and doing volunteer work. My mother was never completely satisfied with herself and she was always searching for a sense of inner peace. About ten years ago she started working as a free-lance cosmetics consultant for a cosmetics company. She currently does make-overs at a local department store and works for a couple of modeling agencies. It's work that she is really good at and absolutely loves. She found her calling at fifty.

My parents had a very loving relationship. It was definitely a very traditional set-up. She took care of the kids and the home, and he worked. In the community where I grew up that was the norm. No one had nannies. In addition, my father had very traditional attitudes about marriage. He didn't like taking care of the home and he felt

that supporting a family was a man's job. To this day my mother has no idea about their finances.

During my childhood and adolescence my family spent a great deal of time together. My parents bought a ski house in Vermont when I was nine and we went there almost every weekend. Nothing made my parents happier than spending time with us. We were a really tight unit. My sense of family and the importance it has in my life came from them. At the same time, my parents could be very controlling. My ability to establish myself as an independent person wasn't high on their list of priorities. I think they wanted me to stay a child as long as possible. In addition, my parents could be very judgmental about people who made choices that were different from their own. They had very strong opinions about the way people should live their lives. It wasn't an environment that bred a great deal of acceptance of others. At the time, my parents' approval was very important to me. As a result, I was very careful about who I spent my time with. I hung out with kids who didn't drink or do drugs and I worked really hard in school.

From a relatively early age my parents made feel like I had a real gift in terms of my intelligence. As a result, I excelled academically. My mother was always happy with my accomplishments and encouraged my interests. She wanted me to be happy. On the other hand, my father put a fair amount of pressure on me. If I brought home a B+ he pushed me to get an A-. It was done with love, but the standards were always very high. By the time I was in high school he made it pretty clear that he wanted me to be a doctor. When I was a junior he actually had me sit in on an operation he was performing. I really wanted to make him happy so I applied to college pre-med.

My real interest was in journalism. When I was little I wanted to be a TV news reporter. I used to pretend my room was a television studio and I was the anchorman. As I got older newspaper journalism became my passion. I remember tearing into the Sunday *New York Times* when I was a teenager. I loved following news stories as they unfolded. I thought it was an incredible way to learn about the world. In high school I became very active in the school paper. It was really empowering being able to inform people about something they didn't know.

EARLY ADULT TRANSITION

I went to Cornell University for college. It had been a dream of mine to go there since I was ten. I had gone to a summer camp near Ithaca when I was growing up and I had spent time on the campus. As a result, I was ecstatic when I got in. However, leaving home was very traumatic. I was really attached to my family and I didn't want to leave them. I remember driving up to school with my parents for freshman orientation and telling them to turn the car around. My first semester of college was one of the most difficult periods in my life. On several occasions I was so homesick that I actually had to fight back tears.

I was a history major with a concentration in pre-med when I began college. It left me absolutely no time to take any other courses. I tried to enjoy my science classes, but I just couldn't. I left my first organic chemistry lab with a huge lump in my throat. I went to my freshman advisor and told him that I felt overwhelmed and uninterested in the work I was doing. He asked me what I enjoyed and I told him about an article I had written for the campus newspaper about the Boston Celtics. I had actually been able to

interview M.L. Carr, a player I had admired since I was a kid. It was like a dream come true. After listening to me for about five minutes he said, "I don't have to give you any advice at all, you know exactly what you want, but you can't see it. You're doing it, but you just don't know it. And this idea of taking all of these pre-med classes I think that sounds wonderful on paper, but you're going to miss your college experience. You're not going to take courses just for the fun and the curiosity of doing it. Here's what I suggest, concentrate in history and do as much journalism as you want and if you graduate and decide that you want to be a doctor take a post-bach year." Just hearing him say those words really liberated me and I never took another science class. From that point on I basically lived at the newspaper. It was a completely amazing experience. It was really challenging, but it didn't feel like work. During my junior year I was selected to be the editor in chief of the campus paper.

I had a great time in college and I made a lot of life long friends. I also had a couple of romantic relationships, but nothing serious until my junior year when I met Sara. She was a visiting student from Barnard who was spending her junior year at Cornell. She was incredibly intelligent and beautiful, and when I met her it was like a thunderbolt had hit me. In addition, we shared many of the same values. She was very close to her family and didn't drink or do drugs and she still had her virginity. She was like a carbon copy of me. I was convinced that I had met "the one." I was so pumped up with all of this meant to be stuff that I wasn't able to recognize how emotionally unavailable she was. We spent three years in an on again, off again relationship. It was really difficult, but I ultimately realized that we weren't right for each other. We finally broke-up when I was twenty-three.

During my senior year of college I got my first break in journalism. There had been some political demonstrations on campus and it made the national news. An editor from *The Chicago Sun Times* came to campus and he saw my story on the front page of the school paper. He liked it and hired me as a stringer for the *Sun*. It was a real turning point for me professionally because I suddenly had a by-line in a major American newspaper. In fact, most of the stories I wrote made it the national section virtually unedited. Around that time I remember telling my father that journalism was what I wanted to do with my life. Although he was impressed with the fact that I had a by-line in a major paper, he was worried. My father always wanted me to be a professional and journalism was a world that he knew nothing about. For my father being a professional meant being a doctor or a lawyer. It meant doing something that was safe and secure. He was afraid that journalism wouldn't work out and I wouldn't be able to support myself.

Before I graduated I applied to several jobs at newspapers around the country. For some reason I was really eager to get my career started right away. Looking back, I think it might have been useful for me to take a year or two off after college. I probably could have been less rigid about a lot of things. A month before I graduated I got a job as a full time reporter at *The Connecticut Standard*. In addition, I was on the short list for a job working as the research assistant to David Ramey in the Washington DC offices of *Time* magazine. Mr. Ramey was a legendary journalist and the job was an incredible stepping stone to a career in journalism.

ENTERING THE ADULT WORLD

After I had been working in Connecticut for about two months I got a call from David Ramey at *Time* and he offered me the job. I accepted it immediately and moved to DC. When Mr. Ramey called to offer me the job I asked him if he would call my father to tell him. Mr. Ramey was one of the foremost journalists of my father's generation and a man my father had great respect for him. Mr. Ramey said he would be honored, so we called the hospital where my father worked. At the time, my father was in surgery but I told the nurse it was really important so she patched me into the operating room. Mr. Ramey got on the phone and asked my father if I could come down to DC to help him out. My father was so dumbfounded that he literally answered the question in gibberish. He couldn't believe that he was on the phone with David Ramey. I have often wondered if that phone call was appropriate. I think my real intention was to get my father invested in what I was doing. I wanted journalism to be his Dream for me.

I went down to DC to help Mr. Ramey cover the 1988 Presidential election and to help him work on his memoirs. He was seventy-eight years old at the time and he was in the process of writing about his fifty-year career in journalism. It was amazing. I spent Monday through Thursday working in the research department at *Time* magazine and every Friday I met with Mr. Ramey to help him organize his memoirs. He would spend hours dispensing wisdom about the craft of writing. Just being in the room with him was an inspiration. He was like the grandfather I never had. He influenced my writing in countless ways. Even the most minute thing, like how I sign a letter was borrowed from him. At the end of the year *Time* offered me a six-month trial as a reporter for the national section in New York City. I had six months to prove myself.

I moved to New York City and got an apartment. It was the beginning of the most stressful period of my life. I had to produce good stories on deadline or I was on my way back home without a job. Luckily I made the cut, and *Time* extended my try-out to a year. It a very difficult year because a lot of the editors weren't particularly happy with my work. I had a lot to learn. For most of that year I was convinced that I wasn't good enough to be at *Time* magazine. In addition, there were tons of hoops to go through. During my eighth month an editor informed me that a story I had written was going to appear on the cover of the magazine. I got to work at 5:30 AM the following Monday to get the first copy of the magazine when it arrived in the office. There were tears in my eyes when I held it in my hands and saw my by-line. A few months later *Time* offered me a contract.

My career really took off after that. Over the next couple of years I treated *Time* as a university and made a point of learning as much as possible from writers and editors. I actively sought out people who could read and critique my stories before I handed them in. The work was really hard and I often felt like I was in over my head, but I loved what I was doing. On the other hand, my personal life was somewhat frustrating. I really wanted to be in a serious relationship, but I was struggling to find someone made me happy. I had gone on a lot of dates, but nothing seemed to last more than a few weeks. A friend of mine suggested that I see a therapist and it was incredibly helpful. I realized that I was looking at every woman I dated as a potential wife and it put a strain on the whole experience. I learned to loosen up and just have fun. In addition, therapy helped me become more independent. I realized that I had made a lot of decisions to please my

parents. I learned that I could have a life that was different from the one they had envisioned for me.

When I was twenty-seven I met Helen. She was a corporate lawyer from New York City who was a couple of years older than me. A mutual friend set us up, and from the moment I met her I was completely captivated by her. Although the relationship progressed slowly at first, I felt incredibly comfortable with Helen. She was different from any woman I had ever dated. She was very direct and had strong opinions about things. Helen was nothing like my family. She was definitely not the girl my parents would have chosen for me. Being with her really loosened me up. She encouraged me to have my own opinions and helped me take some of the pressure off myself. I lost my virginity to Helen a few months after we began dating. It was probably quite late by most standards, but Helen was the first person I had met who I felt comfortable with on that level.

AGE THIRTY TRANSITION

From the beginning of our relationship I was pretty sure that I wanted to marry Helen. However, we waited a year before we got engaged and moved in together. A few months after my twenty-ninth birthday we were married. Things really began to pick up after that. About a year and a half after we got married our daughter Diana was born. Being a parent is without a doubt the single most rewarding thing that I have ever done. I always wanted to be a parent, it actually preceded my desire to become a journalist. I have always loved spending time children and relating to them on a personal level. Being with Diana is the greatest thing in the world. Every day when I come home from work

we go for a walk around the block. It's the highlight of my day. I think being held back emotionally by my own family put me in a position where I could really relate to children.

My wife and daughter are the most important people in my life. I even thought about being a stay at home dad for a while, but I love my work too much. Finding a balance between being a father and being a journalist can be hard at times, but both are really important to me. In addition, Helen's career is really important to her so there are a lot of compromises that we have to make. I would love to leave New York City and live somewhere where we could have a lawn. I've been offered several promotions at work that require leaving New York, but I've had to turn them down. Helen is on track to make partner at her firm so we need to stay in New York. There are compromises that Helen has had to make as well. We're thinking about having another child and that will definitely set Helen's partnership back a couple of years. Having a family is about navigating life together.

Having my own family with Helen has changed my life fundamentally. The sense of independence and competence that Helen brought to my life has really translated into my writing. I've established myself as a first rate reporter in New York City and my career is progressing quickly. The editors see me as one of the heavy hitters of national section. I think letting go of the family that raised me was a critical step in my development. It was not an easy thing to do. There is so much about my parents that I truly love and appreciate. There are still issues of control with them that I continue to grapple with. That may always be the case. At the same time, I want to impart a lot of

what my parents gave me to Diana. However, I also want her to be able to fly on her own when she's ready. I wish I had been able to do that earlier in my own life.

In terms of the future, I would definitely like to leave New York and live somewhere with a lawn. That may not happen for a while, but I'm patient. Right now Helen and I would like to have another child and move to a bigger apartment. In terms of my career, I would like to move to the international section of the magazine sometime in the next five years. Eventually I would like to do some editing and write books, but we'll have to see. Having a career and a family can be very difficult. I wouldn't give either of them up for anything, but I often feel caught between them. If I duck out of work early to be with my daughter I feel like I've done something wrong, and if I have to stay late at work I feel like I'm cheating my daughter. It's a difficult thing to juggle, but that's life.

THEMES GENERATED FROM THE NARRATIVE

OCCUPATION

THEME 1: DEVELOPING A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY IS A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

Melvin's professional Dream of becoming a journalist had its origins in his pre-adult experience.

There were a variety of news anchor people on TV and TV news reporters were people who fascinated me. I remember when I was little watching the Today show with my mother and just being so into it. The news was this amazing thing to me. And then I remember literally ripping up The New York Times and reading the headlines and analyzing the news and it was heaven to me. I felt as though I was born to do that and I really enjoyed that feeling, and the idea of telling the people something that they might not know about the world around them, it was empowering. And in high school I worked on the paper and I just loved it. I loved seeing my by-line.

When Melvin got to college he realized that he was unable to sustain a Dream that was not his own. Although his father wanted him to become a doctor, Melvin's true passion was journalism.

I had taken a lot of sciences in high school and I was able to place in organic chemistry my freshman year and I lasted literally a week. I would leave the labs with a big lump in my throat that just felt like a physical reaction that this was not right for me and I went to see this advisor, a freshman advisor, and I told him this and he asked me what else are you interested in and I said I'm spending all of my free time at the newspaper and the radio station. It's like a dream come true. . . . And I remember telling this freshman advisor that that was the greatest thing that I had ever done and that it was exactly what I wanted to do and he said to me listen to yourself. I don't have to give you any advice at all, you know exactly what you want, but you can't see it. You're doing it, but you just don't know it. And this idea of taking all of these pre-med. classes I think that sounds wonderful on paper but you're going to miss your college experience. You're not going to take courses just for the fun and the curiosity of doing it. Here's what I suggest, concentrate in history and do as much journalism as you want and if you graduate and decide that you want to be a doctor take a post-bach year. Take all of your sciences in one year. So you added a year to your education which in the scheme of things really isn't that much time. And after that I really never looked back. It was a true revelation. Everything just started to move really well after that.

As Melvin's Dream of becoming a journalist developed, it was very important to him to receive his father's approval.

I've often thought about that story and I know that it was a great big thank you to my father for everything that he had done. I knew that he would get a rise out of it, but I've also wondered about the appropriateness of it. Was I doing it for him? In this case I was clearly excited about this job, but I really wanted to make him happy and I mean I don't think it should be over analyzed, but I wanted to make this his Dream for me as well.

Forming an occupational identity was very important to Melvin. As his career progressed he became more confident in his abilities as a journalist.

I mean a lot of frustration and difficulty enabled me to get to a point where I feel as though I have really progressed and I have really gone through the ranks and risen as a writer and a reporter and there is also a feeling that I can do things with my writing that I couldn't do before. I mean there are people at work who said, like my new boss, he said to me I consider you one of the heavy hitters of the national section and I wouldn't have said that a couple of years ago. So I feel it both in myself and also at Time and it's a good way to feel in terms of my writing.

THEME II: THE MALE IDEALS OF AUTONOMY, SUCCESS AND POWER ARE AN IMPORTANT PART OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

For Melvin, establishing himself as an independent person, separate from his parents, was a critical component of his development in early adulthood.

I come from a family where the guilt is laid on so subtly and so artfully that I never really realized that it was there. Its very hard for me to have a conversation with my family, without it, without their making their needs known in a very heavy handed way. I've gotten better at having my, at talking to them and telling them what is appropriate and what is not. It's not easy telling your parents what you think in those kinds of ways. My parents will make it clear when they're disappointed. I think that its very hard, I mean I am physically independent and emotionally independent, but it is amazing how you can still feel like a kid when the right button is pushed. Gaining a sense of independence has been a big thing in my life and feeling in control. It's really important for me to be able to make my own choices.

Melvin's ability to succeed was deeply tied to establishing himself as an independent person.

My professional life is really excellent right now. I'm at a point, I'm at exactly the point in my career where I would like to be where I've covered the national news for the last eight years. I have established a reputation within the community and in my magazine as a first rate reporter where is really where I want to be right now. But more than that I am really getting satisfaction out of my work. I am writing in a much more relaxed way than I would have a few years ago because in one sense I am getting better at it because I've done it for a while. But I'm also feeling better about myself. I think it applies to family. I just feel like maybe dependence. I think that I really held on to the family that raised me, for lack of a better expression, maybe a little longer than might have been healthy and I think that I'm in a healthier place now in terms of where that family fits into the

scheme of my whole life and I think that has really translated into my writing. Independence and a sense of control over my own destiny have been really important in that.

ANALYSIS

The pursuit of a career in journalism has been a developmental process for Melvin (Levinson, 1996, 1978). Early in his life journalism appealed to Melvin because it made him feel a sense of power. As a result, he worked hard to make his Dream of becoming a professional writer a reality. It has taken him years to develop the skills and credentials that are required to become a respected member of his field. In addition, Melvin's Dream of becoming a journalist was linked to his desire to establish himself as an independent person. In order to follow his Dream, Melvin had to challenge his father's wishes and pursue a career that his father did not approve of. As a result, journalism became a symbol of Melvin's independence in adulthood.

A relatively straight path has characterized the course of Melvin's professional Dream. In fact, Melvin's Dream of becoming a journalist had its origins in his pre-adult experience (Furst, 1983). As a child and adolescent Melvin loved reading the newspaper on Sunday mornings and he felt empowered by the idea of being able to inform others. From a relatively early age journalism was something he was passionate about. In high school and college Melvin actively sought out opportunities that enabled him to write. However, Melvin's Dream was complicated by his need for parental approval. Being a "professional" was critical to Melvin's father who had a vision of his son following in his footsteps and becoming a physician. Melvin idealized his father and attempted to make

his father's Dream his own. As a result, he began college with a pre-med concentration. Unfortunately, this meant that Melvin could not follow his Dream.

Melvin did not have the passion for medicine that he had for journalism and he was unable to sustain a Dream that was not his own. He identified strongly with his father's professional drive, but he could not embrace a career that held little meaning to him. Although Melvin's desire to become a journalist meant going against his father's wishes (i.e. self-I-ought-to-be, Chasseguet-Smirgel, 1985) he realized that it was something he had to do. During his freshman year of college he dropped his pre-med concentration and became involved in the campus newspaper. He excelled in this role and began to actively pursue a career in journalism.

Melvin's professional Dream of becoming a journalist was deeply connected to his ability to establish himself as an independent person. Melvin's decision to terminate his pre-med concentration in college was a deeply symbolic gesture. This decision represented Melvin's initial step in asserting his independence from his family. In addition, it was a reaction (Roberts & Newton, 1987) to the parental control that had complicated his ability to develop into his own person. Although he still longed for his father's approval, attaining it was not worth relinquishing his Dream. However, when Melvin began his career it was still important to receive his father's consent. As a result, when David Ramey offered Melvin a job at *Time* magazine he asked Mr. Ramey to call his father to tell him. Although Melvin's father could not identify with his Dream, Melvin hoped he could identify with the man who embodied it. Melvin had a powerful desire to become a journalist, but he struggled with the fact that he had gone against his father's wishes. Mr. Ramey became a mentor for Melvin and he played a key

developmental role for him. Although Mr. Ramey was much older than Levinson's (1996, 1978) conception of the mentor, he helped Melvin make the transition into a career in journalism. In Mr. Ramey, Melvin found someone who represented the pinnacle of his profession. More importantly, he supported Melvin in those endeavors that his father could not. For Melvin he was "the grandfather I never had."

As Melvin's career continued to develop he began to break away from his family in more significant ways. In therapy Melvin realized that his parents had exerted a great deal of control over his life. Their control had placed a significant amount of pressure on Melvin and had restricted his ability to develop into an autonomous person. As Melvin began to make choices that were different from those of his parents, he embraced his newfound independence. Moreover, this sense of autonomy and control translated into his work. He became much more confident in his writing and developed into "one of the heavy hitters" at *Time* magazine. As a result, independence and control became critical aspects of Melvin's Dream.

Melvin's Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978) has centered on establishing himself as an independent person. Therapy was instrumental in this process because it enabled Melvin to examine the motives for many of his choices. Once Melvin was able to place more importance on his own desires (rather than those of his parents), he was able to gain more satisfaction from his work and his life. For Melvin, breaking away from his parents was a critical developmental step. Although it continues to be a source of conflict in his life, it has enabled him to gain a greater sense of his own potential and capabilities. The years around thirty have been a period in which Melvin has become more invested in his Dream because he has been able to embrace it more

fully. Although the responsibilities of family life have split the focus of his Dream, Melvin's career is still a central part of his life. It gives him something to continually strive for and resonates with him in a deeply meaningful way.

RELATIONSHIPS

THEME 1: RELATIONSHIPS ARE A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

Relationships have played a significant role in Melvin's development. Although his relationship with Sara did not work out, it had a profound effect on his life.

When I saw her I was just blown away and something struck me that not only is she beautiful, but something just unnerved me about this person. I just felt like it was one of those thunderbolts. On top of that she was a lot like me. She was extremely close to her family and deeply valued their opinions. I mean we were raised in very similar ways and she had a similar sense of what was right and wrong and acceptable. She still had her virginity. I didn't realize that she was just a carbon copy of me. But that was the start of what would be this incredibly tortured relationship for both of us. I was sure that I had met the person of my dreams and really pursued it mercifully. We were friends for a while and genuinely wanted that and we tried dating for a while, but it was only when I would pull back and say this is not a two-way street that she would suddenly become very interested, extremely in me. And this went on for the rest of junior year, senior year and some of the first year after college until it was officially ended. For a while I would have done anything to make it work. I was pumped up with all this the one stuff and meant to be stuff. I think we both thought that we would end up with one another. It was a valuable lesson for me, although a difficult one emotionally. There were long car rides and flights back and forth, and that relationship no matter how flawed it was, and it was deeply flawed, but it paved the way for me to have the relationship that I have now, because like anything else you make your mistakes and you know there are things you don't want to repeat.

Helen has played a key developmental role in Melvin's life. She encouraged him to be more independent and enabled him to gain a greater sense of control in his life.

With Helen it was more gradual. I definitely was attracted to her and sort of intrigued by her, but it was more of a gradual thing. I was very comfortable around her in a way that I hadn't been with any other women. But in terms of changes that happened, I met her in November and then we sleep together and that was when I lose my virginity and I mean incredibly late by many standards. It certainly relates to everything that were talking about that I decided to wait because I was saving myself for this person who would meet these incredibly exacting standards of my family. But I was starting to form my own opinions and maybe it was rebellious. But I was really attracted to her sense of independence and her strength. I also felt comfortable physically with her which was new for me. I think it just became a gradual. I don't think I ultimately knew until I was married. There was clearly something in my gut that was telling me this is right. This feels right, but there was still this other part of me that was saying this is not the girl your parents have in mind. This girl misses your parents criteria on so many levels. But she was someone that I found, and who made me happy and made me think. She also helped me to be independent. She really encouraged that and feel a sense of control in a way I never had known. And also I loved her I just really loved her and that was the important thing. So we lived together and then got married and had a baby.

THE DREAM

THEME 1: MEN'S DREAMS IN EARLY ADULthood ARE RELATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL

Melvin's Dream is split between his desire to have a family and his desire to be a journalist.

That was always a Dream to have a baby. I think that started when I was working at summer camp and I realized that I had a gift to communicate with kids and to have kids feel close to me. In a way, by being held back emotionally somewhat by my family I was a kid and it wasn't just that I could relate to them, I was one of them. I could just sense what would make them happy, of what would get through to them to gravitate to them. And that ultimately superseded everything that I wanted to be. I wanted to be a parent. And as my friends started having kids I started to form these relationships with their kids, and then having Diana, having my own child is just bliss. I come home and if its early enough we hold hands and go for a walk around the block and that is the greatest thing in the world. There is nothing that makes me happier than throwing her up in the air or hearing her laugh. And part of me even thought about being a stay at home dad for a little while. But I know that it it's not that simple, to chuck it all and just be a stay at home dad but I know that I am more complex than that. I really need both. But taking

care of a child and making a child happy, I think there really is no reward greater than that I think in life.

It can be really difficult at time the choice. I mean I'm at work and I think I should be with Diana and it feels awful. Then there are times when I leave work early or I take off an afternoon to be with her which to be honest is fairly often especially in the summer when we can go outside. I feel like I'm not doing my work and my responsibility. I mean it's a struggle for me to do both sometimes.

ANALYSIS

Relationships have played a significant role in Melvin's development in early adulthood. According to Melvin, his desire to have a wife and family pre-dated his desire to become a journalist. However, for a large portion of Melvin's early adulthood he had a great deal of difficulty sustaining a meaningful relationship. Melvin put a considerable amount of pressure on himself and looked at every woman he dated as a potential wife. In addition, Melvin's need for parental approval further limited his ability to have a satisfying relationship. He wanted to please his parents and find a woman who lived up to their expectations and standards. In order to overcome these difficulties Melvin had to reduce his need for parental approval and establish himself as an independent person.

Melvin's first significant relationship took place in college with a woman named Sara. Although the relationship was deeply flawed, Melvin did everything in his power to make it work. He was convinced that Sara was "the one" because she met his parents' standards. However, Sara was emotionally unavailable and unable to commit to Melvin in a satisfying way. He did everything in his power to make the relationship work, but he was unsuccessful.

In Melvin's early twenties he was unable to become involved in a meaningful committed relationship. Melvin wanted to be in a relationship very badly and he was

frustrated with the state of his personal life. He entered therapy in order to explore what was preventing him from feeling satisfied. In therapy Melvin learned that he was trying to find someone who lived up to his parents' standards (i.e. self-I-ought-to-be, Chasseguet-Smirgel, 1985). In addition, therapy enabled Melvin to realize that he could have his own opinions and make his own choices. Once Melvin began to become more autonomous his personal life improved dramatically. In his later twenties he met Helen. Although their relationship progressed slowly at first, Melvin found himself attracted to Helen's sense of independence. She had strong opinions and encouraged Melvin to make his own choices. Helen embodied the kind of autonomy and self-confidence he desired. By encouraging Melvin to make his own choices Helen became a sort of adult selfobject (Kohut, 1977, 1971) whose qualities Melvin could internalize (Shane & Shane, 1990; Calarusso & Nemiroff, 1987). Furthermore, by choosing a woman who did not meet his parents' standards, Melvin was asserting his independence (Roberts & Newton, 1987).

In many respects, Helen embodies Levinson's (1996, 1978) notion of the special woman. She is a developmentally significant figure who has enabled Melvin to accomplish a great deal in his early adulthood. Although Helen had little to do with the development and pursuit of Melvin's professional Dream, her presence has enabled him to feel more competent and independent. This has had a critical effect on Melvin's career. In the past few years he has experienced a great deal of professional success and is on track to become one of *Time's* top reporters.

The entry into fatherhood has been a key component of Melvin's Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978). During this period Melvin and Helen have established their own family and it has become the priority in Melvin's life. In fact,

Melvin even considered staying home to raise their daughter, but he realized that his career was too important to give up. Melvin's Dream is currently split (Roberts & Newton, 1987; Adams, 1983; Stewart, 1977) between his desire to be a father and husband, and his desire to be a professional journalist. Melvin has had to make compromises in order to pursue both of these Dreams. As a result, he often feels that his career and his daughter are not receiving the kind of time they need.⁷ In addition, Melvin has been offered several promotions at work that require moving out of New York. He has had to turn them down because they interfere with Helen's career. Helen's work is very important to her and Melvin has had to take her needs and Dreams into account. Their "shared Dream" of having a family means that both of them have had to make significant compromises. As Melvin enters his mid-thirties he has begun to live out both aspects of his Dream. Gaining a sense of control and independence were a vital part of this process.

⁷ This dilemma is often examined in the literature on women's development (Brewster, 1998; Adams, 1983; Gilligan, 1982; Chodorow, 1978; Stewart, 1977) but is rarely discussed in terms of male development.

THE LIFE OF ARNOLD - AGE 30

I was born and raised in Westchester, New York. When I was six months old my parents separated. It may sound strange, but I never had a real relationship with my biological father. He had very little to do with my life, and I saw him infrequently when I was growing up. I haven't spoken to him since I was seventeen. My mother remarried when I was two. The man she married is the person I consider my father. He raised me and is the only father figure I have ever known.

My mother was born in Hungary during World War II and she spent the first three years of her life in hiding from the Nazis. After the war her family moved to Israel and then to the United States when she was ten. They had very little money when she was growing up and her family struggled to get by. As a result, there weren't many opportunities available to her. However, she was very smart and was able to go to college on a scholarship. She majored in education and after she graduated she began teaching at a public school in New York. A few years later she got a masters degree in special education. My mother loved working with children and she had a very successful career as a teacher. At the same time, I don't think it was exactly what she wanted to do with her life. When I was in medical school she told me that she had always dreamed of becoming a doctor. Unfortunately, it was very difficult for women to become doctors thirty-five years ago. In addition, she married my biological father when she was nineteen and they started a family right away. They were college sweethearts and had only dated for a few months when they decided to get married. In the neighborhood where she was from that was what people did. You got married before you had any idea about who you were or what you wanted out of life. They spent six years together and

had two children before the relationship fell apart. My mother met the man who raised me at an elementary school where they both were working. Shortly after my mother and my biological father separated they began dating and married a couple of years later. He officially adopted me when I was five.

My father grew up in an Italian ghetto in the Bronx. He spent his formative years providing for his family. My father worked really hard and his parents encouraged him to get an education. Teaching became a way for him to get out of the poor neighborhood where he grew up. He got a masters degree in school administration and spent twenty-five years working in the New York school system. My father loved teaching and had a great career, but he always had other aspirations. He was always involved in educational consulting projects and business ventures. My father is a real jack of all trades. When he was in his late forties he got his real estate license and he's been involved in real estate ever since. It's his passion. I don't think either of my parents regrets the professional choices they made. They were both satisfied with their work and had very fulfilling careers.

I had some relatively serious learning disabilities when I was a little kid. In fact, when I was in the first grade my mother was told that I might never learn to read. She made sure I got help immediately for my difficulties. I got specialized tutoring and my mother spent countless hours reading with me when I was little. I never completely overcame my learning problems, but I figured out ways to compensate for them. In addition, my parents always made me feel like I could do anything, so my learning disabilities never limited me in any way. School was a bit more challenging for me, but

by the time I was in fifth grade I was one of the top students in my class. I always worked a little harder than everyone else did.

