INFORMATION TO USERS

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

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

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

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

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

UMI

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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Narratives of Growth and Transformation among Adult College Students: The Role of Hardiness within a Larger Social Context

by

David Elliott Koch

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

1998

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UMI Number: 9830728

Copyright 1998 by
Koch, David Elliott

All rights reserved.

UMI Microform 9830728
Copyright 1998, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.

This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.

UMI
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

© 1998

DAVID ELLIOTT KOCH

All Rights Reserved

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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

14 April 1998
Date

Joanne C Ouellette
Chair of Examining Committee

21 April 1998
Date

Executive Officer

Professor Gary Winkel

Professor Michelle Fine

Supervisory Committee

CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Abstract

NARRATIVES OF GROWTH AND TRANSFORMATION
AMONG ADULT COLLEGE STUDENTS:
THE ROLE OF HARDINESS WITHIN
A LARGER SOCIAL CONTEXT

by

David Elliott Koch

Adviser: Professor Suzanne Ouellette

The role of hardiness (Kobasa, 1979) and critical consciousness (Freire, 1985) was investigated among adult college students. Four research questions were identified. What was the relationship between hardiness (specifically, commitment, control and challenge) and two outcomes, demoralization and self-esteem? To what extent were narratives of personal and political transformation expressed among adult education students? The third question asked whether there was a relationship between transformative narratives and hardiness scores. The fourth question examined the role that gender played among male and female adult students.

A triangulated set of research methods was employed including (1) a quantitative survey (n = 245), (2) focus groups (n = 11) and (3) student narratives of personal and political transformation (n = 105). Stepwise multiple regression analyses revealed that hardiness (the three components of challenge, control and commitment additively combined) was positively and significantly related to both higher self-esteem scores (Rosenberg, 1979) and lower demoralization scores (Dohrenwend, B.S., Shrout, P. E. , Egri, G., &

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mendelsohn, F. S., 1980), controlling for demographic variables. When components were examined separately, it was found that commitment alone was predictive of higher self-esteem and lower demoralization.

Using grounded theory, themes of personal and political transformation emerged in student narratives, reflective of increased critical consciousness. Additional qualitative illustrations of hardiness as well as strain, coping and social support surfaced in student narratives. An examination of the relationship between qualitative measures of the narratives of transformation and quantitative hardiness scores revealed that the presence of transformation narratives was predictive of higher hardiness scores though when the subcomponents of hardiness were analyzed, transformative narratives was predictive only of commitment and not control and challenge scores.

Focus groups examined how men and women differentially navigate their student roles. It was found that while both men and women address strain and growth in the education setting, there were substantial differences as well. Men went to school with an unacknowledged set of supports from partners and spouses that women did not have. This illustrated Hochschild's (1989) construct of the second shift, extended into the adult student setting.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Acknowledgments

This work was accomplished with the help, support and guidance of many individuals and groups. First, I would like to acknowledge the financial support of the National Institute of Mental Health that provided me with a Health Psychology training grant. This training grant has supported an intellectual community at the Graduate Center of students and faculty interested in health psychology research and has been instrumental in my growth as a health psychology researcher.

I would like to thank the members of my supervisory committee whose ongoing assistance has been indispensable to the development and completion of this project. I wish to thank Professor Gary Winkel who a number of years ago first alerted me to the value of qualitative research with both its potential and challenge for health psychology research.

I am indebted to Professor Michelle Fine who provided an enormous level of support and guidance during critical turning points in this project. Furthermore, it was Professor Fine who taught me that a critical analysis of justice and oppression must occupy a central position in current psychological thought.

I particularly wish to thank Professor Suzanne Ouellette, my dissertation advisor, who provided consistent support for my intellectual curiosity and a rich setting within which to explore my ideas about hardiness and critical consciousness. She believed in my abilities to finish this dissertation at times when I was in more doubt. Her clarity of thinking

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

combined with an openness to qualitative methods in investigating hardiness sustained me throughout this dissertation research.

I wish to thank Professor Tracey Revenson who, when I returned to graduate studies, demanded a level of rigorous thinking that I have continued to use throughout this dissertation research.

My partner, Jeffrey Karaban, has played such a central role in my life that I could not have accomplished this dissertation without his ongoing emotional and intellectual support. My gratitude is boundless for his constancy as well as for the honesty and authenticity with which he critiqued (as well as supported) my thinking and my writing throughout my graduate studies.

Finally, I would like to thank my father, Dr. Bernard Koch, who has provided me with an ongoing role model of hardiness. His strength and tenacity in the face of strain and challenge has served as a beacon to illuminate my way.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table of Contents:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

List of Tables

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Research Aims:

Over the past twenty years, the number of adult non-traditional college students has grown considerably, representing a substantial proportion of the overall college population. Of the nearly 14.7 million students enrolled in institutions of higher education in 1992, over 6.3 million were considered part-time. Previous reports have revealed that over 80% of part time students were adult. Projections through 2000 reflect an increasing proportion of part-time adult students particularly among women and for both women and men over 35. With these figures in mind, one sees that an investigation of the adult reentry student is a vital area of research (Crimmins & Riddler, 1985; National Center for Educational Statistics, [NCES], 1994).

There have been surveys of the factors that differentiate adult learners from traditional students, including motivational, situational and cognitive factors. More recently, attention has focused on two areas. One has addressed the adult transitions and role expectancies that trigger college entry (Aslanian & Brickell, 1980; Schlossberg, Lynch & Chickering, 1989). Typically, the studies agree that the role of student is added to pre-existing roles in adulthood that are extremely difficult to abandon; as a result, the student role has a different set of meanings for an adult in their mid-twenties to mid-forties than for an 18-22 year old. Returning to school represents a substantial time commitment and financial strain for adults. They contend with children, baby-sitters, overtime demands at work, their own tuition bills as well as those of their

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

children. Adult students frequently negotiate a spectrum of roles that the traditional young student may not be participate in or be aware of.

A substantial literature has developed surrounding such multiple stressors of work, household activities and parenting (see Crosby, 1987; also, Barnett, 1993 for a review). There have been few attempts to integrate the reentering adult student role within these configurations. These research efforts have attempted to disentangle gender, spousal and family role relationships and employment and the relationship these variables have to positive and negative mental health outcomes. Empirical efforts have generally supported the thesis that increasing the number of roles one occupies (combined with the quality of the role) has positive effects particularly for women (Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Voydanoff, 1988).

However, few studies have addressed the vocabulary students use when addressing the growth and strain that accompanies an adult's reentry into college. It is the task of this dissertation to examine the meanings that individuals attach to a student identity as it is combined with other more permanent identities. Despite the challenges that occur within work, family and school domains, substantial numbers of adult students complete the requirements for a bachelor's degree without serious negative consequences. In fact, one finds for both men and women, that reentry into a college setting can provide increased evidence of agency as well as a sense of competence and mastery (Mezirow, 1991; Mishler, 1983; Robertson, 1993; Schlossberg, 1984).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In the general stress research literature, with only a modest relationship existing between stressful life events and distress, numerous stress resistance factors have been introduced that are presumed to moderate the relationship between stressful life events and distress. Those who are experiencing high stress will have lowered distress and higher psychological well-being if certain stress resistance factors are operating. One such resource that has been shown to moderate the distress associated with stressful life events has been hardiness (Gentry & Ouellette Kobasa, 1984). Hardiness, as a personality orientation, represents a stance toward one's self and the world that is characterized by a sense of commitment, challenge and control (Kobasa, Maddi & Kahn, 1982). In a variety of samples including male executives, army officers, nurses, traditional undergraduates and disaster workers, hardiness has exerted direct and moderating effects on negative physical and mental health symptoms such that those high in hardiness are apt to respond to highly stressful conditions with less depression, fewer physical symptoms and greater life satisfaction and well-being. While hardiness has always been conceptualized as a stance of "self" in the world, it has become evident that one must also examine hardiness in the context of specific venues that foster or inhibit its emergence. The adult education setting with its potential for growth at an adult stage of life may provide such a venue.

A second educational literature has emerged out of a radical pedagogical paradigm (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993; Cunningham, 1992;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Freire, 1985; Giroux & Aronowitz, 1991; Ross-Gordon, 1991; Shor & Freire, 1987) that critiques the capitalist hegemonic structure that surrounds and uses educational systems to reproduce class, gender and racial inequalities. A consideration of how the educational system reproduces class-based inequities is particularly relevant for an adult, primarily female working class population. One wonders what role education plays in emancipating the individual, in providing a setting where the inequities of class, race and gender would be addressed. A central dimension of this dissertation is to identify layers of growth and transformation that adult students express concerning the educational experience. Critical consciousness to Freire (Freire, 1985; Shor & Freire, 1987) involves the transformation that the student experiences in the service of confronting this inequitable social system combined with an increasing awareness of the need for social justice. I am convinced that for the adult student, transformation can also include the incremental development of personal mastery and autonomy in the face of a educational system that values schooling only for vocational preparation and better paying jobs. It is a central task of this dissertation to examine the tensions that surround these dimensions of transformation as well as its relationship to hardiness.

Gender may be a particularly relevant area within which to explore agency in an educational context. Women who have reentered college as adults have consistently seen the process as an agentic one that can provide access to personal empowerment (Robertson, 1993; Schlossberg, 1984).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Education can provide alternative visions and support for students, particularly for adult students who are bringing more extensive work and life history experiences into the classroom. Critical theory can provide a lens into the meanings that individuals sustain about education and its role in their lives.

Placing hardiness within the educational context understood through a critical lens facilitates a deeper understanding of the intersection of personality and social and cultural factors. Looking at gender and adult education furthers a deeper understanding of how men and women strategically and differentially navigate the adult educational experience. The dissertation had the following aims:

1. to examine the role that hardiness plays within the lives of adult students.
2. to examine how growth and strain emerge through the narratives that adult students relate concerning their roles of student, parent, worker and partner.
3. to assess the role that transformative and non-transformative learning experiences play within the educational experiences of adult students.
4. to address the role that gender plays within the lives of returning adult undergraduate students.
5. to extend the methodology of hardiness beyond psychometric research into the narratives of hardiness in adult students' lives.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Critical Literature Review

Overview

First, a review of the literature in education examines the adult student experience and the effect that life transitions have on adult students' motivation, performance and well-being. A critical literature review of hardiness as a personality construct follows, with an assessment of the research questions that have used hardiness as a variable in health research during the past 19 years. The greater part of the research using hardiness has addressed its moderating role on the negative effects of stressful life events, yet more current research efforts have turned to the mediating factors that make hardiness effective. Recent views of hardiness point to the utility of hardiness as a latent variable which will have an effect on positive and negative well-being depending on its contextual setting. A final review traces the development of a critical androgogical theory from its roots in Dewey's progressive stance toward adult education to the more current reproductionist theories of Gramsci and Bourdieu (Dewey, 1966; Bourdieu, 1984).

Adult Students: A study in transitions

"Are adult students misfits in a strange and foreign land, viewed as retreads in a kind of salvage operation, sadly out of step with the learning cycle and even with the life cycle itself " (Boyer, 1974, p.6).

While the answer to this rhetorical question is unequivocally no, the question anecdotally resonates with the experiences of many adult students

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and reflects the thoughts of many traditional educators. This dissertation examines the adult student who is either returning to college to finish a bachelor's degree or who may, for a variety of reasons, start college after the normative ages of 18-22. The field of adult education has focused on the differences between traditional and non-traditional adult students in their motivations to learn, the type of learning environment they respond to and the type of cognitive activity that best suits their needs.

Adult education has been defined as "a process whereby persons whose major social roles are characterized by an adult status (normally over 25), undertake systematic and sustained learning activities for the purpose of bringing about changes in knowledge, attitudes, values and skills " (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982, p. 9). Authors in the field of adult education have investigated the situational, institutional and dispositional factors that impede or facilitate adult learning across the entire spectrum of non-traditional education (Brookfield, 1984; Elias & Merriam, 1980; Merriam, 1987). This includes non-credit, work based learning, skills development and the like (Merriam & Cunningham, 1989).

Others have centered their discussion of adult education on the type of learning adults engage in that places them in a different position from traditional college age students. The field of andragogy developed in response to the construct of pedagogy and emphasizes the learning differences between adults and younger students (Brookfield, 1986; Knowles, 1980). Andragogy emphasizes the differences based on the reservoir of experience the adult

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

possesses, a certain readiness that is developmentally based with an internal motivation for self-directed learning. Further work in the area of "perspective transformations" (Mezirow, 1991) emphasizes that adults deal with material differently than younger people, with more emphasis on the self-directed and collaborative nature of the educational process. The range of adult education, then, is quite broad, ranging from the societal to the cognitive and within settings as diverse as the work site, the community college and the correctional facility (Rachal, 1989). It includes work with the elderly, with specific sub-populations and with individuals interested in a particular type of skill.

What this dissertation research delimited, however, is an area of adult education that has received less attention. First, the area of credit bearing programs for adults in a traditional liberal arts college setting narrows the scope of adult education. (Hatfield, 1989). Secondly, the focus of this dissertation is on how adults in college settings mesh the identity of student within the spectrum of identities that they claim.

Aslanian & Brickell (1980) and Schlossberg. Lynch, and Chickering (1989), for example, have placed the adult education experience within a life transitions model (Knox, 1977; Merriam & McClark, 1991; Schlossberg, 1984). Aslanian & Brickell have investigated the transitions from one stage of development to the next and the impact these stages have on the decision to return to school. Tied to this emphasis on developmental transitions as stimulating a return to school, is a renewed understanding of the role of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

adult student set in the context of other roles that the individual inhabits. Knox (1977) addresses this by arguing that

> when a change event occurs, the need for some adaptation produces a heightened readiness to engage in educative activity. The resulting educative activity may be directly or indirectly related to the change event and the relation may or may not be recognized by the individual (p. 539).

Knox was one of the first authors systematically to link adult learning to adult life changes and particularly to adult identity configurations. He goes on to suggest that adult learning is tied to the demands of roles which require new knowledge, new skills and new attitudes and values.

Merriam and Caffarella (1991, pp. 303-304) argue that "adults typically add the role of learner onto other full time occupations." The adult education literature has focused on how reentry students prioritize their lives and handle too much activity with too little time. Spanard (1990) argues that the intent to reenter college as an adult is mediated by an assessment of time and life priorities, including money and social support. Mishler (1983) found that 44% of the students cited a conflict between time demands of work and school with about a quarter of the sample arguing that family responsibilities were a hardship in terms of one's role as a student. Garrison (1985, 1988) suggests that the impact and integration of school into the social environment of the adult learner will predict persistence or drop out within the educational setting. One informant that Apps (1986, p. 8-9) cites articulates the strain in balancing

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

her multiple roles by saying " I won't have time 'til the end of the semester. I'm not sure I can get everything done. I'm not sure I will meet my responsibilities to the people at work, and to myself and my husband." Apps argues, like Cross (1981) that institutional, situational and psychosocial barriers can affect persistence in education for the adult student. Of note is that situational features include role and financial strain, home responsibilities, money and transportation. Psychosocial features include attitudes, beliefs, values, self-esteem, past experiences, one's hopes and fears of the future. Of particular interest in the literature is the role that gender plays in the adult student experience, including the development of a sense of mastery and competence. The role of gender in adult education is also framed by the larger numbers of women who are returning to school (National Center for Educational Statistics, [NCES], 1994). It could also be argued that dispositional factors may additionally play a role in how people construct their student identity and how they mesh that identity with their other identities.

People do continue to go to school in large numbers. When asked, adult students talk about career, vocational change and increased money; however there is substantial evidence, particularly among women, that other reasons must be included in any assessment of why students reenter school. Reasons include thinking about issues in a critical way, developing a sense of competence, developing a sense of independence, finishing something that had been started earlier in one's life (Sewall, 1984).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Aslanian and Brickell (1980) found that 83% of 2000 participants in a nationwide probability sample have had some experience with adult or continuing education. Of these adult learners, the reasons learners had for being involved in adult education had to do with transition triggers, tied primarily to career trajectories and secondarily to family, leisure, art, health and religion. Adults according to Schlossberg & Lynch (1984) and Aslanian and Brickell (1980) are particularly likely to learn at these points of transition. Reasons for adult education vary depending on the sample but certain commonalties do emerge. Adults volunteer that they return to school for practical reasons – for jobs, for advancement and for more money. Increasingly, Aslanian and Brickell found increased participation in adult education among women, minorities (particularly Latinos and Asians) and individuals over the age of 35.