Adolescence was a particularly difficult time for me. I never felt like I completely fit in. I did a lot of things in high school, but I never felt like I belonged to any particular group. My high school was made up of cliques and I didn't feel connected to any of them. I ran on the track team and I acted in several of the school plays but I never wanted to be associated with just one group. I was sort of a man without a country. Furthermore, I found the suburban community where I grew up very limiting. It was a nice place to grow up, but it was very homogenous and there wasn't a lot to do.

My parents were very supportive of me during this time and it was a great help. I have always had a very close relationship with both my parents. They never put any pressure on me and supported my interests. My older brother had a more difficult time. From an early age he was very mechanical and my parents had this idea that he was going to be an engineer or a doctor. As a result, they put a fair amount of pressure on him and it had a detrimental effect. He was always getting in trouble in school and he put all of these roadblocks in front of himself. We didn't have much of a relationship until I got to college. We were very different people and didn't have a lot in common.

In my senior year of high school my life improved dramatically. I'm not sure what happened, but the cliques began to fade away and people from different parts of my life were all getting along. I finally felt like I belonged. In addition, I became captain of the track team and I was elected vice-president of the student body. I also fell head over heels for a girl named Penelope. She was my first love. It was a very nurturing relationship and a real sexual awakening for both of us. Her presence in my life had a

powerful impact on me. I became much more confident. We stayed together until my sophomore year of college.

EARLY ADULT TRANSITION

I went to Wesleyan University for college. I completely fell in love with the school when I visited it, so I applied early decision. The first week of college was really hard. I missed Penelope and I missed my friends. In addition, my experience senior year had given me a really inflated idea of how good high school had been. At one point I went into the bathroom and cried for about half an hour. Things got a lot better once I got used to being away from home. In a relatively short period of time I made a lot of friends and began having fun.

I had absolutely no idea what I wanted to do with my life when I got to college. I had all of these interests that I wanted to explore. During my freshman year I took expository writing, philosophy and women's studies. I also took biology because I had this vague idea that I might want to become a doctor one-day. I wanted to keep my options open. One night at the end of my freshman year I went to a party with a couple of friends. We stayed out all night and watched the sun rise. It was spring, and as we headed back to the dorm one of my friends noticed a spider's web on a tree. I explained the evolutionary significance of the web's shape to him. He asked me how I knew so much about spiders and I told him that I had just finished taking biology because I was pre-med. The pre-med remark came out of nowhere. It was the first time I had ever given voice to what I wanted to do with my life.

I took an EMT (Emergency Medical Technician) course the following year and absolutely loved it. It enabled me to work with my hands and I got to help people. I did really well as an EMT and during my junior and senior years I was appointed coordinator of Emergency Health Services by the Wesleyan Student Health Service. It was really interesting work and it put me in a leadership position which I liked. However, I wasn't absolutely sure that I wanted to become a doctor. As a result, I made sure I tried a lot of things in college. I took the basic sciences, but I also took subjects like urban studies and psychology. At the end of my sophomore year I had to declare a major so I chose cognitive science. I didn't want to be a chemistry major or a biology major because those fields were so straight and narrow. I chose cognitive science because it brought together all of the things that I loved. It involved neurons and artificial intelligence as well as biology and science fiction.

My interest in medicine was an evolutionary process. It wasn't something that I always wanted to do with my life. Furthermore, there were times when I really struggled with it. The academic component didn't come easily to me. To be honest, I never really loved the hard sciences and I struggled to keep a B average in my pre-med concentration. The process also tapped into all of my feelings of self-doubt. At the end of college I spent the summer in Northern California with a friend and I remember going into the Berkeley Hills and screaming, "I'm just a B+ guy in an A+ world!" All of these feelings of inadequacy came pouring out. I knew that I wanted to be a doctor, but I didn't have great grades and I was afraid that medical school might be out of my reach.

I had a couple of romantic relationships in college as well. During the second half of my junior year I dated a woman named Sylvia who was a campus icon. We had a

great time together and she taught me a lot about relationships. She was a senior when we met so the relationship was short, but intense. None of my college relationships got really really serious. I was more interested in having fun at that time in my life. College was a time when I was getting to know myself as a person.

ENTERING THE ADULT WORLD

When I graduated from college I decided to take a couple of years off before applying to medical school. I needed to make myself more presentable and I didn't want to go right away. I moved to the west village in New York City with some friends and got a job as a research assistant at New York Medical Hospital in the molecular genetics department. It was a great time in my life. I had always wanted to live in Manhattan and I really liked my job. I applied to medical school a year later and got into the University of Colorado. I didn't have the board scores or the grades to get into a top medical school, but the University of Colorado ended up being the perfect school for me.

The University of Colorado was a very supportive place to learn medicine. It was rigorous, but it wasn't a pressure cooker. I have to admit, I really hated Colorado at first. There were no twenty-four hour delis and it was quiet at night. In addition, I had nothing in common with my roommates. I remember getting to class on the first day of school wearing jeans, a black T-shirt and leather motorcycle boots. Everyone else was wearing Birkenstocks, shorts and sirrans. At first I felt completely out of place, but it ultimately worked in my favor. I became known as "the New York City guy." Having a defined role enabled me to excel socially and academically. In addition, I got to ski almost everyday during the winter. A few weeks into my first year I started to date this woman named

Joan who was a Ph.D. student in chemistry. It was my first really adult relationship. We dated for about a year and a half. It got pretty serious and I really cared about her, but she wasn't someone I wanted to spend the rest of my life with. It ended amicably at the beginning of my third year of medical school. I had a couple of short relationships after that, but nothing too significant.

I really came into my own during medical school. At first I struggled with courses like biochemistry and anatomy and I was convinced that everyone was smarter than me. However, the clinical work came naturally to me. I delved into it completely and found it both fascinating and rewarding. My classmates and teachers came to view me as someone who could answer the tough clinical questions. It was the first time in my life that I felt like a leader in a completely pervasive way. It helped me to develop as a person and I gained a real sense of confidence in my own abilities. I decided to specialize in emergency medicine because I loved the intensity of the work and it gave me the opportunity to do a little bit of everything. I graduated at the top of my class and got into my first choice of residency programs in New York City.

I moved back to New York City and took out a loan to buy a one-bedroom apartment in the east village. I loved being back in New York and re-connecting with all my old friends. In addition, internship year was unbelievable. The hours were completely insane and I didn't have much time for a social life, but I was finally working as a doctor. I had spent the previous four years listening and watching, and now I was the one putting in the tubes and making the incisions. I loved it. I also made sure that I was always on my toes. I was still worried that I might not be good enough. I was never able to completely shed my feelings of inadequacy, but I found a way to use them to my

advantage. It made me work harder. That year I carried these little medical books around in my pockets. Every time an attending physician would take us to see a case I would run into the hall and quickly read about the case we were going to see. I read more than any intern I know. During that year one of my teachers pulled me aside and told me that he thought that I was a wonderful doctor. I explained to him that it was all smoke and mirrors and he looked at me and said, "I don't see any smoke or mirrors. You're just a hard worker and your really dedicated, and you care about what you do." I think I really needed to hear that and it felt great to be recognized.

About six months into my internship year I met Lauren. She was a pediatric resident in the hospital. When we met I was working the 5 PM to 9 AM shift. It was a cold November day and I was just getting to work when she was leaving. We met outside the hospital and had a brief chat. I was completely taken by her. A month later she was assigned to my rotation and we began working together. One morning we went out to breakfast and ended up spending the rest of the day together. She was the smartest woman I had ever met. She was really funny and great to be with. A few days later I had the night off and she called me and asked me if I wanted to go out for a drink. We met at restaurant in my neighborhood and started to kiss. I fell in love with her that night and we haven't spent a night apart since.

AGE THIRTY TRANSITION

This is definitely the best time of my life. Lauren and I have been living together for about two years and were planning on getting married this summer. It's funny, I used to say that I never wanted to be with someone who did what I did, but I met Lauren and

we fell in love. We complement each other really well. I think it's important to approach the world together as a well-balanced couple with equal strengths. The fact that she is a doctor has only made us closer. The last few years have been very exciting, but they've also been very strenuous. It's nice being able to come home after a hard day of work and share it with her. We really support one another.

I've worked really hard the last few years and it's exciting to be a senior resident. I really like all the responsibility. The hours can be long at times, but there's rarely a dull moment in the emergency room. I'm in the position to make chief resident. I'd really like to get the position, but well have to see. I'm also in the process of getting involved in academic medicine. I would eventually like to work in a teaching hospital. I think that's a great way to spend a career in medicine. It will allow me to teach and practice. At the present time, I'm working on some research projects and I'm attending conferences to get my face out there. I really want to make a significant contribution in my field. It's a bit stressful because it's very competitive, but the work is really interesting. I ascribe my interest in teaching to my parents. Their experience really gave me a positive view of teaching.

My Dream at this point really dove tails with Lauren's. She would also like to be involved in academic medicine. We both want our careers and we both want to have a family. I spend the majority of my time with her and I'm really looking forward to the future. It's funny, I always assumed that I would be married with children by the time that I was thirty-five and now that it's approaching I can't believe it. I guess it all just happens and you can't really plan for everything. Of course, there are compromises. Lauren doesn't want to live in New York City. I think if she had her way we would live

on a farm with pigs and goats and dirt. I don't think I could live like that. We'll probably compromise on the suburbs, or maybe a house in Brooklyn. We'll have to find a way to make it work for both of us. That's what long-term relationships are about.

I wish I had more free time. Being a medical resident really takes a toll on your personal life. Unfortunately, there isn't a lot I can do about that right now. Over the last few years a lot of my outside interests have fallen by the wayside. I used to ski a lot and I haven't picked up my guitar in weeks. In addition, there are several friends that I don't see as much as I would like. It's hard because my work is very demanding and I really want to spend as much time as possible with Lauren. Her schedule is just as crazy as mine is so we really value the time we have together. Luckily my hours will become more manageable in a couple of years when I become an attending physician.

Lauren and I both want to finish our residency programs before we start a family. We want to be a bit more settled before we start having children. One of the primary reasons that I chose emergency medicine as my specialty was that it allowed me to have a life outside of medicine. The last ten years of my life have been focused on becoming a doctor and I'm looking forward to having time for other things. I love what I do, but life is too short to do just one thing. You need to have time to be with the people you love.

THEMES GENERATED FROM THE NARRATIVE

OCCUPATION

THEME 1: DEVELOPING A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY IS A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULthood

Arnold's Dream of becoming a doctor was an evolutionary process. It involved a great deal of hard work.

It was definitely a struggle at times and I thought I wouldn't make it. I had to work really hard in chemistry and physics. They didn't come naturally to me and there were set backs. There were tests that I fucked up and I wasn't always that into the hard science part of it. It was too removed from the hands on stuff with people. But I managed to keep a B average in my sciences and by the end of college I had my eyes on the prize. I was going to go to medical school and become a doctor. It was what I wanted. So the whole becoming a doctor was really an evolutionary process. It was never like someone told me to be a doctor or my parents wanted me to be a doctor, or being a doctor was what I always wanted to do. I was never one of those kids. It was something that happened. It was the right mix of things at a time when I was open enough to go for it and it seemed like something that I would be good at and that was important. As I went into it more, I got really into it, which was great. I really felt I had found my, I guess niche. The thing that was mine. I really began to see myself as a doctor.

Medical school was an important time of personal growth for Arnold. In medical school Arnold had a defined social role and developed a sense of competence in his own abilities.

I mean the basic sciences again I wasn't that great, but by the time I was doing clinical rotations I was getting honors and I really aced the boards. I wound up getting my first choice of residency programs. By then I knew that I wanted emergency medicine. I loved the intensity and the well-rounded nature of it. It's a really great feeling being in there and in the moment. It's intense and it's all on you. I mean medical school was a grind, but I had a blast. It was a really a time of tremendous growth and discovery for me. You start off and you don't know if you're going to be any good and I really worked hard and began to really believe in myself. My teachers had real competence in me and my classmates saw me, as the go to guy which was a really big deal for me. I was the guy who could answer the tough clinical questions and everyone looked to me to do that. It was the first time that I felt like a leader in a completely pervasive way. That reinforcement was a great boost. I just loved it.

Arnold's professional Dream has helped to repair significant issues from his past (Furst, 1983). His feelings of inadequacy have been a motivating force in his professional development.

I'm sure the fact that I was a kid with learning disabilities and the feelings of not fitting in during high school all played into my feelings of inadequacy and it's not as if they have gone away completely. Being at the New York City Medical Hospital is a really rarefied academic environment and it's very competitive. I have always wanted to be really good at things and that was a real motivating factor for me. There has always been the fear of not being good enough. In medical school with the core sciences there were people who were a lot better than me. So the inadequacy of those feelings as much as I hide them are there, and they really motivate me to work even harder. I remember on internship year I used to carry these little books around with me and I would run around the corner for like five minutes each time we were presented with a case and on breaks I would read more. I read more than any other student I know. It made me a really good intern and I really learned the stuff. Internship was a really important year for me. I loved really working. When your in medical school your following the interns and residents. I remember one of my teachers on internship was this old style doctor and he said your a fabulous intern and you should really go into internal medicine we have a very good program. And I said you know doctor it's all smoke and mirrors and he was like I don't see it. I don't see any smoke or mirrors. Your just a hard worker and you're really dedicated and you care about what you do. I couldn't believe what I was hearing and it was a great thing to hear. I always think about that and it helps keep me on top of my game.

THEME II: THE MALE IDEALS OF AUTONOMY, SUCCESS AND POWER ARE AN IMPORTANT PART OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

Arnold's interest in medicine developed throughout college. He became active in the EMT service on campus and became the co-ordinator of Emergency Medical Services. Arnold liked the position because it put him in a leadership role and enabled him to help others.

The next year I enrolled in this emergency medical technician class. I was always interested in doing that. I was always the helper guy. I was a student fellow in college and even in high school I saw myself in a helper leadership role. I was captain of the

track team and vice-president of the student government. I was always in these organized helper roles. I also really liked the medical aspect of it as well. The empirical nature of it and how hands on it was. I became an EMT [emergency medical technician] and I wound up becoming the coordinator of EMS [emergency medical services] on campus. I did really well so I was chosen and that was a great boost. It confirmed it. So I did that and I really enjoyed it and the idea of becoming a doctor was more clear for me. It was work I new I would like and it fit into things I liked and I was really good at the hand on part. Really good.

At the present time Arnold is hoping to become chief intern. He wants to have a career in academic medicine and hopes to get to a rarified place in his field.

Work is a bit stressful right now because there is a lot going on. I think that I'm in a strong position to make chief resident in emergency medicine and it's competitive and you have to watch your Ps and Qs. I'm going into academic medicine and it will put me in good standing for that. I'll go into academics regardless. That means getting into research and going to conferences and really making a name in the field. I want to make a name for myself and it means research and writing and that stuff. It's a lot of hard work, but it's really interesting also. I want to be a big time player in all this and I want to teach. I want to be a respected member of my field. My work is really important and I want to be as good as I can possibly be, get to a rarified place in the field one day.

ANALYSIS

The development of a professional identity has occupied a central role in Arnold's life (Kittrell, 1998). Arnold's professional Dream of becoming a doctor has been a relatively singular path that he has followed since his freshman year of college (Levinson, 1996, 1978). Initially, Arnold liked the fact that medicine enabled him to work with his hands and placed him in a leadership position. Furthermore, the field of medicine combined many of his interests and enabled him to feel competent. For Arnold, this was a critical factor because he had been plagued with feelings of inadequacy during his childhood and adolescence. Medicine provided Arnold with a place where he felt he

belonged socially and professionally. As a result, this feeling became a vital component of his Arnold's Dream and his identity as a man.

In keeping with Furst's (1983) observations, the origins of Arnold's professional Dream can be found in his pre-adult experience. For a large part of Arnold's adolescence he felt like he did not fit in with the rest of his peers. As he explained, "I was a man without a country" (i.e. self-I-don't-want-to-be). Although Arnold was able to overcome these difficulties they had a significant effect on him. It was an experience that he did not want to repeat. When he got to college he gravitated towards medicine because it interested him and provided him with a defined social role. For example, he became an EMT and gained a great sense of confidence being able to help people who were either sick or hurt. Moreover, the job enabled him to develop a unique set of talents among his circle of friends. In time, Arnold became the co-ordinator of emergency medical services on campus. The job put Arnold in a leadership position and made him feel accepted. In medicine, Arnold had found something that was his own.

Throughout college and medical school Arnold often worried that he was not capable of becoming a doctor. He had to work hard to maintain a B average and didn't have the grades to get into a top medical school. Although he excelled in other facets of medicine, these difficulties tapped into a vulnerable aspect of Arnold's personality. During his childhood Arnold had learning disabilities and had to work hard to perform at a satisfactory level. Although Arnold overcame these difficulties, they had a significant impact on his sense of self. His experience yelling, "I'm just a B+ guy in an A+ world" in the Berkeley Hills speaks to this sensibility. As much as Arnold identified with the sense of belonging and competence that medicine presented, he identified equally with the

feelings of inadequacy it perpetuated (Furst, 1983). As a result, he often doubted his talents and was convinced that his peers were more competent than him. Although these feelings colored his experience, they also helped to motivate him. In fact, Arnold carried little reference books in his pockets during his internship year to make sure he knew what he was doing. The feelings of doubt pushed him to work harder.

Arnold's Dream of becoming a doctor has helped to repair some of his past experience (Roberts & Newton, 1987). Arnold was an excellent medical student and intern who was considered the "go to guy" by his classmates and teachers. In addition, medicine provided Arnold with a place where he felt like a leader in a completely pervasive way. During his internship year a senior physician complimented Arnold on his abilities he responded, "it's all smoke and mirrors." The senior physician told Arnold that his abilities were not "smoke and mirrors," instead they were the result of dedication and hard work. For Arnold, the acceptance and approval of others helped to offset some of his feelings of inadequacy. Although these feelings still persist, medicine provided Arnold with a context where felt accepted and was able to excel. These feelings resonated powerfully for Arnold who has come to view medicine as "the manifest destiny of myself." As a result, it is work that he is passionate about.

Arnold's success has also helped to repair some of his parents' past experience (Furst, 1983). Neither of Arnold's parents was able to follow their Dreams. His parents enjoyed their careers as teachers, but they had other aspirations. In fact, Arnold's mother had an unfulfilled Dream of becoming a doctor. Although Arnold's parents never placed any pressure on him to become a physician, his pursuit of a career in medicine enabled

him to do something that neither of his parents could do - he has been able to follow his Dream.

Success and power are vital components of Arnold's Dream. Throughout his medical education and training Arnold has placed a great deal of importance on being in leadership positions. For example, in college Arnold was the coordinator of emergency medical services. It was a role that put him in a leadership position and confirmed his sense of competence. Later, in medical school Arnold was the "go to guy" who could always be counted on to answer the tough clinical questions. As a result, he graduated at the top of his class and got his first choice of residency programs. Currently, Arnold wants to become chief resident in emergency medicine at his hospital. It is a leadership position that will help Arnold in his pursuit of a career in academic medicine. Arnold wants to make a significant contribution to his field and get to a rarified place in his career.. Arnold wants to be "a big time player" in his field. Although this desire plays heavily into Arnold's vision of himself as a man, it also appears to be a reaction to the feelings of inadequacy that have been a significant aspect of his experience (Roberts & Newton, 1987). Throughout Arnold's twenties he was never satisfied with being an average doctor, he was always motivated to excel.

Arnold's occupational Dream has been an evolutionary process (Levinson, 1978). Throughout his twenties it has become more internalized and incorporated into his sense of self. Arnold's Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978) has centered on developing his Dream further. He is getting involved in research so that he can enter a career in academic medicine. Arnold does not want to be restricted to one aspect of medicine and academics will allow him to take part in research, teaching and clinical

work. Arnold chose emergency medicine as his specialty specifically for this reason. It presented him with a wide array of medical experiences and gave him the opportunity to (eventually) pursue his other interests. Arnold loves his work and it is central to his identity, but his Dream also involves a life outside of medicine.

RELATIONSHIPS

THEME 1: RELATIONSHIPS ARE A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

Relationships have been a critical part of Arnold's development in early adulthood. At the end of high school he fell in love with a girl named Penelope. The relationship helped bolster his sense of confidence.

My first real relationship was in my senior year of high school with this girl named Penelope. And that was a very good positive relationship and that lasted all through my freshman year of college. It was a very sweet relationship. It was very loving and it was very nurturing and it was a real sexual awakening for both of us. I really loved her and it happened at a time when I was ready which made it right. She by being with me really made me feel good about myself. Love does that, it really makes you believe that you're capable in a kind of way, and there wasn't a lot of drama in it. It was very loving and there really wasn't a lot of frustration, anger or whatever that happens with a lot of young relationships. It was good. I mean we would talk about how special a relationship it was and the fact that we would end up together. But I think that everyone says that about their first love when they're in high school. It's part of what makes it so nice. The innocence of that age.

Arnold's Dream includes Lauren and the life they plan to have together.

Well I would say that our Dreams really dove tail. We want a lot of the same things. We are both good doctors and both want to get into academics and we both want to have a family. I think our Dreams are really supported equally by each other. I would have to say that she really falls right into mine. She's really bright, she's social and she is really funny which is very important to me and she's a really complex person and absolutely beautiful. She's super smart and super motivated and there is a lot of support there. We

walk into the world together and meet the world as this very smart balanced couple with equal strengths and talents and that is important to me. I mean my Dream for a really long time was to become a doctor and to live in New York City and to meeting someone that I loved. To spend time with my friends and the people that I really love. I have sort of reached those things so its about the next step and working towards figuring out what is next and its about family and my career, but its also about seeing what happens. You don't always know what you want until your there. See what feels right for me and for Lauren.

THE DREAM

THEME 1: MEN'S DREAMS IN EARLY ADULTHOOD ARE RELATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL

Arnold's Dream is both relational and occupational.

I've always said that I can't imagine being like thirty-five and being happy with my job if I didn't have a family. I always just assumed that I would have both. It wasn't like a question I ever had. I have always just assumed it. I think you need both. At least I do. I think we can have both and I don't want her to have to make that decision either, family and Arnold or career. She can have both, and I mean I hope we can and its going to mean compromises and figuring out where the priorities are. Long term relationships are about compromise. I met this person who I just love and love to be with and spend time with and she understands me on that level as well. You can't telegraph exactly what's going to happen. I can't say that I'm ready to have kids right now, maybe in a couple of years. I want to be an equal with Lauren in raising them and in supporting a family together. I don't think that you can plan for these things too much, you get to a point where things are right and it happens and you have to roll a bit with the changes it creates. There is never a perfect time that is what I am getting at.

ANALYSIS

Relationships have played a significant role in Arnold's development in early adulthood. Arnold's first experience with love during his senior year of high school helped to build his sense of confidence and bolster his belief in himself. It took place towards the end of a particularly difficult time in Arnold's life and enabled him to enter the next stage of development with a more positive outlook. Consequently, the

relationship was one of the most important experiences of Arnold's pre-adulthood and early adult transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978).

In college and medical school Arnold had two relatively serious romantic relationships. Although neither of these relationships developed into a long-term commitment they were both important parts of his development in early adulthood. Arnold envisioned a future with a wife and family, but a serious long-term commitment was not his priority during this stage of development. Arnold was much more focused on developing his career. It is worth speculating that Arnold's mother's experience had a significant impact on her son's attitudes about relationships in early adulthood. According to Arnold, his mother and biological father's marriage ended because they didn't know enough about themselves when they became involved (i.e. self-I-don't-want-to-be, Furst, 1983). It is not surprising that Arnold viewed his early twenties as a time of self-discovery.

Lauren's presence in Arnold's life has split the focus of his Dream (Roberts and Newton, 1987; Adams, 1983; Droege, 1983; Stewart 1977). Until Arnold met Lauren, his Dream had focused almost exclusively on his career (Kittrell, 1998). The intense nature of his work and the priority it had in his life had put relationships in a somewhat secondary role. (It is interesting to note that Arnold has never been in a position where he has had to choose between his work and a relationship.) When Arnold met Lauren he was captivated by her intelligence, beauty and sense of humor. In Lauren, he found someone who was equally committed to her career and who understood the demands it made on his personal life. The fact that their Dreams are similar enables them to be supportive of each other's aspirations. Eventually they would both like to get into academic medicine,

and they have a shared Dream of having a family. Arnold likes the fact that he and Lauren can approach the world together as a “well balanced” couple. He likes the shared identity they have as a couple. Both Lauren and Arnold want to finish their respective residencies before they embark on the responsibilities of a family. However, it is too early to tell what sacrifices and compromises Arnold will be willing to make so that he can have a family with Lauren. This part of his Dream has not been tested. It may be difficult for Arnold to reach a “rarefied” place in his career if he wants to be fully engaged in his life with Lauren.

The primary transition in Arnold’s life as he enters his thirties centers around the commitment he has made to Lauren (Levinson, 1996, 1978). Although Arnold’s life is currently centered on his career, he is aware that the next phase of development will involve more other centered endeavors. One of the primary reasons Arnold chose emergency medicine as his specialty was that it enabled him to have a life outside of medicine. However, it will be interesting to see how he balances the responsibilities of family life as he embarks on a career in academic medicine. Arnold has followed a relatively straight path during his twenties and he will be faced with a new set of responsibilities in the next decade. He will have to make a variety of decisions regarding the place that his family and his career have in his Dream.

THE LIFE OF SEYMOUR - AGE 32

I was born and raised in an upper middle class neighborhood in Queens, New York. When I was growing up both of my parents were very focused on their careers. My father was a lawyer and he worked long hours. He enjoyed his work and made it the priority in his life. Sometimes he didn't get home until after I went to bed. My mother stopped working for a couple of years after my brother and I were born. However, she went back to work part-time when I was five. She started writing a weekly column for a local paper and eventually got a job as a writer and editor for one of the Hearst publications. A couple of years later she began writing a nationally syndicated column. My mother was an unbelievably talented woman who could do just about anything.

From a relatively early age I had to fend for myself. My parents worked a lot so I was often responsible for preparing my own dinner. My mother was usually home by six, but my father was rarely home before eight. Our house was like a free for all. I was allowed to do just about anything as long as I wasn't breaking the law. Furthermore, my parents didn't have a good relationship so our family wasn't a very cohesive unit. I didn't like the situation at all and it made me feel very anxious. I was always worried that something bad might happen. In addition, my parents' difficulties made me feel very rejected. Luckily, my brother and I were extremely close and we looked out for each other. We spent a great deal of time together. We were like peas in a pod.

I had a very good relationship with my mother when I was a kid. She was very supportive and encouraged my interests. She could be temperamental at times, but she was a very loving person. She thought I was going to be "king of the world." On the

other hand, my father was quite detached from me when I was a kid. He thought I was intelligent, but he had mixed feelings about who I would become. He doubted my abilities and never gave me the kind of support I needed. At various times I really wanted his guidance, but he was unable to provide for me on that level. In addition, I was a very sensitive kid and he had a difficult time connecting with me emotionally. It had a very big effect on me and for a long time I really doubted myself.

Adolescence was a very interesting time in my life. I made the most significant friendships of my life during high school. Joey, Peter, Theo and I were inseparable. We met when we were thirteen and immediately hit it off. Each of us took up an instrument and we formed a band. We actually had a pretty big following in our area. In addition, we got involved in film projects and other artistic endeavors. For example, we started our own publishing company and we even had an independent record label for local bands. The four of us were total dreamers. We planned to eventually run our own business. It was going to be made up of a group of creative companies that fell under a larger blanket company. We called it Consortium. We actually had a logo and made business cards. It was going to involve music, film, design and publishing. We were going to bring our unique talents together and integrate them in an innovative way. We weren't interested in becoming rich or famous. Our Dream was to be "ground breaking."

My social life was very good in high school, but my family was a mess. When I was thirteen my parents' marriage began to disintegrate. They really grew apart. My mother was a very interesting person and she wanted a life filled with adventure. However, my father wanted the opposite. He was a very asocial person and didn't want

to change. They got divorced during my senior year of high school. It was difficult, but I was about to go to college so I was able to distance myself from their problems.

EARLY ADULT TRANSITION

I went to Johns Hopkins University for college. My father had gone there and I totally fell in love with the campus when I visited. Leaving home was a relief. My parents' divorce was very unpleasant and it was good to be away from my family. In addition, college really liberated me creatively. Johns Hopkins had amazing resources and I took advantage of them. Joey, Peter and Theo remained my closest friends, but I made a lot of new friends and got involved in a lot of social things. I also dated like crazy. High school had been a bit frustrating for me in that respect, but college was a time of real exploration. My longest relationship was only about nine months. I never got very serious with any of the women I dated. I didn't want to be tied down at that point in my life. I wanted to learn about myself and other people. I was too young for a serious commitment.

At the end of my sophomore year my mother died. It was completely out of the blue. She had a brain aneurysm one night and lapsed into a coma. By the time I got home she was dead. Her death was really devastating and I definitely had a hard time coping afterwards. I stopped taking things seriously and I became very irresponsible. For example, if I didn't like a class, I didn't go. As a result, my grade point average was so bad that I was close to not graduating. My mother was incredibly important to me and a real role model in my life. She always found a way to make things happen. Towards the end of her life she was working on a book and developing a television program. She

was always trying to get to the next level. The status quo was never good enough. Her creative spirit and her passion for life were incredibly valuable to me.

After my mother's death I had a hard time committing to anything. I did what I liked and basically ignored everything else. I had a good time, but I didn't take things very seriously. In addition, I spread myself as thin as possible. For example, I was president of the radio station, head of the television station and secretary of my fraternity. I also had a job in Baltimore working at a film production company. I never wanted to be associated with a specific group. I was kind of an iconoclast. College became a training ground for me and I made sure I acquired the skills I wanted. I majored in American Studies because it was interdisciplinary and enabled me to take the classes I wanted to take. I was completely unable to commit to anything.

Joey, Peter, Theo and I went to different colleges, but we kept our Dream alive. Every summer and every vacation we made up business plans and started new companies. We were young and a bit disorganized, but Consortium was still our Dream. Theo and Peter started a company called Fly Paper which published music and Joey and I started an educational video company called Eyes Open. We produced several tapes and sold them to some schools in the mid-west. Things were actually taking off.

ENTERING THE ADULT WORLD

After college I moved to New York City and sublet an apartment with Joey. Eyes Open was becoming somewhat successful and we had several clients. I was traveling all the time to sell the videotapes. Theo and Peter were also in New York. They had started a recording company and were working with producers in the music industry. We

weren't making any money, but our businesses were growing. We all had side jobs to support ourselves. I sold leather jackets at a clothing store and worked at a pizzeria. In addition, we still played in our band. We were busy all the time. It was really exciting.

A year after I graduated from college we moved to Chicago. Theo had some contacts in the music and video industry and we wanted to live in another area of the country. In addition, our business plans were becoming more consolidated. Joey and Peter were the more creative members of the group and Theo and I were the more business minded. If Joey and Peter had an idea, Theo and I could almost always find a way to sell it. We worked on some music videos and our publishing company actually had a couple of clients. I eeked out a living selling the educational videos and I worked at Camiskee park selling peanuts during the baseball season. While I was in Chicago I also met Melanie. She was a graduate student from Illinois and I completely fell in love with her. It may sound strange, but she was a difficult person and that made her very attractive. At that point in my life I was ready to have a real adult relationship and Melanie came around at the right time. We learned a lot from one another. After dating for about a year and a half our differences became very apparent. She was a bit conservative and was thinking about marriage. I was only twenty-four and I wasn't ready to get married. We broke up and I haven't spoken to her since.

After spending two years in Chicago we decided to move to Atlanta. Theo had gotten a job at CNN as an assistant producer and Peter was starting graduate school in industrial design. I was still in the process of trying to get some of our projects off the ground. We produced a couple of bands in Atlanta and wrote some music for television. I worked as a stock boy at the Gap three days a week in order to pay the rent. I also had a

job as the manager of a Korean video production company. The job provided me with the equipment I needed to work on my video projects. I had this philosophy - I didn't care what I did for a living as long as it gave me the skills I needed to do other things.

While I was in Atlanta I met Rena. She was the most complex woman I had ever met and we fell in love right away. Rena had been a model since she was fourteen. When I met her she was about to quit. She had appeared in hundreds of magazines and commercials and she had reached the end of her rope. Modeling had kept her from going to college and she had a Dream of becoming an animal specialist. I think she was attracted to my "dreamer" mentality. Rena believed in me in a way that no one else ever had. We were kindred spirits. I really wanted to make her happy. In addition, Rena was a really nurturing person and she helped me get some structure in my life. I had been very disorganized since my mother's death. A month after we met we moved in together. Two years later we were married. I never planned on getting married at twenty-six. I thought I would be in my mid-thirties by the time I settled down. However, I met someone I didn't want to be without.

Once I had been in Atlanta for a couple of years I began to realize that Consortium wasn't taking off. The other guys were all committed to serious jobs and I was the only one making it a priority. I was working all the time and I wasn't making any money. Our ideas were good, but we were disorganized and didn't have an established client base to work with. In retrospect, I really didn't understand how business worked. I was so focused on getting Consortium off the ground that I didn't see the larger picture. We lacked guidance and an organized plan. I had my own issues to deal with as well. I really wanted to prove to my father that I could make it on my own. I

wanted to get back at him for doubting my abilities and not supporting me. Rena and I decided to move back to New York. Both of our families were in the New York area and Rena wanted to go back to school. When I got back to New York we needed an apartment and I needed a job so I called my father. He had a friend who owned a supply company. He put me in charge of all IBM products. It was a low level position, but it paid \$25,000 a year and it provided benefits. I planned on working there until I got settled, but it ended up evolving into a career.

AGE THIRTY TRANSITION

A year after I started working at the supply company I got a call from the marketing department at IBM. They were impressed with my sales skills and wanted to know if I was interested in working in the corporate office. The salary was almost three times what I was currently making. In addition, the job gave me with the opportunity to gain real business experience. I knew I was good at selling things, but I had never had a structured environment to work in. I took the job and within the first year I was promoted three times. Over the next three years I moved up the ranks quickly. With my commissions I was making over \$200,000 a year. The money was great, but it was more important to know that I actually had talent. For the previous six years I had worked my ass off and barely made any money. There was no end-zone to shoot for. At IBM everything was laid out and I just followed my instincts.

IBM also made me realize that I was a great leader. IBM's marketing department was based on a team structure and I was given a chance to lead the team. It was something that I was really good at. I was like a colonial who knew exactly how to lead

his troops. The structure at IBM was a real departure from the way I had been used to working. It forced me to grow up and become more responsible. I had to commit to one thing. While I was at IBM I began to come to terms with my mother's death. I began seeing a therapist and started to deal with my sadness in a constructive way. Rena was instrumental in helping me. She enabled me realize that I was capable of commitment. I think her support is what ultimately allowed me to excel.

For the last five years I've been working at IBM. I'm making a lot of money, but that was never the goal. I'd leave IBM in a second if Consortium took off. Joey, Peter, Theo and I still have ongoing projects, but nothing that has developed into something substantial. We still spend most of our free time working on Consortium. We've all made a lot of contacts over the years. Some of our projects are actually generating business and we're making money. It's not enough to live off, but people are beginning to take us seriously. We have a lot of potential. I'm very "Machiavellian" about my time at IBM. I'm using it to learn business skills and make contacts that I can eventually use for my own company. I'm very self serving in that respect. I was clueless about the business world before I came to IBM. My heart was in the right place, but my head wasn't.

I enjoy what I do for a living and I've been able to carve out an interesting niche for myself. However, IBM is not my Dream. I'm part of corporate America and that can be a real drag. It's a lot of bureaucracy and red tape and I'm selling products that are not my own. It's not an ideal situation. In addition, I'm beginning to feel "dead-ended" at work. I've had the same position at IBM for about a year and I'm no longer learning

anything new. The writing is on the wall and I'm ready to move on. Unfortunately, I think Consortium is still another five to ten years from being fully realized.

Right now I'm really focused on my life with Rena. She's in college studying animal behavior and she works part-time in animal education. We're thinking about having kids so there's some long term planning to do. We both hate the whole yuppie existence. We live in a working class neighborhood in Brooklyn and drive an old car. However, I think we'll have to buy a house with a yard when we have kids. For as long as I can remember I wanted to be married and have a family. I think that desire was a reaction to the lack of family my parents provided for me. Furthermore, I don't want to be the same kind of father that my dad was. Work is important to me, but I'm not going to let it get in the way of the time I spend with my family. I'm going to leave the office by five everyday and travel as little as possible. At the same time, my professional Dream is still alive. I thought Consortium would be up and running by now, but I can wait. It's a wonderful thing to work on. Joey, Peter and Theo have all relocated to New York City so there's a lot of possibility. Peter just sold two screenplays and he started his own production company. We're all helping out as he gets the company off the ground. Who knows where it might go? It's easy being thirty-two when you still have a twenty-two year old's Dream.

THEMES GENERATED FROM THE NARRATIVE

OCCUPATION

THEME 1: *DEVELOPING A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY IS A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULthood*

Seymour's mother was an important role model in his life.

My mother was without a question a real role model for me in terms of business. I mean even as a kid I knew that she was this woman and not a lot of my friends mom's worked and I knew she was out there doing it and getting it done. I knew that she was this bad ass. She kept on getting promoted and moving from paper to paper and she ended up being my role model for somebody who was kind of on the top of her profession at a pretty young age. I really admired how driven she was. She became a senior editor with the Hearst papers and wrote a nationally syndicated column. She competed with the men straight on and I liked that. She saw what she wanted and got it regardless.

In high school, Seymour and three of his friends started a business called Consortium.

Over the years they have continued their Dream of eventually running their own company.

The same people that I have this grand plan with now are the one's that I have with now. We all met in junior high and in high school we were already thinking about creating a business. We were going to work together and find something to do that fit in with our skills and felt right. It was a perfect idea when we were younger. Being in a rock band or film or business. Somehow we would find a way to do it together. We were going to come up with a consortium of ideas and each of us in our own way would start on them and bring them back into the mix and see if we could make money and be happy. So we called it Consortium and even had a logo and business cards and the whole thing. Being happy was the focus. It was about all of us bringing our skills together and getting this company off the ground. It wasn't focused on any one thing or product. It was about what could we all bring to the table and integrate. At first we were a rock band and then we cut a record and we started thinking about creating our own label and then we went to college and that took us to different places. I got into video and our company began doing that so all of us had a thing. I started this small educational video company called Eyes Open and then one called Fly Paper which published music and there was another

guy in the group who was writing screen plays and selling them after college. Peter and Joey had something called The Place that was a producing industrial designs. Theo began to work at CNN after college as a writer then a senior producer. He was developing TV ideas on the side. Ways to interface television and computers. Bring the ideas together and see what we can all do. Go out get the skills and bring them back. Just be happy in all of it. It was a vision of a blanket company that housed all of these smaller companies. I thought years ago that we would be set and running by now, and we are working together but the interest is still in building our own individual skills. Some of our businesses are actually making money. Maybe some time in the next ten years it will really get running and we'll all jump our respective present things. It's easy to be my age, you know. I don't notice it or think like that. I've still got a twenty-two year old's Dream and that's great. Who wants to be keeping up with the Jones'.

Seymour and his friends were unable to make a living off Consortium. As a result, Seymour got a job at IBM in order to support himself. In a short amount of time he became incredibly successful.

Finally getting that job was actually a real relief. I mean it was nice to have a job to go to after six wacko years. I'm not a project guy, I make things happen and that's why I'm so good at IBM. I take their projects and I sell the idea and the projects and I can do that really well. I mean in the years that I was working my ass off and there was no limits of place to go. I traveled all over the country. It was my choice, but once someone told me that there was an end-zone and some field goals to put the ball through it was too easy. I took it. It's been great for a couple of years. I mean I'm a great colonial, but I need troops to lead. I'm in this development group and it's like my company. That's my skills and I'm building contacts and meeting vendors and learning the bureaucracy. That is how you make money and you need that bureaucracy. So if I can take that stuff and learn it and apply it to my company then and have that. I've found the work group is similar no matter what your dealing with and I've met a lot of smart interesting and creative people along the way. Team aspect is always there and I like leading that. It could be paving roads or a multinational company. It's what impresses me. It's a real building process and it only makes the end result better when it happens. It's all about empowerment.

THEME II: *THE MALE IDEALS OF AUTONOMY, SUCCESS AND POWER ARE AN IMPORTANT PART OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD*

Seymour has always had a “Machiavellian” attitude about work. Success is very important to him and he is willing to be “self-serving” in order to attain what he wants professionally.

I make no bones about the fact that I’m very self-serving at work. I have a really Machievellian attitude because I never want to be dead ended. They don’t care on that level so why should I. The minute I stop learning or growing and being able to do new things then I’m gone. The writing is on the wall and I’ve been doing the same thing for about a year and unless someone shows me something new I’m gone in a matter of time. I mean don’t get me wrong I will drop IBM in a second if Consortium comes together in a real way. I’m wedded to that plan, not to IBM. I mean when Peter’s design skills are there and he’s ready and Theo is really ready with his production company and Joey is ready I’ll be there. We talk about it all the time and there are all these little projects we consult with each other on all the time. It’s our own thing which is it. It just isn’t all there yet. I thought it would be there by the time I was thirty-five and it may be closer to forty or forty-five. I don’t know. I realized that rushing it and our development with it is useless.

Seymour finds the lack of autonomy at IBM difficult at times. However, he has found a way to assert himself as a leader.

Being in corporate America and dealing with the schmucks can be really difficult. There is a lot of shoveling that I do. I mean dealing with people above me and being stuck in institutional processes that I now I can do better than. I have been able to carve out six or seven things that are my own within it that I have been really able to carry out. Minor victories along the way that are sort of away from some plan book. It means doing things when their not watching and making it work and then have them say what a great idea. You really thought outside the box. No kidding. But I did it because no one stopped me. Setting goals that are my own and then having them happen no matter the things that may preclude me in that way. . . It is real team stuff there. And I learned that I can really to do it. Be the leader because people think I know how to do it. I’m like a colonial who know exactly how to lead his team and my unit always is at the top of the staff rankings. I am kicking ass because I bend things and I don’t do the business stuff the way it’s supposed to be done the aspects of it. They see that I’m doing well so they leave me alone. I’ve been able to move up because I have the ability to figure it out and guide people in the

right way. I've learned a lot and I bring the same kind of drive and planning to it that I bring to my real thing only here I have established products to work with so making money is not a problem. You have to sort of be fearless to do that and to lead.

ANALYSIS

Seymour's professional Dream had its origins in adolescence (Furst, 1983). In high school Seymour and three of his friends decided that they wanted to run a multi-media company. For a large portion of Seymour's early adulthood he pursued this professional Dream relentlessly. He took odd jobs, moved several times and struggled to make a living in order to realize his professional aspirations. Throughout this period Seymour was a true "dreamer." However, his relentless desire to succeed kept him from committing to a focused pursuit. In addition, the lack of support Seymour received from his father and the sudden death of his mother complicated his Dream. As a result, it lacked the structure and organization it needed. At the onset of his Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978) Seymour needed a secure job so that he could support himself. He got a job at IBM and became successful immediately. Although his Dream has had to take a secondary place in his life it is still very important to him.

During Seymour's childhood and adolescence he received contradictory messages about his potential. Seymour's mother believed in her son's abilities and thought he would be, "king of the world." On the other hand, Seymour's father doubted his son's talents and never gave him the kind of support and guidance he needed. These mixed messages pulled Seymour in different directions. His mother's encouragement enabled him to shoot for the stars, but his father's lack of support caused him to doubt his own abilities. In addition, Seymour's father was painfully detached from him when he was a

child. As a result, Seymour grew up feeling like he had something to prove to his father. As he developed these feelings became woven into his Dream. Seymour's professional Dream became a way for him to live up to the ideals his mother had set for him, while simultaneously react (Roberts & Newton, 1987) to the sense of doubt his father had instilled in him.

Seymour's pursuit of a professional identity began in high school. Seymour and three of his friends decided that they wanted to run a company that consisted of a variety of creative businesses. They began several projects and continued to work together throughout college and their early twenties. Seymour organized his life around this Dream. He took odd jobs and lived chaotically in order to attain the skills he needed to run the company. Although several of the business had a modest level of success, Seymour was unable to consistently provide for himself. His professional drive was not enough to bring it to fruition. Seymour's Dream did not have the kind of organization and structure it required. Moreover, his Dream did not have a mentor (Levinson, 1996, 1978) to give it the kind of shape and guidance it needed.

The death of Seymour's mother had a profound affect on his Dream and his development in early adulthood. Seymour's mother was an important role model in his life. Her creative energy and her ability to achieve her goals were instrumental in the development of his Dream. Seymour identified strongly with her talents. In addition, Seymour's mother believed in his abilities and she encouraged him to pursue his passions. Her sudden death caught Seymour off guard at a time when his identity was taking shape (Erikson, 1968). He responded overtly and had a hard time committing to anything after her death. He did not want to be accountable to anyone so he spread

himself as thin as possible. Although Seymour's many interests speak to the exuberance of youth, they also reflect his fear of losing something he cared deeply about. When he began his career he continued to pursue a variety of interests. He was passionate about succeeding, but his Dream lacked the kind of focus and organization that was needed to bring it to fruition.

At the onset of Seymour's Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978) he needed professional stability. The other members of Consortium were all focused on other professional endeavors and Seymour was having difficulty making a living. He moved back to New York and got a job at IBM where he became an immediate success. The structure and organization of IBM forced Seymour to focus his efforts and he was able to excel. IBM also enabled Seymour to establish himself as a leader. Having a structured job was a major step for Seymour because it meant coming to terms with his mother's death. The job required commitment and responsibility and it forced Seymour to reflect on his experience.

Seymour's success at IBM has not replaced his Dream. His desire to run his own company has remained a priority in his life. In fact, a few of his business ventures have begun to turn a profit. Seymour has viewed his time at IBM as a way to learn business skills and enter a professional network. According to Seymour, he is very "Machevellian" about his job at IBM. He would leave his high paying career if Consortium became more viable. According to Seymour, this Dream may still be five to ten years from being realized, but he is willing to wait because it is something that sustains him. Throughout this time he has remained a true "dreamer." As he explained,

“it’s hard to be worried about the future when you’ve still got a twenty-two year old’s Dream.”

RELATIONSHIPS

THEME 1: RELATIONSHIPS ARE A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

Seymour always imagined that he would be married and have kids at some point in his life. This desire developed partly out of a reaction to his pre-adult experience.

Being married and having kids was something I thought about since I was a kid. It was definitely partly a vindictive thing. I wanted to not repeat what my parents had done in their relationship and even in raising me and my brother. But I had always wanted that and loved being around kids. They’re so full of energy and life.

Seymour had a few relationships in college. However, he never became seriously involved with the women he dated. College was a time of self discovery for Seymour and he didn’t want a serious commitment.

I had some serious relationships in college. I mean now looking back on it from a marriage stand point it wasn’t. I never went longer than nine months which for some people in college is a long time. I dated a lot. I liked the fact that there was all these people from different worlds with different interests and desires and I didn’t want to put all of my eggs in one basket at that point in my life. I went out with a lot of people to really experience love and relationships. I was too young to be tied down like that. I was discovering it at that point. It was fun.

Seymour had his first adult relationship with Melanie.

Melanie was my first really serious relationship. I met her in Atlanta and she was this really difficult person who had really rigid opinions. She was beautiful and strong minded and I really fell for her. I think more than anything the lure of a really serious

relationship drew me to her as well. I wanted that experience and the security and comfort because I had never really had that before. . . It ended pretty badly. She was very conservative and wanted to get married and I had a much more liberal view and there really wasn't a future.

Seymour met Rena at a concert one night when he was twenty-six. He fell in love with her and they moved in together. Two years later they were married.

I met Rena at a concert and she was a friend of a friend. I saw her and I really wanted to meet her and I did and we became immediate friends and it became romantic almost immediately and that. We moved in together a month later and then we moved to Atlanta four months later. We were stuck together from day one and got married two years later. There was something inexplicable about her and I knew from the minute I saw her that I wanted to be with her. We were inseparable from that point. She was complex and had this incredible life before I even met her. She was a model. She was on TV commercials and magazine covers and catalogs and when I met her she had had it. It had run her life since she was twelve and when I met her she was on her way out. She hated the people and what she was doing and I really wanted to make her happy. She believed in my go do what you want way of thinking and it was really great. She saw me doing what I wanted and she began to work with animals because that was what she wanted. We just did it. Supported each other in a complete way. I always thought that I wouldn't be married until I was in my mid-thirties but I met someone I couldn't be without at twenty-six.

She was really great and supported me in a lot of ways. Rena is a real take charge kind of person and she helped me to be, to get organized and feel capable of committing. Ever since my mother's death that had been really hard for a number of reasons. And Rena was just great to be with. It made my life really more complete.

THE DREAM

THEME I: *MEN'S DREAMS IN EARLY ADULthood ARE RELATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL*

Seymour's Dream is both relational and occupational. However, he will not let his professional aspirations interfere with the time he spends with his family. It will be the priority in his life.

I think that I can do this role that I eventually want and keep the traveling down and prioritize work so that I am home. I mean the only real set plan right now is children and the whole thing with kids is the relationship and I would make sure I was home to be there and to be part of their lives on a meaningful level. I mean I'm not interested in helping them with their homework, but I do want to be there so they are comfortable and secure with themselves so that they can do their own homework. I never got that from my dad. So I think it's about both and each the work and the kids and wife are made better by each other. But I won't let the work get in the way and keep me away. It doesn't work that way for kids. They need more than that.

ANALYSIS

Relationships have been an important part of Seymour's development in early adulthood. However, at the onset of this period Seymour's professional Dream had a more central role in his life. Seymour had always been interested in having a wife and family, but it was not the focus of his life during his early twenties. In fact, Seymour did not think he would be married until his mid-thirties. His parents' divorce and his mother's untimely death had made Seymour wary of commitment. However, Rena's presence split (Stewart, 1977) the focus of Seymour's Dream and he became more focused on relational concerns. As he enters his thirties relationships have taken a more central role in his life. Work is still a priority for Seymour, but he is unwilling to repeat the experiences of his childhood. He wants to have a positive impact on his children's development. Moreover, he wants to support them in ways that his father was not incapable of doing for him.

Seymour's parents had a difficult marriage for most of his childhood. Their inability to relate to one another created a sense of disunity in Seymour's home which often left him feeling anxious and rejected. As a result, Seymour grew up somewhat distrustful of relationships. The death of Seymour's mother during his sophomore year of

college further complicated his ability to commit on an intimate level. In college he dated a great deal, but he was unable to become seriously involved with the women he dated. His fear of losing someone he loved made it difficult for him to sustain a long term commitment. After college Seymour met Melanie and had his first serious adult relationship. Although the relationship lasted over a year it was complicated from the start. Melanie was a difficult person who had a different set of priorities from Seymour. By dating Melanie, Seymour protected himself from having to truly commit to another person.

Seymour's wife Rena helped to repair (Roberts & Newton, 1987) some of the difficulties from his childhood. He was able to commit to her on an intimate level. In keeping with Levinson's (1978) notion of the special woman, Rena believed in Seymour's Dream and encouraged him to pursue it. In fact, her belief in Seymour's potential mirrored the kind of support his mother had given to him. In addition, it challenged the sense of doubt his father had instilled in him. Rena helped to offset Seymour's self-doubt and helped him overcome the loss of his mother. It is interesting to note that Seymour met Rena just prior to his Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978). It was a time when he was still trying to make his professional Dream work. She was supportive of his Dream, but also provided the kind of maternal guidance his life lacked. As he became more committed to Rena he also became more realistic about the potential of his Dream. Rena helped Seymour face his mother's death and enabled him to become more focused and responsible.

Relationships have shifted the focus of Seymour's Dream. Although his passions still rest on the possibility of Consortium taking off, he is not willing to let his

professional aspirations interfere with his family. It is still too early to tell how family life will change Seymour's priorities. According to Seymour, he is going to leave the office by five and travel as little as possible when he and Rena start having children. Seymour wants to give his children the kind of support and guidance that was absent from his own development. According to Seymour, this is a reaction (Roberts & Newton, 1987) to the lack of family his parents provided for him when he was a child. He wants his children to feel the sense of security and confidence he always longed for.

SECTION 2 - MEN WITHOUT DREAMS

THE LIFE OF FRED - AGE 31

I was born in a small town outside of Alexandria, Virginia. When I was two months old my parents adopted me. At the time my father was working in advertising and my mother was a school teacher at an all-girls boarding school. We lived in a really nice suburban community until I was seven. It was at that time that my father lost his job and we were forced to sell our house. My father had a really stellar career in advertising and was well recognized for his work. Unfortunately, he had a problem with alcohol and was essentially asked to resign. He was never abusive when he drank, but it made it impossible for him to hold down a high powered job.

When my father lost his job my family had to move from our house to an apartment complex where my father worked as a carpenter. It became a theme for my family over the next few years. We ended up living in places where my father could work and we could live for free, or at a discount. After the apartment complex we lived in a retirement community where my father worked as a maintenance man. A few years later we moved to an upscale farm where my father was responsible for taking care of the grounds. I think it was really hard for him after he lost his job. He loved working in advertising and had a vision of getting to a rarefied place in his career one day. My father essentially went from being a high powered professional, to a blue collar worker. He currently works at a drinking and driving monitoring program where he is a combination of a parole officer and alcohol counselor. I think that he's doing the job because he feels that it's tied to his own recovery. He's convinced himself that he is not capable of doing

anything else. It's too bad because my father is a very talented person. Unfortunately, he has always had difficulty applying himself.

My mother's career was always very important to her. She took some time off after I was adopted, but got back to work when I entered pre-kindergarten. My mother spent her entire career at the same school. She started out as a teacher and was eventually promoted to administration. When I was twelve my family moved onto the campus of the school where she worked because it provided free housing for administrators and their families. I consider the campus the place where I grew up. We lived in an apartment near one of the dorms and ate our meals with the girls in the dinning room. I think my teenage years were very different from most kids my age. I would come home from school and it was like I had one hundred big sisters who lived with me. There wasn't a lot of privacy, but it was a great place to grow up.

My father was the authority in the house, but my mother made the majority of our family's income. When she became an administrator our financial situation changed significantly. I have often wondered how my father felt about the fact that my mother was the primary provider. It must have affected my parents' relationship. Unfortunately, there wasn't a lot of communication in our home. I know that my parents really loved each other, but they never really talked. Part of the problem was that they were focused on very different things. By the time I was a teenager my mother had a lot of responsibilities at work and her career was really taking off. She often spent up to fourteen hours a day working at the school. It was also around that time that my dad stopped drinking. He was going to several AA meetings a week and he spent a lot of

time focused on his recovery. They were both involved in important things, but it wasn't conducive to a lot of communication.

I don't remember having any real problems with my parents during my childhood or adolescence. Looking back I think a lot of that had to do with the fact that I was always concerned with being "the good son." I was always doing things to please my parents and to please other people. I'm sure it had a lot to do with the fact that I was adopted. I always felt that my parents had saved me. I could have been adopted by a physically abusive person, or by someone who didn't have the financial where-with-all to take care of me. My parents always provided me with a great deal of love and made sure that I had a lot opportunities. As a result, I grew up wanting to do the right thing.

In high school I became really concerned with fitting in. I always had a lot of friends, but for some reason I wanted to be popular. I started playing soccer and I ran for class president. I was elected in my junior year and that was a real ego boost. Looking back, I wasn't that interested in the job, I just wanted to be accepted. I wanted to feel like I belonged.

I didn't date a great deal in high school. My parents made it clear that I wasn't supposed to date any of the girls from the school where my mother worked. I had a few short flings with girls from town, but nothing really substantial until my senior year of high school when I met Samantha. We fell in love and had a completely committed relationship for the next four years. After my freshman year of college I knew we weren't right for each other. We were becoming very different people. However, I stuck with the relationship because I didn't want it to end. I have always had a hard time

letting go. Just before my senior year of college Samantha ended the relationship. It was difficult, but I ultimately knew she was right.

EARLY ADULT TRANSITION

I went to Harvard University when I was eighteen years old. I made the decision to go there because it was the best school that I got into. The first couple of months were really difficult. I missed my parents and I missed home, and I really missed Samantha. In addition, I didn't know anyone at Harvard so it took some time to adjust. I joined the soccer team and that helped a lot because it provided me with a ready made social group. That Spring I rushed a fraternity with some guys on the team and my social world expanded significantly.

The four years I spent at Harvard were really great. I was exposed to a totally different way of thinking. It was a place that really fostered my intellectual curiosity. Unfortunately, I wasn't focused on that part of my college experience. Being at Harvard made me acutely aware of money. I hung out with kids who had credit cards and could buy whatever they wanted. I came from a family where everything was budgeted and I had to make a certain amount of money each summer in order to cover my books and expenses. Even though my family was solidly middle class, I had been exposed to environments where I was surrounded by wealthy people and I wanted to "own" that feeling. In high school I had worked at a country club and I wanted to live like those people. I didn't want to belong to a country club, but I wanted to be rich. At that point in my life that was my idea of success.

I had this idea that I had to be the provider for my family. I think a lot of that had to do with my father's struggle with his own career. He really loved what he was doing in advertising and had to pay the price for throwing it away. I didn't want that to happen to me. I wanted security. I also felt like I owed my parents. They never had a great deal of money and they had made a lot of sacrifices in order to send me to Harvard. The fact that I was adopted also played into it. Someone had essentially thrown me away and my parents had saved me. I realize now that they did it because they loved me. It's part of the role of being a parent. However, at the time there was a lot of emotional debt that I wanted to pay back.

By the time I was a senior at Harvard I was set on becoming successful. I always had this vague idea that I should be on some sort of professional track after college. At various points in my life I may have had a specific profession in mind, but it was always fleeting. The functional aspect of what I did wasn't really important. What really mattered was financial success. After Christmas break all of these financial companies were coming to Harvard in order to recruit. I had convinced myself that I wanted to become an investment banker so I went to several receptions. I had spent the previous two summers in Washington DC doing office work at a brokerage house so I knew how to talk to these people. The whole thing was a real set up. They had all these recent graduates come back to school to talk about how great investment banking was. They told me about the Harvard network and the kind of clout I'd have at these companies. It was really easy to get drawn in by the instant acceptance. Of course, they neglected to tell me about all the shitty stuff that I would have to do. They didn't discuss the fact that I'd have to sell my soul. They just told me how much money I was going to make. I was

completely taken by the whole thing and I was convinced that if I followed their path I would become a millionaire. At that point I had solidified the idea that I was going to be the provider. It was what I thought I was supposed to do.

I set up several interviews at firms in New York City. In the spring I was offered three jobs. I really felt like hot shit. The jobs were all at top investment firms and there was the promise of a lucrative career at all of them. I chose Goldman Sachs because they made it really seductive. I went down to the company on *sell day* and a partner at the firm took me into his office and told me that out of six thousand potential candidates I was one of the few they had selected. Then he took out a piece of paper and drew a circle on it and said, “when you were a kid you were smart and you were in this circle.” Then he drew a tighter circle inside of it and said, “when you went to Harvard you were in this circle.” Then he drew a really small circle and said, “you’ve been offered a job at Goldman Sachs and you are in the tightest circle of them all. You’ve got something that almost nobody gets.” At the time I wasn’t a very insightful person and I was captivated by what he was offering. I played right into his hand and accepted the offer. It was instant power, acceptance and money and I took the bait. I felt like I was on track and going somewhere. I had no idea what I was getting myself into.

During my last semester of college I started dating a woman named Lydia. She was a real party girl and we had a lot of fun together. When I graduated Lydia had two more years of school, but we decided to stick with the relationship. I really wanted it to work.