Much of the work in adult education has focused on the motivations and barriers to participation in adult education. The barrier that is cited most frequently as an impediment to adult education is a lack of time, followed by individual problems and the perceived difficulty of the educational process. It is significant to note that the fourth most commonly cited reason for not participating in adult education are normative sanctions that people perceive as arising from participation in adult education programs (Houle, 1980).

A possible strain within the experience of the adult student is the social clock trajectory that places transitions of life events within a normative, temporal framework. Neugarten & Hagestad (1976) and Neugarten 1979)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

popularized the concept of on- and off-time scheduling when they suggested that there was a socially constructed timetable for major adult life events. Neugarten further argued that "age norms and expectations operate as a system of social controls, as prods and brakes, hastening and delaying" (p.16). Individuals come to understand their social clock trajectory and begin to describe themselves as early, late or on-time. Normative sanctions by others as well as a depletion in social support for being temporally off-schedule can lead to distress. Pearlin (1983) has differentiated on and off time events by looking at anticipated and unanticipated normative events. Rook, Catalano, & Dooley, (1989) have focused also on dividing events into early, late and on-time events as well as undesirable and desirable events. In one study on the social clock phenomena, Rook, Catalano, & Dooley examined the effect of being off-time on distress. They found that being late in a temporally non-normative but desirable event (e.g., going to college) was associated with distress whereas being early was not. The social clock remains an intriguing construct that has received some marginal support. What should be noted about the Rook, Catalano & Dooley study was that statistically, the actual ages that people finished schooling was quite variable with a substantial number of students going to school later in life. This is suggestive of what Neugarten and Neugarten (1983) have come to view as the fluid nature of adult roles. As one ages, substantial variation develops within adulthood without the same kind of normative structuring that perhaps existed in previous cohorts. Rather than seeing the social clock trajectory of adult education as proscribed,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

one can begin by investigating the role that being in school normatively late plays for individual students. Perhaps for one student, being late is a salient dimension of one's student identity; however, it may not be salient for all adult students.

The factors that facilitate and impede participation in adult education programs combined with the dispositional factors that facilitate well-being are of particular relevance in this dissertation. In a recent qualitative study of nurses who have reentered college environment, Thompson (1992) has addressed the situational and dispositional factors that influence reentry behavior. Two themes of potential interest to this dissertation emerged from her interviews with 14 nurses. One, "finding the right time" reflects two subthemes of "commitment" to the educative process and "reslicing the pie". The former subtheme reflects a sense of involvement with the college experience which, if is not present, would be likely to lead to "stopping off" whereas "reslicing of the pie" frames the reprioritizing function that individuals engage in when confronted with a new identity and new demands on time. "Maintaining the balance" is composed of "juggling" both internal and external factors that, if kept in balance, would lead to persistence as a student. If imbalance occurs in these internal and external factors, one can not continue to juggle the various roles of one's life, leading to dropping out or "stopping off".

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gender and Adult Education

The effect of gender in higher education has been looked at by a number of researchers (Gilbert, Holahan & Manning, 1981; Holahan & Gilbert, 1979). The fact that women are represented in greater numbers of reentry adults due to the impact of the women's movement and the increase in professional involvement in the work force has stimulated research into the effect that adult education has had on women's lives (Amstey & Whitbourne, 1981; Ballmer & Cozby, 1981). The differences between the educational roles of men and women are substantial; many have argued that the salience of women's parenting roles combined with one's identity as a worker and a parent have led to increased role strain among women. Others have disputed this finding, suggesting that women have thrived from this increased role differentiation. Gilbert and Holahan (1982) have found spillover between the student/professional role and the parenting role with women reporting substantially higher role conflict and different types of coping mechanisms. Garrison (1985) found that not only were women more prevalent among adult reentry students, but also represented different patterns of progress toward their degree. Women were more apt to have more interruptions in their school trajectory than men though a substantial number finished degree programs sooner (Robertson, 1991). Priorities, money and family responsibilities may interfere with the timely plans to finish one's degree program. Robertson (1993), in a phenomenological analysis of women's college reentry, found that the integration of college into one's life

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

with its meaning as an important dream for one's life was of particular relevance for reentry women. One informant suggested that " it was the first time I had an agenda. and it was the first time where I made a decision that my agenda was important". It is interesting to note that Robertson focuses on the integration of worker, family and student roles. In an exploratory study of female GED students, Delight (1982) found that, at least for women, one must look at significant social resources (particularly spousal support) in the successful completion of a college program. Ballmer & Cozby (1981), however, found (using the Family Environment Scale) that the family environment of returning female students was characterized as less cohesive, more conflicted, more independent and less controlling than the non-returning adult women. Gender, as it is situated and negotiated in school and home, becomes a critical variable to consider in any discussion of the adult student.

It becomes increasingly clear that adult students are different than traditionally aged students. They are more likely to be female, more likely to be working class (Kasworm, 1990a; Kasworm, 1990b; Kasworm & Pike, 1994), very likely to be involved in a number of other role domains with a more complex set of identities. They are less likely to be involved with college life because their time is so limited. An important dimension of the adult student experience is this complex set of identities and the context of strain and growth within which the adult student becomes situated.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chronic strains: A theoretical context

There have been diverse ways of conceptualizing stressors and strains that have an effect on the physical and mental health of individuals. Perhaps the dominant trend over the past 30 years has centered on the depiction and measurement of stressful life events and their relationship to physical illness and mental health indices (see Dohrenwend & Dohrenwend, 1974; 1981 for a review of this literature; Thoits, 1983a) This relationship between life events and distress or illness has been facilitated by the development of various scales that measure the accumulation of life events. These scales all work under the assumption that increased numbers of life events are associated with increased physical illness or psychological distress. The focal point of stressful life events rests on the assumption that major events, whether positive or negative, cause sufficient internal strain to lead to physical and mental health outcomes. Though there is substantial literature to reflect this statistically significant relationship, the relationship has been modest.

Pearlin (1983; 1982; 1989) and Wheaten (1990) have argued that stressful life events are less powerful than chronic ongoing strains that exist in a person's life. Stressful life events account for a small percentage of the variance in distress that an individual experiences. More telling are issues of conflict and strain that emerge out of one's roles in daily life and are related to the identities which one subjectively constructs. When addressing role domains, one is looking at the problems that emerge over time within one's role sets as well as what some have termed "statuses" in society such as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

gender, age, race, ethnicity and sexual orientation. These continuities in life can become a source of chronic strain that affects mental and physical health depending on the nature of cognitive and personality resources available to the individual (Thoits, 1983b; Thoits 1986). There are myriad strains that can affect individuals within the constellation of role sets including intrarole conflict, interpersonal conflicts within role sets, and interrole conflict amongst others. Beutell & Greenhaus (1986) argue that strains exist across the different roles of work/family/school. Of central concern in this dissertation is the role that time-based interference plays in the discussion that surrounds adult education. Other strains cited by Pearlin include role captivity, role restructuring and ambient strains. Much effort has been made to scale strains as well as stressful life events. It would appear, however, that one must also investigate the lived experience of individuals, who in the context of a student role encounter both strains as well as growth-oriented behavior. This dissertation will make every effort to draw on both.

A set of opposing conceptualizations with a rich, albeit conflicted literature, has investigated multiple roles and their impact on psychological well-being. Though beyond the scope of this dissertation, one's involvement in many roles has been seen as either enhancing or limiting. One view, the scarcity model (Goode, 1960), sees role strain as ubiquitous in social life, arguing that role strain inevitably emerges when there is difficulty in meeting role demands. The scarcity model assumes that there is limited energy and that the depletion inherent in role overload and role conflict makes distress

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

inevitable. Marks (1977) argues that the scarcity model proposed by Goode was essentially an hydraulic and mechanistic model. The scarcity model assumes that energy is finite and that one could not construct room for new commitments nor find these new commitments fulfilling and enhancing.

Sieber (1974) argues for an alternative view concerning multiple roles– namely the enhancement theory. This model suggests that that multiple roles offer positive elements that can outweigh the negative role demands. Multiple roles can offer privileges with which one can legitimately reduce one's visibility in one role to handle another. Second, in the enhancement model, one can see a diversification of roles where one's involvement in more roles can buffer strain. Third, one can receive "perks" from a variety of roles that compensate for the time and energy demands. Lastly, enhancement theory permits increased personality enrichment and ego gratification. Marks makes a similar argument that there are no limits on the expansion of commitment within activities and between role partners. The suggestive point that Marks makes is that energy is not truly finite and that roles are not inherently greedy, siphoning off one's energy until one feels necessarily depleted, depressed and ill.

Sieber makes a point of particular relevance to this proposed research when he suggested that "a profitable line of research would seem to lie in the direction of studying what kinds of personalities suffer or thrive under what kinds of conditions when confronted with what kinds of multiple roles"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(p. 576). This statement reflects an appreciation for the role that personality plays within one's role-identities.

This research effort that surrounds multiple role relationships has generated a great deal of research effort, much of it contradictory in nature. One clear conclusion that emerges is that, typically, more than one role is helpful to adaptation but may be helpful differently for men and women. The role of parent is a complex addition to partner and worker role and does not consistently lead to positive well-being in men and women. In men, working and having children at home has lead to positive outcomes in some studies (Pleck, 1985) but has also lead to distress in others. Researchers have found that men who have children at home are less distressed than those without children whereas this is not the case with women. One might, therefore, consider collecting data that reveal a "thicker", more vivid picture of the spectrum of identities within which the adult student is situated to attain a clearer picture of their well-being and distress. This complex depiction of strain and growth, this spectrum of multifaceted identities is further informed by considering the role that personality plays and particularly considering the buffering role that hardiness might play.

Hardiness: A theoretical review.

A non-traditional adult college population will provide a useful venue within which to examine hardiness. While male executives have provided the earliest evidence of buffering effects within a population thought to be experiencing substantial stressful life events (Kobasa, 1979; Maddi & Kobasa,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1984), college re-entry students are primarily female, within the age range of 22-45, many with family and work stressors. One might expect adult reentry students to express commitment to college goals that are demanding in nature, to experience some sense of control with regard to the decision of going back to school (though less control once in school) and particularly to experience a sense of challenge embedded in the task of going to school later in life.

Hardiness has been conceptualized as a stance toward the self and the world that is characterized by these components of commitment, control and challenge. These three components, combined, tell us something about an individual's personality within a social and stress filled context and is predictive of health and distress outcomes (Kobasa, Maddi & Kahn, 1982).

Commitment has been characterized as a "tendency to involve oneself in (rather than experience alienation from) whatever one is doing or encounters (Kobasa, Maddi, & Kahn, 1982, p.169). " It suggests a sense of purpose toward their environment and suggests a proactive sense of involvement rather than one of passivity and reaction. Control expresses an individual's sense of "influence" within the context of life activities. In contrast to a feeling of helplessness, control connotes an inner sense of choice over life events. Individuals have a sense that they can handle events as they emerge and that they have the tools to deal with challenging and threatening circumstances. Challenge suggests a stance toward the self in a changing and moving world. An individual with challenge is capable of seeing change as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the "norm" in life with the changes that occur as "incentives to growth rather than threats to security". The novel and transforming world is not seen as a threat but rather in terms of flexibility and interest.

The existential view of personality within which hardiness is situated is substantially drawn from the work of Maddi (1989) and others who have focused on genuineness, honesty and decision-making as essential human responsibilities that contribute to the authentic person. Placed firmly within a biological, social and personal context, the existential view argues that individuals need to symbolize, imagine and judge in order to feel satisfied and to avoid frustration. These processes suggest that individuals are in an ongoing process of searching for meaning in life, of making decisions and taking responsibility for those decisions. How different this view might seem to those who are more familiar with the push of environmental models, the pull of impulse drive models or the stasis of a taxonomic view of personality.

To the existential psychologist, life is seen as a series of situations involving choice and decision making in the context of doubt and change. One can begin to tease out the threads of hardiness in this view by seeing life as tied to a commitment to the decisions one faces, challenge as emerging in the context of a seeing the world as changeable and control as making a decision to face uncertainty with some inner sense that one has influence. Individuals constantly confront ontological guilt and anxiety through the acceptance of uncertainty; it is through tenacity in face of anxiety that one can lead the good life. The move toward security and away from challenge is to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

embrace an ontological guilt over the finiteness of life and the fears that one's actions can not lead to good outcomes. One can move into the unknown, into the unpredictable or one can retreat into the familiar, the given or the past. While the future is growth oriented it is also novel and anxiety producing; the past, while attractive, suggests one has sacrificed growth for security. Though possibilities we construct carry risk and elicit fear (ontological anxiety), the retreat becomes aligned with the sense of ontological guilt that is experienced when one realizes that safety and lost opportunities become more important than these new possibilities.

It is through assuming that life is unpredictable that hardiness moves away from other "salutogenic" theories of stress resistance. Antonovosky (1987), for example, argues that the sense of coherence (SOC) leads one toward predictability and stability, not toward unpredictability. One point becomes increasingly clear. Challenge is theoretically a central component of the construct of hardiness in so far as it addresses the assumption that individuals deal with a world full of change and unpredictability. This sense of challenge is reflected in a cognitive flexibility in the face of new and potentially stress-producing information. The sense of control reflects the existential focus on individual influence in the context of a search for meaning. The concern for engagement and responsibility, for genuineness and authenticity is mirrored in the construct of commitment.

When one integrates hardiness within a program of research, it is critical to contextualize the construct. One must investigate the population

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

under discussion, the culture in which the population is located, the developmental trajectory as well as the specific context for the display of hardiness. The original construct and theory was driven by the concerns of adulthood and how in some emblematic manner, individuals are able to love and work effectively in the face of challenges in life. The original research was used in samples of male mid-life executives undergoing substantial work stressors. Personality dispositions such as hardiness do not exist in a developmental, cultural or situational vacuum, but rather constitute a form of transaction between the stable disposition and the structural or situational context. The next section addresses how hardiness has been investigated.

Hardiness: A research agenda

Over the course of the past 19 years, converging evidence points to the effectiveness of hardiness in moderating the impact of stressful life events on physical and mental health outcomes (Kobasa, 1979; Kobasa, Maddi, & Kahn, 1982). Both retrospective and prospective research have demonstrated a direct and buffering role for hardiness. The original research used discriminant function analysis to differentiate high stress/low illness executives from high stress/high illness executives in hardiness levels. Kobasa combined the three components, challenge, control and commitment into one additive scale using 19 scales. Subsequent research using a second generation hardiness test, incorporating 6 subscales, demonstrated prospectively that individuals high in hardiness reported fewer illnesses. Controlling for prior illness, stressful life events were linked to increased and higher hardiness with a decrease in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

illness. Subsequent research extended the convergent and discriminant validity of the construct through addressing the joint effects of constitutional predisposition, social support and Type A personality (Kobasa, Maddi, & Courington, 1981; Kobasa, Maddi & Puccetti, 1982; Kobasa, Maddi, & Zola, 1983; Kobasa & Puccetti, 1983). Research demonstrated that stress resistance factors such as social support, hardiness and exercise were health protective but that hardiness was the most effective moderator of stressful life events. Further work with lawyers, army personnel, social workers and individuals in a variety of populations have extended the construct validity of hardiness (Gentry & Ouellette-Kobasa, 1984; Kobasa, 1982).

The research in hardiness has taken two directions. One pathway has continued to investigate the moderating effects that hardiness plays on physical illness and mental health. This pathway has attempted to address the individual and joint effect that hardiness has played with other stress resistance variables within a variety of differing samples using different stressors. There has been conflicted evidence for the buffering effect of hardiness though the direct effect between hardiness and mental and physical health outcomes has been stronger (Manning, Williams & Wolfe, 1988; Sheppard & Kashani, 1991). Evidence among nurses (McCranie, Lambert & Lambert, 1987; Rich, & Rich, 1987; Topf, 1989) among undergraduates (Banks & Gannon, 1988) and patient populations (Lambert, Lambert, Klipple & Mewshaw, 1989) attest to the conflicted state of findings within the hardiness literature.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Perhaps one of the strongest studies that more recently illustrates the role of the buffering effect of hardiness on physical and mental health was demonstrated through research on disaster assistance workers. (Bartone, Ursano, Wright, & Ingraham, 1989). Using a shorter and modified version of the hardiness scale, Bartone et al., found that three factors, challenge, commitment and control emerged in a factor analysis. In addition to a direct effect between hardiness and psychological well-being, they further demonstrated that well-being was lower for those officers high in stress exposure and low on either social support or hardiness.