ENTERING THE ADULT WORLD

The summer after I graduated from Harvard I moved to New York City and got an apartment with some friends. In September I began working as a financial analyst at Goldman Sachs. I was working on the trading floor where I was responsible for bridging the gap between the bankers and the traders. After about three weeks I was totally miserable. I had taken one business course in college and I had struggled to stay awake. That should have been a clue that banking wasn't for me. The work held no interest for me. I was sitting next to a guy who absolutely loved the job. He was totally into it. I knew I would never be like him. I couldn't even pretend to like banking. I put an unbelievable amount of pressure on myself to make it work. I did my best, but after a few months I was ready to leave. To make things worse, Lydia and I broke up. She wasn't ready for a long distance relationship. I knew the relationship was doomed after I graduated, but I didn't want it to end.

One of my roommates was working at a small financial management company. He had a nine to five job that he really liked and he made about as much money as I did. One day he came home and told me that there was an opening at his company so I left Goldman Sachs and took the job. In all, I had spent six months at Goldman Sachs. I signed a two year contract with the financial management company. The firm was very laid back and I was able to take it easy. With the pressure off, I began to have a lot more fun. I had a couple of romantic relationships and spent time doing social things. When my contract was up I decided to leave the company. I could have stayed for another year, but it wasn't what I wanted to do with my life. I wanted to explore other possibilities. My friend Noah had moved to Los Angeles with his girlfriend to check out another area

of the country. They had an extra room in their house and it seemed like a good time to make a change. I had always been interested in the movies, so I decided to go to Los Angeles to work in the film industry. When I got to Los Angeles I got a job as a waiter and worked part-time as a production assistant on a couple of films.

I stayed in Los Angeles for about a year and then I decided to come back to New York in order to apply to business school. I had decided that I wanted to become a movie producer and I thought that a business degree would allow me to enter the film industry in a legitimate way. My father flew out to Los Angeles to drive me back so that we could spend some time together. It was a real bonding experience for the two of us and he really opened up to me. He told me that for years he and my mother had not had a physical relationship. In fact, he had cheated on my mother several times. I think he really needed to unburden himself and tell me what had been going on in their marriage. Up until that point I had viewed my parents' relationship through rose filtered glasses. I think I always knew that things weren't great, but I didn't want to accept it.

When I got back to New York I applied to N.Y.U. business school and got in. That year Noah's girlfriend introduced me to Rebecca. She was a researcher at New York Medical Center and was planning to go to graduate school in psychology. We began dating and I was totally taken by her. After a few months I knew that I wanted to spend the rest of my life with her. Rebecca was the first person I had ever met who I had really been able to communicate with. She really helped me open up. It was also around that time that my parents separated. I was really surprised. I was aware of their difficulties, but I didn't think they would separate. They had been together since college,

so it didn't seem possible. It was hard for me to understand what had happened. I was just beginning to look at things in an honest way. A few months later they got divorced.

During my first year of business school I began to experience extreme amounts of stress. The coping mechanisms that I had relied on my entire life were no longer working. I wasn't enjoying business school at all. However, I felt unable to get out of the commitment I had made. I majored in marketing and media management because it was a good way enter the entertainment industry. I remember thinking, "what will I be doing in ten years?" and realized that I would probably be working as a film producer. I knew that it would not be fulfilling. I realized that I had spent my entire life doing things that I thought I was supposed to do and I couldn't keep it up. There was a counseling center at N.Y.U. and Rebecca suggested that I see a therapist. At first I was a bit skeptical, but therapy forced me to really look at myself. I became much more self reflective and I realized that many of the choices I had made were for the wrong reasons. I learned that success and satisfaction weren't measured by how big my bank book was. Business school was a very expensive place to learn this, but I'm glad I learned it. I have been going to therapy for almost five years. It has been a great process and has really helped me figure out what I want.

When I was twenty-six Rebecca and I moved in together. At the time we lived in a small one room apartment. It was a real test of our relationship. She was applying to Ph.D. programs in clinical psychology and I was finishing business school. I knew that if we survived that year we would definitely get married. Even though I hated business school I stuck with it. I gave up the idea of becoming a film producer and began to explore other possibilities. During my final semester I went to the career counseling

center to look for a job. While I was flipping through the job books I noticed a position at Harvard Business School working in the career counseling center. I had always enjoyed working with people, but I had never thought about a career in the human services. I ripped out the page and went up to the director's office to talk to him. He explained that they were creating a similar position at N.Y.U. and wanted to know if I was interested. I began the job a couple of weeks after I graduated.

AGE THIRTY TRANSITION

After Rebecca and I had been living together for about a year we got engaged. It was a really great time in my life. I was working as the associate director for career services at N.Y.U. Business School and I loved the job. Working in the human services was really fulfilling. It was great begin able to help people figure out what they wanted to do with their lives. I think my own process trying to figure that out made me uniquely suited for the job. I wasn't making as much money as my friends in investment banking, but I was having a lot more fun.

When I was twenty-eight Rebecca and I got married and we moved into a bigger apartment. She has really been the biggest influence in my life. I don't think that I initially saw as a mentor, but without being pushy she has really helped me discover what makes me happy. I think the combination of her experience in graduate school and my own experience in therapy made me realize that I wanted to become a psychologist. I enjoy my job at N.Y.U., but I often feel limited in my role. After I've helped place someone in a job my work is done. Being a psychologist will allow me to have a more

substantial role in people's lives. It's a process that has helped me immensely, and I want to be in a position where I can work with people on that level.

I'm currently in the process of applying to Ph.D. programs in clinical psychology. The prospect is very exciting. There are a lot of things that I want to do with the degree. My Dream is to one day have a private practice. I don't know what kind of therapist I'll be, but I know that it's something that I really want to do. I also want to consult to companies and help them in psychodynamic ways. That type of work will allow me to use my business degree in a really unique way.

There has been a lot of transition in my life over the last five years. Turning thirty has been about accepting the fact that I can't plan every aspect of my life. I have reached a certain level of calm about the choices I have made and I'm more capable of taking things as they come. A lot of that has to do with therapy, and with the fact that I am embarking on something that really feels right for me. I used to make a lot of my decisions based on what I thought I was supposed to do, instead of basing them on what mattered to me. I'm glad that has changed. It's still important to me to be successful and make money, but I also want to do something that feels valuable.

I used to think that success was based on increasing your earning potential and climbing up some sort of ladder. I had this idea that success was somehow linked to the kind of sacrifices you made in your personal life. I've realized what my real priorities are during the last few years. My life is tied to Rebecca and our future. I can't wait to have kids with her. She is my best friend and my partner. She is the most important thing in my life and I'm not willing to sacrifice that for anything. Just being with her has really

helped me figure out what makes me happy. A big part of that has to do with the fact that she accepted me for who I am. I could be a garbage collector and she would still love me.

THEMES GENERATED FROM THE NARRATIVE

OCCUPATION

THEME 1: DEVELOPING A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY IS A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

Fred's desire to become rich and successful had its origins in his pre-adult experience.

I had grown up in these environments where I had been exposed to a lot of these wealthy people but had never been able to own that. I wanted not to think about money. I grew up in a house where everything was budgeted. I didn't want to deal with that. I wanted to be successful.

Once we moved to the school and I worked at a country club during the summer and I was watching all of this. And I thought I want to live like these people. I don't want to be a member of a country club, but I don't want to worry about money. And so I always thought that I would have something that would be lucrative to do. And it would be lucrative and that would be the main focus.

Fred felt deeply indebted to his parents. His desire to become rich emerged out of a belief that he was supposed to provide for them.

I'm going to be the provider. That was my vision of success. It was this assumption that it was what I was supposed to do. I just felt like I owed them. My parents never had a ton of money. You know they made sacrifices for me to go to Harvard and to go to private school and I felt like I owed them. This is nothing that came from them. That was the goal for me that I came up with. That was the plan. And I got to school thinking well I could go into banking and if I work hard I'm guaranteed to be a millionaire. I can buy my parents a house and they won't have to worry about money again. And deep

down what I think I was thinking unconsciously was I'm going to pay my debt. It had a lot to do with being adopted. My parents had saved me from something that might have been potentially dangerous. Someone gave me up. Someone threw me away essentially. The reason withstanding, my parents said we love you and we want to take care of you. So I think that there was a big emotional debt there.

Fred's vision of success was also a reaction to his father's personal and professional difficulties.

I think that it came partly from my father's struggle with his own career. He had really liked what he was doing and saw himself getting somewhere someday. He basically had to give it all up and I really didn't want that to happen to me. I didn't want to basically find myself in that type of position for any reason.

My father, he is just unable to hold onto things.

Fred was initially attracted to lucrative professions.

I think that one thing that I always thought was that by the time I was a certain age I would be on a track and I would know exactly what I was doing and that I would sort of be established. Because in my mind that was my vague notion of success that I was in a career that I was doing well and that I was moving up whatever that meant. So you know at different points in time I may have wanted to be a doctor and then a marine biologist and then a journalist. There were different things that I wanted to do and then when I got to college and I saw what all of my peers were doing my Dream became less about the functional aspect of the work and more about the financial aspects of what I was doing.

In business school Fred realized that he could no longer follow the professional path he had chosen.

I was so stressed out that I that I thought I was going to have a heart attack. At school I wasn't getting it and all these people seemed to be having a much easier time and I was getting all bent out of shape because I thought I had made the wrong decision. And all of the coping mechanisms I had relied on for so long were no longer working. I thought about what I would be doing in fifteen years and I realized that I would just be telling myself stories to make myself seem more legitimate.

THEME II: *THE MALE IDEALS OF AUTONOMY, SUCCESS AND POWER ARE AN IMPORTANT PART OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD*

After college, Fred began a career in investment banking because he was attracted to the sense of success, power and acceptance it provided.

It was the money and the acceptance. No one is not going to accept me when I tell them I'm an investment banker. That was my idea of success

Instant power and money. That's how you feel. They go for that. There's a lot of seduction. Instant success and acceptance in a powerful exclusive world. I wanted that at the time. I went through a bunch of jobs and business school to figure out that wasn't all that I wanted. It wasn't enough. A fucking expensive way to learn that, but at least I did.

ANALYSIS

Developing a professional identity has been a central part of Fred's life in early adulthood. Fred's initial desire to become rich and successful had its origins in his childhood. In keeping with Furst's (1983) and Roberts' and Newton's (1987) observations, it was a reaction to his pre-adult experience. Early in Fred's life there was a great deal of insecurity. His father's difficulties forced their family to sell their home and move to a series of apartments. In addition, Fred was profoundly affected by the fact that he was adopted. He felt deeply indebted to his parents for saving him. As a result, Fred chose a professional path that would ensure personal and financial security. Unfortunately, Fred's desire to become rich and successful was a reaction to his past experience. It was not generated from a personally meaningful goal that could develop into a professional Dream (Levinson, 1996, 1978).

Fred never wanted to confront the kinds of difficulties his father had faced (i.e. self-I-don't-want-to-be). His father's failed professional Dream and inability to "hold on

to” the things he cared about profoundly influenced Fred’s choices. Fred’s father had been forced to leave his job and he was unable to reach his potential. He was never able to attain the kind of success and acceptance that he deserved. Moreover, his personal and professional difficulties had led to a lack of financial security in their home. Fred identified strongly with the sense of security and acceptance that had eluded his father. In fact, it superseded his desire to find something that gave his life a sense of purpose.

During Fred’s childhood and adolescence he was convinced that he owed his parents for saving him. The fact that Fred was adopted had instilled a sense of rejection in him. He felt that he had been thrown away and his (adoptive) parents had rescued him from a potentially dangerous situation. As a result, Fred was always concerned with being “the good son” who did what he was supposed to do (i.e. self-I-ought-to-be, Chasseguet-Smirgel, 1985). As Fred entered early adulthood he was convinced that he needed to repay his parents for the life they had saved him from. When Fred entered the working world he chose a professional path that would enable him to provide for his family. In addition, Fred hoped it would provide him the sense of security and acceptance that had eluded him for most of his life.

Developing an occupational identity was critical for Fred. He believed that being on a professional track was a measure of success (Pollack, 1998; Pasick, 1990; Meth, 1990; Messner, 1987; Smelser, 1980; Levinson’s, 1978; Lidz, 1977; Tolson, 1977; Komarovsky, 1976). As a child and adolescent, Fred had been exposed to environments where people had a great deal of money. He resented being from a family where everything was budgeted and he wanted to “own” the feeling of being rich. He wanted to have the sense of financial security that his peers at Harvard had. As a result, the

functional aspect of what Fred did for a living was less important than the financial rewards. Initially, investment banking was very appealing to Fred who was attracted by the instant power, acceptance and wealth that such a career promised. Once Fred began working in this capacity he was disappointed. He was making a good living, but he was frustrated with the quality of his work.

Fred left investment banking after six months and began a process of trying to find an occupation that he enjoyed. However, the focus of this effort lacked the inward search that was required. By his own admission, at that point in his life Fred was not capable of the kind of self-reflection that such a search entailed. Fred continued to look outward for something that would satisfy him. As a result, he found himself unable to commit to a career for a substantial period of time. He continued to pursue lucrative careers that promised acceptance and power only to find himself disappointed with the type of work he was doing (Jacques, 1981). Ironically, the inconsistent nature of Fred's professional life during this period did not foster a sense of security. Instead, it repeated some of the inconsistency of his childhood. Unfortunately, Fred had to reach a point where he felt his professional life was suffocating him before he made a significant change. Therapy forced Fred to look inward and explore the reasons for his choices. He realized that he had to relinquish the overwhelming sense of duty that he had towards his family (i.e. self-I-ought-to-be) and explore options that made him happy, instead of financially secure.

The years around age thirty have been a time of profound transition in Fred's life. Fred found the professional path he was on at the age of twenty-eight unbearable so he changed directions. According to Levinson (1996, 1978), such personal and professional

transitions are indicative of the Age Thirty Transition. However, it is important to point out that this experience was not confined to Fred's Age Thirty Transition, rather, it has been a constant theme in Fred's life during his twenties. By the time Fred reached the age of thirty he had left potential careers in investment banking, financial management, the entertainment industry and career development. At the present time Fred is planning to go to graduate school in clinical psychology so that he can pursue a career as a therapist and consultant. He loved his experience working in career development, but he wanted to work with people in more depth. A career as a psychologist offered Fred such an opportunity. In addition, Fred's experience in therapy and his identification with Rebecca were instrumental in this choice (see Relationships). It is still too early to tell if his desire to become a clinical psychologist has been internalized deeply enough to be sustained. Fred will have to begin this undertaking in a more substantial manner before it is clear if he is following his Dream.

RELATIONSHIPS

THEME 1: RELATIONSHIPS ARE A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

Relationships have had a significant role in Fred's life during early adulthood. In high school and college Fred's relationship with Samantha was very important to him.

Probably after senior year when I was like getting ready to go away to college I was like oh man I have been seeing this person for like 3 days a week for the last year and how I am going to live without her. She was a year younger than I was so she was staying in

high school and so at that point I thought that I am going to be with this person forever and at the same time I realized when I came back from my freshman year that there was something fundamentally different about us and I don't know if it was because I went to college and it was the type of place that fostered intellectual curiosity or it was just very liberal and Virginia is not a really liberal place and I came back feeling like we were very different. That we were interested in different things. I knew that but I just stuck with it for the next three years. I have always had a hard time letting go.

In Fred's senior year of college he began dating Lydia. Fred decided to continue the relationship after college.

Then February of my senior year I began dating this girl who was sort of a party girl with a bit of a reputation. I really liked her and we started dating and it just got really serious really fast and when I graduated I was still holding onto that relationship and the following September I was in New York and miserable and she was back at school with two more years to go. It ended . . . it ended up ending badly in October. I should have never stayed in it that long, in that in the first place.

Fred's relationship with Rebecca has been the most significant of his life.

I am crazy about my relationship with my wife. It's the most important thing in my life. She is the first person to date that I have really been able to communicate with.

I don't think that I initially saw her as a mentor but she really has been. She, without being pushy has helped me figure out what's going to make me happy, helped me see what field I belonged in. And I think she opened up my mind about thinking about who I am as a person. I had all these friends who accepted me in college because I was a soccer player and because I rushed a fraternity. She's accepted me because she loves me as a person. I could be a garbage collector and as long as I was happy she would be okay with that.

THE DREAM

THEME: *MEN'S DREAMS IN EARLY ADULTHOOD ARE RELATIONAL BUT THEY ARE NOT OCCUPATIONAL*

Fred's Dream includes a life with Rebecca and the family they plan to have together.

Although professional aspirations are important to him, his priority at the present time is his relationship with Rebecca.

I see myself taking part in every aspect of life with Rebecca. Working with her is that is possible. Raising a family together. I consider her my partner and it has always been like that with her and I think that is one of the ways that I knew I was ready to get married. It was like I just knew. It wasn't any different, being engaged to living with her. I wanted her to be my partner. I wanted that before we got engaged. That's my, my Dream is that I will live a long and healthy life with her, experience great professional highs and raise kids and be happy and fulfilled.

I used to think that success was based on your earning potential and the amount of money in your bank account. I had no idea. I mean I always wanted to be married, but its, my like has really changed. I thought success was based on the sacrifices you made in your personal life and I see it the opposite now. She is the most important person in my life and I'm not willing to let anything get in the way of that.

ANALYSIS

Relationships have played a critical role in Fred's development in early adulthood. Since his late adolescence Fred has been deeply committed to the women he has been involved with. In fact, prior to Fred's relationship with Rebecca he had a pattern of holding on to relationships even if they were no longer viable. As he explained, "I have a hard time letting go." This need to stay attached in his personal life belies the somewhat disjointed nature of his professional life. Relationships have

represented security and consistency in Fred's life and as a result, he has placed a great deal of effort on maintaining them.

Women have occupied a central role in Fred's life in early adulthood. Throughout the end of high school and the first three years of college Fred dated Samantha. After his freshman year at Harvard he realized that he and Samantha were becoming different people, but he stayed committed to the relationship anyway. He did not want to let go of her. This experience was repeated after college when Fred attempted to sustain his relationship with Lydia. He was aware of the fact that the relationship had run its course, but he was unwilling to end it. Fred's need to depend on women appears to be a reaction to his past experience (Roberts & Newton, 1987). Growing up, Fred always felt that his parents had saved him from being "thrown away." Although his adoptive parents loved him a great deal, aspects of this feeling of rejection remained and Fred did not want to be "thrown away" again. Moreover, fears of abandonment continued to affect Fred and he stayed in relationships even if they no longer worked.

Fred's parents' relationship also had a profound impact on him. Although he viewed their relationship through "rose filtered glasses," on some level Fred was aware of the distance that existed between them. Fred did not want to repeat their mistakes and as a result, he held onto relationships for as long as he could. In addition, Fred wanted to avoid the problems his father had faced in his personal life (i.e. self-I-don't want to be, Furst, 1983). Unlike his father who had a great deal of difficulty holding on to the people he loved, Fred had a hard time letting go of the people he grew to depend on.

It is clear that relationships have always been part of Fred's Dream. In many respects, Rebecca's role in Fred's life is akin to Levinson's (1996, 1978) notion of the

special woman. She is a developmentally significant figure who has enabled Fred to accomplish a great deal in his early adulthood. Rebecca's love has enabled Fred to feel accepted for who he is, rather than who he is supposed to be. In addition, Fred's ability to communicate with Rebecca has also served to repair some of his past experience (Furst, 1983). Unlike his parents, who were unable to relate to each other for substantial periods of their marriage, Fred has found someone who he can truly communicate with.

Fred identified strongly with Rebecca and the future he hopes to have with her. Her experience in graduate school and her suggestion that Fred enter therapy were instrumental in his decision to apply to graduate school. His desire to become a therapist and organizational consultant is largely the result of her influence. In addition, Fred has stated that Rebecca is the priority in his life and he is unwilling to make choices that would get in the way of their relationship. This finding refutes both Chodorow's (1978) and Gilligan's (1982) contention that relational needs occupy a more central role in female development. In fact, Fred's Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978) has centered on committing to a long term relationship rather than a career. Although occupational concerns are still an importance part of Fred's life, his need for intimacy and emotional security has been a much more vital part of his identity (Erikson, 1982, 1963).

THE LIFE OF NELSON - AGE 30

I was born and raised in the west village in New York City. My family lived in an old brownstone that my father designed. My father was an architect when I was growing up. He had a very successful career and for a period of time he was one of the most famous architects in the world. He won numerous prestigious awards and several books were written about his work. My father never wanted to be famous. That was not his goal. He was very ambitious and had a sense of passion for what he did.

My mother stayed at home and took care of me and my sister until I was seven. She loved being a mother, but she had other aspirations. When I was little she worked in the development office at the South Street Seaport museum. I always loved going down to the docks with her. I didn't understand what she did, but I loved being around the boats and ships. After working at the Seaport, she worked briefly at The Museum of Modern Art and then she opened up a small bookstore about ten years ago. At the present time she is writing a book about New York City. It's something she has always wanted to do.

Growing up I had a great relationship with my parents. My father had a tremendous impact on my life. When I was little I loved going to work with him. I wanted to be an architect. I would sit in his office and draw for hours. Although his career was very important to him, our family always came first. He took part in every aspect of my life. In addition, he never pushed me in a particular direction or set specific goals for me to achieve. He was always willing to give me guidance, but he wanted me to follow my own path. On the other hand, my mother was a bit more proactive with her advice. If she had an opinion about something, she was never afraid to express it.

In my family creativity was the driving force. My parents had money, but it was never a goal in itself. They always encouraged me to pursue the things I loved. The only thing my parents placed any real value on was education. They believed it was the key to a successful life. My mother has always been adamant about the importance of a good education. She grew up in a small town in upstate New York where she read every book in the local library. For her, education was the ticket to a more fulfilling life. As a result, she pushed me to work hard in school. She never wanted me to be limited in any way.

Looking back I really had a wonderful childhood. I think a lot of that had to do with the fact that my family has always been extremely close. We always ate dinner together and both my parents were very involved in my life. In addition, my parents had a very loving relationship and are still very much in love with one other. It has been a wonderful thing to be around and has served as an example for me to follow. I definitely aspire to find someone like my mother and have the kind of loving relationship my parents had.

High school was a particularly difficult time in my life. My parents sent me to a competitive prep school on the upper west side and I felt very out of place. Most of the kids already knew each other and I had trouble fitting in. In addition, I was a bit awkward and I had no idea how to relate to girls. As a result, I got very involved in my school work and became a straight A student. I never tried to fit in. Instead, I did my own thing. I was a bit of an iconoclast. Towards the later years of high school people began to gravitate towards my sense of individuality and I became quite popular. I even had a girlfriend during my senior year. It was very casual and didn't develop into

anything serious. I was a bit of a late bloomer, so I wasn't really capable of having an intense romantic relationship at that point in my life.

EARLY ADULT TRANSITION

I went to Princeton University for college. I decided to go to Princeton because my sister had gone there and I always had a great time when I visited her. My mother wanted me to go to Harvard. It became a bit of an obsession for her and she was definitely disappointed when I chose Princeton. I think she wanted me to go to Harvard because it was the school that she had always wanted to attend.

I really loved Princeton. I made a lot of friends and had a great time. I majored in classics because it was a field that had always interested me. I didn't choose my classes for professional reasons. I wanted to learn for its own sake. Having that attitude took the pressure off and I did very well in college. Although I didn't have a career in mind, I had an idea about how I wanted to live. I hung out with a very international crowd and that rubbed off on me in some good ways and some bad ways. They liked to travel and they liked nice things. I was influenced by their interests. I liked the nice cars they drove and the vacations they took to exotic places. At the time, I aspired to that kind of lifestyle. I was never interested in money for its own sake, I just liked the sense of freedom it provided.

For the first three years of college I was totally unable to interact with women. There were several women at Princeton who actively pursued me, but I was not mature enough to deal with it. I would literally be left speechless if a woman propositioned me. It's funny, I think a lot of women perceived my shyness as aloofness and that made me

more attractive. I'm not exactly sure what the problem was, perhaps it was fear of rejection. Dealing with women on a sexual level made me extremely anxious. The anxiety built on itself and that made it even harder. As a result, I dated infrequently during the first three years of college. I had a couple of casual relationships, but nothing that developed beyond that. In my senior year, one of my closest friends named Tamara asked me if I would be interested in dating her. We started dating and completely fell in love. Tamara was perfect for me because she was patient and put up with my lack of experience. In addition, she was really caring and taught me a great deal about myself. I became much more confident because of her.

Tamara had a profound impact on almost every aspect of my life. After college we traveled together in Italy. Tamara's lifelong Dream was to become a lawyer. One day she asked me if I would ever consider becoming a lawyer. It had never entered my mind. Law seemed so uncreative and boring. She explained all the things I could do with a law degree and told me about all the doors it could open. When we returned to the United States four months later I was considering going to law school.

ENTERING THE ADULT WORLD

When I got back to New York City, Tamara and I moved into my parents' home. Rents in New York were outrageous and my parents were happy to have us. I got a job in the production department of an independent film company and Tamara began working at a law firm as a paralegal. I had always been interested in the film industry and the job enabled me to experience it first hand. I liked the work, but the business really disgusted

me. It was completely based on nepotism and it was almost impossible to get anywhere if you started at the bottom.

A year after I graduated from college I was still unsure about what I wanted to do with my life. Tamara was in the process of applying to law school. I was getting anxious about my sense of indecision. I really wanted to do something that felt significant. All of my friends were starting careers and going to graduate school and I didn't have a clue. In addition, I felt like I didn't have any options. At the time I really wanted to be able to travel and afford nice things, but I had no idea how to make a living. I didn't take a single practical class in college. Business classes never interested me. In addition, I had grown up very privileged. I lived in a beautiful brownstone in Manhattan and my parents had been able to send me to school. We had everything we needed. I wanted to live a similar lifestyle. In September of that year I got a job as a paralegal and applied to law school. I had no interest in becoming a lawyer, but I wanted some direction. I think Tamara's influence was a critical factor, but I also liked the fact that a law degree provided me with a variety of options. I had met lawyers who worked as politicians, film producers and businessmen. In addition, it would enable me to make a good living and I could always hang up a shingle if I got desperate.

I went to Georgetown law school and Tamara went to Cornell law school. It was really hard being away from her and we decided to end our relationship at the end of our first year. We really loved each other but we needed to have other experiences. I dated a few women in law school, but it never got very serious. I had a difficult time getting over Tamara. She was my best friend and had been part of my daily life for almost four years. She is still very important to me and we talk to each other often.

I really enjoyed law school. It introduced me to a completely new way of thinking. Law involved an intellectual way of problem solving that fascinated me. As a result, I got really involved the academic and philosophical components of the law. The more practical classes never really interested me so I focused on what I enjoyed. I didn't work that hard in law school. I think it was fear of failure. The curve at Georgetown was a B. I didn't want to work really hard and still end up with Bs in my classes so I took it easy. In addition, I lived off campus in an amazing house with a couple of friends. There was a lake in walking distance from our house and I used to go sailing after class when the weather was nice.

The summer after my first year of law school I got a job clerking for a judge in Brooklyn. I knew that I would be working at a corporate firm when I started my career and I wanted to gain some other experiences. It was a great job and gave me first hand experience working in the United States legal system. The summer after my second year I worked as a summer associate at a large corporate firm in New York City. It was a very prestigious place and I had to stay on my toes and make a good impression. They offered me a position at the end of the summer, but I decided to take a job at a smaller firm. It wasn't as high pressure as the large firm, but it still had a good reputation. Working at a prestigious firm was important to me. I knew that I would be using my first job as a stepping stone and I wanted it to be time well spent. My mother wanted me to work at the larger firm, but I didn't like the number of hours they made their associates work. I didn't want to be at work until eleven o'clock every night. I wanted to have a social life. The smaller firm was more laid back and they promised to have me out of the office no later than eight.

I moved back home after I graduated from Georgetown. It may seem strange, but it was where I wanted to live. The first couple of years at the firm were very good. The work didn't fascinate me, but the learning curve was really steep and I loved seeing how the legal system worked. In addition, I was finally making some money and that felt great.

AGE THIRTY TRANSITION

I moved out of my parents' home when I was twenty-eight and moved into a small one bedroom apartment a few blocks away. I still see my parents everyday because I leave my dog with them in the morning before I go to work. In addition, I have dinner with them a couple of nights a week. I enjoy spending time with my parents and they are aware of almost everything that goes on in my life. We are still an extremely close family, maybe too close. I realize that I have some dependency issues with them. I know that I need to break away and become more independant.

At the present time I'm not really stimulated at work. I think the learning curve has really plateaued. I don't dread going to work in the morning, but I don't feel energized by what I'm doing. I'm not being challenged on an intellectual level anymore. I have a lot of friends who are involved in start-up companies and they're really passionate about their work. I would love to be involved in something that made me feel that way, but I still haven't found it. It's very easy for me to be comfortable in my current position because I make a decent living and there's a lot of security in my job. However, if someone told me that I would make partner in five years I wouldn't care at all. It's not what I want. I have never felt that being a lawyer was part of my identity. Law was a

means to an end. It was never an end in itself. I'm still in the process of figuring out what that end is.

I feel kind of listless right now. I want to leave my job and I'm thinking about getting involved in a couple of start-up companies. In addition, I still have fantasies about working in the film industry as a producer. For some reason I can't seem to make a move right now. Part of me just wants to buy a boat and sail from the Caribbean to Venezuela. I also have fantasies about going to Europe and skiing for six months. I feel like time is going by very quickly and I don't want to get caught on the sidelines of life. I'm trying to figure out what my priorities are. For me, who you are, what you do, and how you live are all very intertwined. I know that I eventually want to get married and have a family. I can't imagine a life without that. It's fundamental to who I am. I think it's so important to have someone to share your life with. In addition, I want to watch my children grow up and take part in their lives the way my parents did. There is a partner at my firm who works until nine every night and she never sees her kids. She and her husband work really demanding hours so their children are being raised by a nanny. It may sound judgmental, but I think it's pathetic. They're giving up the most important thing in the world for personal success. I don't get it.