The second pathway in hardiness literature has investigated the mediational pathways that make hardiness effective as a stress resistance factor. For example, Wiebe & McCallum (1986) found that hardiness exerted an impact on illness through changing health practices though a mediational role for hardiness through fitness was not found in subsequent research (Roth, Wiebe, Fillingim & Shay, 1989). Research efforts have addressed the appraisal process whereby more hardy individuals appraise events differently than less hardy individuals. Though the results across studies have been conflicted, parts of the components of hardiness have been shown to mediate how individuals perceive stress (Hull, Van Treuren, & Propsom, 1988; Rhodewalt & Zone, 1989). Lastly, hardiness has been related to differential levels of physiological reactivity that may mediate the higher well-being of hardier individuals. However, research in this area is conflicted since one

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

study (Contrada, 1989) reported lowered physiological reactivity while another study (Allred & Smith, 1989) reports increased reactivity.

Finally, one recent study revealed that certain components of hardiness have an effect on psychological well-being and distress through the mediation of cognitive appraisal and coping (Florian, Mikulincer & Taubman, 1995). It has long been hypothesized that the mediational pathway for hardiness was through coping and particularly through transformational coping. Florian, Mikulincer & Taubman add qualified support for the idea that hardiness affects positive well-being and distress through specific types of coping processes. The use of mediational pathways through which a better understanding of how the mechanism of hardiness works is gradually becoming accepted as the next step in the research program of hardiness. The use of Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) permits one to delineate (and test) a model of how hardiness is structured with regard to individual components as well as the impact these components (as well as the latent variable) have on specific adaptational outcomes (Funk, 1992; Hull, Lehn, & Tedlie, 1991).

Hardiness: Measurement issues.

The measurement of hardiness has elicited criticism from many researchers, arguing that ambiguity underlies the hardiness scale construction, casting into doubt the role that hardiness plays in mental and physical health. It is important to clarify some of the salient measurement issues concerning the validity and stability of the hardiness construct (see also

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Maddi, 1990; Ouellette, 1993 for a discussion of measurement issues in the hardiness construct).

The Personal Views Survey represents a third generation hardiness scale that evolved in response to a number of critiques concerning previous scale construction. Remembering that hardiness is a theoretically driven construct, the original study (Kobasa, 1979) used 19 scales that tapped on one factor combining commitment, control and challenge that differentiated samples of high stress/low illness executives from high stress/high illness executives.

Subsequently, a second generation test evolved with strong discriminant and convergent validity, adequate reliability that yielded three factors. A third generation scale has emerged that has addressed a number of the ongoing problems with the earlier scales. The Personal Views Survey, as it has been termed, is a 50 item scale with balanced numbers of challenge, commitment and control items that does not require transformation into z scores, making comparisons with other studies possible. The scale has good internal consistency, is more balanced in terms of negative and positive items, has eliminated some problem items in the challenge scale and is highly correlated with earlier scales.

Hardiness has been criticized as being simply an epiphenomena for a more basic sense of negative affect or neuroticism. While there have been intercorrelations between hardiness and negative affectivity, these correlations have frequently been moderate or not significant (Maddi, 1990;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Maddi & Khoshaba, 1994). This type of criticism presumes that neuroticism is more basic than hardiness. While Funk & Houston (1987) found overlap between hardiness and maladjustment, Florian et al., (1995) were more circumspect on the potential role that maladjustment or neuroticism plays in the hardiness construct.

A number of questions, however, remain. The conceptualization of hardiness as a unitary, additively derived scale composed of three components has spurred criticism about what the construct actually means (Carver; 1989; Funk & Houston, 1987; Hull, Van Treuren & Virnell, 1987). Theoretically, the construct of hardiness depends on the three components, but as these components have differential psychometric properties and predictive value, ambiguity surfaces about what one is actually measuring. The case of the challenge scale is illustrative for the scale has frequently not been predictive of health outcomes and is in fact less stable than the other two components (Contrada, 1989 is an exception). While the earlier studies of hardiness, found buffering and direct effects for the unitary scales (Kobasa, Maddi, & Kahn, 1982; Kobasa, Maddi & Puccetti, 1982; Kobasa, & Puccetti, 1983), more current research efforts have found direct and buffering effects using specific components and not the unitary scale (Florian, Mikulincer & Taubman, 1995; Ganellen, & Blaney, 1984; Manning, Williams, & Wolfe, 1988; Schmeid & Lawler, 1986; Topf, 1989).

Carver (1989) has argued that conceptual ambiguity emerges when a unitary multifaceted construct like hardiness is based on three components.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

What each component contributes in what fashion (additively or synergistically) can lead ultimately to a loss of information, not a gain in understanding. In the case of hardiness, the three separate scales differ greatly in predictive power and reliability with challenge frequently displaying low reliability. Ultimately, our understanding of hardiness becomes obscured by the configuration of these components that is actually being measured.

While a number of researchers have moved away from the unitary construct and are simply looking at separate components, the theoretical demands of the hardiness construct point to developing better ways of effectively reaching for the construct. Of particular note is the role that challenge plays in the assessment of hardiness. It would appear that in an adult college population, challenge would be particularly salient. Additionally, embedding hardiness within the lived experience of research participants demands that we find appropriate qualitative methods that tap hardiness and its components. Linking a measurement tool such as the PVS to more qualitative measures of hardiness within a specific context may facilitate additional construct validity for the construct.

There is a complex relationship between hardiness and the larger social context; it would be a mistake to argue that since hardiness is an individual style or stance toward the self, it ignores political and social realities. This is a simplistic reading of a much more complex construct. While it is true that issues of personal control, commitment and challenge are redolent of an individualistic accountability, these components can be the basis of social

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

action as well. It can be just as easily argued that hardiness is a configuration or stance of self-in-the-world. Such arguments eschew the more pressing question of what role personality takes when placing it within societal and structural dimensions. It is the task of this dissertation to address situational and life stage concerns within which hardiness can become enacted. Educational settings can be the site where hardiness can combine with personal and political transformation to create a new level of critical consciousness and praxis.

A Radical Pedagogy.

> "What I like about Dr. E's class is that she challenges me to think about men and women in a way that I never did before" (graduating senior).

A second more critical strand of theory provides a deeper understanding of the setting within which adult education is situated. When adult reentry students are asked about what they want from going back to school, both men and women (though men in greater numbers) address the central importance of education for the development of vocational goals. Better jobs, more money and the attainment of the "good life" is seen by many as the central goal of adult education. One hears of these vocational goals aligned with the motivation for better paying jobs (Aslanian & Brickell, 1980) and one wonders if the primary goal of a "neutral" dispassionate educational system is to sustain an image that a specific better job with more money will emerge out of one's adult education experience. Little is said

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

about the role that education may play in emancipating the individual, of providing a discussion of criticism with which one can sustain concerted action to make a better social world (Shor & Freire, 1987). One might begin to also examine an educational system that validates and sustains an inequitable class, race, gender and heterosexist system. It is through an examination of this hegemonic educational system, that a better understanding of the potential agency of adult students might be discerned.

A critical andragogy (Knowles, 1980) can be seen as a critique of a system of education that has stressed the rational, seemingly neutral transmission of knowledge without concern for human agency and social action. A radical andragogy would also critique a humanist tradition which focuses on self-actualization, personal development apart from an involvement in the social world. One can begin to see the seeds of a modern radical pedagogy in the work of Dewey (1966) and Lindeman (1926) who are both set within the Progressive Era. Both see education as having a dual function of promoting individual growth as well as promoting social action. One uses education to solve political, economic and social problems as well as help people: 1) acquire the tools for physical, psychological and social survival 2) discover a sense of meaning in one's life and 3) to help people learn how to learn (Apps, 1981; 1986). One can see the compatibility of a radical andragogy with an examination of Lindeman's assessment of the meaning of adult education:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Education will become an agency of progress if its short term goal of self-improvement can be made compatible with a long term experimental policy of changing the social order (p 24).

The progressive agenda includes the practical, the pragmatic and the utilitarian. Dewey saw education as a lifelong experience. Education and particularly adult education were not simply a preparation for maturity but were seen as a continuous growth and illumination of life.

A radical pedagogy (or andragogy when applied to adults) began to challenge the economic and social assumptions that sustained the school as a neutral institution that transferred knowledge. A number of theorists including Freire (1970) began to work toward a different type of critique of the educational system. Freire saw education as perpetuating individual and social oppression while dialogic education permitted one to become aware of solutions. To Freire, education is grounded in an economic, social and political context. Most educators see adult education as nothing more than the transfer of knowledge rather than an increasing "conscientization". Even for Dewey, education was not simply a preparation for jobs, but to support "the broad requirements of citizenship in a democratic society". To Freire, (Shor & Freire, 1987) the goal of empowerment suggested that education would transform, though a dialogic pedagogy, the society to meet individual needs. It is the intention of this dissertation to address the agentic qualities of adult education that facilitate an emancipatory view of one's education.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

However, such an emancipatory view of the role of education presents a counter-hegemonic argument to an educational philosophy that sees schools as agencies of social and cultural reproduction (Merriam, 1987; Beder, 1989). Education, it has been argued, is not about equity but rather inequality. Based on the nature of a class, gender and racial system of oppression, the educational system perpetuates a system of reproduction of the dominant ideology. A countercritique of the educational hegemony argues first that educational systems are agents of social and cultural reproduction at the macro level and that on an individual level, students can develop agentic or critical thinking (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991, 1993).

Different theories account for how the educational system reproduces class, gender and racial inequalities including an economic reproduction thesis, and a hegemonic-state reproduction thesis. While the former sees schools as providing different classes with the knowledge and skill to occupy a stratified workforce (in other words, mirroring the class structure), the former, sees schools as part of an apparatus that legitimizes the importance of the state's power. To Gramsci (1971), for example, the dominance of the ruling class is exercised through an ideological hegemony that carries an intellectual and moral imprimatur. While the educational system is separate from the state, education can serve an oppressive function.

The cultural reproduction model of Bourdieu (1984) provides insight into a system of domination that may be important to consider in an analysis of the adult student–frequently working class, primarily female, increasingly

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

minority. It may serve to underscore the argument that vocational goals are only one dimension of a complex set of symbolic, cultural links in a system of oppression. To Bourdieu, schools do not simply mirror the dominant society but are rather part of a larger set of symbolic institutions that link culture, class and domination. Education can appear as the impartial transmitter of the "valued culture" but it rather effectively promotes inequality. This is accomplished through a "cultural capital" that confirms a ruling class through marginalizing certain types of knowledge or symbolic systems and confirming others. Schools act as a filter through which individuals become slotted into certain positions through the internalization of validated social meanings, linguistic competencies, style and knowledge. Through Bourdieu's concepts of habitat (objectified history of institutions through time) and habitus (the internalized competencies and needs grounded in the body and inculcated through socialization), a dialectic of power emerges. The habitus incorporates deeply the experiences of the different groups in society and becomes a force in the development of a deeply felt ideology that becomes emblematic of domination. In a dialectic with habitat, it can lead to a set of internalized deeply felt impressions that is organizing for the individual. Schooling participates in this deep form of domination, such that class, gender and racial inequities become rooted beyond consciousness and are felt to be natural.

Whatever system of reproduction of class, gender and racial inequities, no model permits individual agency to surface. The core of an existential

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

theory of personality, for example, presents a counterargument that individuals live in a world but have an authentic set of decisions to make, that they have some involvement in their own destiny. The reproductionist models tend to rely less on the individual and more on reified social and economic structures.

What individuals can develop is an agentic view of the educational system. Emancipatory thinking in the face of the educational system exemplifies this agentic view of self. Resistance to and a critique of the educational hegemony can lead to a number of oppositional stances which can express a reluctance to join in the educational domination. As Fine (1992) has pointed out, dropping out of school may represent a resistance to this hegemony and not simply a self destructive set of acts. Similarly, for adult students, "stop-offs" may represent an opportunity to express an agentic stance toward the educational system. Whether a specific act is resistant toward educational domination or simply oppositional or both would seem to depend on context and the development of an ear for the narratives of agency.

Adult education has a rich theoretical background that addresses both individual and social transformations and that considers the transitions that adults encounter throughout their life as significant events in their decisions to reenter a college experience. At the same time there are tremendous gaps in the adult education literature due in no small part to the fast rising numbers of adults in the market place. There has been a emphasis on

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

program development and evaluation as well as the development of new modalities and settings (Anderson, 1997; Elias & Merriam; 1980). Data from a number of convergent research and applied settings argue that adult students come back to school primarily for job advancement and career growth. Aslanian (1996, p. 4) argues that

> the single most important reason for returning to college reported by 90% of the adults dealt with the adults' job/career. Adults return to schooling to gain new competencies to enter, change or advance in their careers. Many relearn just to keep up with their current job.

In large survey samples (Kasworm, 1990b; Kasworm & Pike, 1994; Sewall, 1984) adults rate career and employment concerns as a primary motivation in returning and persevering in school. Adult education specialists and administrators echo this commitment to the vocational motivations of adult students (Brickell & Aslanian, 1987). Underlying this clear employment concern is a more complex picture of the adult student. It is the profound hope of this researcher that this view of the adult student can be rectified, that serious questions about the subjective experience of the adult student as well as the place within which they are societally situated can be examined.

Research Questions

This dissertation examined the following research questions. First, what is the relationship between hardiness and two outcome variables, demoralization and self-esteem within a population of reentry non-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

traditional college students? A few points should be clarified concerning demoralization and self-esteem. Demoralization is an outcome variable that measures non-specific distress. It has been used extensively as a outcome variable in health research studies and has particularly been used with hardiness research (Cassel, Platt & Ouellette, 1991; Dohrenwend, Shrout, Egri & Mendelsohn, 1980; Platt, Ouellette Kobasa, Cassel & Wong, 1991). Self-esteem is a variable that measures a holistic sense of self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1979). It is important to use both positive and negative variables in hardiness research; demoralization and self-esteem are two such outcome variables. It is predicted that students with higher hardiness will display both lower demoralization and higher self-esteem.

Second, are there three valid and reliable subscales of hardiness within this population that are predictive of lower demoralization and higher self-esteem. It is predicted that the three components of hardiness will be related to psychological outcomes such that those with higher hardiness will display lower demoralization and higher self-esteem (controlling for demographic variables). It is further predicted that commitment and challenge are particularly salient components due to the specific demands of the adult education experience. Control may be less salient in a setting where the student is in the classroom and juggling other roles such as parent, worker and spouse/partner. Research in hardiness, must look more carefully at how a specific venue reaches for particular components of hardiness. In some

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

settings, control will be a salient dimension while in others commitment and challenge will be prepotent.

The third research question asks how the narratives of adult students inform our understanding of hardiness and the configuration of challenge, commitment and control. This dissertation examined narratives of growth and strain that adult non-traditional students express and what role hardiness plays within this matrix. It is through discrete narratives written in response to open-ended questions in the survey that I am attempting to further hardiness as well as the components of challenge, commitment and control. It is important to extend this psychometric variable through illustrations drawn from the narratives of the respondents. I search for narratives of strain and growth that students have, being in school at nights and weekends, and look for illustrations of how hardiness becomes integrated within their lives as a student, worker, parent and spouse.

The fourth research question takes the construct of hardiness and expands it to look at adult education as a transformative experience, an opportunity for increased "conscientization" among adult students (Freire, 1985). This dissertation examines the presence of personal and political transformative thinking among adult reentry students. To what extent does one find personal and political transformation present among adult students and to what extent do students feel that education has provided a venue for a critique of the inequities of a hegemonic system based on class, race, and gender? And to what extent is this transformation related to the more

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

standard measure of hardiness. In an educational system characterized by class based hegemony, this dissertation asks for whom and under what conditions is there the development of an agentic and emancipatory view of the self within the social world.

The fifth research question asks what role gender plays within the adult student experience. Previous research argues that the experience of women going back to school is different than the experience of men. The dissertation research seeks to address the role that gender plays within the adult student experience.

Throughout, this dissertation works at the triangulated intersection of qualitative and quantitative methods. Quantitative psychology has often argued for the need for reliable and valid research tools that more effectively assess the mediating and moderating role that variables play within the psychological and social world. Qualitative research looks at the meanings and frames that respondents bring to their personal and social world and ways to conceptually understand the world within which one's respondents are living as well as the roles that researchers play within the world of the respondent. This dissertation integrates two paradigms of research, one that uses survey methodology and one that uses life stories and narratives, in an attempt to better understand the growth and strain that adult reentry college students experience.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

METHOD

Overview

The experience and discussion of growth and strain combined with hardiness and transformation have been investigated using a triangulated methodology. Denzin (1989) and Janesick (1994) address such triangulated models as data triangulation, theory triangulation, methodological triangulation and interdisciplinary triangulation. I have explored the adult student experience against a matrix of convergent methods including 1. quantitative scale-based survey results, 2. narratives concerning the strain and growth of the adult student experience and 3. structured focus group interviews. Each method provided insight into a dimension of the adult student experience while synergistically the three methods provided a lens into the adult student experience as a whole. Table 1 outlines the question and methods used in this dissertation.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 1

Questions, Methods and Samples

Research Question	Method	Sample
Research Question 1 What is the relationship between hardiness and demoralization / self-esteem?	Quantitative Survey	245
Research Question 2 What is the relationship between challenge, control and commitment and demoralization / self-esteem?	Quantitative Survey	245
Research Question 3 What is the nature of growth among adult students and what role does hardiness play?	Qualitative Narratives	105
Research Question 4a What is the nature of personal and political transformation among adult students?	Qualitative Narratives	105
Research Question 4b To what extent is transformation related to standard measures of hardiness?	Quantitative Survey and Qualitative Narratives	65
Research Question 5 What is the role of gender in the adult student experience?	Focus Group Interviews	11

Scale driven quantitative survey

A quantitative survey was designed to answer research questions 1 and 2. The survey sought to assess the relationship between hardiness and two important mental health outcomes: demoralization and self-esteem. The quantitative survey also investigated the configuration of commitment, challenge and control as components of hardiness and their relationship to demoralization and self-esteem.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Sample and Procedure

A sample of 245 volunteers was generated from the evening college of Fordham University at Lincoln Center (Manhattan campus) and Ignatius College (Bronx campus). Participation was solicited by going to each evening and weekend class, explaining the nature of the study, handing out a consent form (see Appendix A) in anticipation of distributing the survey to volunteers at a later date. Questionnaires (see Appendix B) with an accompanying cover letter, detailing the voluntary and confidential nature of the study, were mailed in April, 1997. Of the 450 questionnaires that were sent out, 12 were returned as undeliverable, four were returned well after the deadline and two were returned incomplete. The total sample included 245 individuals, representing a 54% response rate. This is well within the acceptable range of mail survey research. Using a significance criterion of .05, at least 107 respondents are needed to detect a medium effect size with 80% power when testing the significance of a multiple regression with up to 8 independent variables (Cohen, 1992). With an exploratory factor analysis planned, it was thought that 245 respondents would be sufficient to run an exploratory factor analysis on the 50 item measure. While adult education research has typically used the age of 25 as a minimum for consideration in adult education programs, this seemed unnecessarily limiting in a college that is dedicated to an evening and weekend student population. As such, questionnaires were distributed to those college students who saw themselves

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

as adults in a reentry non-traditional college program. As the sample description indicates, the population of this sample is decidedly adult with only 21 participants younger than 24 years of age.

The informed consent accompanying the questionnaire assured participants that involvement in the research was voluntary and confidential. They were told that this project was sponsored by Professor David Koch under the supervision of Dr. Suzanne Ouellette and does not reflect any institutional involvement with the Dean's Office of Fordham University. As an incentive, three $100 gift certificates were distributed by lottery to participants. The Investigator's phone number was provided, as was the phone number of CUNY Graduate Center Office of Sponsored Research, should there be any questions. Participants were informed that if a question does not apply to them, they need not answer it. They were also assured that their names and identifying information would not appear on the questionnaire or in any of the reports; only grouped information will be presented. Their confidential identity will be secured, separate from the questionnaire data. At the end of the questionnaire, respondents were asked if they might be contacted again for a more in-depth interview on the adult student experience. Of the 245 completed questionnaires, 145 indicated interest in a follow up interview. These interviews will be the basis for future qualitative research in this area.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Sample Characteristics.

Table 2 presents the demographic characteristics of adult students who were respondents in the quantitative study. The sample was predominantly female with 69% female and 31% male reflecting a national trend toward increasing female presence in evening and part-time programs. These figures are also comparable to the demographic makeup of Fordham University. There was substantial diversity in ethnicity and age with 55% white, non-Latino, 21% African-American, and 18% Latino. The mean age was 34 (sd = 9.2 years). The sample was primarily employed full time (84%) with income levels largely below $50,000 (79%). Slightly under two-thirds of the sample (62%) was partnered and most partners also worked (86%). Just over one quarter of the sample had one or more children younger than 18 years of age. Slightly fewer than one-half of the partners had attended at least some college while 20% of the partners had graduate or professional schooling. Slightly more than one-third of the parents had high school diplomas with 10% of mothers and 11.3% of fathers receiving a baccalaureate degree. It is significant that in this sample, the participants came from families in which parents had rarely received baccalaureate degrees. This is basically a working class population.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 2

Sample Characteristics

	Total Sample (N = 245)
Gender (%)	
Male	31
Female	69
Age	
M (in years)	34.5
SD	9.2
Range	19 - 63
Income (%)	
<$25, 000 per year	36.7
$25 - 50, 000 per year	42.0
>$50, 000 per year	21.3
Race (%)	
African American / Black	21
Asian	4.5
Latino	18
White (not Latino)	55.6
Other	0.9
Partnership Status (%)	
Partnered (Married or Serious Partner)	61.7
Not Partnered	31.3
Divorced	4.5
Widowed	2.5
Employment Status / Self (%)	
Full Time Work	83.6
Part Time Work	11.5
Occupational Category / Self (%)	
Professional	22
Managerial	16
Sales / Clerical	40.8

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 2 (continued)	Total Sample (N = 245)
Employment Status / Partner (%)	
Full Time Work	86
Part Time Work	10
Occupational Category / Partner (%)	
Professional	26
Managerial	9.4
Sales / Clerical	46.2
Educational Level / Partner (%)	
High School Diploma or less	29.5
College Diploma or Some College	50
Post Graduate or Professional Degree	20
Educational Level / Mother (%)	
High School Diploma or less	68.5
College Diploma or Some College	21
Post Graduate or Professional Degree	10.5
Educational Level / Father (%)	
High School Diploma or less	63.9
College Diploma or Some College	26.8
Post Graduate or Professional Degree	9.3
Children < 18 Years of Age (%)	28.8
College Credits (%)	
< 30 credits	15
30 - 60	18.8
61 - 90	24.6
> 90 credits	41.7
Full-Time Student (≥ 12 Credits) (%)	40
Part-Time Student (< 12 Credits) (%)	59.7
Living Arrangements (%)	
Live Alone	21
Live with Children	23
Live with Partner	49
Live with Parents	15

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Measures

The central measure of this dissertation, the Personal Views Survey, assesses hardiness, and is the basis for other measures, including the Psychiatric Epidemiology Research Inventory-Demoralization (PERI-D), the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE) and an exploratory set of questions looking at attitudes toward being in school.

Psychiatric Epidemiology Research Inventory- (PERI-D).

The PERI demoralization scale (Dohrenwend, Shrout, Egri, & Mendelsohn, 1980) consists of 8 scales that are so intercorrelated that they measure the same construct, non-specific distress. This distress has been termed demoralization. These 8 scales are sufficiently related to each other and not to the remaining 17 scales as to suggest a coherent measure of non-specific distress. The 42 item scale includes items that touch on poor self-esteem, hopelessness-helplessness, dread, confused thinking, sadness, anxiety, psychophysiological symptoms and perceived physical health. The PERI demoralization scale refers to distress experienced during the previous year with high scores representing higher levels of distress. Researchers who have used the PERI have found that reduced numbers of items ranging from 27 items (Dohrenwend et. al., 1980) to 36 items have been successfully used as shorter measures. Dohrenwend et al report internal consistency reliability of the scale at .80 - .85. Meyer (1995) reports Cronbach's alpha for demoralization at .92, making it a strongly coherent scale. Numerous studies have used the PERI demoralization scale indicating strong discriminant and convergent

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

validity particularly in areas of environmental stress such as Three Mile Island experience or the Vietnam veteran experience. The current research used the 27 item scale with one revision, in specifying the past month rather than the previously used 12 month period. A one month period is used to pick up demoralization scores, since it was felt that a twelve month period was too broad and ambiguous. The scale based on 27 items included 17 questions from 0 - 4 with 0 = Never and 4 = Always. Items included "How often were you bothered by feelings of sadness or depression–feeling blue?" and "How often did you feel useless?", 5 questions from 0 - 4 with 0 = Strongly Disagree and 4 = Strongly Agree and included items such as "You are the kind of person who is the worrying type–you know, a worrier. Do you." and "You are the kind of person who feels a failure generally in life. Do you." The last two questions deal with general satisfaction with oneself over the last year and are rated from 0 = Below Average to 4 = Excellent (reversed scoring). Higher scores on the PERI-D indicate higher demoralization. The internal consistency of the scale was high (alpha coefficient = .94). In this sample the mean demoralization score was 1.19 (sd =.61).

Personal Views Survey (PVS).

This 50 item scale (Maddi, 1990; Ouellette, 1993), additively utilizes challenge, control and commitment items to derive a hardiness score with a higher score representing higher hardiness. The PVS is the third generation scale to be developed in order to more effectively tap the hardiness

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

phenomena. Respondents are asked to indicate on a 6 point scale the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with items, with 0 = Not at all true to 6 = Completely true. The range has been extended to add variability. This hardiness scale has a better balance between negative and positive items than second generation hardiness scales. Acceptable alpha coefficients (ranging from .68 - .75) have been reported for the component scales. Positive and moderate relationships between the components and strong correlations between the third generation scale and previous second generation 5 scale versions makes the PVS a good option for measuring hardiness. The PVS scale shows no sign of social desirability bias and has been construct validated in a variety of areas including Israeli soldiers, (Florian, et. al., 1995), nurses, (Pagana, 1990) and undergraduate students (Maddi & Khoshaba, 1994). The PVS is correlated .91 with the second generation hardiness scale and .93 with an abridged version used with air disaster workers (Bartone, et. al., 1989). In this sample Challenge and Control subscales each have 16 items while Commitment has 15. The subscales are summed and means are computed with higher scores indicating a higher level of hardiness.

In this study, 46 items were summed with a mean of 4.6 (sd = .41). The internal consistency of the composite scale of hardiness was quite high (alpha coefficient = .84). Additionally, the three component subscales, commitment, control, and challenge all demonstrated acceptable internal consistency though they also demonstrated significant and moderate intercorrelations. (Descriptive statistics and intercorrelations for hardiness subscales are

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

presented in Table 3.) Analyses will be conducted using both hardiness as a unitary scale and the separate components of challenge, commitment and control.

Table 3

Summary Statistics and Intercorrelations for Hardiness Subscales

	Summary Statistics				Intercorrelations		
Subscale	n	M	SD	alpha	1	2	3
1. Challenge	16	4.04	.55	.70	—		
2. Commitment	15	4.84	.53	.75	.56***	—	
3. Control	16	4.83	.42	.65	.41***	.61***	—

*** $p < .001$

Demographic variables

Demographic variables include race/ethnicity, gender, age, partner and parenting status, income and number of college credits completed, educational background of mother, father and partner. Gender was coded 1 = Female, 0 = Male. Race/ethnicity was coded 0 = White 1 = Non-White. Age was coded in years. Income is a scale of annual income clusters ranging from 1 = less than $25,000 to 5 = over $100,000. Partner status included married, divorced/separated, widowed, partnered and was scaled as 1 = partnered and 0 = never-partnered. A categorical variable for children was utilized (1 = Children under 18, 0 = No children under 18).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE).

This 10 item scale measures the holistic sense of self-esteem. The scale ranges from 1 = Strongly disagree to 6 = Strongly agree with higher scores reflecting a higher sense of a "general favorable or unfavorable global self-attitude". Items include: "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself." and "I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others." The RSE has demonstrated strong validity since 1965 when Rosenberg presented the scale on a variety of high school and college student populations (Rosenberg, 1979). In the current study, the scale demonstrated high internal consistency (alpha coefficient = .85). The mean for the self-esteem scale was 4.83 (sd = .76).

Educational Attitudes Survey.

An exploratory 23 item scale was developed for this dissertation on student attitudes toward the classroom experience. The questions tapped the impact that school had on their experience. Questions were presented on a 6 point Likert format with 1 = Strongly disagree and 6 = Strongly agree to assess the extent to which college classes have facilitated a new way of looking at oneself in the academic setting. It assessed the extent to which classes have provided important new skills that have made a difference in students' lives. Examples include: "As a result of returning to school, I have become better prepared to serve my community" and "As a result of returning to school, I have been excited by ideas in classroom".

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Two subscales were developed; a five item scale measured career development and included items that tapped on job advancement and the focus on schooling as a preparation for work. This scale demonstrated acceptable reliability (alpha coefficient = .71). The second subscale consisted of 18 items and measured personal growth such as the development of writing skills, the ability to construct and intellectual argument, the potential for serving one's community. This subscale, entitled personal growth, demonstrated good internal consistency (alpha coefficient = .89).

These measures were included to look at what adult students perceived that they gained from being in school. Of particular interest was the relationship of career development to the outcome variables of demoralization and self-esteem. The mean of the career development subscale was 3.74 (sd = 1.03) while the mean of the personal growth subscale was 4.9 (sd = .63). Of note is the high mean for adult students on items reflecting personal growth with lower means for career development. These two subscales are significantly and moderately intercorrelated (r = .52). These two subscales are being used in the quantitative analyses only. Further analyses teasing out personal and political transformation will use qualitative data and will be described in a later section. Descriptive statistics and intercorrelations are presented in Table 4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 4

Summary Statistics and Intercorrelations for Survey Scales

	Summary Statistics				Intercorrelations				
Scale	n	M	SD	alpha	1	2	3	4	5
1. Hardiness	46	4.57	.41	.84	—				
2. Demoralization	27	1.19	.61	.94	-.41***	—			
3. Self-Esteem	10	4.83	.76	.85	.35***	-.53***	—		
4. Career Developm.	5	3.74	1.03	.71	.15*	-.06	.23***	—	
5. Personal Growth	18	4.89	.64	.89	.34***	-.07	.25***	.52***	—

*p < .05; ***p < .001

Student Narratives of Growth, Strain and Transformation

The third research question inquired into how the narratives of adult students inform our understanding of hardiness and the configuration of challenge, commitment and control (see Table 1). Student narratives were examined for examples of hardiness. In response to the fourth research question on critical consciousness and transformation, student narratives were systematically analyzed for evidence of students' personal and political transformation.

Procedure and Sample

In the larger quantitative survey (see Appendix B), two sections solicited qualitative information from respondents. The first section contained two multi-part items: "Was there a particular class at Fordham University that was especially worthwhile? How was it valuable?" and "Was there a particular class at Fordham University that was not at all worthwhile?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

What made it so?" The second section solicited examples of stressful and growth oriented events that students experienced. As such, the first question in this section asked "Think of a situation that developed in school that you perceived as particularly stressful for you. What made the situation stressful? How did you handle the situation?". This was followed by a question on growth, asking "Think of a situation at college in which you feel like you experienced growth. What made the situation growth-enhancing? How did you react to the situation?"

Of the 245 completed quantitative surveys, I received 65 surveys in which respondents completed at least one open ended question, yielding a total of 105 narratives. This represents a return rate of 26.5%. One way ANOVAS of key demographic (e.g., income, race and gender) and survey variables (demoralization, self-esteem, hardiness) indicate no significant differences between those individuals who offered narratives and those who did not. These narratives were coded into preliminary conceptual categories using a computer driven relational database management system (FileMaker, Pro, 1997; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Richards & Richards, 1994). Focus group findings and initial theoretical insight guided the formation of a set of preliminary categories (see Glaser & Strauss, 1979; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1994). All data were coded into multiple categories where relevant. Throughout the coding procedure, there was an iterative process whereby certain codes would emerge (e.g., strain, coping) and others would drop out (e.g. feelings of failure, educational critique). I would then

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

recode previous narratives with particular attention to the remaining codes. This process was congruent with current understandings of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; 1994) which Strauss has termed "constant comparative method". In this method, a researcher refines and works with coded material until no new theoretical information emerges.