Being around my father has had a really profound affect on me. He's had a series of serious health problems over the years and it's made him very philosophical about life. He spends his time with the people he loves and does things that are important to him. I want to get to that point as well, but I'm not sure what that means for me. I'm a bit all over the place right now and I have some work to do. Eventually, I would like to get a Ph.D. in history. I have always wanted to do that. I have no interest in teaching or

writing, so it would be a very decadent thing to do right now. I want to get the degree purely for the intellectual challenge it would present. I think there's nothing more valuable than learning.

I'm a bit listless in my romantic life as well. I'm currently involved in a relationship that is always in crisis with a woman named Penelope. We've been dating on and off for about two years. We love each other a great deal, and we get along very well on a day to day level, but there are too many fundamental differences. We both know the relationship won't work long-term. We've broken up on several occasions, but we've been unable to let go of one another. My mother is vociferous about the relationship and thinks I should end it completely. It makes me want to stick with it even more. Sometimes I think I do things in order to spite her. In any case, the idea of marriage is completely out of the question for me right now - especially when I have all of these escapist fantasies. I'm not getting married until I'm ready. Too many people get married before they know what they want and it ultimately ends for that reason. Right now I need to struggle with what I want out of life. It's something that I need to do on my own and it wouldn't be fair to pull another person into that. I've actually begun to see a psychologist. I need help gaining some perspective. I need to figure out why I'm so ambivalent about things. It's a confusing time and I want to make decisions that are right for me. It's funny, at the same time I actually feel optimistic. Figuring out what's right for me is daunting, but it's also exciting.

GENERATED FROM THE NARRATIVE

OCCUPATION

THEME 1: DEVELOPING A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY IS A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

After Nelson graduated from college he was uncertain about what he wanted to do with his life. He decided to go to law school because it presented him with a variety of options.

When I got out of college I really had like no idea what I was going to do. All of my friends were getting started with careers and graduate school and I felt like I had no idea. I needed something and a way to support myself. I worked in film and really hated it. I loved movies and some of the work, and the industry just was terrible. If you start at the bottom and don't really know anyone you're on this little ladder and it takes forever, if ever to get anywhere. I never wanted to go to law school to be a lawyer. So law school seemed appealing to me because in America there are so many lawyers who have gone on to do other things like politics, business, any industry there are lawyers. The film industry as well, so I thought the worst case I can hang out a shingle. It's a very flexible degree and it was clearly influenced by Tamara.

Nelson has worked as a lawyer for three years. He no longer feels challenged by the work he is doing.

But it's not like that anymore, it's not like I'm satisfied. If someone said this is it, this is what you should do for the next five, seven or eight years and you will make partner, it just doesn't appeal to me. So if that's the case I don't consider myself satisfied. I don't hate it or anything and I make decent money, so there are a lot of factors which make it easy to continue on with this without really questioning. But I guess the simple answer is that I'm not really satisfied ultimately on a deep level because it ties in with what I was talking about before, I'm just not feeling intellectually satisfied right now and part of it is that I've reached a plateau and there is a lot of stuff still for me to learn and some of it can be intellectually stimulating, but I'm not sure. Well getting back to the whole thing about the Dream, the end product has never been clearly defined for me and law is a way of opening more doors. It is a way to make money and gain entree to certain things and to extend a network. It was a means to things it was never a goal. But now I'm really in the process of shifting. I'm in the process of trying to discover where the ultimate goal is and I'm not really there yet. I'm really thinking about it, trying to take a look at what I want to be.

At the present time Nelson is trying to figure out what his priorities are.

Time is just going by and there are none of these milestones and I feel a bit like I'm on the sideline and there is part of me that feels as if quitting, just saying I need to find myself in some way might be important. Like it all seems like a bunch of new age bullshit, it's just escapism, but it's not on another level. It's not like I need to hit the open sea and discover who I am. It's like I need to go out there and prioritize my life. Do I want money? Do I want all of these material things in my life that require me working possibly at a job that I don't like? Do I want to live in NY? There are all of these factors that are out there.

It's about figuring out who I want to be. I actually just started seeing a psychologist. I think I need some help gaining perspective and understanding of what is making me just so ambivalent and it's really weird. My work and my personal life. It's true, my Dream, it's all about how you want to live and that's so directly tied into your work and who you are and who you share it with. At least it is for me, they're so intertwined and I need to see where my priorities are.

In the future Nelson would like to get a Ph.D. in history because it presents the type of intellectual challenge that he loves.

Put it this way if I didn't have to worry about money at all I would probably still be in school getting a Ph.D. in history. The thing is I have no interest in teaching, none, zero. It would be purely because I love to read and I love knowledge. Only for the intellectual challenge. So its a fantasy , it's unrealistic right now. You don't get a Ph.D. and do nothing with it. It is a fantasy right now. But I plan to get one when I retire. To me that is a real accomplishment. To have a base of knowledge like that, something I really would be proud of. That is really the important thing, education and always pushing higher with that.

THEME II: THE MALE IDEALS OF AUTONOMY, SUCCESS AND POWER ARE AN IMPORTANT PART OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

As Nelson enters his Age Thirty Transition, the search for a professional Dream has caused him to re-think his priorities. He knows that his work must enable him to feel successful.

Let me put it this way, I don't want to make partner at a law firm, that is not what I am interested in. So then the question is, well what are you doing in the mean time? And the thing is I am gaining experience, but where I am going ultimately? And what am I going to do with it? I really don't know yet. I need it to lead somewhere that feels big or important to me. Or what's the point. I think that every lawyer goes through this though of quitting. I have never felt that being a lawyer is my identity. Its been a very important part of who I am because I work ten hours doing it, it's not, it hasn't been a focus of how I see myself. But I want to work hard at whatever it is and be successful. Whatever it is.

Nelson is envious of his friends who are passionate about their work. Their careers provide them with a sense of autonomy and the potential to be successful.

I mean professionally, there is a really steep learning curve with the type of law that I do and then you sort of plateau and I really don't feel as though I am being challenged intellectually anymore. It's just that I'm not learning the way that I used to, not at all right now. Things are a bit slow at work right now, but I really miss being challenged. I have all of these friends who are at start up companies right now and there is no guarantee that they are going to make money but I am envious of how energized they are right now. The hope of really making it. Maybe the product they're selling even isn't that great, but it is just the excitement of having something that is your own that you work on. I would like to have that sense of passion about something.

ANALYSIS

Nelson has not developed a professional Dream in early adulthood. Throughout this period he has worked hard to keep his options open with the hope that a Dream would eventually emerge. Although he is clearly attracted to pursuits that present an intellectual challenge, as he enters his thirties he has not found work that makes him feel fulfilled. Instead, a listless quality currently defines Nelson's experience and he feels unable to make a significant change. Having a professional identity is clearly important to Nelson, but he is struggling to figure out what his priorities are and he is conflicted

about which path he should follow. By his own admission, issues pertaining to dependency and the fear of failure have complicated his ability to find a Dream that is truly his own.

At the onset of early adulthood Nelson had a vague idea about the kind of lifestyle he wanted to have. As his friends began their careers, Nelson was concerned with the lack of direction in his life (self-I-don't-want-to-be, Furst, 1983). As a result, he went to law school with the hope that it would ultimately lead to something that interested him. Law was a safe choice for Nelson because it did not present a tremendous challenge. In addition, law provided him with the potential of making a comfortable living (self-I-ought-to-be, Chasseguet-Smirgel, J., 1985) and diffused his concerns about floundering professionally. Nelson did not work very hard in law school because he was afraid that he might not succeed. Furthermore, he never identified with the work he was doing, but hoped it would eventually resonate with him on a deeper level. Unfortunately, he never had an internalized goal in place, so when he began his career this outward search was unsuccessful. Once the learning curve began to plateau and the intellectual challenge dissipated, Nelson found himself dissatisfied with the quality of his professional life.

At the present time Nelson feels stagnated in his job. He knows that he could remain at his firm because it is comfortable and provides him with financial security. However, Nelson longs for something that might bring a sense of vitality to his life. As his friends begin careers that they are passionate about, Nelson longs for their sense of energy and autonomy. It appears that his inability to make a significant change in his professional life stems from his fear of failure. To a certain extent, Nelson has not realized his potential because he is wary of the risk that may be involved in trying to

reach it. At various points Nelson has avoided challenges because he was afraid of failing. As a result, he never established or actively pursued meaningful goals and a Dream eluded him.

Throughout Nelson's life he has been very attached to his family. In fact, he lived at home until he was twenty-eight and he still sees his parents on a daily basis. Although Nelson has benefited from his family's support and guidance, his connection to them has also made it difficult for him to achieve a sense of independence in adulthood. This has played out in several instances with Nelson's mother. She is often quite outspoken in her opinions about the way he should live his life. Although Nelson often rejects her advice (regardless of its merit) and wants to break away from the family that raised him, he still demonstrates a profound desire to stay attached. As a result, Nelson has been unable to fully experience the sense of independence and autonomy that are a vital component of an adult Dream (Levinson, 1996, 1978). Issues of dependency have clearly interfered with his ability to feel successful and directed.

Nelson's Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978) is centered on figuring out what his priorities are. As Nelson struggles with issues of identity (Erikson, 1982, 1963), he understands that this search requires that he look inward. This process has clearly caused Nelson some anxiety and has made it difficult for him to make a significant change in his life. The listless quality that he is currently experiencing appears to be a reaction to this anxiety. It is interesting to note that Nelson's passion for intellectual challenges has not been the focus of this search. Although his future ambition to get a Ph.D. in history speaks to this interest, he has not focused his Dream on an intellectual goal. Hopefully, Nelson's search will enable him to find something that satisfies his

desire for intellectual challenges and fits into his sense of himself as an adult. Nelson needs to find a way that he can do this independently. Although his family has been a vital part of his development, he needs to figure out what place they have in his adult life. In other words, Nelson needs to strike out on his own.

RELATIONSHIPS

THEME 1: RELATIONSHIPS ARE A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

Nelson's parents' relationship has been instrumental in his desire to have a long term relationship with a woman.

They have always been very supportive of one another. There still really in love with each other. There just really just such pillars of support to each other and growing up and watching something like that has, I mean it's so clear that when I look at my relationships I clearly model them after my parents' relationship. I actually, to the point where people actually joke with me and say things like, I mean my mother has really shaped what I look for in a woman. I mean it hasn't been a conscious thing, but the type of relationship they have and the way they are with one another.

Nelson's relationship with Tamara had a profound impact on his life.

Tamara, I had been great friends with her in college and then we started dating senior year. I was so inexperienced with women. I lost my virginity to her. I loved her so much. She was one of the greatest friends I have ever had in my life. We did just about everything together. She helped me get over all the anxiety I had about women. Just by being her and being patient and kind to me. She really was also patient with me at first. . . But she shaped my life in so many different ways because after college we traveled in Italy and I remember, I mean if someone had asked me my junior or senior year if I wanted to go to law school I would have been like are you kidding I'm not going to do something that is so uncreative and boring. And I remember when Tamara and I were traveling I remember sitting on a river where she first said to me would you ever consider going to law school because she had always planned on going to law school because that was her Dream. And it was kind of like for the first time I was like yeah maybe I could go to law school. I didn't actually go for two more years. I actually worked in the film

business and stuff like that. So she really had a profound impact on me in every aspect of my life.

The listless quality that Nelson is experiencing in his professional life has carried over to his personal life as well. He is currently involved with a woman he loves a great deal, but the relationship is ultimately not right for him on a long-term level.

That's what I'm talking about. Right now in my life there is sort of this listless quality and I think that part of that may actually be an internal quality that is in me and I think that my work and this relationship specifically have really highlighted that and made me more aware of it. I'm not satisfied with the way things are going right now. But the relationship with Penelope, I have no idea what is causing it to be, well that's not really fair, I think it is sort of connected. I'm in a weird period in my life right now where I am sort of searching a bit, I have explained it as being sort of listless. I've been really passive. I don't know what it is that is making me like this. I wonder if things were going really well at work if I would feel as though my relationship was better, that it would do better or vice versa. So I think that there is a connection between these two things, but I think that it is tenuous. The woman, I mean I really love her and we get along great on a day to day basis, but it really isn't right for either of us in a long term sort of way. There are too many differences, but we have this inability to let go of one another.

THE DREAM

THEME I: *MEN'S DREAMS IN EARLY ADULthood ARE RELATIONAL BUT THEY ARE NOT OCCUPATIONAL*

Nelson would eventually like to get married and have children. It is something he feels passionate about.

I can't even contemplate a life without that. It's so important to me to be able to share my life with someone. I want children and a wife. It's so important to me, not having those things is completely foreign to me. But part of this is to be able to be home the way that my dad was home. I want to watch my kids grow up. I don't want to come home and not be able to see them. There is this partner in my office she is there every night. When I go home at night she is still there and her husband is a litigator at another firm. To be honest with you it disgusts me. Their kids are, maybe they're happy, but I am

judgmental. I don't think that , I think that it's wrong. So if that's what having it all means, I don't want it. I mean having a life with a partner and children it's so fundamental, it's incorporated into any Dream that I have. Anything that I think about. I want the best friend kind of relationship that sustains me in my life, a partner. I have to have that, it's not like something I aspire to, it's just part of who I am.

ANALYSIS

Relationships are a critical part of Nelson's Dream. Although he is not ready to take on the responsibilities of marriage, it is clearly something that he envisions for his future. According to Nelson, marriage and children are a "fundamental" part of his Dream and he could not imagine a life without them. However, it is clear that Nelson needs to gain a more complete understanding of his own identity before he can embark on these types of long-term commitments (Erikson, 1982, 1963).

The origins of Nelson's relational Dream can be found in his pre-adult experience (Roberts & Newton, 1987). His parents' relationship had a profound affect on him. In fact, Nelson aspires to the kind of committed relationship his parents have. Their dedication and affection for one other has been a model for Nelson to follow. As a result, it is not surprising that Nelson was critical of the partner at his law firm who rarely sees her husband and children. Her priorities run counter to a central component of Nelson's experience. Nelson's family has been a source of security and support for him and he cannot envision a future without a family of his own.

Nelson's relationship with Tamara was critical in his development. According to Nelson, he was a "late bloomer" who had a great deal of difficulty interacting with women on a sexual level. Tamara's patience and guidance enabled Nelson to feel more secure around women and he was able to experience a greater sense of himself as an

adult. In many respects, she embodies Levinson's (1996, 1978) notion of the special woman. In fact, Nelson identified strongly with Tamara's goals and sense of professional direction. His decision to go to law school was largely the result of her influence.

Nelson is currently involved in a relationship that is ultimately not right for him. According to Nelson, the "listless" feelings that defines his professional life has carried over to his personal life as well. Although he feels stagnated in his relationship with Penelope, he is unable to end it. He knows that his relationship with Penelope is inappropriate on a long term level, but like his law career and his family, it is a source of comfort and security that he is afraid to let go of. Nelson's Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978) is centered on figuring out what his priorities are. However, throughout early adulthood his sense of indecision has caused him to follow a path that may not be his own. He has used his parents' relationship as a model for his own, and he has borrowed from Tamara's occupational Dream. By his own admission, he needs to look inward and discover what meaning these things have for him. Nelson realizes that there is important developmental work (Newton, 1984) to do and he has entered therapy to assist him in this process. Although a long term relationship is clearly central to Nelson's Dream, he understands that he must engage in developmental work that focuses on issues of identity first (Newton, 1984; Erikson, 1982, 1963). The relational component of Nelson's Dream will remain unrealized until he is able to gain a more independent sense of himself as an adult. Although Nelson strongly desires a future with a wife and family, he needs to figure out what he ultimately wants out of life before he can embark on this process.

THE LIFE OF RUTHERFORD - AGE 31

I was born and raised on the upper east side in New York City. My father was an international lawyer when I was growing up. He was a senior partner at his law firm and absolutely loved what he did for a living. He really enjoyed the intellectual challenge of his work. He got a thrill out of being able to solve other people's problems. My father definitely had a rarefied career. He was a real rainmaker for his firm and was highly regarded in the legal community. He was constantly making deals and doing interesting things. He definitely lived out his Dream. At the same time, he didn't work insane hours. There wasn't a lot of grunt work for a man in his position. He basically wrote his own ticket. He was always home for dinner by 7 PM and he only traveled a couple of times a year.

My mother never went to college. She came to New York City when she was seventeen and got a job as a secretary. She worked for fourteen years before she met my father at a neighborhood bar. A year after my parents met they got married and she became a housewife. There was a big power imbalance in my parents' relationship. My mother had to live through my father and never developed into an independent person. I'm don't know what her true aspirations were, she never talked about them. I'm sure she didn't want to be a housewife. However, she was great with me and my younger brother. When I was a kid I loved having her at home. My brother and I were the focus of her life so she really pampered us.

My parents were very liberal people, but they had a very traditional marriage. They came of age during the 1950s and they did what was expected of them. Their relationship seemed OK when I was a kid, but in retrospect they weren't a very

affectionate couple. In addition, my father really dominated my mother in a lot of ways. When I got older I learned that their marriage had been pretty bad at various points. There both had affairs and they almost got divorced on several occasions.

I had a happy childhood. I played a lot of sports and went to a very good school. My parents never set specific goals for me, but they definitely wanted me to be successful. My father put a fair amount of pressure on me to do well in school. When I got to high school I definitely pushed back a bit and didn't work as hard as I could have. I did well, but I didn't reach my potential. It never became a major battle because my parents were more concerned about my brother. He was absolutely wild in high school so they spent most of their energy trying to keep him under control. As a result, I was considered the responsible child.

I didn't date very much in high school. My high school was a very academic place and there wasn't a lot of social activity. People were more concerned with getting into a good college. It was really frustrating.

EARLY ADULT TRANSITION

I went to Tufts University for college. I was ready to leave high school so it wasn't a difficult transition. My father wanted me to go to Yale because he had gone there. I didn't want to go to Yale and I was relieved when I didn't get in. Tufts was a great place for me. I made a lot of friends and did very well academically. I was able to excel because I took classes I liked and there was no parental pressure.

I majored in psychology at Tufts. I took a psychology class my freshman year and I really liked it. In addition, I was pre-med when I entered college and psychology

was a good complement for my pre-med requirements. I decided to be pre-med because a lot of my friends were pre-med and it seemed like a fun thing to do together. In addition, science classes were easy for me and the idea of being a doctor seemed pretty cool. It was a profession where you got help people and that appealed to me. To be honest, I didn't have any real passion for medicine, I just wanted to have a focus.

I really developed as a person during college. I become much more self-assured and I gained a lot of confidence. It was also a time when I became a real leader socially. I no longer waited for someone else to take the initiative. In addition, I was active in the student government and I started a left wing newspaper on campus. Furthermore, I almost always had a girlfriend. My relationships never got very serious and the longest one only lasted about a year. They were my first real relationships and I was more interested in having fun than falling in love.

In my junior year I took organic chemistry and absolutely hated it. I had finished all of my pre-med requirements and when I got to organic chemistry it made me re-think everything. I realized that becoming a doctor was a huge commitment. I had basically been on auto-pilot for two years and had never really thought about the bigger picture. I was doing well in the course, but it was a tremendous amount of work and it held no interest for me. At the end of the first semester I decided to drop the course. It was an easy decision, but I was really confused about what I wanted to do with my life. Over the next year I considered a lot of things. My father had always urged me to get a professional degree after college. He thought it was really important to have something you could always fall back on. In the end, I decided to go to law school. I had been very politically active in college and a law degree seemed to complement my interests. In

retrospect, I had no interest in becoming a lawyer. I just wanted to have something to do. I wanted to be responsible and focused. I wanted to move forward.

ENTERING THE ADULT WORLD

After I graduated from college I moved to Washington DC with some friends. I had to take the LSATs and I wanted to get some legal experience before I applied to law school. It was a really bad year. I didn't like my job as a paralegal and being twenty-two in the real world was very different from being a college senior. In addition, I didn't like DC at all. It was a very conservative place. When I got into Columbia Law School I was ready to move back to New York City.

The first semester of law school was absolute hell. I worked really hard and didn't socialize very much. In the spring I made the dean's list and began to take it easy. I could have stayed at the top of my class, but I didn't want to work that hard. I was never interested in the law on an intellectual level so I just cruised through. In addition, law school was a pretty geeky place and I wanted to have fun. I had been away from New York City for five years and I wanted to have a good time.

Once I finished my first year of law school I became focused on other things. During my second year, my brother and I started an organization called Ground Zero. It was a non-profit organization that showcased emerging talent in film, visual arts, fashion and design. It took off immediately. Although my brother was officially the executive director, we ran it together. Most of my time in law school was spent working at Ground Zero. I still went to my classes, but I was just going through the motions. In addition, the summer after my second year I met Phoebe. We totally fell in love and after I

graduated I bought an apartment and she moved in. It was the first time that I had ever been in love. We spent all of our time together. That was the greatest year of my life.

After I graduated from law school I got a job at one of the biggest firms in the country. They were based out of Los Angeles and had a small office in New York. It was supposed to be a big firm with a small firm mentality. Unfortunately, it was nothing like that. It was more like a sweat shop. The actual practice of law was dreadful. It was nothing like law school. From day one I knew that my career in law was going to be short lived. I was doing corporate securities work and my days consisted of pushing paper in a really routinized way. I absolutely hated it. I wasn't creating anything that was my own. I was helping other people make deals and attain their Dreams. On top of that my firm was really competitive. All of my peers were working around the clock. They were billing between twelve and sixteen hours a day and I could barely stomach eight. In addition, my relationship with Phoebe was falling apart. I was beginning to fall out of love with her. We wanted different things. She wanted to move to the suburbs and start a family and I wasn't ready for those responsibilities. I wanted to live in the New York and be young. After a while I began to pull away and eventually we broke up. We were together for three years. It was the longest relationship of my life.

At the time, Ground Zero was really growing. I put every free minute I had into the organization. I couldn't handle the work I was doing at my law firm and it definitely showed in my performance. The firm really tried to give me a chance, but my heart wasn't into it. I was billing very few hours and I was rarely at work past five. I was doing the absolute minimum. At my two-year review I was told that I had six months to find another job. I used the time to work at Ground Zero. My brother had left the

organization and we had hired someone to run it in his place. I used my six months to assist in the transition.

I got a job at another firm and hated it right away. I barely worked. I stuck with it because I thought I had to. I ran Ground Zero out of my office and everyone at my firm new it. I'm not sure why I continued working as a lawyer. I think I wanted to feel like I had some direction in my life. Unfortunately, the charade didn't work. The night before my six month review a senior partner came into my office and started screaming at me for a minor mistake. I knew something was wrong. I walked home that night and tried to figure out what I was going to do with my life. I stayed up all night and realized that I wanted to be the director of Ground Zero. The next day when my firm told me to start looking for another job I felt completely secure. I knew exactly what I wanted to do. I called my father and said, "dad, it's time to have lunch." We met and he was very supportive of my decision to leave the law. He gave me the green light. He knew that I wasn't happy and he was proud that I had given law a chance. In addition, he was glad to see that I was going to do something I cared about.

AGE THIRTY TRANSITION

I work harder as the director of Ground Zero than I ever did as a lawyer. I probably spend between sixty and seventy hours a week working at the organization. It's a very social job and there are always parties and events to go to. I've lived alone for the past three years so I really enjoy the social activity. It's an important part of my life.

Money is definitely tight right now. Ground Zero is always on the brink of debt and my salary is a third of what it used to be. As a result, my lifestyle has changed a lot.

Last month I went on vacation and I had to borrow money from my parents in order to pay for it. Even with the financial insecurity I wouldn't go back to being a lawyer. If a firm offered me a contract for \$100,000 for six months I wouldn't do it. I hated being a lawyer. I only did it by default when my pre-med plan fell through. I can't believe that I wore a suit everyday for three years. I was a total black sheep. I'm sure my peers identified me as the guy not to be like if you wanted to make partner.

Lately, I've been focused on falling in love. When I turned thirty I was single. It was a real downer. I had all these expectations about turning thirty and being alone was definitely not one of them. I've been involved in several relationships over the last few years but nothing has been significant. I would like that to change. I've been told that I'm hard to get close to and I'm not emotionally available. It's something I really need to work on. I'm not thinking about marriage right now. I'm definitely not ready for it. It's probably a long way down the road for me. I know that I don't want a relationship that like the one my parents had. I need to be in a relationship that is more equal. I want to be with someone who is independent and has her own life. It enables both people to bring something to the relationship.

I don't think Ground Zero is my Dream. It's focus is Generation X and I'm not sure what kind of longevity the organization has. I don't really know what my Dream is. I've never really thought about it. I know that I can't be involved in something that is centered around servicing others. I need to be involved in something that is my own. I look at my friends who are still in the law and I can't believe that they're still doing it. They're giving up between eight and ten years of their lives for something that isn't interesting. About a year ago I went to my law school's fifth year reunion. It was

hilarious. I went to the reunion in a motorcycle jacket and black jeans. I stuck out like a sore thumb in a sea of gray suits. Most of my classmates looked haggard and a bit burnt out. I don't think they're as miserable as I was, but I'm sure they're not happy. Most of them are stuck. They're making a comfortable living and the idea of giving up their disposable income is terrifying. Unless something really catastrophic happens they're going to stick with it. That's just not for me.

THEMES GENERATED FROM THE NARRATIVE

OCCUPATION

THEME I: DEVELOPING A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY IS A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

From an early age Rutherford placed a great deal of importance on establishing a professional identity. In college he took a pre-med concentration because he planned on going to medical school. However, the commitment was more than he wanted so he decided to go to law school.

So I was pre-med up until my junior year and I actually finished all of the course requirements and organic chemistry was such a nightmare that it made me actually think about whether or not I actually wanted to be a doctor. And when I sat back I actually realized that I didn't. There was nothing that appealed to me about it at all. It wasn't where my interest lied, but I had kind of been on auto pilot for about two and a half years and it wasn't until this grueling course that I realized that I really had to want to be a doctor in order to go through all of this. When I thought about it I thought it was not what I wanted. It was hell so I dropped the second half of organic chemistry and I had no idea what I was going to do over the next year and by the time I graduated college I was like I don't know what I'm going to do maybe I should just go to law school. I ran a newspaper and I'm politically active, there's lots of lawyers who do things like this and are politically active. I can go different ways with it down the road. By the time I

graduated I had decided to go to law school. It just seemed like the most logical decision. It was responsible and directed and having something to do was essential for me.

When Rutherford began his career as a lawyer he did not like the work. It was not interesting and Rutherford felt that he was simply servicing others.

When I started working I was totally not satisfied. I couldn't figure out what I wanted to do so I chose law and that choice was not right but I was going forward. I mean I became a lawyer by default. After the pre-med thing fell through I didn't know what I was going to do and it seemed to make sense with a political newspaper background and I guess that I thought it would make sense for whatever I wound up doing so it was totally by default, not having anything else to do. I started doing a lot of corporate securities work which is horrible. My firm tended to do a lot of corporate securities which means working with a lot of banks and crap like that and that kind of work is just really horrible. It's really cookie cutter and working off of molds. I didn't care about the stock market and I didn't care about securities. Substantively the topic was of no interest to me and the work itself it became apparent very quickly that I was pushing papers for other people and that the people who had the interesting ideas were our clients and we were working for them and that's not who I was. I think that I had an idea of what it would be like, but it ended up being worse and I don't think that I ever thought about the corporate securities field at all. I didn't think that I would be working in such an area so that was like a surprise that I wasn't ready for. There wasn't anything interesting about it whatsoever. I mean I don't care. I think law in general to me in retrospect, because your fulfilling somebody else's Dreams. You're not, you're just filling in the slots in somebody else's game plan. I think that there are areas that are more interesting than others and substantively what your discussing may be more interesting, but what your doing is the same. Even if its entertainment law. You may be talking about interesting clients and record labels instead of corporate securities and junk bond, so I think the substance of what your talking about may be a little more interesting but what you're doing is still the paper work for other people's ideas, concepts and plans. It could be better, but as a field your servicing people and that's not for me.

After being asked to leave his firm, Rutherford found another job. He was unable to stay focused at his new job because he was more interested in working at Ground Zero. Eventually he was asked to leave his new firm and he decided to work at Ground Zero full time.

The day before this big review which was like, I guess I had been there about eight months and the night before this big review one of the senior partners came down into my office and I think she knew about some small fuck up and she came in and screamed at me like you would not believe. It was insane and I realized that my next day was my review and it was like a precursor for my review and I kept thinking as I went home OK I have definitely flubbed it. The charade is not working and I have to look for another job again and I decided do I want to look for another job again and I was like I really don't want to do this. Ground Zero is sitting there and it is something that I have been working on for all of these years. Why don't I just go there? Yes, it's going to ruin me financially but why don't I just go there it's all I've ever wanted to do. After one night what I should have spent years mulling over I just, I knew from the time that I walked into my review that they were going to can me but I wasn't upset because I knew that I was going to take over Ground Zero. So in one night I made this huge leap, kind of a bizarre, but all of a sudden I felt completely secure. Otherwise I would have gone into my review completely freaked out trying to figure out what I was going to do with my life. But staying up the night before and having this realization that I should be running Ground Zero made me feel OK in the review. I didn't care when they told me to leave. It all made perfect sense after that. I called my father and I said time for lunch dad. I think that he knew something was wrong. Even though he and I had never talked about it, I think that he knew something was wrong. He knew that I had been asked to leave my first firm but I think, I mean he knew that I was always on the way out and I told him that the thing that I wanted to do was go to Ground Zero and he was totally supportive. He was like were very happy that you went to law school and that you tried to do it as long as you did when its obvious that your heart is not in it and there is nothing else that we could ask from you. Were glad that you tried. He was really giving me the green light. He had watched Ground Zero grow and grow and become more successful and I think he also knew just how important it was in my life. Even though that I hadn't admitted to myself that that was what I wanted to do I think that it was clear to everyone else on the planet that that was the right thing.

THEME II: THE MALE IDEALS OF AUTONOMY, SUCCESS AND POWER ARE AN IMPORTANT PART OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

Rutherford's lifestyle changed significantly when he became the executive director of Ground Zero. He was making a third of his previous income. However, Ground Zero enabled him to feel a sense of autonomy and power.

I am so much happier now and my life is so much better because of it. One of the reasons that I was never happy as a lawyer was because of my time at Tufts and doing things that

were entrepreneurial in spirit. The paper and we started this social organization thing to help out the homeless in the community. I was Vice President of the student body. That all made it virtually impossible to be in an industry that was service oriented for others. To be at their beck and call. That made it impossible. I wanted to be the client, I didn't want to be the person who did that kind of work. Ground Zero lets me do that it's mine and I get to call the shots. No one is telling me what to do.

Currently I run Ground Zero which is a nationally run non-profit organization that showcases emerging talent in film, fashion and design and the visual arts. I'm the executive director of it. I work harder at Ground Zero harder than I did at being a lawyer. That's probably because I never worked that hard at being a lawyer. I'm much more successful there than I ever was a lawyer and it shows. I work about sixty to seventy hours a week which doesn't leave a large amount of time, but I am pretty active socially and I have a large group of friends. I don't think Ground Zero is my Dream per se. I know that what I have to do has to be my own. That's what makes me happy at Ground Zero. I can't work on other people's Dreams.

ANALYSIS

Rutherford has not developed a professional Dream in early adulthood. His desire to establish a professional identity diffused the focus of this pursuit. Throughout early adulthood Rutherford worked in career that meant little to him so that his life would have a sense of direction. His passions centered on work that placed him in a leadership position and enabled him to be creative and entrepreneurial. However, Rutherford's need to live up to the expectations of his father caused him to choose a career that pushed him away from these desires. Instead of following a career based on his true interests, Rutherford pursued a career that made him feel responsible and directed. However, Rutherford found working as a lawyer so unbearable that he began to fail it. It forced him to make a significant change. As he enters his thirties Rutherford has begun to engage in work that speaks to his true interests.

Rutherford began college with a concentration in pre-med. He had little interest in medicine, but the *idea* of being a doctor appealed to him. In addition, he found science classes relatively easy. This enabled him to proceed in this endeavor without really reflecting on the level of commitment that was entailed. As he explained, “I was on autopilot.” Rutherford was never interested in becoming a doctor and he focused his energy on other things during college. For example, he became vice-president of the student body and he started a left-wing newspaper on campus. When Rutherford took organic chemistry it forced to reflect on his commitment to becoming a doctor. He realized that it wasn’t what he wanted to do with his life so he discontinued his pre-med concentration. Rutherford did not think carefully about his next step. Instead, he listened to his father’s advice on the importance of having a professional degree and decided to go to law school. Rutherford wanted to move forward and have direction in his life (i.e. self-I-ought-to-be, Chasseguet-Smirgel, 1985). As a result, he did not take the time to investigate whether law school was the appropriate choice for him.

Rutherford was never deeply invested in law school. The work was not challenging and he was able to do quite well with relatively little effort. Rutherford used his time in law school to develop Ground Zero. When he graduated and began his career as a lawyer he hated the work and felt unable to commit to it on any level. He didn’t feel like he was creating anything and he resented the fact that he was in a subordinate position where he had to service others. As a result, Rutherford put forth a minimal effort and he was asked to leave two consecutive jobs.

Rutherford’s belief that he needed to have professional direction caused him to ignore his true interests. Throughout college and law school Rutherford was deeply

invested in work that drew upon his ability to create and lead. However, Rutherford's father placed a considerable amount of pressure on him to be directed and responsible. Rutherford felt obligated to the expectations that were placed on him. He did not question his role as the "responsible son" and he pursued a career that did not resonate with him on a personal level. It took Rutherford several years and two failed jobs to get to a point where he was able to make a change. At the age of twenty-eight he approached his father and told him that he could no longer work as a lawyer. Luckily, Rutherford's father was very understanding and supported his son's decision to pursue Ground Zero full time.

Rutherford's Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978) has centered on engaging in work that is meaningful to him. Rutherford spent the majority of his twenties in a career that he did not like. Although Ground Zero was running by the time he completed law school, Rutherford was so concerned with "moving forward" and doing what was expected of him that he was unable to adequately reflect on his true interests. He had to reach a point where he felt suffocated by his career before he could reject the parental expectations that had been placed on him. It is unclear whether Ground Zero will develop into a Dream for Rutherford. He has not explored what he ultimately wants out of his career. However, Rutherford enjoys his work at Ground Zero and he puts a great deal of time and effort into it. It is work that is self-generated and enables him to follow his own path.

RELATIONSHIPS

THEME 1: RELATIONSHIPS ARE A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

Rutherford's parents' relationship had a significant effect on him. He never wanted to have the kind of traditional relationship they had.

Knowing everything that I know now about my parents relationship now at an older age I think that there was a big power imbalance with one home and one working. I think it's very difficult to have a marriage relationship that works that way because one person is out there in the world and the other is, the thing about my mother is that she never really had a lot of outside friends so she kind of ended up living her life through him and its very difficult to be, to appear to be as interesting and have something to talk about when the other person is really getting to live their life and working and your at home all day. You bring so much more to it that way. So I just think that there is a natural handicap there for the person who is stuck at home. I would never want that for life. I want someone with a certain level of independence. It seemed relatively normal when I was a kid. You're not paying that much attention to that kind of stuff. So at least consciously you don't understand what it all means. In retrospect they're not a very affectionate pair. My father dominates my mother with conversations and in other ways. But I wasn't aware of it growing up, maybe subconsciously, but I didn't note this until I was older. When your a kid you view things very differently than when your an adult and looking at them as an adult I could see that they had this completely conservative relationship with this traditional housewife and the breadwinner. But I found out bad things, about affairs and how fucked up their relationship was and how they almost got divorced ten million times so I found out the inner working of their relationship which I never knew until after I got out of college.

In college Rutherford almost always had a girlfriend.

I dated a lot more in college than I did in high school. I had a lot of girlfriends. My first two years I was in two long relationships and my junior year I dated a lot and half of senior year I had a serious girlfriend. I would say that about seventy percent of college I was with a serious girlfriend and the other thirty percent I was fooling around. I mean a year in college is pretty long and that was the longest, but it wasn't incredibly long. They were the first girlfriends that I had so I think it was about having fun. I was close to

them, but I don't think that I ever fell head over heels with anybody. I was close with them, it was more of a very good friendship and whatever else, but not like deep deep love.

Rutherford met Phoebe when he was in law school. He fell in love with her and they moved in together. However, Rutherford and Phoebe ultimately wanted different things and their relationship ended after three years.

It started at the beginning of my second year of law school. It really changed me that relationship. I fell pretty hard for her. For about nine months to a year I was totally enthralled with her. I think we both were. We just spent all of our time together. The first three months were the best but we were very different from the start. We had different Dreams and what not and wanted different things ultimately. But in the beginning we really didn't pay it much attention. As it moved forward, after a year we moved in together I bought an apartment with her in mind. I bought it but she helped with the maintenance. I discussed it with her when I bought it because I couldn't afford it on my own and I needed her help. So it was all done with her in mind. It was after she moved in that she started looking at the next step. That's when all our divergent interests became really apparent. She wanted to leave New York and live in the suburbs and stop working for a few years and have kids and these were all things I definitely wasn't ready to deal with. I knew I wanted to stay in New York, but I knew she wanted all of these things that I didn't want so I started to pull away. I was really only in love with her for a year. That was when my feelings weren't that much anymore. I still cared for her, but not the same way. I didn't feel the way she did and eventually we split up. It was before I left the law. We had all of these issues that just couldn't be resolved. It was rough.

THE DREAM

THEME I: *MEN'S DREAMS IN EARLY ADULthood ARE NOT RELATIONAL OR OCCUPATIONAL*

Rutherford does not have a relational Dream.

So I think after a lot of relationships have gone on and not feeling so intense and thinking about Phoebe and realizing that I haven't felt with anyone what I felt with her. It has become a driving force for me. I think the need comes from the fact that I have not been in love that often. I've been in love once and with Phoebe and I fell out of love with as

well and probably because it's me. Or people have told me that I am emotionally kind of cold so the fact that with relationships, I've never been in love with anyone, except once and it was not enduring. I always want to feel love, but I don't with most people so that is the reason that I have that longing. Maybe its never going to happen or maybe I need to be, I'm not emotionally available. I don't really know. I think I want to get married some time in the future. Definitely not right now. It's not in the game plan, I'm just not ready for that now. I mean it's about my life and just the fact that I've never really had a vision of what I wanted in a specific way out of work or another person. The Dream that you refer to.

Rutherford enjoys working at Ground Zero, but he does not view his job as the pursuit of a Dream.

I mean it's really interesting to be doing what I want to be doing, but it's not my lifelong thing in that way. It is what I'm doing now and then I don't know. I think you have to be like really involved and invested to be on that level. If something more interesting came up and I wanted it I might leave. I'm not wedded to this. It's much better than my days as a lawyer and its something that is my own. Beyond that I can't really go.

ANALYSIS

Rutherford has not developed a relational Dream (Stewart, 1977) in early adulthood. Relationships have been an important part of his life during this period, but they have not been a central component of his development. Rutherford has been in several long term relationships, but he has been unable to commit to a woman on a truly intimate level. According to Rutherford, he has only been in love once, and the feeling was not enduring. At the present time, the lack of intimacy in Rutherford's life has begun to affect him and falling in love has become very important to him (Erikson, 1982).

In high school Rutherford dated very little. His high school was a very academic environment and his peers were not concerned with having active social lives. As a result, his first real relationships took place during college. At Tufts, Rutherford became very social and he almost always had a girlfriend. However, these relationships never

developed beyond a certain point and Rutherford did not fall in love with any of his college girlfriends. At that time in his life, Rutherford was more concerned with having fun than committing to a relationship on an intimate level. During law school Rutherford met Phoebe and they fell in love. After he graduated they moved in together. Once they were living together it became apparent that they ultimately wanted different things. Rutherford was unable to commit to Phoebe on the level that she wanted. He was content living in New York City and had no interest moving to the suburbs and starting a family. More importantly, the feelings he had for Phoebe were fleeting and Rutherford could not commit to a woman he was no longer in love with.

Rutherford's parents' relationship had a significant affect on him. According to Rutherford, his parents had a very difficult marriage and his mother was unable to develop into an independant person. Rutherford does not want a relationship that mirrors the traditional marriage his parents had (self-I-don't-want-to-be, Furst, 1983). Although Rutherford's father was able to have an interesting life, his mother was relegated to a secondary role and was unable to develop an identity that was separate from her husband and children. To a certain extent, Rutherford's relationship with Phoebe had the potential of replicating this dynamic. He was able to stay in the relationship for a while, but once he stopped living up to the expectations of his father (self-I-ought-to be, Chasseguet-Smirgel, 1985) and began to follow his own interests, his relationship with Phoebe ended. Rutherford wants to be involved with someone who is more autonomous and has a life that is independent of his own. It appears that some of Rutherford's difficulties being emotionally available stem from the example his parents presented. Although Rutherford

is a very social person, by his own admission, he has difficulty getting close to people on an intimate level.

Falling in love has become a central focus of Rutherford's Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978). According to Rutherford, it is the driving force in his life. The fact that he was single when he turned thirty had a profound affect on him and caused him to reflect on the quality of his relationships. Although he is not ready to commit to the responsibilities of marriage and family, it is clear that he would like to be involved in a meaningful relationship. As he begins to follow his own passions professionally, his desire to be involved in a loving relationship has become more central as well. However, Rutherford still needs to explore what stands in the way of his ability to commit on an intimate level. It is clear that his parents' relationship had a significant affect on him and made him wary of commitment. Until he examines this aspect of his experience, falling in love will be a challenge. Moreover, it is unclear whether Rutherford will ever consider relationships part of his Dream.

THE LIFE OF TROY - AGE 31

I was born and raised in New York City. My parents were in their mid-forties when I was born. Growing up I always thought it was really special that my parents had lived through most of the twentieth century. They had amazing stories about the things they had seen during their lives. My father was from a middle class German Jewish family that came to New York in the late 1930s in order to escape the Nazis. In the early 1940s he fought in World War II for the United States. My mother came from a poor family from the north of England. She came to New York on vacation in the early 1950s and never left. She got a job as a cocktail waitress at a bar my father frequented in midtown. He asked her out on a date and they were married a year later. They have been together for forty-five years.

My father was a commodities trader when I was growing up. He was the president of a small international copper company. He went to work early in the morning to trade in the international markets, but he was always home for dinner. I think he really liked his work and for a period of time he was very successful. When he was sixty he was forced into retirement by a group of people in his company. It was sort of a hostile takeover and it left him very depressed. He wanted to go out on top instead of being forced to leave. He made a lot of money during his career, but he left feeling defeated.

My mother never worked outside the home. I don't think she regretted being a full time mom. It was the choice she made. She took classes and volunteered, but most of her time was spent taking care of her kids. I grew up the youngest of four children so she had her hands full. My oldest brother is eleven years older than I am.

My parents had a very traditional marriage. They came from a different generation. They were sophisticated people, but they had old fashioned European values: the man worked and the woman took care of the home. My parents relationship was somewhat formal. I don't think my mother was ever madly in love with my father and I think she has some regrets about that. My father is a very warm person, but he is somewhat detached emotionally and he doesn't express his feelings. I think my mother wishes he had been more demonstrative and romantic. She definately feels that she could have had a more passionate life.

My parents never put any pressure on me to do well in school or pick a certain career. Education was very important to them, but I was an excellent student so they didn't need to worry about me in that capacity. Growing up I was definitely a mama's boy. I had a good relationship with my father, but we weren't particularly close. Being the youngest I was babied a lot and I spent a lot of time with my mother. I was basically her shadow until I went to high school. I would go on errands with her and we would take long walks in the park. I think she worried about me being too attached and she often encouraged me to be more independent and social.

High school was a particularly difficult time in my life. The kids in my high school were very precocious. In the ninth grade they were already going to clubs and drinking and I felt completely out of place. At the time I was a chubby kid who was more interested in playing sports and watching television. In addition, I was unbelievably shy around girls. I was uncomfortable with my body and I felt unattractive. I wanted to have a girlfiend, but my relationships with girls were always platonic. I was always the friend, never the boyfriend. Towards the end of high school I found a group of friends and I

began to fit in. I was happy, but I always felt like I was one step behind everyone else. One night during my senior year I came home drunk and my mother smelled alcohol on my breath. She wasn't mad at all. In fact, she was thrilled to see that I had a social life.

EARLY ADULT TRANSITION

I went to The University of Pennsylvania for college. It was my first choice and I was very excited when I got in. I was eager to leave high school so leaving home wasn't that difficult. In addition, I was excited at the prospect of being independent and I really wanted to have a girlfriend. It was all that I thought about. During my first semester I met Ann and we fell in love. It was the first relationship either of us had ever had and we became completely enmeshed. We spent almost all of our time together. We studied together, ate together and lived in the same room. I missed out on most of my freshman year because I was always with her. I don't regret it at all. I really needed the experience emotionally and socially. For a while I actually thought I was going to marry Ann. It was a very intense relationship, but we grew sick of each other pretty quickly. Ann and I broke up at the beginning of our sophomore year.

I had a great time in college. I went to an incredibly competitive high school so The University of Pennsylvania wasn't that difficult. I majored in political science because the subject matter fascinated me. It was theoretical and tangible at the same time. Political science was all about arms control, deterrence and world power. In addition, it dealt with history, politics and philosophy. It fit in with my various interests. I didn't have a set idea about what I wanted to do with my life after college. At the time I had thoughts about going to graduate school in international relations. I was thinking

about becoming a college professor or going to Washington DC to work in a political think-tank. I was also reading the news voraciously and I had some romantic ideas about becoming a foreign correspondent.

College was a great time in my life. I made a lot of friends and had an active social life. I dated several woman after Ann, but none of my relationships lasted more than a few months. After Ann I was searching for the perfect relationship, and if something didn't feel right I didn't even give it a chance.

ENTERING THE ADULT WORLD

During my last semester of college I went to the career development office to find a job. I looked through the job books for about ten minutes, but left because it made me anxious. I had know idea about what I wanted to do with my life. I knew that I wanted to do something that I really loved. Luckily, I had the luxury of being able to move back home after college.

The summer after I graduated I traveled through the country. I was still thinking about going to graduate school in international relations, but I wasn't wedded to the idea. I applied to a couple of internships at political think-tanks in Washington DC and got some offers. I ultimately decided not to take the internships because I didn't want to live in DC. I moved back home and decided to get some professional experience before I considered anything else. I had become a real news junkie over the last few years and I wanted to get some experience working in journalism. It was the early 1990s and jobs were scarce for recent college graduates. No one wanted to hire someone without any experience. Luckily my sister had a friend who worked in the international news division

of ABC television and she helped me get an internship. It was a six month internship and I learned a lot about TV journalism. The job entailed a lot research, but I also got to do some writing and editing. I liked the work and it led to a series of internships at television stations. Most of the jobs didn't pay so I waited tables on the weekends to make money. At the time, the experience was more important to me than money. I had some savings and my living expenses were minimal. I wanted to see if I liked the work.

A year after I graduated from college I was offered a job in the research department at *The New York Observer*. It was a good job and I wanted to make the switch to print journalism. Television was OK, but it felt a bit superficial. A few weeks after I began the job my parents introduced me to one of their friends who ran a newspaper in Jackson Hole, Wyoming. He was in New York on business so we met for a drink. A few minutes into the conversation he told me that he was looking for a general news reporter and he offered me the job. It meant leaving my friends and family and moving to Wyoming within a week. I labored over the decision for two days and realized that it was the chance of a lifetime. I was only twenty-three and I was being offered a job as a professional writer.

Moving to Wyoming was very difficult. The first couple of months were incredibly lonely. The newspaper gave me a place to live, but I didn't know a soul in the entire state. At first I wanted to leave, but I decided to stick it out. I was one of two full time reporters at the paper so the work load was really intense. I had never worked at a daily newspaper and I had a lot to learn. The job entailed working from 9 AM to 9 PM, six days a week. It was brutal. Most of the stories I worked on were about local issues like school taxes and zoning laws, but I was writing up to four stories a day. It made me

feel like a real reporter. Within a few months my social life picked up as well. I made some friends and even had a casual girl friend for a little while.

After about a year I began to really long for New York. I missed my friends and my family. In addition, there wasn't any room for advancement at the paper so I decided to return to New York. I moved back into my parents' home and got a job in the fact checking department at *Esquire* magazine. I wasn't writing my own stories, but it was great to be back in New York and *Esquire* was a very glamorous place to work. That year I took the GREs and got some applications for graduate school. I was still thinking about getting a degree in international relations, but I couldn't commit to it. The more time I spent out of school, the less I wanted to go back. Furthermore, I wasn't passionate enough about the subject matter to become an academic, so I decided to stick with journalism.

About a year after I got back to New York I moved into my own apartment. It was a miserable little place. It was a small studio above a diner. The grease from the fryers made my apartment stink. In addition, my job lost its allure pretty quickly. I needed the experience of working at a major magazine, but it began to weigh me down. I wasn't writing my own stories and I had to work for egotistical writers who made my life hell. I got almost no credit for my work. Furthermore, there were all these middle aged people in my office who were still waiting for their big breaks to come. It was very depressing. I didn't want to be working as a fact checker when I was forty.

My personal life was also getting me down. I had a series of relationships that never made it beyond the third month. This awful pattern was forming. Either I got dumped or I felt like the relationship was totally unequal. The women I dated often liked

me a lot more than I liked them. It made me feel incredibly guilty. I didn't want to lead them on so I got in the habit of ending relationships before they went too far. I think I was looking for something perfect. My parents had this really romantic story about how they met and I wanted something like that. Their marriage was far from romantic, but their story had a powerful affect on me. I had this belief that I needed to be consumed by another person in a completely passionate way.

I was pretty unhappy and I needed to make some changes in my life. I went into therapy and I moved into a larger apartment with a roommate. In addition, I left *Esquire* and got a job at a technical magazine that was owned by *The Wall Street Journal*. I didn't know anything about the subject matter, but I learned pretty quickly. Right away it was much better than *Esquire*. I got to do a lot of my own writing and there was room for advancement at the magazine. Within a year I was editing my own section and I began to do some reporting for *The Wall Street Journal* as well. One day a job as a researcher/reporter opened up at *The Wall Street Journal* and they offered me the position. I took the job immediately.

AGE THIRTY TRANSITION

I really like my job at *The Wall Street Journal*. I assist other writers with their stories, and I also get to do a lot of my own writing. I have a weekly column in the business-technology section of the paper. I've also begun to write some features so my career is progressing at a good pace. I really like what I do for a living. However, I can't claim that journalism is my Dream. It allows me to learn new things and keeps me informed about the world, but it doesn't go any further than that. I've never felt a divine

sense of duty towards journalism and I have often wondered if I should have gone to graduate school. There are people who do things because they have to, but I don't feel that way about journalism. For a long time I wanted to feel that way about my work, I wanted it to define me. Journalism is what I do for a living, but it's not a part of my identity. Perhaps I'll feel that way someday, but right now journalism is just a career.

The last couple of years have been pretty good. About a year ago I moved into my own apartment and that has been terrific. I like having my own place and I enjoy the independence of living alone. I've also been involved with a woman named Lindsay for almost a year and it's going well. I had some difficulty getting past the three month hurdle, but we made it. Lindsay is very patient and she helped me relax. It's enabled me to let the relationship run its course. Lindsay is a wonderful companion and I love spending time with her. I think therapy has also helped a lot. It enabled me to give the relationship a chance and I learned that a lot of my romantic ideas were a bit idealistic. As I've gotten older I've realized that there's no such thing as a perfect relationship. They take work and there are ups and downs. It's not a fairy tale. It's messier than that. I was looking for something perfect and I think that kept me from being happy. I definitely want to get married and have kids one day, but I'm not ready right now. My older brother has three kids and it's a tremendous responsibility. It becomes your life.

I think over the last few years I've learned to accept things a bit more. At the same time, I'm never completely satisfied with anything. Part of it is my personality. I'm a bit of a curmudgeon. It causes me some angst, but it also keeps me from getting too comfortable and pushes me to work harder. I don't think I will ever have a job that really inspires me - or be involved with a person who fulfills me completely. I'm not

apathetic, but I don't know if I can be consumed by my work or by another person. I don't know if I can have a Dream.

THEMES GENERATED FROM THE NARRATIVE

OCCUPATION

THEME I: *DEVELOPING A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY IS A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD*

The majority of Troy's twenties were spent pursuing a career in journalism. He has spent years acquiring the skills and credentials necessary to become a professional writer.

I started to really think that I might be a journalist and this might really be a career. I had my doubts, like at *Esquire* when it was going nowhere fast. I mean in Jackson Hole I got to write, but I was in Jackson Hole and at *Esquire* I was at *Esquire* but I wasn't doing my own writing at all. I got to *The Wall Street Journal* Inc. and I was concerned because it's really hard to move up. It's a lot of egos and you have to pay your dues which I had been doing already for years. But at the same time I was like wow I'm getting close to what I want which is to write full time at a major place. I'm getting to write on a fairly regular basis for a legitimate publication. I did grunt work in the beginning. There is always that and still is, still will be, but slowly, but surely I was getting more substantial work. Boxed stories with a byline and I got to edit my own section.

At the present time Troy works as a reporter at *The Wall Street Journal*. It is a job he enjoys a great deal because it enables him to write his own stories.

But my professional life now is good. I do a lot of reporting and write a lot of my own stuff and I'm at a big place. I'm a small fish in a big pond which means there is room to grow. It's a lot of interviews and pitching ideas to editors and more senior writers. It can be good, but it's frustrating at times too. I mean there are things that I feel that I am not doing. Not doing enough of, and I want to get more work. I want to have longer stories to work on that are my own. More writing my own pieces and less reporting. It means more features, and then becoming a feature reporter. You get to really do your own thing. The editorial voice of the paper. It's still editors and managing editors, but that takes time to get to that point. I'm a bit young, but that's the direction I want to go in.

THEME II: THE MALE IDEALS OF AUTONOMY, SUCCESS AND POWER ARE AN IMPORTANT PART OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

Troy enjoyed his job at the newspaper in Jackson Hole, Wyoming because it made him feel successful.

When I went to Jackson Hole that was the first time that I felt, even though I was in this tiny town, I felt like wow, because I would open the paper and my name would be on like three or four stories. It might be a stupid leaky rook story of a school, but it was the first time that I got the high of feeling like a reporter. It was my by-line. It was amazing on that level and I was a real reporter. It was my own stuff and I was only twenty-two or three at the time.

Troy disliked his job as a fact checker at *Esquire* magazine because he was unable to write his own stories. In addition, he hated being in a subserviant position.

I mean initially it was new and I liked it for that. It kept me amused and stuff like that but I got increasingly frustrated because I was doing other people's work and not getting credit for the stories. I felt so subserviant and underutilized. I hated it. You know I had to cow tow to all of these egotistical writers on the phone. I was sick of looking around the office and seeing all of these writers and thinking to myself I don't want to be fact checking articles when I'm like forty years old. Just being there and still trying to be a writer. I actually found it depressing seeing all of these people in their mid and later forties who were still trying to be writers and waiting for their big break. I didn't want it to be me. So *The Wall Street Journal* is great in that way because I mean I get to do my own writing at a legitimate place and there is, I mean in time hopefully I'll be writing features which is the thing writers want more of.

ANALYSIS

Forming an occupational identity as a journalist has been a central focus of Troy's early adulthood. He has spent years acquiring the skills and credentials necessary to become a respected member of his field. Since he graduated from college, Troy has followed a relatively singular path in order to become a professional journalist. However,

Troy has never felt that his career was the pursuit of a Dream. According to Troy, he never identified with journalism in a way that resonated with him on an internal level. Journalism is simply a career for Troy, it is not his passion.

By all accounts it would appear that journalism is the culmination of Troy's professional Dream. He has worked incredibly hard over the last several years to get to *The Wall Street Journal*. In addition, it has been very important to him to gain more autonomy and responsibility. As he explained, "I mean in Jackson Hole I got to write, but I was in Jackson Hole and at *Esquire* I was at *Esquire* but I wasn't doing my own writing at all." (i.e. self-I-don't-want-to-be, Furst, 1983). In addition, Troy has made significant sacrifices in order to attain his position at *The Wall Street Journal*. He has worked at unpaid internships and was willing to move to Wyoming so that he could gain the skills to become a journalist. Troy even endured two frustrating years at *Esquire* in order to establish himself in the world of New York City journalism. Troy appears to get a great deal of satisfaction out of his work. However, Troy has never viewed journalism as anything more than a career.

Troy's career in journalism has never been able to match the ideal he envisioned (Freud, 1903). His desire to have a career that fit perfectly into his life was ultimately unattainable. It was an ideal that could not be reached. According to Troy, his personality has kept him from being able to experience his work as a Dream. As he explained, he's a bit of a "malcontent" who is never satisfied with anything. It is unclear where these feelings stem from, but they have kept journalism from becoming a Dream that sustains him. On some level this has enabled Troy to work harder and has motivated

him to reach a significant place in his career. However, it also kept him from experiencing a real sense of accomplishment.

As Troy enters his thirties he is engaged in a career that he enjoys a great deal. He has reached an impressive level in journalism for someone his age. However, journalism is simply a career for Troy and he does not view his current job as the culmination of a Dream that he has followed during early adulthood. Although he has worked very hard to get to this point in his career, he does not feel a deep sense of passion about his work.

RELATIONSHIPS

THEME 1: RELATIONSHIPS ARE A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

In high school Troy really wanted to have a girlfriend but he was unsuccessful. When he got to college he placed a great deal of importance on becoming involved in a relationship.

It was really frustrating to me that I didn't have a girlfriend. I just felt that, totally uncomfortable with my body and I thought that I was ugly and that no one would be attracted to me. The girls at [my high school] were, we hung out with girls and I was always the funny sort of court jester of the crowd. I had crushes. It was hard. I always thought about it, having a girlfriend. I knew that I always wanted to get married. It was a totally romantic thing. I just had these visions of romance. I think it came from my parents. I think that even though their relationship wasn't that romantic, their whole story was. It was so elaborate and my mother and father meeting and her being a waitress. I was always sensitive about those kinds of things. So um, leaving home was, I was really excited to leave home. All I wanted was I was going to get a girlfriend. That was like all I was thinking about. I did, and it occupied my entire freshman year. It was great in the beginning. I was like amazed. I built this whole thing up and here I was dating someone. And I had never had any real sexual activity at all. I had kissed girls at spin the bottle and this was, I was amazed. And we would go away to the country for weekends. I missed out on a lot of freshman year and I didn't really have my wild year until sophomore year because my freshmen year I was enmeshed with her. We would

hang out in her dorm room and listen to James Taylor and Leonard Cohen. In retrospect it was kind of nauseating, but I really needed it. . . I had this first relationship my freshman year and I think by the end we really had gotten sick of each other. We were both freshman. We were both virgins. After that I dated a fair amount, but very short term, maybe four or five other things.

After college Troy had a series of short relationships with women. He often felt discouraged by these relationships because the woman he dated generally liked him more than he liked them.

There were a series of girls of short lived things. Nothing that made it past the third month. Either that I got, either that I got fed up with. I mean I guess I either got dumped or I broke up with them because I felt that it was this sort of inequitable situation where I felt that they had stronger feelings than I did towards me than I did towards them. It really had to do with me, with my feelings. I always wanted, I still wrestle with this now, I always wanted to feel this intensity about someone and so I had, I mean I had a lot of fun with the women that I went out with and sexually it was pretty good, but I never felt, I had these romantic notions and they've probably been destructive, but I always wanted to be consumed by someone and that is not necessarily good and I've learned that it's not necessarily something that is for a lifelong sort of thing. So I was looking for that and it was fun but also ultimately depressing. But I had these sort of short term relationships, but I never felt like I needed this person or that I would have trouble living without them. After a break-up I went into therapy because I felt horrible about myself and I felt as though there was this terrible pattern developing with women where I wasn't feeling enough and I was expecting too much and I was feeling guilty when I wasn't giving enough and I had all these short term relationships and I hadn't had anything long term. I wanted to be able to have that.