The narratives were analyzed in two distinct ways. First, there was a search for what I'll call illustrative examples of hardiness with particular attention paid to themes that surround commitment challenge and control that are found in these narratives (see Table 5). Second, there was a systematic criteria driven division of the narratives into transformative or not (see Table 5).

As such, from these narratives, illustrative information emerged concerning hardiness. These illustrations from adult student narratives suggest a refocusing of challenge, commitment and control themes that are more specific to the adult student experience. Examples of hardiness and particularly challenge, control and commitment are included throughout the results section.

Similarly, an analysis of student narratives yielded evidence for a discussion of strain, coping and social support. A later chapter illustrates an emergent vocabulary of strain, coping and social support that comes through the experience of the adult college student.

Secondly, personal and political transformation, the central constructs of this dissertation, were developed employing far more stringent and specific

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

criteria in the coding of narratives. In generating these criteria, I employed a broad view of transformative thinking and critical consciousness. Critical consciousness (Freire, 1985) has typically focused on an awareness of gender, class and racial inequities and the intention to transform society through social action. When dealing with the world of the adult students, however, who are juggling work, family, partner and school responsibilities, we must recognize multiple dimensions of transformation which contribute to the construct of critical consciousness.

The first, personal transformation, is characterized by a sense of autonomy, growth and mastery as well as the development of collaborative over competitive learning strategies which can be seen as incremental steps toward critical consciousness. Second, and related, is political transformation in which adult students come to see and confront race, class, and gender within their educational sites. In this latter sense, these sites become potential vehicles for social and political change. While critical pedagogic theorists (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993) argue for the importance of social and political action within the educational setting, I am convinced that transformation, particularly for an adult, working population, must include both personal and political aspects. Educational mastery and autonomy must be viewed as incremental steps toward concerted social and political action.

With coding criteria in mind, a narrative was considered transformative in nature if it fit either personal or political criteria. Student narratives were coded for personal and political transformation using specific

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

criteria (see Table 5 for a diagram of how student narratives were coded and/or analyzed). Narratives were coded for personal transformation if a) there was presence of personal mastery and growth that emerged out of the adult education venue or b) there was presence of collaboration over competition within learning settings. Narratives were coded for political transformation if there was an awareness of inequities based on race, gender, social class, sexual orientation drawn from the adult education setting.

Table 5

Diagrammatic Table of Qualitative Narratives

Variable	Illustrative Examples	Systematic Criteria for Data Analysis
Hardiness		
Challenge	"Learning and Knowing" allowed me to discover new insights to my abilities and limitations. I learned more about who I really am.	Development of Challenge theme: Reassessing Change
Commit-ment	As the classes became harder and the subjects became harder, I knew it was time to buckle down and take care of business	Development of Commitment theme: Persevering Against the Odds
Control	Through my own efforts, I realized that I wasn't stupid like I had grown to think of myself as.	Development of Control theme: Dealing with the Ambiguities of Control
Transfor-mation *		
Personal	"Perspectives of Victimology" helped to open my eyes to see what was wrong in my own marriage. This class helped me to make the decision to end a bad marriage. Group projects (are worthwhile). I learned to work with a diverse group of people.	a. Presence of personal mastery and growth that emerged out of the adult education venue independent of job advancement and increased earnings. b. Presence of value of collaboration over competition in classroom settings.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 5 (continued)

Variable	Illustrative Examples	Systematic Criteria for Data Analysis
Political	"History and Society"...changed so much of my world view and my participation in it. I learned that material wealth, industrialization and modernization do not necessarily equate to progress.	Presence of an awareness of inequities based on race, gender, social class, sexual orientation, drawn from the adult education setting.
Strain	Working full time during the day while taking this history course in the summer schedule really stressed me to the end. The amount of reading....made me realize that I was not a superwoman.	not applicable
Social Support	Forming a study group, meeting on Saturday mornings at school and finding new friends through learning has helped me to grow. Working with classmates of all ages and occupations has enhanced the situation.	not applicable
Coping	I had two jobs including weekends...It was hard, but I learned to prioritize. That's growth in itself. Learning what is important and what's not.	not applicable

* Note: Political and Personal Transformations were also used in a data analysis of the relationship between qualitative narratives and quantitative scores on the hardiness scale (Personal Views Survey).

Focus Group Interviews

The third and fourth research questions address the role that strain, growth, hardiness, and critical consciousness play in the adult student experience while the fifth research question examines the differential role that gender plays within the adult college experience. The aims of the focus group were three-fold: 1) to assess information from the group about the experience of being a adult non-traditional returning college student

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

balancing student, family and work roles, 2) to examine the growth and strains of attending college at night and weekends and 3) to assess the role of critical consciousness and dialogic learning in the adult student experience. Congruent with a critical theory stance, I see gender as playing a substantial, though frequently obscured, role in the experiences of adult students. In light of critical theory, I have examined the transformative nature of the educational venue in which adult students participate. These groups promote valuable brainstorming and create a collaborative group format that is particularly conducive to uncovering the place that adult education plays in the lives of males and females who attend an evening school (Fontana & Frey, 1994; Krueger, 1994; Loevy & O'Brien, 1994).

Sample and Procedure

Two focus groups were created with specific attention paid to gender and educational progress. Purposive sampling was used to identify respondents. In this dissertation, gender and educational progress were variables used in the formation of the two groups with men at different points in their educational career composing one group and women at different points in their education composing the second. Groups separated by gender were designed to enable a more open discussion.

Nominations for focus group membership was solicited from deans and faculty of the Fordham College at Lincoln Center as well as Ignatius College. The criteria for inclusion were proximity to graduation (over 90 credits) and relative newness to the program (fewer than 45 credits) as well as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

gender (male or female). Efforts were made to insure diversity in terms of Race/ethnicity (Latino, African American & White participants) and social, economic class. A letter was distributed to 68 students who met this criteria (see Appendix C). I received acceptances from 10 men to form one group and 9 women for the other, representing an over all response rate of 27.9%. Five men actually participated in their focus group, with 6 women forming the second group.

Each 90 minute focus group was audio taped and facilitated by primary investigator. The taped focus groups were confidential with only first names used. All names have been changed during transcription. All participants have been assured of the voluntary and confidential nature of the focus group. They were informed too, that they could terminate participation at any time and were provided phone numbers for the dissertation investigator and CUNY Office of Institutional Research. Participants in focus groups were not compensated for their time though refreshments were served at the focus groups. There was no indication that focus group participants felt obligated and, in fact, many expressed tremendous interest in the subject. One participant suggested that the focus group was, in itself, a useful opportunity for reflection about the meaning that school held for him. As will become clear, the focus groups provide a unique kind of interview perspective, one that emerges out of intergroup comparisons. Having two groups separated by gender provided a prism in which issues relevant to gender could and did

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

emerge. The questions asked were general enough to permit maximum interaction and discussion of relevant themes.

Tapes were transcribed, identifying themes of growth and strain, hardiness, challenge, commitment and control, as well as the effects of transformative and dialogic learning. I came into the study with some ideas from my experience working with this population. Data were coded into emergent categories with an eye toward the categories with which I initiated the study. Some categories fell away while others emerged. Further data were used to refine categories until an analysis was theoretically coherent. As gender is one organizing theme in the creation of the groups, an evaluation of the role gender plays in the reentry experience was undertaken. Lastly, a contrast of students at early and late stages of the college experience was attempted. Due to sampling limitations, a comparison of those early in their college careers (fewer than 45 credits) with those closer to graduation (over 90 credits) could not take place. Even though equal numbers from each category were invited, a much larger number of experienced students actually came to the focus groups. This may relate to a sense of commitment to the educational process. For future studies using focus groups of adult students, one would need to oversample the less experienced students so that we can probe more carefully the experience of the less experienced students.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Narratives of Growth and Transformation: Hardiness among Adult Students

The first and second research questions address the relationship of hardiness, measured quantitatively, and its relationship to specific positive and negative outcome variables-namely demoralization and self esteem. The third research question examines narratives of hardiness that adult reentry students express as well as the specific social context within which hardiness is operating.

Survey Variables: A Descriptive Framework

Before examining the relationships between the variables, a description of the main survey variables provides a context within which to view later statistical analyses. The mean unitary hardiness score was 4.57 (sd =.41) with a range of 2.32 on a 6 point Likert scale with higher mean scores representing higher hardiness. This appears to be a fairly hardy sample. A few studies have used the Personal Views Survey in place of first or second generation hardiness scales. Two studies (Cassel, Platt & Ouellette, 1991; Platt, Ouellette Kobasa, Cassel & Wong, 1991) used a 35 item Personal Views Scale and found that the mean hardiness score was 2.3 (sd = .26) on a scale from 0 to 3. This sample of HIV/AIDS volunteers for a community based organization display somewhat higher hardiness scores than those found in this dissertation. One might reasonably expect volunteers in an AIDS organization to have higher hardiness scores than adult students in an evening reentry college. Pagana (1990) reports hardiness scores for 246 nursing students using the 50 item Personal Views Survey. In her sample, the highest possible score was 99.99

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

with a range of scores from 44.3 to 91.5 with a hardiness score of 73.22 (sd = 8.17). This sample of nurses then was comparable (if somewhat lower) to the mean hardiness scores reported in this dissertation.

The challenge, commitment and control subscales present an interesting, albeit complex, configuration. As I had expected, the mean score for commitment was quite high ($\underline{X} = 4.84$, $\underline{sd} = .53$), indicating agreement with items that show purpose, tenacity and perseverance. The mean score for the challenge subscale was lower ($\underline{X} = 4.04$, $\underline{sd} = .55$) as was expected, but the high mean score for the control subscale ($\underline{X} = 4.83$, $\underline{sd} = .42$) was surprising. Feelings of commitment are prepotent in an adult college setting, but I had theorized that control would be moderate and lower than the other two subscales because juggling many social roles and being in the classroom frequently entail giving up some control.

In this sample of adult students, demoralization was somewhat lower than what other researchers have reported ($\underline{X} = 1.19$, $\underline{sd} = .61$). In a community sample of gay men, Meyer (1995) reports a sample mean on the PERI-demoralization of 2.00 with a 95% confidence interval between 1.41 and 2.84. Due to the nature of stigma directed toward gay men, it was expected that there would be higher demoralization scores than found in a sample of adult reentry college students.

Higher demoralization scores were also reported in a study of chronic pain patients when compared to non-patient controls (Lennon, Dohrenwend, Zautra & Marbach, 1990). Reports on individuals experiencing AIDS-related

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

bereavement and HIV-related Illness echo high demoralization scores (Dean, Hall & Martin, 1988; Martin, 1988; Martin & Dean, 1993). Community populations as well as drug treatment settings report demoralization scores that can provide a set of norms for viewing demoralization scores in this sample (Dohrenwend, Shrout, Egri & Mendelsohn, 1980). New York community samples report a demoralization mean of .92 (sd = .57) while a drug treatment setting reported a significantly higher demoralization mean of 1.29 (sd = .59). The New York community sample reported lower demoralization scores than I found while the drug treatment center reported higher demoralization scores using the 27 item PERI-demoralization scale.

I found in this dissertation that the mean for the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale among adult college students was 4.83 (sd = .76) with a range of 1-6, with a higher score representing higher global self-worth. The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale has been used in a variety of middle school, high school and college settings though not in an adult reentry population. Taylor (1995) reports summed scores on the Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale for participants and non-participants in athletic programs (freshmen through seniors) and found comparable (though somewhat higher) self-esteem scores than has been found in this dissertation. For example, he found that seniors who did not participate in college athletics had a summed self-esteem score of 33.02 (sd = 4.75), on a four point Likert scale with higher scores representing higher self-esteem. That is comparable to the 4.83 meaned score on a six point Likert scale that I have reported for these 10 items. A number of studies have found

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

comparable scores on the RSE (Gray-Little, Williams & Hancock, 1997; Hagborg, 1996). Of particular note for this dissertation are the findings in two studies that reveal that African American and Latino high school students have higher global self-esteem scores on the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale than White, non-Latino high school students (Dukes & Martinez, 1994; Richman, Clark & Brown, 1985).

Hardiness, Demoralization & Self-Esteem

Central to this dissertation is an examination of the relationship of hardiness, quantitatively measured, to specific variables adult students may experience–namely demoralization and self-esteem. Do specific dimensions of hardiness (e.g., control, commitment and challenge) predict reduced demoralization and enhanced self-esteem? To pursue these quantitative analyses of hardiness, I used an exploratory principal components factor analysis to extract the underlying factors of the Personal Views Scale to examine whether one underlying factor would emerge or three. The factor analysis did not yield an interpretable underlying structure; I did not develop scales using the items that loaded onto the derived factors. The factor analysis yielded two factors that accounted for only 20.6 % of the variance. When I examined items that loaded greater than or equal to .40 that did not also load on another factor I came up with items that did not theoretically mesh with the three components: control, commitment and challenge. For further analysis, I kept the scales of hardiness and the three component scales used in previous third generation studies of hardiness.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I first looked at hardiness and its relationship to the outcome variables of demoralization and self-esteem. Stepwise multiple regression analyses were used to examine the influence of hardiness as a unitary construct on demoralization and independently on self-esteem. A zero-order correlation coefficient matrix suggested the inclusion of certain variables that demonstrated significant correlations with esteem and demoralization (see Tables 5 and 6).

Table 6

Intercorrelations between Scales and Demographic Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Personal Growth	—								
2. Career Developm.	.52***	—							
3. Hardiness	.34**	.15*	—						
4. Age	.05	-.05	.07	—					
5. Demoralization	-.06	-.07	-.40***	-.10	—				
6. Self-Esteem	.25***	.23***	.37***	.02	-.53***	—			
7. Gender	.05	-.07	.06	.14*	.11	.03	—		
8. Income	.01	.02	.18*	.28***	-.16	.10	.05	—	
9. Race	.06	.15*	.06	-.10	.08	.23***	.08	-.14*	—

*p < .05 ***p < .001 Note: Race is coded 1 = non-White, 0 = White. Gender is coded 1 = Female, 0 = Male.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 7

Intercorrelations between Hardiness Subscales and Survey Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Per.Gro.	—										
2 C.Dev	.52***	—									
3. Com.	.38***	.15*	—								
4. Cont.	.34***	.25***	.61***	—							
5. Chal.	.16*	-.01	.56***	.41***	—						
6. Age	.05	-.05	.16*	-.05	.04	—					
7. Dem.	-.06	-.07	-.43***	-.29***	-.28***	-.10	—				
8. Self-E	.25***	.23***	.42***	.36***	.16*	.02	-.53***	—			
9. Gend.	.05	-.07	.13*	-.03	.04	.14*	.11	.03	—		
10. Inc'm	.01	.02	.14*	.13	.20	.28***	-.16	.10	.05	—	
11. Race	.06	.15*	.04	.07	-.18	-.10	.08	.23***	.08	-.14*	—

*p < .05 ***p < .001 Note: Race is coded 1 = non-White, 0 = White. Gender is coded 1 = Female, 0 = Male.

Income, Race (coded 0 = White, 1 = Non-White), gender (0 = Male, 1 = Female), the personal growth subscale, the career development subscale and a unitary measure of hardiness were introduced in stepwise multiple regression analyses. Table 8 shows the results of the regression of hardiness, personal growth, career development, and demographic variables on demoralization and self-esteem. As predicted, regression equations were significant for both demoralization ($R^2 = .16$, $F = 42.94$, $p < .001$) and self-esteem ($R^2 = .13$, $F = 32.70$, $p<.001$). I found that hardiness as an unitary construct is negatively related to demoralization ($\beta = -.41$) even when

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

demographic variables of income, gender and race are introduced. It is of note that hardiness remains negatively related to demoralization after gender is introduced. I found that gender is positively related to demoralization such that women display higher demoralization (β = .14). This finding reinforces the need to tease out gender effects from negative mental health consequences of stress among men and women. Previous research that has found that women were more apt to express demoralization than men have also introduced negative outcome measures such as alcohol dependence or usage to tap negative mental health outcomes measures more likely to be found among men (Thoits, 1983, 1986).