During the past year Troy has been involved in a relationship with a woman named Lindsey. She is an important part of his life.

That has made a difference in my life. It's made my life a lot better. Having Lindsey in it is really great. It's been refreshing to have a companion. I'm very used to being on my own and to being single and I'm very good at it and comfortable. It doesn't stress me out. But it has been nice to get to know someone and to share things so it has been a huge change to really be sharing with someone. I mean it has had its rocky moments. I had those moments when I thought I was going to bail, but I really worked this time, I wanted to so I hung with it. I think that it has to do with both of us. I think that part that is me is that I really worked to give it a chance. I mean partially is that we get along

really well and she is very calming. And then a big part of it is that I really made a concerted effort to give it some time. I had my three month panic and I hit the wall and there were a few weeks when it was not going well between us because I was so nervous and felt as though it had to end because it wasn't going anywhere. I felt guilty for not feeling enough. Some of it I still haven't resolved and some of it may be that guy stuff.

THE DREAM

THEME 1: MEN'S DREAMS IN EARLY ADULthood ARE NOT RELATIONAL OR OCCUPATIONAL

Troy has spent a great deal of time and effort to become a journalist. Although he enjoys his work, it has never been his professional Dream.

No, it was never been a Dream. It was something that I was doing and I liked it. It never felt like something that I had to do. I needed to make a living, but I was doing something that felt pretty interesting. Something that was, all of these little jobs were hopefully going to lead to something satisfying. No, there was no feeling of duty or anything like that. A divine sense that I had to do it. I have never had that passion or drive to do it. For a long time I was looking for that, the thing that was perfect in my life and was the right thing for me to be doing. That career that was, fit in perfectly. I mean my career is very good now and I'm doing really well for someone my age, but I've never had this deep passion for it. It's what I do for a living and I identify myself as a journalist, but I mean it's not part of who I am, not my identity as a person. I mean in the immediate future, I mean I'd like to be writing bigger pieces, more features. I am much further ahead than I thought I would be at thirty and that is great and I like what I do but I don't know if I'll always be doing this. Part of it is my personality. I'm never really satisfied with anything. I really don't know where it stems from. It's part of me. It can make me miserable, but it also pushes me. I've always been a bit of a malcontent. A bit anxious about things. It's me, my personality and I've never had that one thing. The all consuming thing or Dream as you say. I've wanted that at times, but it's not me. I don't feel it the way others do, even some of the people I work with have it.

In the future Troy would like to get married and have a family. However, he does not have a relational Dream.

I mean I still want to have kids and all of that. I don't have the same type of romantic ideal. I've seen my brother and his wife and others. I know that it is not that storybook. It's scarier than that. It's messier. It is such a huge commitment, marriage and children.

And the thing is, I think that I have sort of resigned myself to the fact that I am not going to have a Dream. That maybe it is not part of my personality. And that is also something that I have dealt with my therapist about relationships, that maybe that is not who I am. Not everyone can have a consuming sort of passionate thing. Yeah, that it might not be in me to feel an intensity about anything. It's not like I'm apathetic and don't have interests and I'm like walking around in the clouds. I enjoy my work a lot and my relationship is very important to me. But not to feel, not feel, just like completely passionate about a given subject or person. I don't know if I have that in me, if having that is part of my make up.

ANALYSIS

Relationships have been an important part of Troy's development in early adulthood. However, for a large portion of this period he had difficulty maintaining long term relationships because they did not live up to his ideal. Troy often found himself disenchanted with the women he dated when they did not consume him completely. As Troy enters his thirties he has gained a more realistic sense of relationships and he has been able to commit to a woman on a long term level. Although he envisions a future with a wife and children he does not have a relational Dream.

Since his late adolescence, Troy has placed a great deal of importance on his relationships with women. In high school Troy was a somewhat awkward teenager who had difficulty relating to women on a romantic level. He was consumed with romantic feelings, but he was unable to break out of his role as "the court jester of the crowd." As a result, when Troy got to college he was focused on getting involved in a relationship. During his freshman year he met Ann and they fell in love. According to Troy, he was completely pre-occupied with his relationship with Ann. It was an experience that he felt he needed to have and it overshadowed everything else in his life. After Ann, Troy found himself unable to commit to a long term relationship. During his twenties he was

involved in a series of relationships that ended because he did not feel emotionally connected to the women he was dating. The fact that these women cared more for him than he cared for them made him feel incredibly guilty. As a result, he had a pattern of ending relationships before they became very serious.

Troy had somewhat idealistic expectations of romance that never came to fruition. As Troy explained, he wanted to be completely consumed by another person. To a certain extent Troy's parents' relationship had served as a complicated example for him to follow. The story of how they met was very romantic and had a profound impact on him. It was like a "fairy tale" and Troy identified with this romantic ideal. However, their relationship was ultimately unfulfilling for Troy's mother who never was madly in love with her husband. She often felt that she could have had a more passionate life. Throughout Troy's early adulthood he wanted a relationship that matched this "storybook" ideal, but also generated the sense of passion that had eluded his parents. As Troy explained, "I always wanted to be consumed by someone." When Troy did not feel this way he became disenchanted and his relationships ultimately ended.

In his twenties Troy found himself falling into a pattern of being unable to sustain a relationship. He generally ended his relationships after three months feeling guilty and unfulfilled. He wanted to be able to commit to a long term relationship so he entered therapy. In therapy, Troy realized that he was trying to attain an ideal. His vision of romance was somewhat unrealistic and kept him from getting completely involved. When Troy met Lindsey during his Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978) he was open to the possibility of a long term relationship. In addition, Lindsey was patient and

helped Troy feel comfortable. As a result, their relationship had the chance to develop and has lasted almost a year.

It appears that the same issues that kept Troy from developing a professional Dream also complicated his ability to establish a relational Dream (Stewart, 1977). In both aspects of his life, Troy tried to attain ideals that were impossible to reach. To a large extent these ideals minimized his sense of accomplishment and satisfaction. They were somewhat punitive and made him feel that his efforts were never good enough. Although he has learned to keep his ideals from limiting his life, they are still part of his experience and keep him from feeling completely satisfied. As he explained, “but not to feel, not feel, just like completely passionate about a given subject or person. I don’t know if I have that in me, if having that is part of my make up.” As Troy enters his thirties he is happy with the state of his personal and professional life. His career is progressing and he is involved with a woman who is very important to him. However, his personality has kept him from experiencing either of these things as the pursuit of a Dream.

SECTION 3: SUMMARY OF THE DATA

The data generated from the lives of the eight men in this study illuminates several areas of inquiry. As Levinson (1978) and others suggest, the lives of men in early adulthood are consumed with the pursuit of attaining a professional identity that is both fulfilling and meaningful. In addition, the male ideals of success, power and autonomy contribute significantly in the choices a man makes during this period of development. This study also indicates the importance that relational needs play in a man's life during this period. In fact, for some of the men in the study these needs appear to be as important (if not more) as their professional ambitions.

The data presented can be divided according to the two groups of men, those who identified themselves as having a Dream, and those who did not. However, upon closer inspection there appears to be more similarity than difference between these two groups. All eight of the subjects found themselves immersed in the pursuit of professional aspirations as they began the stage of Entering the Adult World (Levinson, 1978). For the men with professional Dreams, this period marked the opening phase of establishing the professional identities they had been envisioning for years. The symbolic meaning their careers held for them made this pursuit the central organizing theme in their lives during this period. For the men without professional Dreams this period was simply a time when they wanted to establish themselves in the professional world. Work was an organizing theme, but it did not hold an internalized meaning about the kind of person these men ultimately wanted to become. However, all of these men identified closely with the professional world and what it represented. It was the place where they could acknowledge their need for success and feel part of the male world.

Relationships also played a vital role in all of the subjects' lives at the onset of early adulthood. For some of the subjects, relationships occupied a central role in their lives and they spent a great deal of effort either maintaining relationships or pursuing them. Others were less concerned with finding the "ideal" relationship and did not make considerable sacrifices towards this effort. They were more interested in having fun at this stage of their lives. While each man placed varying degrees of importance on this component of their experience, all were interested on maintaining some sort of interpersonal connection with women.

The men with Dreams were able to acknowledge the internalized meaning that work and relationships had in their lives at the onset of early adulthood. Although these men placed varying degrees of emphasis on their relational Dreams at the beginning of this period, both occupation and relationships were critical aspects of the life structures they were beginning to build. Chart 1 gives an overview of the themes examined in the data presentation section for the men who identified themselves as having Dreams. These themes will be examined in more depth in the following section (Discussion Section), but this chart presents a general outline of each man's experience. As can be seen, each of these subjects located the origins of their Dream in their pre-adult experience (Furst, 1983). Their Dreams did not emerge with the entrance into adulthood; instead adulthood presented the arena where these imaginings could finally be undertaken. In terms of the relational and occupational Dream, the degree to which each man organized his life around these themes is denoted in the chart by Peripheral, Moderate or Central. Specifically, if a man organized his life around a certain theme in a Peripheral manner it means that he acknowledged this aspect of his experience, but did not fully invest himself

CHART 1

MEN WITH DREAMS

	ORIGIN OF THE DREAM IN PRE-ADULTHOOD	IMPORTANCE OF THE MALE IDEALS	PRIORITY OF THE OCCUPATIONAL DREAM DURING ENTERING THE ADULT WORLD	PRIORITY OF THE OCCUPATIONAL DREAM DURING THE AGE THIRTY TRANSITION	PRIORITY OF THE RELATIONAL DREAM DURING ENTERING THE ADULT WORLD	PRIORITY OF THE RELATIONAL DREAM DURING THE AGE THIRTY TRANSITION
RALPH	YES	CENTRAL	CENTRAL	MODERATE	CENTRAL	CENTRAL
MELVIN	YES	CENTRAL	CENTRAL	MODERATE	CENTRAL	CENTRAL
ARNOLD	YES	CENTRAL	CENTRAL	CENTRAL	PERIPHERAL	CENTRAL
SEYMOUR	YES	CENTRAL	CENTRAL	MODERATE	PERIPHERAL	CENTRAL

CHART 2

MEN WITHOUT DREAMS

	IMPORTANCE OF THE MALE IDEALS	FOCUS ON OCCUPATION DURING ENTERING THE ADULT WORLD	FOCUS ON OCCUPATION DURING THE AGE THIRTY TRANSITION	FOCUS ON RELATIONSHIPS DURING ENTERING THE ADULT WORLD	FOCUS ON RELATIONSHIPS DURING THE AGE THIRTY TRANSITION
FRED	CENTRAL	CENTRAL	MODERATE	CENTRAL	CENTRAL (DREAM)
NELSON	CENTRAL	CENTRAL	MODERATE	CENTRAL	CENTRAL (DREAM)
RUTHERFORD	CENTRAL	CENTRAL	CENTRAL	MODERATE	MODERATE
TROY	CENTRAL	CENTRAL	CENTRAL	MODERATE	MODERATE

in it because other interests were more critical during this period. Moderate organization around a particular theme indicates that the man recognized this feature of his life as significant, but it was not the main priority. Lastly, Central organization around a particular theme denotes that the theme is an essential motivating force in a man's life that he is unwilling to compromise; it is vital that it come to fruition.

As can be seen from the chart, all of the men who identified themselves as having professional and relational Dreams viewed the male ideals as a central component of their lives during early adulthood. In addition, they all experienced their professional Dreams as a Central organizing theme during the stage Entering the Adult World (Levinson, 1978). However, relationships were only Central in two of the subjects' lives at this point of development. The other two recognized relationships as a component of their Dreams, but they were not ready to invest themselves in another person in more than a Peripheral way at this point. However, a marked shift had taken place at The Age Thirty Transition. Only one subject's occupational Dream could be still be classified as Central at this stage of development. Although this aspect of the Dream was still vital in all of the subjects' lives, three of the subjects were willing to make significant sacrifices in this sphere so that their relational Dreams could become a more Central priority.

Chart 2 gives an overview of the themes examined in the data presentation section of the men who identified themselves as not having Dreams. One of the more significant findings is the fact that like their counterparts with Dreams, these men viewed the male ideals as a Central component of their lives. In addition, they spent a great deal of time and energy establishing themselves in the professional world at the onset of adulthood.

Although their careers did not inspire the same kind of passion and purpose that the men with Dreams' occupations instilled in them, it was still a priority in their lives. However, a shift had taken place at the Age Thirty Transition for two of these men. They had become quite disenchanted with the professional world. Their inability to establish personally meaningful goals in this area appears to have made professional life somewhat unbearable. They were in the process of trying to find work that resonated with them on a personal level. In addition, these two men identified relationships as Central to their lives in throughout early adulthood. In fact, as they entered their Age Thirty Transition relationships were playing an even more significant role in their lives and they likened this aspect of their experience to a Dream. The other two subjects in this group still viewed professional life as the Central theme in their lives as they entered the Age Thirty Transition. Although they did not experience their work on the level that the men with Dreams did, it was still the dominant part of their lives and took up a great deal of time and energy (it is important to note that one of these men had made a significant career switch just prior to the Age Thirty Transition). In addition, relationships were consistently a moderate theme in their lives throughout their twenties and into their thirties. For different reasons, these two subjects were consistent in regards to the priority they placed on both occupation and relationships.

In the following section the findings from the Data Presentation and Analysis section are discussed and examined in more depth.

CHAPTER V - DISCUSSION

This section summarizes and discusses the ideas generated from the analysis of the eight men's narratives. It examines the major findings on the Dream and male development in early adulthood. In addition, it explores the limitations of the study and offers suggestions for future research.

THE DREAM

The Origins of the Dream

The professional Dream arises out of a complex interaction between an individual's needs and talents during his pre-adult experience. For the men in the present study, the Dream served to compensate for the difficulties of the past and enabled the individual to envision a better future. For the four subjects who developed Dreams, a perceived flaw in the self, whether conscious or unconscious, generally motivated the individual towards a life where such concerns were less of an obstacle. The Dream did not eradicate the vulnerabilities of the past, in fact it served as a constant reminder of a time when the individual felt small and inferior. As a result, the Dream pushed the individual to work harder and strive even further. Each of the Dreamers in the study had a unique talent that they were able to focus on throughout the course of early adulthood. This talent or interest did not arise in early adulthood. In fact, all four of the men with professional Dreams had a sense of what they they wanted to do prior to their twenties. However, the underlying drive that pushed these men to succeed was a feelings of inadequacy that they wanted to overcome. As a result, these men identified powerfully

with those parts of themselves that were most inferior as well as those that were most capable. For example, Ralph's Dream of becoming a math teacher served to compensate for a time in his pre-adulthood when he felt awkward and out of place. Mathematics was an area where he felt competent and successful. As a result, he gravitated towards teaching because it enabled him to feel a sense of strength at an otherwise difficult time in his life.

The relational Dream (Stewart, 1977) also arises out of a vulnerable aspect of a man's experience. Although this part of the Dream appears to develop after the professional Dream has begun to take shape, its origins can also be found in pre-adulthood. For all of the men in the study who had relational Dreams, a relationship provided them with a sense of security and comfort. Moreover, it gave them an enduring life partner whose presence helped to ensure that the difficulties of the past would not be repeated. The support and love these men received from their significant others also enabled them to envision a more capable and independent self in adulthood. These men identified powerfully with aspects of their significant others. They served as adult selfobjects (Kohut, 1977) who helped to guide and support them in their pursuit of the selves they wanted to become. For example, Ralph's relational Dream helped to repair some of the difficulties of his past. Ralph's parents divorced during his childhood and he grew up without a cohesive family. However, his wife provided him with a stable relationship and a family that has become the central concern in his life.

The Dream must develop beyond its compensatory qualities and become something that generates a sense of vitality and purpose in a man's life. Moreover, it must transcend a specific goal or achievement and give a man a more complete sense of

himself as an adult. The *self I-don't-want-to-be* can be the impetus for the Dream, but it is not enough to sustain it. In other words, the Dream can arise in reaction to the life one has led, but it must have a greater impact internally. For example, Melvin's professional Dream of becoming a journalist enabled him to gain a sense of control and independence in his life. This was critical for Melvin who had spent his formative years trying to live up to the standards of his father. However, his Dream contained more than a quest for independence. The feeling Melvin received from writing touched him on a very deep level. It inspired him and made him feel empowered. It was an identity that he wanted to have. Moreover, Melvin's wife helped to confirm this sense of himself as an adult. Her sense of independence was a quality Melvin could internalize. However, she was also a person Melvin loved deeply. She provided him with an enduring relationship and a family that he is passionate about.

The subjects who did not develop Dreams were unable to stay focused on a pursuit that resonated with them on an internal level. They never viewed their careers or relationships as part of their identities. Instead, they chose professions because they felt an obligation to be responsible and directed. In addition, their relationships never provided them with the potential for continued growth and development. If there were true talents and passions they were never voiced. For example, Fred's desire to become rich and successful was a way to counteract the sense of insecurity he felt for a large portion of his childhood. Moreover, he felt that he was supposed to repay his (adoptive) parents for the life they had given him. Unfortunately, he never attached these needs to a meaningful goal. As a result, his career as an investment banker never resonated with him in a personal way. This experience played out in his relationships as well. Until

Fred met his wife he had a pattern of staying in relationships that no longer worked. He stayed committed to women who were not right for him because he had a difficult time letting go. The relationships ultimately ended and Fred was left without a viable relational Dream.

Personality factors also appear to have a significant effect on a man's ability to Dream. Some men are unable to pursue Dreams in early adulthood because they do not have the constitution to feel internally engaged by the commitments in their lives. This experience was most vividly experienced by Troy who was unable to live up to his own ideals. Although his tireless pursuit of a career in journalism appeared to have the character of a Dream, Troy's personality kept him from experiencing his successes on a truly deep level. For most of Troy's life he had felt that he had not reached his potential. He experienced himself as a "curmudgeon" who was consistently one step behind everyone else. Moreover, Troy did not think that he had the ability to feel truly passionate about another person. It appears that the capacity to Dream may at least partly be a constitutional ability. Some men may not have the desire, endowment or drive to be passionate about their careers or their relationships.

The Content of the Dream

In the present study, men's Dream in early adulthood were both occupational and relational. All eight subjects, whether Dreamers or non-Dreamers, viewed the development of an occupational identity as the primary focus of their lives at the onset of adulthood. Work was an organizing theme in their lives which enabled them to take on the responsibilities and obligations of the adult world (Pollack, 1998; Levinson, 1978). It

gave them a place to focus their energies and enabled them to support themselves financially. Moreover, work gave them an identity and a way to establish themselves in the world of adults. As they left college occupation was an almost all consuming aspect of their consciousness. Although the subjects may have speculated about the content of their professional pursuits, they began careers, graduate school and internships without questioning the central place that work now had in their lives.

All of the subjects in the study spent a significant amount of time developing their professional identities. Even the non-Dreamers spent years acquiring skills and credentials to become established members of their respective fields. For example, both Rutherford and Nelson went to law school and worked as lawyers for several years even though their work was not fulfilling. It appears that having an occupational identity in early adulthood that is unsatisfying is still better than having no occupational identity at all. This finding is further substantiated by the fact that none of the men in the study spent any time unemployed. Even when they were trying to figure out what they wanted to do with their lives, these men still made sure they were working. Although there are obvious financial implications to being employed, work was so central to the subjects' sense of self that its absence was not a viable possibility.

It would be remiss not to mention the role of the subjects' fathers on their professional development. Almost all of the subjects had fathers who were career driven men. Furthermore, several of their fathers were very successful in their respective fields. It seems fair to assume that each of the subjects internalized an understanding of the male role and its connection to work from this relationship (Pollack, 1998, Kohut, 1977, Freud, 1905). Moreover, the larger context of society (Rotundo, 1990, Messner, 1987) has

imparted some significant messages about a man's place in the working world. It is the arena where he can establish himself and gain a sense of his own self worth (Levant, 1995). In other words, work is a vital part of the male identity.

The working world also provides an arena where men can assert themselves. Although society is changing, the professional world is still a place where the masculine strivings for success, power and autonomy can be voiced and pursued. To varying degrees these masculine ideals were an aspect of each subjects' experience. Every participant in the study wanted to attain a level of professional success and they also strived to reach positions of power in their careers. Moreover, these men aspired to attain a sense of professional autonomy. Although they often worked in the context of others, their desire to succeed was a relatively independent goal. The aggressive pursuit of professional fulfillment was a theme in all of their lives.

One of the more significant factors that differentiates the dreamers from the non-dreamers is the degree to which each man identifies with his career. The dreamers had incorporated their careers into their sense of self. This was a key factor because it meant that the dreamers' careers could endure frustration, disappointment and failure. For example, Melvin's Dream of becoming a journalist was so deeply integrated into his identity that he was able to sustain it in the face of powerful parental pressure. This was not easy for Melvin, who had longed for his father's approval for most of his life. Moreover, Melvin had to endure several very difficult years at *Time* magazine in order to follow his Dream. He repeatedly had to prove himself and there were times when he did not think he would succeed. Even in the face of tremendous self-doubt Melvin persevered because journalism was an essential part of how he viewed himself as an

adult. On the other hand, Fred was unable to sustain a series of careers in early adulthood. None of them resonated with him on a deep enough level. As soon as he became unsatisfied or frustrated with the work he was doing he felt impelled to move on. He repeatedly experienced his professional life as something that was alien to his identity. Moreover, as soon as the realities of his work became apparent he felt impelled to move on.

Relationships also appear to be a significant part of male development in early adulthood⁸. In fact, six of the eight subjects in this study explained that they had relational Dreams (Stewart, 1977). Although professional endeavors seem to have a more primary role at the onset of this period, relationships were a central part of the subjects' lives. All of the men in the study expressed a desire to get married and have children at some point in their lives. In addition, several of the men explained that this desire had been important to them from an early age. It was a vital part of the vision they had of themselves in the future.

For several of the men in the study, relationships were instrumental in their development. Women often served as transitional figures who enabled them to feel more complete and helped them make the transition from adolescence to adulthood. For example, Arnold's relationship with Penelope helped to instill a sense of confidence in him and enabled him approach the next stage of development with greater conviction. In addition, Nelson's relationship with Tamara had a similar developmental impact. She helped Nelson feel more secure about himself and acted as an important transitional figure as he moved into the adult world.

It seems that the absence of a significant relationship is a painful experience for men. Women may place more of their own self worth on being able to sustain relationships (Gilligan, 1982; Chodorow, 1978), but men also feel incomplete without significant others (Pollack 1995; Levant, 1995; Gilligan, 1982; Chodorow, 1978). Several of the men in this study had an overwhelming desire to be emotionally connected to a woman, and the absence of a significant relationship made them feel incomplete. For example, as Troy made the transition into early adulthood he had a pervasive desire to be involved in a committed relationship. It consumed everything else. In addition, on more than one occasion Ralph's relational needs prevailed over professional opportunities. He was not going to allow work to get in the way of his ability to pursue a relationship.

Most of the men in this study wanted to consolidate their professional identities before they embarked on the responsibilities of a long term relationship. Unlike the subjects in some of the studies of female development (Furst, 1983; Stewart, 1977) who often focused their lives on relational concerns at the onset of early adulthood, the men in the present study were initially focused on their careers. At the onset of the period, several of the subjects had girlfriends and aspired towards futures in which relationships were more central, but almost all of the men wanted to attain a certain degree of stability in their professional lives first. This finding on the centrality of work in men's lives supports Levinson's (1978) and others' (Doherty, Moses & Perlow, 1998; Pasick, 1990; Tolson, 1977; Lidz, 1977) notions about the importance of occupation in men's lives. It also alludes to the male need to be established before taking on commitments that include others (Pollack, 1995). This was exemplified vividly at the present time by Nelson who

* This finding supports Levinson's (1978) notion of the Special Woman.

did not want to become deeply involved with a woman until he had a more fixed sense of his professional ambitions. Although Nelson did not have an occupational Dream, he wanted to feel more settled before his Dream of becoming a husband and father was actualized.

It is interesting to note that the four subjects who had professional Dreams also had relational Dreams (Stewart, 1977). This is a significant finding because it points to the fact that these men were not solely focused on professional concerns. The split Dream (Roberts & Newton, 1987) is not strictly a female phenomena. Moreover, it appears that men's Dreams are not unidimensional as Kittrell (1998) suggests. Men's Dreams focus on issues other than occupation. The four men with professional Dreams were all involved in long term relationships that were equally, if not more important to them than their careers. All of these men spoke of the need for intimacy as a central component of their lives. This may reflect the fact that both personal and professional successes are more valuable and meaningful when they take place in the context of another person. It also supports Vaillant's (1978) finding that men who are capable of sustaining an enduring romantic relationship evidence the highest levels of professional success. Vaillant suggests that the various transitions that take place over the course of adulthood are easier to endure when there is another person to provide support and encouragement. It is important to point out that the two subjects who did not to have relational Dreams still took this aspect of their experience quite seriously. For example, Rutherford expressed an almost overwhelming desire to be in love so that he could share his life with another person. In addition, Troy had sought therapy in his mid-twenties

because he was concerned about his inability to sustain an intimate relationship with a woman.

The presence of the split Dream (Roberts & Newton, 1987) in men's lives indicates that men can be aggressive and professionally driven while simultaneously aspiring to be attached to others on an interpersonal level. Although these aspects of self appear to contradict one another, their presence at the same time speaks to the complexity of an individual's needs. The presence of a woman in a man's life, appears to be as important, if not more, than the need for an occupational identity. A successful relationship provides a great deal in a man's life. In addition to companionship and love, women provided a sense of emotional stability and security. Moreover, they helped to inspire and support the subjects towards the goals and responsibilities of adult life. For some men this meant finding a woman whose Dreams matched their own. For example, Arnold and Melvin both found women who were as equally driven to be professionally successful and have a family as they were. As Arnold explained, his fiancée's Dream "dovetailed" with his own. For other men in the study, an intimate relationship with a woman helped to repair significant difficulties from the past. For example, Seymour's relationship with his wife was instrumental in helping him overcome the death of his mother. Moreover, she provided Seymour with the kind of comfort and support he needed to offset the sense of self-doubt that his father had instilled in him.

In many respects, the role of women in the subjects' lives was more developmentally significant than Levinson (1978) imagines. For some of the subjects, their significant others transcended his notion of the "special woman" and were viewed as life partners who inspired a sense of hope and purpose in them for the future. In this

respect, women did more than compensate for the past, they provided a future where more ideal imaginings of self could be located. For example, several of the subjects envisioned their adult identities in relation to their significant others. Although occupation was also a central component of this conception, relationships provided an interpersonal context where the self could continue to grow and develop. Several of the subjects were quite vocal about their need for emotional attachment and they were unwilling to allow professional ambitions to interfere with these needs. They viewed the roles of husband and father as internally meaningful. They provided more than a place where the subjects could meet the expectations of society. It gave them a context to give and receive love. As a result, the subjects were driven to make these emotional connections in powerful ways. This finding may reflect the generation in which these men have come of age. Many of the subjects grew up in homes where their father's had a significant influence on their emotional development. Moreover, it is a time when gender divisions are blurring and the expectations on men are changing. Men are being encouraged to be more engaged on an emotional level. Those aspects of the self that were once viewed as weak and vulnerable in men are becoming a more accepted aspect of the male identity (Levant, 1995). The next section will explore these ideas and their relation to male development in more depth.

MALE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

On Levinson

It appears that development continues after childhood as Levinson (1996, 1978) and others have suggested (Jung, 1960 Erikson, 1963). Levinson's theory captures a

great deal regarding the experiences of men in early adulthood. However, no theory is broad enough to adequately represent the uniqueness of individual experiences (Calarusso & Nemiroff, 1987, 1979). Moreover, Levinson's contention that development takes place through a series of stable life structure building periods and transitional structure changing periods is not explicitly represented by the present sample. In fact, most of the men in the present study experienced their twenties and early thirties as a time of profound transition both internally and externally.

Early Adult Transition

According to Levinson (1996, 1978), the initial steps into adulthood begin with a period he refers to as the Early Adult Transition. This stage takes place between the ages of seventeen and twenty-two and represents the transition from childhood to adulthood. At this time all of the subjects in the study were in college. For some, this was the first time they had been away from home for a substantial period of time and the prospect of being on their own was experienced with a moderate amount of uncertainty and difficulty. Others welcomed their newfound independence and appreciated the prospect of being able to enter a new stage in their lives. College was a relatively protected environment where they could explore their interests. For example, the four men with professional Dreams used college as a time to consolidate their Dreams. Although the origins of their Dreams pre-dated their early adult transition, the college years provided the initial context where their Dreams could be put into action. Moreover, college provided them with the skills and resources that were necessary for these pursuits. For

example, Melvin was able to center his life around journalism when he attended Cornell University. He became editor-in-chief of the campus paper and began working as a freelance journalist for a major American newspaper. In addition, Ralph was able to focus his energies on mathematics and teaching while he was at Harvard. For both of these men, college provided opportunities where they could experience their Dreams firsthand. It was a context where they could play with visions of their adult selves (Winnicott, 1958).

The men without professional Dreams left the Early Adult Transition lacking a definitive idea about what they wanted to do with the rest of their lives. College had not provided them with a developed plan for the future. Unlike the Dreamers who were using this period as a time to integrate their professional Dreams into their identities, the non-Dreamers gravitated towards careers for more practical reasons such as financial security and the need for professional direction. However, in keeping with Levinson's theory (1996, 1978) the college years appear to have been experienced as a time of exploration and growth for most of the subjects. Moreover, none of the subjects viewed these years as a time of profound transition in which they were overwhelmed by possibilities and expectations.

The early adult transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978) was also time when several of the subjects had their first significant romantic relationships. In fact six of the subjects were involved on a deeply committed level. Although none of the subjects ended up marrying these women, it appears that the college years were a time when these men began to explore this aspect of themselves. The early adult transition was a time when these men could begin to experience their lives in the context of another person.

Entering the Adult World

According to Levinson (1996, 1978) the Early Adult Transition is followed by the first structure building period of adulthood which he referred to as Entering The Adult World. For Levinson, this period takes place between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-eight and represents a time when a man must take on two antithetical tasks. According to Levinson, he must simultaneously explore the possibilities that life has to offer, as well as begin to build a stable life structure that will lead him on a life course that is both rewarding and fulfilling. For all of the men in the study the stage of Entering The Adult World was a time when they were relentlessly pursuing careers. Four of the subjects were in graduate school getting professional degrees, and the other four were trying to establish themselves in their respective fields. This finding is in keeping with Levinson's theory. It appears that occupation is still the priority in a man's life at the onset of early adulthood. Male role expectations still encourage men to develop this aspect of their identities first (Pollack, 1998; Rotundo, 1990; Messner, 1987).

It is interesting that Levinson (1978) refers to this period as a "stable" time in a man's life. For all of the subjects, the twenties represented a time of intense self-discovery and transformation. It appears that their respective careers served as an important catalyst in this process and caused them to reflect on what they ultimately wanted out of life. For the men with professional Dreams, the Dream provided a certain degree of structure in their lives. It gave them a relatively structured path to follow and their sense of passion provided them with the impetus to stay the course. Although their Dreams may have caused them to leave familiar environments, they also provided them with a sense of internal stability and resolve. As a result, their lives reflected Levinson's

ideas about the structure building nature of this period in a man's life. At the same time, their Dreams put a great deal of pressure on them. Because they were not established in their respective fields, the Dream was somewhat precarious for some of the subjects and the possibility of failing was a constant reality in their lives. Consequently, even though they were in the process of "building" their lives towards a goal, internally there was a great deal of uncertainty and instability. In addition, it is important to point out that with the exception of Melvin, none of these men had mentors to guide them through this period. Although Levinson argues that this relationship was one of the most developmentally significant of early adulthood, it appears to have eluded this sample of men. This finding may be limited to the present sample, or it may suggest a more general change that has taken place since Levinson's study.

The men without professional Dreams did not have a great deal of stability during this period. Although their professional pursuits may have provided a certain degree of structure in their lives, internally they felt unconnected to their work. As a result, this period of early adulthood was experienced with a fair amount of inconsistency and transition. For example, both Rutherford and Nelson spent their twenties acquiring law degrees and establishing themselves in the world of corporate law. Although their careers presented them with a charted course, internally they both struggled to feel connected to the work they were doing. The fact that neither one could adequately integrate the role of lawyer into their sense of self made this period of development somewhat strained. In this regard, the non-Dreamers were not engaged in the kind of "structure building" that Levinson imagines during this period of early adulthood. However, neither the dreamers nor the non-dreamers seemed to be exploring the possibilities that life had to offer as

Levinson argues. A need to attain a sense of professional consistency and stability seemed to define this period. Perhaps this finding reflects the desire these men had to establish a sense of independence at this point in their lives. For several of the subjects this was the first time they were truly pulling away from their families of origin. In college, the subjects were still too connected psychologically to their families to feel like autonomous adults. An occupation served as a symbol of a man's new found independence (Meth, 1990). It became a sort of transitional object (Winnicott, 1958) enabling them to move from the world of school to the world of adulthood. Moreover, it represented a young man's connection and place in the larger context of other adult men (Lidz, 1977).

Relationships appear to have a secondary role at the onset of this period of development. Although a couple of the subjects had significant relationships at this time, careers were such a focus of these men's lives that they had little time for anything else. Only Fred was able to simultaneously pursue his career and a relationship with the same degree of intensity. This finding may be a reflection of the fact that none of the subjects wanted to get married at this point in their lives. Moreover, it may also be an indication of the kind of energy these men needed to invest in order to establish themselves in the professional world. In this respect, the subjects may have more in common with Jacques (1981, 1965) and Jung's (1960) ideas about the nature of early adulthood than Levinson's. According to Jung, early adulthood is a time of necessity in which a man must establish himself in the organizations of his culture. As a result, the more intimate needs of the self may have to be denied at the onset of this period. This idea was explored in more depth by Jacques who argued that early adulthood is a period of intense

ambition in which the individual must focus his energies on making it in the world. This entails increasing one's status, power and authority. As a result, more paranoid-schizoid mechanisms are employed by the self to attain a level of success. Although the defensive mechanisms of splitting, projective identification and the inability to experience integrated whole objects may help the subject in this pursuit, they are poorly suited for interpersonal attachments (Erikson, 1963). Although an adequate analysis of Jacques' and Jung's ideas are beyond the scope of this investigation, they present an interesting place for future research with the data generated from this sample of men.

As the Dreamers came to the end of this period and entered the Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978) they began to explore their more intimate needs. Although they were still focused on their careers, a level of professional security enabled them to focus their energies on romantic relationships. Even the non-Dreamers became more focused on this aspect of their lives. Although only two of the men without professional Dreams claimed to have relational Dreams, all four of these subjects were making relationships a higher priority in their lives as this stage of development came to an end.

The Age Thirty Transition

For Levinson (1996, 1978), the years around age thirty are a time of intense re-evaluation. It is a period when a man questions the life he has been living and makes significant changes if he is not satisfied. As a result, Levinson refers to the years between the age twenty-eight and thirty-three as the Age Thirty Transition. In the present study, all of the subjects were currently living out this period of the life cycle. In keeping with

Levinson's theory, they were all in the process of re-evaluating their lives and shifting their priorities. Moreover, an increased sense of individuation (Jung, 1960) appeared to be propelling them into to make more independent decisions about the course of the next stage of their lives. However, there was a marked difference between the Dreamers and the non-Dreamers.

As they entered the Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978) the four subjects with professional Dreams had begun to make a deeper investment in their relationships. As they entered their thirties these men were more established in their respective fields. With several years of experience under their belts, a sense of professional security had replaced the instability of the past. As a result, a significant shift had taken place in their lives and relationships were becoming the central focus of their lives. In keeping with Adams' (1983) findings on adult development in professional women, intimacy and interpersonal attachment was becoming a more prominent component of the subjects' lives. All four of them were married (or going to be married) during this period. Although their professional aspirations were still important, they were unwilling to let their careers interfere with their interpersonal needs. They wanted to have time to share their lives with the people they loved. This finding appears to indicate that occupational stability and direction has a significant connection to being able to make long term emotional commitments (and vice versa). This was especially true of Ralph and Nelson who had become fathers during this period. Although their professional Dreams were still a vital part of their lives, fatherhood had dramatically altered their priorities. Both Ralph and Nelson were unaware of the impact fatherhood would have on their lives prior to its taking place. It was a role they embraced

completely. As a result, they let professional opportunities pass them by so that they could be actively involved in the lives of their children. For example, Ralph had changed the course of his career so that he could provide more for his wife and his family. Although his true passion was teaching, he was willing to change his professional life and enter school administration. Moreover, Ralph had also changed his perspective on work and was unwilling to let the stresses of his career interfere with the time he spent with his wife and daughter.

Because relational Dreams take place in the context of another person their success relies on the investment of both individuals. As a result, the Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996,1978) was a time when the shared Dream emerged. A life that is shared with another person seems to bring about a re-evaluation of former commitments so that new ones can have a greater voice. For some men this meant lessening the importance of personal interests in order to allow space for shared goals and aspirations. This pattern can be seen in the lives of Ralph and Nelson. However, even Arnold and Seymour, who were yet to take on the responsibilities of family life, commented on the compromises they would have to make in order to share their lives with another person. In fact, Seymour embraced this reality and looked forward to establishing a family that was more cohesive than the one that had raised him.

The Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978) was also a time when the subjects became more concerned with the aspirations and Dreams of their significant others. For both Ralph and Nelson this meant altering their own Dreams so their wives could follow their passions. For example, Nelson had been offered several promotions at *Time* magazine that required moving to a different city. However, he turned them down

because they would interfere with his wife's chances of making partner at her law firm. She had already slowed down this process considerably to have children. To a certain extent, both Nelson and his wife have had to compromise their personal Dreams for each other and the family they have together. This finding may become more the norm in the next century as greater numbers of women enter the work force (Brewster, 1998) and more men want an active role in their children's lives (Pollack, 1998). It is also interesting to note that the financial demands of living in New York City (and most likely other areas of the United States) at this point in history have made the possibility of a "traditional marriage" very difficult. For example, Ralph's wife would prefer to stay home with their children while they are small. However, Ralph would have to leave teaching altogether to make this financially possible and it is a decision his wife will not allow him to make.

The men without professional Dreams appeared to be dealing with a different set of concerns during the Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1996, 1978). None of these subjects had ever felt deeply passionate about their work. As a result, it is not surprising that their professional lives made dramatic shifts during this period. They had spent enough time in the professional world to know how much they could tolerate. As a result, with the exception of Troy, who continued to work as a journalist, these subjects had either changed professions, or were in the process of changing them as they entered their thirties. The other three men in this sample had all completed professional degrees during their twenties and had spent a great deal of time and energy trying to establish themselves in the professional world. However, once the realities of their work became apparent they could not continue on the professional paths they had chosen. The Age

Thirty Transition was a time when these men could no longer tolerate their work and they made significant changes. For example, Rutherford was miserable working as a lawyer and he began working in a field that was more in line with his interests at the onset of this period. In addition, Fred decided to leave the business world completely during this period and he began pursuing a career as a psychologist.

It is unclear whether the years around age thirty serve as the impetus for such transitions as Levinson (1996, 1978) suggests. Although three of the subjects made (or were about to make such changes during this period, the sense of discontent and even aversion they felt in regard to their work had dated back to an earlier time. It could be argued that all three of these men had been questioning and re-evaluating the state of their careers long before they reached their Age Thirty Transitions. Both Rutherford and Nelson knew that they would eventually leave their jobs in corporate law years before they actually left. Neither felt deeply committed to their careers and it was only a matter of time before they left. In Rutherford's case, a sense of discontent had begun almost immediately after he entered his first job. Moreover, Fred had been in a constant state of professional re-evaluation throughout his twenties. His sense of dissatisfaction had caused him to leave four potential careers before he reached the age of thirty. The years around thirty were a time when all of three of these men were in the process of trying to find work that resonated with them. They had given up on careers that did little more than make them feel directed and responsible. Although none of them appeared to be following their Dreams as of yet, they had made the choice to follow professional paths based on interest.

Relationships also became more central in the lives of this group of men. Although only two of the men from this sample had relational Dreams, the Age Thirty Transition (Levinson, 1998, 1978) appeared to highlight the necessity for intimacy. It is important to note that only one of these men was married (or in the process of getting married) during this period. However, a noticeable shift had taken place in all four of these men's lives and relational needs were having a greater voice. For example, Rutherford and Troy did not have relational Dreams yet they both wanted to be in committed relationships at this period in their lives. Moreover, for the two men who had relational Dreams, the Age Thirty Transition served as a time when they were figuring out the priorities in their lives. Fred had begun to live out his relational Dream and was married to a woman he loved a great deal. He realized that this aspect of his life was more important than professional success. Rutherford was the only subject in the study who was not focused on relationships during this period. He did not want to enter into a long-term commitment until he was more certain about his priorities and the direction of his life.

Men, Women and the Age Thirty Transition

This study indicates that there is a great deal of developmental overlap between men and women during the Age Thirty Transition. Like their female counterparts in the studies of women's adult development (Brewster, 1998; Levinson, 1996, Roberts & Newton, 1987; Furst, 1983; Adams, 1982; Stewart 1977), several of the men in the present study experienced a switch in their priorities at this stage of development. These men found themselves consumed with relational concerns as they entered the Age Thirty

Transition and their professional aspirations were now taking a back seat. In addition, others were making deeper commitments to choices they had previously made.

However, it is significant to note that the subjects in the studies of women's adult development were forced to make a choice between occupational and relational concerns as they entered their twenties. This is in stark contrast to the men who were all focused on their occupations at this age. As both groups entered the Age Thirty Transition a switch in focus often took place, (or a deeper commitment was made to the existing life choices) however, it appears that the in this study men were given a greater amount of developmental latitude. Although they often made significant changes to their careers in order to invest more deeply in their relationships, they did not have to give them up, or compromise them to the extent that the women did. The men in the present study may have made sacrifices in order to have both, but in some respects they were able to do so with greater ease and less personal cost. Society and modern notions of manhood appear to be more flexible than the cultural and maternal expectations that are placed on women.

Conclusion

Levinson's (1978) theory appears to capture a great deal about the experiences of men in early adulthood. However, the subjects in this study did not uniformly fit into his theory of development. A professional Dream appears to place some order on development and gives a man a structured path to follow. However, the sequence of this path seems to be variable as can be seen in the narratives, and the men experienced varying degrees of stability during these years. A significant finding is the relationship between the professional Dream and the relational Dream in early adulthood. As the

professional Dream became a lived reality other aspects of the self could be expressed. It appears that the relational Dream may need to take place in a stable environment which is conducive to the needs of another. As a result, it seems understandable that self-centered endeavors such as the development and establishment of a professional identity would need to take place first. Only Fred appears to go against this pattern. Even Troy who did not have a relational Dream, was able to have a committed relationship once his professional identity was firmly established. Moreover, the Age Thirty Transition appears to be the time frame where much of this is worked out.

Another significant finding is that the Dream seems to have both a past and a future. The Dream does not appear to be a stagnant entity. It is an evolutionary process which continues to change and develop with the man who possess it. For the men with both relational and professional Dreams, their Dreams were not confined to the parameters of early adulthood. All four of these men had some idea about the way they wanted to live in the future. In this respect their Dreams had become more contextual. They were thinking about the places they wanted to live and the kinds of lifestyles they wanted to have. Their goals now included having time to spend with their families and being involved in their children's development. With the exception of Fred who had a relational Dream (Stewart, 1977) about a future with his wife, the non-dreamers only had a vague idea about where they wanted to be in the next decade. The unstable course of the past seemed to define the future.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Limitations of Sample

The ideas generated from this study should be applied cautiously to the general population of men. Although significant patterns emerged from the subjects narratives which both supported (Roberts & Newton, 1987; Furst, 1983; Levinson, 1978) and rejected (Kittrell, 1998; Robert & Newton, 1987; Levinson, 1978) previous findings on the Dream and development in early adulthood the sample used in this study was relatively narrow. Aside from the small sample size, the range of men used in this investigation was also quite specific. The sample came from roughly the same middle to upper-middle class socioeconomic group and they were all highly educated. In addition, certain life matrices such as married men with children were underrepresented.

The subjects were also all white, from the east coast and currently living in New York City. It seems fair to assume that these factors had a significant effect on the expectations and goals these men had. Moreover, it also had an effect on the specialized nature of their development and their Dreams. It would be a valuable contribution to generate cross-cultural and cross-socioeconomic validation of these findings, especially in relation to the compensatory (Furst, 1983) nature of the Dream and the presence of the split Dream (Roberts & Newton, 1987) in men's lives.

Limitations of the Method

The major limitation of using life history narratives as the focus of a study is that it is a method based on reconstruction and memory. Furthermore, the Dream is an

intrapsychic entity which is difficult to examine and explore. In fact, Levinson (1978) refers to it as a personal myth. As a result, the researcher cannot examine the Dream in an objective way and is limited to a reconstruction of the past that is reported by the dreamer. Moreover, people are often inclined to avoid material that they would prefer to leave unmentioned. It is the result of both psychodynamic suppression and what our culture deems appropriate material for conversation (Ochberg, 1988). However, this should not detract from the importance of doing this type of research. This study entailed a co-construction of reality between the subject and the researcher which is a vital method for understanding lives (Dr. Jeffrey Rosen, personal communication, May 9, 2000). As the subject relayed his story, the perspective of the researcher became a vital component of the data collection. This relationship served to elicit, organize and make sense of a personal account of the past. In keeping with the kind of work that goes on in dynamic therapy, the relationship was the cornerstone of the research and its limitations are also its greatest strength.

Levinson's (1996, 1978) theory provides an interesting lens through which the men's lives could be examined. However, as much as it helped to structure the data it also placed a boundary around the ways the data could be examined. In other words, it limited the study to a specific way of thinking. Moreover, Levinson methodology helps to capture men at a specific point in their development, but it leaves a great deal open to further exploration. For example, a longitudinal study would enable the researcher to see if the Dream is sustained in the next decade. In addition, it could explore if the dreamers felt that important aspects of the self were ignored in order to pursue a specific passion.

Furthermore, it would allow the researcher to see if the non-Dreamers were able to develop Dreams at later periods of development.

Lastly, a study of this nature is confined to the resources of the researcher. Levinson (1996, 1978) had a team of researchers working with him on his two studies of adult development which enabled him to interview his subjects between five and ten times over a two to three month span. Each of his subjects was interviewed for twenty hours and there were two year follow ups. In addition, he was able to interview his subjects' significant others and family members to gain another perspective on the course of their development. The limits of time and resources placed restrictions on this study. Each subject was only interviewed two to three times and there were no follow ups after the interviews were completed.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Further Investigation Using Levinson's Theory

The purpose of this study was to explore an under-researched area in the field of adult development. The researcher aimed at raising questions and generating ideas about the nature of men's lives and Dreams in early adulthood. The study both corroborated and rejected many of the findings of Levinson (1996, 1978) and other adult developmental theorists (Brewster, 1998; Kittrell, 1998; Roberts & Newton, 1987; Furst, 1983; Adams, 1983; Stewart, Taylor, 1981; 1977; Vaillant, 1977; Jacques, 1965; Jung, 1960). Adult developmental theory would clearly benefit from a current investigation of men's development on the magnitude of the study that Levinson conducted for The Seasons of a Man's Life. While the current study helped to illuminate several areas in the

field, on a more general level it was restricted to the lives of a particular group of men. A larger study would help to explore how many of Levinson's ideas have truly withstood the test of time.

The findings from this study point to a need for further investigation on the childhood precursors of the Dream. It appears that the origins of the Dream can be found in pre-adulthood. In many respects the Dream serves to repair the difficulties of the past (Furst, 1983). However, it appears that only certain men have the ability to turn these difficulties into meaningful goals that generate a sense of passion and vitality. It brings into question what each person is able to incorporate into their sense of self. This capacity may be unique to the individual and therefore beyond the scope of a general theory of development. Moreover, it points to the importance of developmental studies that consist of a sample size of one. In psychobiography's by Freud (1957), Erikson (1958) and Newton (1995, 1984) they were able to use developmental theory to explore the dynamics and motivations of a specific person (1995). While their findings could not be applied to the general population, they provided an in depth examination of a particular individual.

This study also indicates the need for an in depth comparison of men's and women's Dreams. While Kittrell's (1998) work helped to illuminate this area, by using Levinson's (1978) somewhat dated sample of men for her study she failed to take the cohort effect in account. The findings from this study seem to indicate a great deal of overlap in the developmental experiences of men and women. It appears that the split Dream is not a phenomenon that is reserved solely for women. Moreover, the presence of the shared Dream indicates the developmental necessity for relationships that also needs

to be explored in more depth. While the expectations and pressures on men and women are clearly different, their developmental paths in adulthood may have more in common as we take the initial steps into the twenty-first century.

Other Areas of Inquiry

The data generated from this investigation has only been examined within the context of a particular theory of adult development. As a result, it would be interesting to view the data from a different perspective. The potential for future research in this area is far too vast to cover here and speaks to the possibilities that qualitative studies using narratives presents. However, Levinson's (1996, 1978) notion of the life structure itself presents an interesting place to begin. Levinson takes for granted that the life structure is a vital component of normative development. However, its presence, or non-presence, has never been the subject of intense scrutiny.

Gould (personal communication, May 19, 2000) has proposed an interesting idea about the life structure that warrants further investigation. Gould argues that the life structure may work as a defense against potential anxiety. In other words, the more cohesive the life structure, the more it serves to maintain a sense of cohesion for the self. This appears to be particularly true of the men with Dreams. These men led relatively structured lives and had a clear path to follow while the men without Dreams lacked their sense of order and cohesion. While this helped them reach a level of success in their lives, it may have kept more disorganizing aspects of the self from surfacing. All of the men with Dreams in the present study appeared to develop their Dreams in response to a flaw they experienced in themselves and their life structures (Furst, 1983). On a less

conscious level, their need to cathect their energies to a Dream seems to have provided a structure to their lives and kept the self from becoming overwhelmed by contradictory feelings.

The non-Dreamers appear to have the capacity to cathect from one interest to another. They lacked the sense of single-minded conviction and purpose that their counterparts with Dreams had. It might be interesting to take a deeper look at the scaffolding that the life structure provides. The internal order it creates may offset the sense of ambivalence that might otherwise be experienced. Both the life structure and the Dream may serve to keep the self balanced. As a result, their preservation may be a central concern for some individuals so that they can maintain a sense of control in their lives. These ideas are already in the process of being investigated further (Grady, unpublished dissertation in progress).

CONCLUSION

Biographical narratives provide a rich source of material for understanding development across the life cycle. Such explorations contribute important insights and ideas about the nature of an individual's experience. In the present study, the lives of eight men around the age of thirty were examined to gain a better understanding of their development and their Dreams. It appears that these years are a transitional time for many men, regardless of their aspirations for the future. Early adulthood is a complicated period in a man's life. It is a time when a variety of personal and societal expectations that are placed on a man and force him to make some important decisions about the

course of his life. With the world of childhood behind him, a man is given the opportunity to forge his own path.

For several of the men in the present study the years around age thirty presented an important time to make significant changes. For others, it was a time when the goals and aspirations of the twenties were truly coming to fruition. As mentioned previously, these two experiences appear to breakdown according to the experience of non-dreamer and dreamer respectively. The individual has spent enough time in adulthood to know what aspects of their lives they want to continue to embrace and which aspects they need to discard or alter. In either case, the years around age thirty are an important time of transformation in a man's life.

In terms of the Dream, the present study seems to indicate that an individual either has one or does not. While early adulthood is the context in which the Dream takes its shape, its origins can be found in childhood. In this respect, the Dream forms a vital link between the world of childhood and the world of adulthood. As a result, it is not a strictly adult phenomenon as Levinson argues (1978). Instead, it is clearly tied to an individual's past. However, the passion generated from the Dream must transcend the ideals of childhood and become a central component of a man's adult identity. The men without Dreams had not done this. They could not identify a relationship or a professional ambition as part of their conception of themselves. As a result, they had followed particular professional paths because they felt they were supposed to, or they felt pressure to be directed. In addition, their relationship lacked the kind of long term emotional commitment that is vital for sustaining them. A sense of passion eluded these efforts.

Arguably the most significant finding in the present study is the emotional and developmental impact that relationships and fatherhood appear to have in a man's life. Women play a powerful role in men's lives. A career may hold a significant place in his experience, but it cannot provide the kind of enduring emotional support and connection that another person can. Men appear to be more willing to voice this aspect of themselves than previous studies of adult development have indicated. It is interesting that Roberts and Newton (1987) found that the biggest obstacle in the way of a woman attaining her Dream was her husband. According to their analysis of the studies of women's development the attainment of both a career and motherhood were complicated by the societal expectation to support their husbands in the attainment of their Dreams. However, the current study indicates a marked shift in the last decade. The wives and significant others of the subjects in this investigation are not giving up their goals and Dreams. It appears that women in this generation want as much from life as their male counterparts want. Negotiating this shift has meant that men have had to compromise their personal ambitions if they want to have successful relationships. It is interesting to note that five of the subjects in this study had mothers who worked, so the expectations about roles are definitely in a state of transition. Although balancing personal and professional ambitions is still more complicated for women (Brewster, 1998), relationships appear to be becoming more balanced than in the past.

The role of fatherhood may be one of the more developmentally significant experiences in early adulthood. Although only two of the subjects in the current study were fathers, few things seem to cause a man to question and renegotiate his current way of living the way having a child does. The two subjects with children in this study

viewed fatherhood as an emotional commitment unlike any other in their lives. Both of these men had altered their conception of work so that they could spend time with their children and be present in their development. However, they felt caught between their need fulfill the professional requirements and expectations that were placed on them and their desire to be with their children. This experience has been noted in the work on female development Brewster, 1998; Roberts and Newton, 1987; Furst, 1983; Stewart, 1977) but it warrants further investigation in regard to male development. It calls into question the impact that the role of provider has had on male development. The expectations it has historically placed on men has limited their development in significant ways. It has kept them from fully experiencing vital interpersonal needs and desires (Meth, 1990).

The Dream is an important phenomenon that requires further discussion and investigation. It brings a sense of directed purpose to a man's life. When goals and aspirations lack the underlying sense of conviction that the Dream provides they become hard to sustain and enjoy. However, it is unclear whether all men can identify with this aspect of themselves. Its potential may rest on the right combination of personality factors, talent and passion. As Miller writes in the opening stage directions of Death of a Salesman, "An air of the dream clings to [them], a dream rising out of reality" (1949, p. 11). The Dream must endure the complications of early adulthood and resonate with a man's sense of self.

APPENDIX A**SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW OF PROFESSIONAL MEN
IN EARLY ADULTHOOD****Demographic Information:**

Name:

Address:

Phone number:

Age:

Date of birth:

Marital status:

Number of children:

Level of education:

Current place of work/graduate school:

Current position at work/graduate school:

Current Time:

Tell me about your life now?

Why don't we begin by talking a bit about your life at this point?

Probe A: Where do you live? With whom?

Probe B: Who are the most important people in your life at this time?

What is your professional life like at this time?

What is your family or personal life like at this time?

Are you satisfied with the balance of your professional and personal lives?

Is there anything you would like to change?

Developmental and Family History:

Now I'm going to ask you some questions about your family or origin and early childhood.

Family composition - description of family, including birth order of siblings, ages of family members, level of education of family members, professions.

Family history - ethnic and religious background, living situation, immigration history, deaths, separations, or divorces, SES.

How did you view your parents' professions or occupations as a young boy?

Was your father satisfied with his choice of profession or work?

Was your mother satisfied with her choice of profession or work?

How do you think your father felt about traditional men's roles?

How do you think your mother felt about traditional men's roles?

Did your parents have Dreams that were realized or frustrated?

Did your parents have Dreams or ambitions for you as a young boy?

What did you want to be when you grew up?

Did you have a Dream or vision of what your life would be like as a man?

What were your interests and activities as a young boy?

Did you engage in competitive activity? Of what sort?

Did you engage in cooperative activity with others? Of what sort?

Who were your playmates? Did you play with boys? Did you play with girls?

How did you feel about being a boy?

Did you have a special teacher or role model as a young boy?

The Adolescent Life Structure (ages 13-14 to 17-18):

What was your relationship like with your father?

How did your father envision your life as an adult man?

Probe A: Did he encourage you to have a profession or career? Of what sort?

Probe B: Did he see you involved the domestic sphere of family and home?

Probe C: How did you feel about your father's vision of your future?

What was your relationship like with your mother?

How did your mother envision your life as an adult man?

Probe A: Did she encourage you to have a profession or career? Of what sort?

Probe B: Did she see you involved in the domestic sphere of family and home?

Probe C: How did you feel about your mother's vision of your future?

What was your parent's relationship like?

What were your relationships with your siblings like?

What were your interests or favorite activities?

Who were your friends?

Probe A: Did you ever talk about your future careers with them?

Probe B: If so, what were their reactions to your ideas about your future occupation?

Did you have an important teacher or mentor?

What do you remember about going through puberty?

At what point do you remember being interested in girls? How was this handled by your family?

Did you think seriously about an adult occupation or career? Did you talk to anyone about it? What was their response?

Did you think about getting married? Did you think about having children?

The Early Adult Transition (ages 17 to 22-23):

What was leaving home like for you?

How did you make the decision about what college to attend?

What new relationships did you develop after you left home?

Did you date? Did you have an important relationship?

How did you chose a major?

Did you have a Dream?

What kind of career did you think about having? Did you talk to anyone about your career? What was their response?

Did you think about marriage?

Did you have a mentor or important professor in your life?

Did you go to graduate or professional school? How did you make that decision? Who did you talk to about it?

What was graduate school like for you? How did your male/female classmates respond to you?

How did you feel about working/going to school in a your chosen profession?

The Entry Life Structure (ages 22-23 to 28-29):

How did you get your first job? What was it like?

How do you think your gender influenced your job at this time?

How did you feel about working?

Probe A: Were you satisfied in the role? Why?

Probe B: If not, why not?

THE JOB

Probe A: Did your work environment meet your expectations?

Probe B: Was anything lacking for you?

Probe C: What made you leave or stay?

Did you have a Dream? Was your profession helping you to attain your Dream?

Did you have a mentor? What was your relationship with your mentor like?

How did you feel about balancing your work and personal commitments?

Did your relationship with your family of origin change at this time? How so?

How did your family of origin feel about your choice of careers?

Did you feel supported by others as you began your career?

What sort of difficulties did you face as you began your career?

If married, what was the relationship with your spouse like at this time?

Probe A: How did your spouse feel about your career?

Probe B: How did you feel about balancing your relationship with your work?

If not married, did you think about getting married? Did you have a significant relationship?

The Age-Thirty Transition (ages 28-29 to 33-34):

What is the experience of turning 30 been like?

What changes have occurred in your personal and professional life at this time?

How does your Dream fit into your life?

THE JOB

As you became more successful in terms of position and compensation, how did other people (wife/girlfriend, parents, siblings, and friends) respond to your achievements?

How do you feel about your work? Are you satisfied?

What has become of you mentoring relationship at this time?

If married, what is your marriage like at this time?

If not married, are you involved in a relationship. What was that like?

How did you feel about the balance of your work and personal life at this time?

Where would you like to be at 35, 40, 50?

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