I found a positive relationship between hardiness and self-esteem (β = .35) even when race, gender and income (possible confounds) are introduced. This positive relationship between hardiness and self-esteem remains positive even after race and career development have been introduced. I found a positive relationship between race and self-esteem (β = .23) such that heightened self-esteem is associated with non-White status. One can hypothesize that in a sample of adult reentry students one may see a sense of empowerment among non-Whites that is expressed in a heightened sense of self-esteem relative to whites. Higher self-esteem scores on the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale have been found previously for African-American and Latino high school students (Dukes & Martinez, 1994; Richman, Clark & Brown, 1985). Lastly, I found that regression equations with hardiness, race and career development were significant for predicting self-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

esteem ($R^2 = .22$, $F = 20.77$, $p<.001$). Previous studies reveal that career development is very much on the minds of many adult students as they come back to school (Aslanian, 1996; Kasworm & Pike, 1994; Sewall, 1984). I expected that career development would play a role in a survey of adult students. What I was particularly interested in was the magnitude of the relationship between career development and self-esteem and its relationship to hardiness. Career development involvement is being tapped in this equation though hardiness remains a significant predictor of positive self esteem. Career development contributes a small but significant proportion to the total variance ($\Delta r^2 = .02$). The question remains whether issues surrounding career development mask other more inchoate feelings of mastery and authenticity as well, feelings not accessible through a survey instrument.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 8

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analyses of Demoralization and Self-Esteem Explained by Hardiness and Survey Variables

Demoralization					Self-Esteem				
	Predictors	beta	Δr^2	F		Predictors	beta	Δr^2	F
Step 1	Hardiness	-.41	.16	42.94***	Step 1	Hardiness	.35	.13	32.70***
Step 2	Gender	.14	.02	24.79***	Step 2	Race	.23	.07	26.82***
					Step 3	Career Dev.	.16	.02	20.77***
Total r^2			.18					.22	
The following predictors were not statistically included in the equations.									
		beta					beta		
	Income	-.08				Income	.08		
	Race	-.04				Gender	-.02		
	Personal Growth	.09				Personal Growth	-.05		
	Careen Dev.	-.01							

Note: N = 231. Table displays standardized regression coefficients (betas). Race is coded 1 = non-White, 0 = White. Gender is coded 1 = Female, 0 = Male.
*** = $p < .001$.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 9

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analyses of Demoralization and Self-Esteem Explained by Commitment and Survey Variables

Demoralization					Self-Esteem				
	Predictors	beta	Δr^2	F		Predictors	beta	Δr^2	F
Step 1	Commit.	-.43	.18	50.70***	Step 1	Commit.	.40	.16	43.40***
Step 2	Gender	.17	.03	30.41***	Step 2	Race	.25	.06	32.10***
Step 3	Personal Growth	.12	.01	21.83***	Step 3	Career Dev.	.15	.02	24.19***
Total r^2			.22					.24	
The following predictors were not statistically included in the equations.									
		beta					beta		
	Income	-.09				Income	.08		
	Race	.04				Gender	-.04		
	Careen Dev.	-.07				Personal Growth	.02		
	Challenge	-.03				Challenge	-.04		
	Control	-.04				Control	.10		

Note: N = 231. Table displays standardized regression coefficients (betas). Race is coded 1 = non-White, 0 = White. Gender is coded 1 = Female, 0 = Male. *** = $p < .001$.

The second research question centers on the specific relationship that the control, commitment and challenge subscales have on self-esteem and demoralization. It was thought that among adult reentry college students, challenge and commitment would be particularly salient. I imagine that the hardy adult student juggling many work and family responsibilities must have a strong sense of commitment to school in order to achieve a positive sense of self and avoid generalized distress. A sense of challenge in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

classroom with its awareness of the novel and unexpected might be a salient dimension of the adult student experience. Lastly, control may or may not be so adaptive when one is going back into a school setting after an extended period of time away from the classroom. One reaches for three dimensions in hardiness, ideally, but proportions may vary in different venues with different demands.

The present study makes a less than ideal setting to test this hypothesis. While the three subscales of challenge, commitment, and challenge demonstrate acceptable to good reliability (alphas = .65 - .75), there are also significant and moderate intercorrelations among the three subscales. These intercorrelations do not allow a look at these components as distinct. With this caveat in mind, stepwise regression analyses were used to examine the effect of control, challenge and commitment on demoralization and self-esteem (see Table 9). I found that commitment alone among the subscales was significantly related to demoralization ($R^2 = .18$, $F = 50.70$, $p<.001$) and self-esteem ($R^2 = .16$, $F = 43.40$, $p<.001$). I found that commitment is negatively related to demoralization ($\beta = -.43$) even when demographic variables of income, gender and race are introduced. Similar to the unitary construct of hardiness, I found that gender is positively related to demoralization ($\beta = .17$) such that women display higher demoralization than men. It should be noted that the negative relationship between commitment and demoralization remains significant even after gender and personal growth variables have been introduced. A surprising finding was the small but significant effect that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

personal growth (with commitment and gender) had on demoralization such that those who feel that they have gained valued skills or relationships from the school experience display higher demoralization. (R^2 = .22, F = 21.83, p<.001). I was surprised by the finding that a small proportion of the variance in demoralization (Δr^2 = .01) was explained by personal growth among adult students. It may be that for some adult students issues surrounding personal growth may not be fully internalized or mastered and restimulate some feelings of distress. For example, should a student feel that they have learned how to write in college but it is a skill that is only recently acquired or not fully integrated, some feelings of distress may be sustained. It should be noted that the major proportion of demoralization is explained through the commitment subscale.

I found a positive relationship between commitment and self-esteem (β = .40) even when race, gender and income as possible confounds are introduced. I found a positive relationship between race and self-esteem (β = .25) such that non-whites display higher self-esteem. Lastly, I found that regression equations using commitment, race and career development were significant for self-esteem (R^2 = .24, F = 24.19, p<.001) similar to the equations using hardiness as a unitary construct. It should be noted that the positive relationship between commitment and self-esteem remains significant even when race and career development were introduced.

The literature on hardiness research must attend to the particular patterning of control, commitment and challenge within specific populations

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to depict hardiness as a personality orientation of self in the world. In this sample, while commitment is significantly and negatively related to demoralization and positively related to self-esteem, there is ambiguity about the nature of the commitment subscale relative to challenge and control. With moderate and significant correlations among the hardiness subscales, some ambiguity continues to exist regarding the distinct nature of the challenge, commitment and control subscales. It is heartening to note that the subscales, particularly challenge, all demonstrate adequate to good internal consistency. It is important to continue to revise and refine these subscales to raise alpha coefficients and reduce the intercorrelations among them. It is important to develop subscales that tap the distinctive and unique facet of each of the three components of hardiness.

Illustrations of Hardiness in Student Narratives

The third research question examined adult student narratives for illustrations of hardiness tied with examples of challenge, commitment and control. These illustrations of hardiness and particularly challenge, commitment and control suggest themes that are endemic to the adult student experience. It is through this focusing of the subcomponents of hardiness to particular populations with specific concerns that a deeper understanding of hardiness will emerge.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Challenge: Reassessing Change.

Within the adult student experience, one consistently finds evidence that the student values the challenge of being in school as an opportunity to engage change.

> Through the teachers and other students and through my own efforts, I realized that I wasn't stupid like I had grown to think of myself as. The total college experience has liberated me. I became a person that even I could be proud of.

In the college setting, challenge is characterized by a sense of change and the sense of liberation that new experiences provide, a sense of the unexpected, of coming to terms with new experiences.

"Principles of Marketing allowed me to be very creative and imaginative with my projects. Effective speaking gave me a chance to express my ideas."

> I prepared a business plan at work. It provided an opportunity to use all the knowledge learned in other classes (accounting, business communications, management). I enjoyed the course work and the assignment was challenging.

Placing oneself in the adult student setting permitted that inner sense of challenge, that sense of liberation to come out. Challenge encourages individuals to see beyond security and threat as motivators of withdrawal from the world, such that the unexpected and the novel are opportunities for adaptation and growth. The second narrative above suggests this sense of newness and growth that can emerge from a class. The student argues that a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

class "allows me to be very creative" while a second course gave "me a chance to express my ideas." These are very much person variables that are interacting within a particular social setting.

Another student reports:

> A few years ago, I took a Speech Communication course. The requirements included making five speeches in front of the class during the semester. This scared the shit out of me. I didn't want to speak in front of people I knew, and now I had to speak to people who were strangers. I was so nervous before the first speech that if someone hugged me I would have shit in my pants. Well, I made it through fine and it was at this point that I realized that I could speak in front of a group of people. Each speech after that first one, I was less nervous. I am no longer afraid to speak in front of people and this has given me more confidence in life.

This sense of coming to terms with change, with new demands being placed on one's education has led to a "sense of confidence in life." The student is able to access and express ideas more effectively, is able to "learn more about who I really am" (a challenge narrative in response to taking a new class). What sustains the sense of challenge is the experience of novelty, of newness and growth that spreads into various domains of a person's life. Others have suggested that a sense of security is the important ingredient to resilience (Antonovsky, 1987), but I argue taking in new ideas, new ways of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

framing education is an essential part of the educative process. One student suggests as much with the following statement:

> The challenge of growth was self-esteem. I feel that the whole school experience with all the involvement of class activities (reports, research, learning something new each time) opened me up to a new way of thinking, making new friends, etc. At first with hesitancy, I participated. Now I look forward to my class, subject, feeling confident, looking forward to my next challenge.

Commitment: Persevering against the Odds.

Like challenge, commitment is a central component in the configuration of hardiness within the adult student experience. Of the three hardiness components, only commitment significantly predicted high self esteem and lower demoralization, controlling for demographic variables. The student narratives allow us to hear the power of commitment as persevering against the odds. One student reports:

> I was taking "Experimental Psych.", "Aging and Society" and "Spanish Reading II"...since I was employed at the time in a full time position, going to class four evenings a week after work was extremely stressful. However with long nights studying into the wee hours of the morning and developing the endurance and stamina, I pulled through the semester.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Stamina, strength, focus and purpose are central to the adult student experience. While frequently tied to a vocabulary of strain, the vocabulary of commitment carries with it a positive and affirming quality.

> I had trouble getting out of work on time at the beginning of the semester. The teacher said my tardiness would affect my grade. I was about 15 minutes late for each class and I was new at my job so it was difficult to make demands. I wanted to give 100% to work and school and sometimes it just isn't possible. I took a stand and reminded my boss that I was hired under terms that allowed me to leave on time every night because of school. He was a bit apprehensive and reminded me of the importance of the job. I reminded him that work is important to me because it facilitates my going to school. I said I would do my best on the job, but I would leave at 5:30.

Commitment occurs in the classroom setting, embodied as a sense of tenacity and perseverance in the face of educative demands.

> In my Junior year, life was stressful for me because I had a part time job which had me working 40 hours a week (sometimes more) and taking work home. And I attended school three nights a week (12 credits). One course required reading two dense chapters for every class each week and papers every other class. The other two classes required doing intensive research for final paper. I found myself reading on the train and in my lunch hour, picking up books or photocopying reference info from various libraries at night. I wrote my papers and did research on the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

internet and readied myself for work the next day. The situation came to a head when I was without energy and was often ill. I realized I had to lighten my load. With school having been my priority, I quit my job for a less demanding one. Fortunately, I had two weeks rest between jobs, coinciding with finals. I was able to devote more time to school and salvage my grades. The situation is one I grew from. I learned what it was to be responsible. Even though both school and work were demanding, I found a way to cope so that I could hand in projects on time. In the end I also realized how committed I was to school. When I began school, after quitting 10 years ago, I wondered if I'd again quit, and I didn't.

This narrative expresses, at once, extreme situational strain and an equally compelling inner sense of tenacity, a sense of movement forward rather than withdrawal from the strains of a working and educative life.

Control: Dealing with the Ambiguities.

I have argued throughout this dissertation that a sense of control in adult education settings is problematic. In these narratives, one can find a vocabulary of control but more often narratives within which loss of control is noticeable.

Material was covered outside of the textbook and was not explained well. I asked a classmate for help. It was stressful, because I had no control over doing the work at my own pace during my own time. If I didn't get it in class at lightening speed–too bad.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

While adult students bring a problematized academic history where feelings of low control and failure have been present, when they come back to school, they attempt to seize more control of their educational environment. One student said:

> I had two finals scheduled for the same day and I couldn't take off from work to study. I spoke to my professor and took one final in a different time slot. I was able to speak to my supervisor to leave early that week to study for my finals. NOTHING IS IMPOSSIBLE.

One sees evidence of a sense of ones' own efforts influencing events and a feeling that good results will occur. "Transferring to Fordham University, accelerating my credits and earning a respectable GPA made me feel that I am progressing. What made the situation worthwhile was knowing that I made it possible". This statement suggests a potent role for control among adult students.

Finally, a student explains how success in school provided a touchstone for a sense of control.

> The day I received a letter saying that I was on the Dean's List, I finally had the feeling that if I tried hard enough I could do anything. Every time I feel burned out by work and study, I think of the Dean's List and that letter.

The above narrative notwithstanding, in this population a very high sense of control might not be so adaptive. Antonovsky (1987) has suggested as much when he distinguishes between an internal-external locus of control

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that is the basis of the control component of hardiness and what he has suggested as "vicarious secondary control". This distinction suggests that there is a difference between an internal-external locus of control where one feels that one is either in control or one isn't and a vicarious secondary control which provides a positive role for the legitimacy of powerful others. Antonovsky suggests that this dichotomous view of an internal versus an external locus of control is reflective of a culture of individualism where an extreme sense of self-reliance is promoted. In fact, an adult education setting with control situated within the faculty and dean's office, suggests that a more complex view of control, respectful of the complexities of people's lives, may be in order.

Transformation & Conscientization

Research history has detached hardiness as a variable from a social and ecological world. This has not been the intention of the construct and the argument could be made that hardiness from the very beginning was a construct of self in the world. What has developed over 20 years is an emerging emphasis on hardiness as a health variable. It is the hope of this dissertation to redress this focus by situating hardiness more centrally within a larger structural setting, that of the adult reentry college student.

Students in adult education experience growth aligned with personal and political transformation as they progress toward their baccalaureate degrees. Critical theory looks to the complex role of education in both sustaining and undermining an educational hegemony tied to structural

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

inequities in race, class and gender. To what extent do students demonstrate critical consciousness in their educational experience? Freire (1985) addresses the role of conscientization among students who are actively confronting issues of inequality in society through their classroom experiences. Is there an experience of dialogic learning or praxis in the educative setting that caters to the adult student? Lastly, what role does hardiness play in this expression of personal and political transformation? The following narrative depicts one individual's understanding of these political and personal realities.

> I thought a business degree would have a financial benefit for me. I was not understanding the material and was frustrated for not doing well. I wasn't happy trying to force myself to pursue a degree that was not for me. I began to take courses that I enjoyed regardless of future advantages or disadvantages. Now, many years later, I think I have found my calling, in Social Work. I enjoy working in grass roots organizations that are there not just for the money, but for the well-being of human life.

These developing meanings of personal and political transformation are central to the educative process, a process that goes beyond preparation for jobs in a global economy. These meanings strike at the very core of what Dewey suggested as the educated adult in a progressive society.

I have framed student narratives of transformation in terms of personal and political transformation; however, there is a much more fluid connection between the two than this division might suggest. For the adult student, personal transformations frequently involve rethinking one's skills.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Through the teachers and other students and through my own efforts I realized that I wasn't stupid like I had grown to think of my self as. The total college experience has liberated me. I became a person that even I could be proud of.

"Getting my first A was a big moment for me. I always believed that I was intelligent but I never applied myself. I finally discovered in myself what everyone always told me but I had never believed." "'Perspectives of Victimology' helped to open my eyes to see what was wrong in my own marriage. This class helped me to make the decision to end a bad marriage." Part of the transforming educative process is that people's old ideas about incompetence and lack of mastery can and do change. One can rethink a previously held belief about oneself as stupid or a victim and through the educative process move forward toward a new view of self, a new sense of authenticity in the world.

A personal transformation can also include a sense of learning valued skills or seeing the outer world with different meanings. The following narratives are suggestive of another dimension of the educative process, to provide students with skills and competencies in how they function in the larger social world. "I took a theater class. I really enjoyed it. It opened my eyes to an art form that has been around me all of my life. but I never experienced it," "'The Age of Michelangelo'. I understood that life is not all ugliness. It contains many levels of beauty." "'Hinduism' was valuable because I'd never have taken it if religion was not required, and the Baga Vad Gita helped me

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

feel better in my daily life and gave me perspective about what is important to me."

Theater, religion and art as well as other fields contribute to our role as educated and empowered individuals in the social world, giving students feelings of growth and mastery about themselves. This sense of mastery frequently occurs in dialogic learning settings which emphasize collaboration over competition. The following narratives attest to the value of learning in contributing to a personal transformation of self. "Forming a study group, meeting on Saturday mornings at school and finding new friends through learning has helped me to grow. Working with classmates of all ages and occupations has enhanced the situation."

> Group projects (are worthwhile). I learned to work with a diverse group of people. I would follow when there was a strong leader but would still contribute as much as possible and would lead when no one else would. When leading, I would always be open to others' suggestions.

Evidence for political transformation comes through these student narratives and, as critical theory argues, students come to understand inequities in class, race and gender through the educative process. It is through conscientization that a critical consciousness, which actively confronts inequality in the social and political system, emerges from a dialogic educative process. As Gramsci (1971) argues, a hegemony continues to exist not so much from economic forces but from an ideological domination that is sustained, in part, by the educational system. Students can

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

confront this ideological domination with the development of a critical consciousness whereby racial, gender and class-based inequities become more apparent. In this working class sample of students, one sees evidence of the development of a type of critical consciousness, an awareness of material injustices that requires action and work to make change. Like Gramsci, Freire addresses the hegemony of ideological domination through the educational system. To Freire, there is a dual danger. First is the danger of education treating students as a "vessel", a deposit of knowledge that is perceived by students in passive terms. Students must confront in active terms an ideological system that can be a reflection of an unjust world. Conscientization becomes a "process by which human beings participate critically in a transformative act" (Freire, 1985, p 106). Freire's second danger is to "overcome idealist illusions and pipedreams of an eventual humanistic education for mankind without the necessary transformation of an oppressive and unjust world" (Freire, 1985, p113). Thus, conscientization claims an activist involvement of the person in the world of education combined with a rejection of the unjust and inequitable systems of class, race and gender oppression. Secondly, these inequities are real and material and require not an abstract awareness of possibilities but immediate responsiveness to present inequities. The education setting can provide the venue where this can take place. Consider the following narratives with Freire's ideas of critical consciousness in mind.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Being enlightened to structural inequalities in America, I have started to become more of a supporter for average workers, students and immigrants. I want to use my powers as an American citizen to fight for rights that people ought to have.

"'History and Society" changed so much of my view of the world and my participation in it. I learned that material wealth, industrialization and modernization do not necessarily equate to progress."

> A few years ago, I would have had a problem enrolling in a class with an openly gay teacher whether it be male or female. but after listening to the person and not just judging the way of life, I've learned a few things.

These narratives are suggestive of education that is facilitating a new look at the structure of oppression and how it plays out in class, race and gender relations. Frequently, one can see the complex weaving of the personal and political within the same narrative. Consider the following narrative in the blending of community awareness and personal growth.

> I think attending North Carolina Central University and the people I encountered on the whole enabled me to grow (<u>personal transformation</u>). As a woman, a Black female and an individual attending a Black college allowed me to see that I am not the only Black female who feels success like an education is very important. (<u>personal and political</u>) I took the whole two year experience and have used it to help guide my life. The people, teachers and friends I met will and have affected my life in a very good way.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hardiness and Transformation

The fourth question that this dissertation asked involved the relationship between these qualitative measures of growth and transformation and standard measures of hardiness. If there is a relationship between hardiness and growth and transformation narratives, then hardiness can be seen in the larger social context within which adult students are situated. The history of the hardiness construct has been inextricably framed as a variable in stress and coping literature. Looking at this intersection between hardiness and transformation and growth extends the hardiness construct into a more social and political context.

I investigated the relationship between hardiness, quantitatively measured and transformation, qualitatively measured. I took a subsample from the dissertation of all participants who had provided narratives and split them into two groups. One group (n= 38) was composed of those participants who had contributed transformation narratives while the second group (n = 27) was made up of participants who had not contributed transformation narratives. The hardiness scores were examined in these two groups using a one way analysis of variance. I found a significant difference between the transformation and non transformation group in hardiness scores such that those participants who displayed high transformation narratives had higher hardiness scores, $F(1, 63) = 6.18$, $p < .02$.

I looked at the particular components of hardiness to assess the relationship between challenge, control and commitment and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

transformational vs. non-transformational narratives. In one way analyses of variance using challenge, control and commitment, it was found that commitment alone was significantly related to transformation narratives, $F(1,64) = 10.95$, $p < .01$. These analyses provide evidence that connects hardiness to the more social dimensions of personal and political transformations that adult students express. Rather than simply looking at hardiness in the context of stress and coping, it ties hardiness into the system of transformation and growth. From a methods point of view, tying hardiness as survey data with transformation, qualitatively derived, adds a true methodological triangulation to this data.

Hardiness, I have argued, is not antagonistic to personal and political transformation, to the development of praxis. In fact, hardiness can provide the personal qualities and ability to access knowledge/resources in a context that then sets the stage for personal and political transformation.
We saw hardiness related to self esteem and negatively associated with demoralization with the vivid portrayals of hardiness narratives suggesting a rich tapestry of commitment, control and challenge themes in the adult student life. Adults are involved in and concerned with jobs, money and advancement. These themes come across in focus group interviews and in previous literature concerning adult student experience (Aslanian, 1996; Kasworm, 1990b; Sewall, 1984). However, it would be simplistic, even naive to argue that the adult student is only concerned about job advancement, especially in evening and weekend baccalaureate programs. The adult

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

education experience is also about personal mastery and personal and political transformation of thinking. It may not be framed by students in terms of empowerment, which is why most surveys tap themes of job advancement and increased earnings. But in narratives and focus group interviews, it becomes clear that a facade of career development masks other concerns, other core values and feelings that emerge out of the educative context. The emphasis on the entrepreneurial demands of adult education sites and the market driven realities about the reasons people come back to school obscure a more fundamental point about the inherent challenge that underlies change. An authenticity emerges from seeing that one has grown as a person. It can be seen as central to hardiness but also underlies the progressive notion of school as a vital part of our lives. This goes beyond the simple notion that money and job advancement guide the adult education market.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gender and the Adult Student Experience

The fifth research question examines the role that gender plays in the adult student experience. Previous research efforts have persuasively argued that women and men differ in what adult education means to them. There is consistent evidence for increased presence of women among part time and adult degree learners and that this percentage is rising. The present study mirrors this movement toward an increasing female presence among adult evening undergraduates. One finds consistent evidence of a sense of empowerment among women who have returned to school as adults, a sense of mastery as they receive the undergraduate degree. I explored how men and women experience strain and growth in an adult education setting through focus group interviews. Men and women experience being in school differently. The similarities and differences between men and women in this regard are depicted in Table 10.

Table 10

Narratives of Growth and Strain among Adult Undergraduate Students: Gender matters.

Men	Women
STRAIN	
Leonard: (33 year old Anglo) I manage a large piece of property in _____, eat my lunch, do school work, leave work at about 4:30-4:45 PM, go home, take a shower, eat a peanut butter and jelly and drive down here. And that was last semester, four nights a week, get home at 10:00 PM, say hello to my wife who I haven't seen since 6:30 AM that morning and this semester see my daughter who I haven't seen since 8:00 AM, do some more school work.	Debbie: (30 year old Anglo) Things don't get done all the way. You do something and then you start something else. The only thing that gets done is school work. Other things don't get done.
Frank: (32 year old African-American): I think you sacrifice a lot of home life I rarely	Marion: (48 year old Anglo) I too shut the phone when I walk in the door. like Luz. I don't want the distraction. If I am going to study I shut the phone off. I think I became more organized because of school. My time is very precious,
	Lorraine: (26 year old Anglo) The house

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

see my wife and kids. that becomes a strain because I also travel for my job so there are times when I am not there at all. When I am here, I am not home until 10:00 PM sometimes most of the time, and when I am home I have to do work that is required for school so it's always something.

Tom: (27 year old Latino) My wife is a big help, more in the fact she allows me to do it, understands it and leaves me alone at times. Sometimes it becomes a lot at once. She suffers cause with my job it's not a straight M-F 9-5 kinda of thing. I work nights and my days rotate; she works full time and her job is M-F, 9-5. Sometimes, I'll get stuck working weekends which is only time that she's off. doesn't get clean. I have two weeks of laundry that has to be folded. I just live out of the basin.

Luz: (42 year old Latina) Sometimes you have to make those choices in our lives. Sometimes, we may not get everything we want, but what we need. That what I think about every day. Its not what I want, it 's what I need.

Micheala: (31 year old Latina). I began to feel a wear and tear, spreading myself thin and so coming to – and being a receptionist, its still better than what I was doing before. I took this job to make school easier for me.

ROLE MODEL

Tom: Someday down the line when I do have kids, I want to be able to say, you gotta go to school and you got to do well. I kinda feel– how can I preach that to my kids when I myself didn't do it.

Marion: Yes, I get that from two aunts, my mother's sisters one is 70's and one 80's and it seemed that they expected this. They say "Well, it's about time Marion" that they expected me to get my degree and do something wonderful. As I said before, it is very important that my daughters see what I do. Cause even though they don't say anything, they are watching. I want to be a success for them too, and graduating for me is a success.

Pauline: Two friends of mine went to school and said, you went to school, we can too. One friend is sorta proud of me and she said, "you taught me self respect, because of how you behave in life" I felt if I influenced that person, that's good. People look at you and think she's doing something good, we can too.

Debbie: I have a younger brother, He is 22 and did what I did, dropped out and is working. I keep telling him to go to school; I made him come to orientation. I try to impress upon him how important it is; I think, like me, he is going to have to go when he is ready.

SELF ESTEEM / AGENCY

Frank: the fact that I have finished my undergraduate degree has lifted a weight off my shoulder like you wouldn't believe. When you are in certain circles and you're talking and you can say, and someone asks where you get your degree and if you have your degree and you can say yes, that's such a great feeling, its incredible.

Tom: I came back for me; I know I could do better, I am capable of more, so that's why I came back

DK. What's that mean "for me"

Tom: Pride, pride, a sense of accomplishment.

AGENCY

Debbie: I didn't graduate high school, I got my GED and decided to work full time and then I realized that I needed something else besides work.

Marion: I am completing my education because I know have the opportunity, the financial opportunity. I am thrilled but it is personal growth I had to experience that growth. In high school, I didn't appreciate but I really appreciate it now.

Debbie: I have a goal I am trying to reach and I have grown a lot. before I was more passive when I was younger and now I am more

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Leonard: what brought me back was the main motivation it was an esteemable.
DK. Esteemable?
Leonard: Esteemable. I found myself in situations measuring myself against other people and everyone goes to college and gets a degree and I couldn't do that. I carried that around with me.
Sean: (36 year old of African descent) I don't want to walk through life and say I could have done this and didn't do it.
Jack: (32 year old Anglo) For me, I walk a bit more erect, instead of with head down. I feel more positive about my outlook about myself, about my future.

aggressive about my education. I feel like I have to work for it–I like to be challenged,
Pauline: (28 year old recent immigrant from Russia). but in my case, school gives me such a joy. such a happiness. Many classes, I am sitting and they pass like in one minute, and I am so excited about going to school that it is not a stress, but rather things that are in my way are stressful to me. I am very happy at school; It makes me happy.
Lorraine: But I look forward to school. I call it "Lorraine Time". It's my time; it away from my daughter, away from the house away from work. Its a time when I feel my brain actually grows.
Marion: I car pool with my sister and my daughter and my sister in law. It was like "Oh Marion, you can be late for school" And if I was driving. "no I can't be late". And I talked to them about. and I said "you seem to assume that this is a fluke. that I am doing this for minor reasons. this is very important for me." So I took the time to explain how important school is for me. And that it is important priority for me and that if they couldn't deal with that then they needed another driver.

JOB ADVANCEMENT CONCERNS AND DEEPER DREAMS

Jack: I came back because I wanted to open more doors of opportunity in the future for myself. Also to have a closure on my previous school experience as I bombed out miserably- didn't know what I wanted to do and I knew I had something to prove to myself and also for my wife.
Leonard: I came back to make myself more marketable, yes, but I really came back to prove to myself that I could do this.
Frank: My goal since I've been here have evolved considerably. They are totally different since I started. When I started, what I was doing wasn't what I wanted to be doing and they evolved into something that I really wanted to do, and they've become a goal that is not going to be satisfied until I have finished. It's become a passion that I get my law degree

Pauline: I would say our own world is connected to the bigger world. If I want to find my personal achievement or find better job: I also would like to find something that I can contribute to give people; it's impossible without education. I think your personal contribution in all senses as a human being, as a person are all critical here.

TIME URGENCY

Frank: And if you don't have it (degree), as time goes by, you are continually falling further and further behind everyone else. cause they're moving on, and the pace you can move on without a degree is very slow so as time goes on, you see the wedge between you and your contemporaries grows bigger and

COMMUNITY

Luz:. Besides giving voluntary work at Columbia, I give voluntary work at a group downtown that deal with adolescents and young adults that have been incarcerated, basically due to drug problems, alcoholism and its like a program that gives follow up to our youth and gives them some sort of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

bigger while your esteem becomes smaller and smaller. You realize that you have to do something, quickly.
Leonard: It's almost like two waves going out to sea. Everyone graduates high school, we're on the same plane. All of a sudden, our actions dictate our speed. Not going to school, not furthering your education slows you down. So by the time I got to my late twenties. I have all of sudden, a close friend who graduated the same exact rank as I did, was a B student in college, graduated from Syracuse Law, has a job in the city, a family with three kids– he's way out there and I am still back here.
Frank: I don't feel I am old but I feel I am running out of time; it's like I don't have time to waste like if I were to fail a class or something like that or not do well in a class, I don't have time to take it over.

vocational training to make them useful in society.
Pauline: If I want to find my personal achievement or find better job: I also would like to find something that I can contribute to give people; it's impossible without education.
Debbie: I do volunteer work with schizophrenics and substance abuse patients and I also work with kids at the Montessori school.
Marion: I belong to an Association at – and it does charity functions. I was on a charity committee for a golf tournament which just ended. There always seems to be some function coming up that I am involved in. A lot of telephone calls.

Men and women navigate through school with dramatically different forms of multiple interrole strains. For men, the strains are about having to be involved in so many activities during the course of the day. But typically, a man has a supportive environment that permits that level of engagement to work. In other words men have an unacknowledged privilege in the form of an assumption that while they are working, someone will take care of children, the house and everyday background activities. Additionally, someone is present who will take care of the affective dimensions of everyday life. Leonard says: "(I) say hello to my wife who I haven't seen since 6:30 in the morning and this semester see my daughter who I haven't seen since 8, then do some more school work." Frank says: "I think you sacrifice a lot of home life. I rarely see my wife and kids." This sense of privilege is sometimes acknowledged, but not really confronted as was present in Tom's narrative:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"My wife is a big help, more in the fact that she allows me to do it (school) understands it and leaves alone at times."

Men, for the most part, have and enjoy uncritically, a system in which gendered relationships cater to men and their needs. Even considerate males can deal with the stressors of school because of the default support that is operating in the background. Who is taking care of Leonard's daughter while he is juggling school and work pressures? Who is taking the brunt of the sacrifices in the home life that Frank addresses? Lastly, Tom's wife is willing to permit Tom to work and be undisturbed while at home.

When considering the strains that women experience, one sees the disparity more clearly between the needs of others, the demands of school and work, and their own sense of agency. Debbie says: "Things don't get done all the way. You do something and then you do something else. The only thing that gets done is school work. Other things don't get done." Lorraine says " The house doesn't get clean. I have two weeks of laundry that has to be folded" Marian says: "If I am going to study, I shut the phone off. I think I became more organized because of school. My time is very precious." The impression that one is left with is that women ultimately do the work that facilitates the running of the house and the care of the children even when they attend school and go to work. Hochschild, (1989) argues that women who are working experience a "second shift" at home that men not only don't do but don't even notice. Neither do they notice that they are in fact benefiting from this convention. I argue that there is another level of strain beyond

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

work and family that women experience and that school demands are integrated into this matrix as well. Men and women agree on how important a college education is. It is simply much more difficult for women who are embedded in family and work obligations than men who in fact are often supported by partners/spouses.

The tone of the focus group of men was substantially different than the women's group when issues of dealing with child care or house work came up. This is not to devalue the actual strains that adults of either gender contend with as they reenter college. It simply contextualizes the privilege of knowing that the laundry gets done, the children get care, one's work gets done while the male works and reads his philosophy text. Men report that they help their partners/spouses with work and child care. However, it is constructed as "help", and creates a model that suggests that it is fundamentally the woman's responsibility. Hochschild constructs an "economy of gratitude" whereby men are bestowing what are construed as gifts around the house and children; however, the tasks are then seen as a woman's responsibility. It becomes a woman's responsibility to take care of children with or without a man's assistance, not as a dual responsibility. Gifts are seen as tricky by Hochschild. If child care and housework were seen as part of the dual responsibility, then the gift might be some other task or responsibility. By making women ultimately responsible for the house and child care, the dual shift becomes structurally institutionalized.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Themes of mastery are very much in presence for men and women but even there, differences come up that might be explored in individual interviews. While women address mastery, competence and the emotions of doing something authentically for themselves outside of work and family, men more frequently tie the experience to a sense of pride and self-esteem and even a resolution of something that was getting in the way. Consider the following narratives:

Debbie says "I didn't graduate high school; I got my GED and decided to work full time and then realized that I needed something else besides work." Marion says "I am thrilled but it is personal growth. I had to experience that growth," while Pauline adds "In my case school gives me such a joy, such a happiness. I am so excited about going to school that it is not stress, but rather things that are in my way are stressful to me," Lorraine reports, ". but I look forward to school. I call it "Lorraine Time". Its my time, away from my daughter, my house, away from work. It's a time when I feel my brain actually grows."

Compare this mastery and emotional excitement and commitment to the educative process with the experience of mastery that men share. Frank tells us:

> the fact that I have finished my undergraduate degree has lifted a weight off my shoulder like you wouldn't believe. When you are in certain circles and you're talking and you can say, and someone asks where you

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> get your degree and if you have your degree and you can say yes, that's such a great feeling, its incredible.

Tom tells us, "I came back for me; I know I could do better; I am capable of more so that's why I came back" Interviewer- "What's that mean 'for me'?" Tom answers, "Pride, pride and a sense of accomplishment." Leonard adds, " I found myself in situations measuring myself against other people and everyone goes to college and gets a degree and I couldn't do that". It appears that mastery for men is tied to pride, but a public sense of pride in the context of the social world. For women, it seems to connect to a more personal sense of agency.

Men and women alike address issues of being a role model for others; perhaps women display it more consistently. Women talk about their constellation of support and what going to school means to them, their children, their younger brother, their sisters. Women also talk about giving something to a community or being involved in a volunteer effort. For men one sees some sense of involvement as a role model for one's children: Consider Tom when he says:

> Someday down the line when I do have kids, I want to be able to say, you gotta go to school and you gotta do well. I kinda feel how can I preach that to my kids when I myself did not do it?

A further distinction is that women narrate many forms of social and community involvement. Marion ties her education directly to what her daughters observe ". it is very important that my daughters see what I do,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

cause even though they don't say anything, they are watching. I want to be a success for them too, and graduating for me is a success". For Pauline, education becomes a vehicle for personal and community success when she observes. "If I want to find my personal achievement or find a better job, I also would like to find something that I can contribute, to give people; it's impossible without education."

Both men and women come back to school for job advancement and preparation. Underlying these narratives exists a matrix of deeper dreams. Particularly with men, these dreams are tied closely and directly to job advancement and promotion. For example Leonard says, "I came back to make myself more marketable, yes, but I really came back to prove to myself that I could do this." Jack observes:

> I came back because I wanted to open more doors of opportunity in the future for myself. Also to have a closure on my previous school experience as I bombed out miserably - didn't know what I wanted to do and I knew I had something to prove to myself and also for my wife.

There is a first layer of meanings that adults attribute to going back to school that is tied up with money and job advancement. With probing and with an exploration of deeper understandings, I uncovered a sense of mastery, of closure about past failures and hopes for a more empowered future.

One last theme that exposed a gender split involves a sense of time urgency. One finds among men that they are confronted with a normative

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

social clock, one that assumes that individuals will get their college degree by the age of 22. Consider the following illustrations of what men experience as they pursue their college degrees later than their contemporaries. Frank says:

> ...and if you don't have it (a degree), as time goes by, you are continually falling further and further behind everyone else, cause they're moving on and the pace you can move on without a degree is very slow so as time goes on, you see the wedge between you and your contemporaries grows bigger and bigger while your esteem becomes smaller and smaller. You realize that you have to do something, quickly.

Leonard agrees, saying:

> It's almost like two waves going out to sea. Everyone graduates high school. We're on the same plane. All of a sudden, our actions dictate our speed. Not going to school, not furthering your education slows you down. So by the time I got to my late twenties I have a close friend who graduated, was a B student in college, graduated from Syracuse Law, had a job in the city, a family with three kids–he's way out there and I am still back here.

I detect a moral tone in these observations. These men are not simply noticing the fluid nature of a stage in life when milestones occur, but a sense that one is behind, that one is struggling to catch up, that time is passing one by.

These data suggest that a strong gender construction is at work; yet these data appear in neither the student narratives nor the quantitative

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

survey. They are found solely in the focus group interviews. There were few differences in the sample between men and women in demographics, hardiness and self-esteem. The only other significant difference was the presence of children living with the mother or father. Women are more likely to live with children than men. Previous data suggested an a priori category on gender concerns among student narratives. With substantial evidence for gender effects on students and particularly adult women, I was surprised that narratives yielded almost no imagery that spoke to gender. That gender issues appear in one type of data and not in others argues for the need to include divergent methods of data collection. These observations surrounding gender need to be followed up on through individual interviews, but even as they are, fit into a complex picture of how men and women differentially navigate the multiple roles in their lives.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A Discussion of Strain, Coping and Social Support

A Vocabulary of Strain

A vocabulary of strain, coping and social support emerges from the narratives that adult students express. One cannot examine the adult student narratives without gaining an awareness of how the prominent role that strain plays within the adult student's life. Though I did not frame specific research questions concerning strain, coping and social support, it was clear that substantial strains are being sustained by adults. The most prominent theme that emerges is the juggling of multiple roles. One student comments:

> Juggling school with family can be very stressful especially twice when I was eight months pregnant; I rearranged priorities (i.e., cut out a social life) to complete school work and spend time with family. I often cope by doing what I have to do and thinking "This too will pass." However, if a goal is important to me, I know I have great perseverance.

This is a richer description of the strain, coping and social supports of an adult student. It emphasized the need to conceptualize what Pearlin has called inter-role strains. Another student remarked:

> It was stressful getting used to the scheduling of school, home and work. It was rethinking my life and priorities I had to do; what I couldn't do or delegate to others and how the whole family had to pitch in.

Another narrative reports:

> 1994 was for me very stressful. At exam time, I felt very uneasy. I was working full time and going to class. I set my priorities in order and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> divided my time so that I can study and still live a somewhat normal life.

A second set of narratives depicts the intrarole strain within the student experience. This emerged when there were strains within one's role as a student, and frequently as a result of conflicts between the requirements of different classes. One narrative suggested:

> Having five papers due in five classes was very stressful for me. The stress came when I thought about how the quality of the papers would turn out since I could not develop them to the best of my abilities.

A third set of narratives depicts the negative effects of strain in a vocabulary of physical and mental health outcomes.

> I was working full time and going to school three nights a week. I had been working really hard and pushing myself to the limit. One week before final exams, I collapsed and was hospitalized. This was due to too much stress. I had to postpone my exams. The most stress I encountered during this time was my inability to concentrate, thereby creating a great deal of anxiety.

This connection between school strains and nerves is echoed in the following narrative: "Speaking up in front of a class is particularly stressful for me. I try to handle my nerves by realizing that everyone in the class is feeling the same way."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

One last set of narratives emerged out of a stressful experience surrounding the professor and frequently involved respect and dignity in the classroom. One narrative said:

> Trying to participate in my writing class was stressful. I always used to raise my hand and the teacher would bypass me. Even when she called in order, she would bypass me. Other times she would contradict what I said in a way that made my classmates laugh. Until one day, I got up in class and I told her and my classmates that I was in the class to learn, that I wasn't in the class to be laughed at. I asked them to respect me.

Another student narrative underscored this lack of respect for student skills:

> The professor's idea of learning was the "eat and spit method". Take in everything she said and spit it back. I made an A- in the class but did not learn much, so I didn't have much of a sense of accomplishment.

One last strain emerged out of social class assumptions the professor had regarding the students.

> One professor assumed all students were computer literate, owned computers and had access to the internet. He wanted us to download a program from a web site. I had no idea what he was talking about and told him so.

While growth may be a substantial experience of the adult student, there is a clear sense of strain that adult students express.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In addition to the strains that adult students report in narratives of strain and growth, a system of discussion developed surrounding strains tied to coping responses and social support resources. A tremendous literature has developed around coping responses and social support resources. However, it is important to consider how adults cope with strain and how support systems operated in an adult college setting.

Social Support and the Convoy of the Adult Student

The role of social support is complex. It is rendered in several forms (i.e., tangible, cognitive or emotional), with varying levels of congruence between those that give and receive social support. Kahn & Antonucci, (1980), among others, have situated social supports within a convoy of support. A convoy has been defined as a "heuristic image of concentric circles that surround a person over time" (Antonucci & Akiyama, 1987, p. 519). Each of the circles is considered a different level of closeness to the focal person. The model carries structural and functional dimensions that help us to understand the precise role that social supports occupy in an adult college setting. (Kahn & Antonucci, 1980). When one is in school at night and weekends, we need to know more about who the helping agents are. What role do faculty, family, friends and community play in helping an individual cope with the strains of one's student roles? These social supports frequently play a limited and peripheral role in the structure of one's convoy.

Frequently, adults mention those for whom they play a supportive role e.g., children, husband. "Through school, I was a role model for my three

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sons. They are proud of me and two of them also went to college." Another's response was "growth: applying my knowledge to a paper during an exam and getting that A. Reaction: relaxing with a glass of wine and my husband afterward."

The emotional tone of the following narrative suggests the central place family can provide for sharing feelings of one's student life.

> The minute I received my acceptance letter at home, I felt like I was finally going to receive the education I have always wanted and one day I will be somebody. My reaction to this was sheer excitement and jumping for joy and kissing my wife and children. I still have the letter. I plan on keeping it always.

The convoy construct is helpful in providing an understanding of who the adult student feels is available within the system to provide tangible, emotional and cognitive social support. Social support can be more limited than the previous narrative suggests and can include faculty, administrators, work colleagues or other students who can be useful. It is typically understood that the complexity of role demands within an adult reentry setting limits friendship networking. There are no dorms, no late night parties. Students' convoys are less densely packed with other students who also have family, children, co-workers and personal friends. But other students and faculty can and do make a difference. Consider the following highlighted narrative of social support resources adults use.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Forming a study group, meeting on Saturday mornings at school and finding new friends through learning has helped me to grow. Working with classmates of all ages and occupations has enhanced the situation. These groups have been a most enjoyable and enriching experience.

The narrator suggests the role that other students can play within a social support convoy. The student also introduces diversity into the convoy.

> The instructor's demand for small groups was particularly stressful for me in the early weeks of the term. By the fifth week, I became comfortable with the routine and actually enjoyed the venture because it provided more give and take. In doing so, the subject matter became more meaningful to me.

What was powerful in this narrative was how the connection of the instructor's support combined with a demand for transformative work led to connections to other students, connections that probably would not have occurred within a more passive educational approach. Social support can be a double-edged experience. It can provide a resource, but it can also cause strain. The following narrative suggests this strain but also places adult education squarely within the student's valued experience.

> My grandmother died of cancer in Puerto Rico. It was a few days before final exams. After discussing it with my wife, I decided not to request a postponement of my exams. However, my mind was clearly elsewhere while I was trying to study. In the first exam, I made a silly mistake which cost me an A. I stayed up late studying each night after that with

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

more focus and determination, aced the next two finals, then traveled to Puerto Rico to be with my family.

In unpacking this narrative, I noticed a sense of embeddedness within his family. His is a convoy that encompasses an extended family as well as a valued culture. I noticed that college becomes an important part of the student's life such that he stays and finishes his work before joining his support system.

Coping Narratives: Transformational vs. Regressive Mechanisms

Coping has become a vast area of study involving a variety of paradigms and thousands of studies of coping responses and coping systems. Though beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is central to note that a language of strain and growth emerges in these narratives tied to coping responses and social support resources. I have highlighted some of the coping mechanisms that individuals have expressed in their narratives. Consider the follow narrative:

> When midterms were handed back during a break one evening, I was literally stunned to find I'd gotten a C+. I couldn't function for most of the rest of the class. I was angry and hurt and kept trying to think of some reason why the teacher would be persecuting me (my age, I remind him of his father.) I decided never to come back to the class or any class. Gradually I calmed down and began to look beyond my immediate emotions. As the class ended, I decided to ask him then and there. I

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> wasn't entirely satisfied with his answers and said so, but I was glad I'd expressed myself.

This narrative is suggestive of what Ouellette and others have depicted as transformational vs. regressive coping (Gentry & Kobasa-Ouellette, 1984). Transformational coping takes stress and "transforms it into a benign experience by means of problem solving strategies "(Florian, et. al., 1995, p 687). Regressive coping is defined as avoiding being in the world through withdrawal and escape. The narrative cited above suggests a regressive coping that begins to move toward a more transformational model. Note that he moves from a stance of never wanting to be in school to deciding to ask the professor why the C+ had been given. There is an hypothesized relationship between hardiness and transformational coping. The following selection suggests a more transformational model of coping in response to a stressful classroom experience.

> There was a situation in English Composition class that was stressful because the professor was not clear in what he wanted from us in order to succeed in his class. The only thing I did to lessen the stress was to ask questions constantly until I understood exactly what the professor wanted. I asked questions before, during and after class and even made appointments to see him during his office hours. It worked.

Through looking at the lived experience, one sees how transformational coping can effectively keep the adult student engaged and searching for solutions rather than withdrawing and escaping from the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

situation. The next example presents an illustration of coping with the demands of school. "I prepared a business plan at work. It provided an opportunity to use all the knowledge learned in other classes (accounting, business communications, management), I enjoyed the course work and the assignment was challenging." This sense of moving toward challenge as a transformational coping response is quite plausible. The following narrative suggests a transformational response to a highly stressful situation. In response to stress, the student does not withdraw and escape but rather stays engaged in the process and finds a way to engage the professor and fellow students.

> Trying to participate in my writing class was stressful. I always used to raise my hand and the teacher bypasses me. When she called in order, she would bypass me. Other time she would contradict what I said in a way that made my classmates laugh. Until one day I got up in class and I told her and my classmates that I was in class to learn, that I wasn't in class to be laughed at. I asked them to respect me. Since that day, things changed a lot.

Another narrative expressed a similar sentiment:

> I was very proud of myself for speaking up to the department about a mistake a professor had made in my final grade and demanding that my grade be rectified because I had worked so hard for it. This assertiveness, I think was facilitated or has been facilitated by my increase of self-worth and self-esteem as a result of being back in school.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A distinctive feature of this narrative is that pride and self-esteem, though emotion based, serve a transformational purpose. This narrative suggests an engaged and empowering involvement in the situation that defuses the stress and leads to the expression of higher self-esteem and self-worth.

This last narrative inlays transformational coping within the larger mosaic of its structural and political meanings.

> One situation included a discovery during a Latin American Politics class. I learned just before the class that I had a third cousin who was a missionary nun and she was martyred in South America. I was able to research the story and recently met her brother. I wound up changing and reevaluating my political beliefs and even my world view. I was willing to accept the fact of this story as hard, cold and brutal. I was tempted to deny, dismiss and be complacent. But I thought the truth was more important and should be embraced.

Transformational and regressive coping has been investigated only recently and represent an important theoretical step in understanding how coping mediates between hardiness and positive and negative outcomes. We need substantive and focused work on coping beyond the scope of this dissertation. Narratives of coping responses as lived experiences rather than psychometric instruments alone will yield important information about how coping works. My purpose has been much more limited; I have heard the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

strain, coping and social support responses in student narratives that surround the adult education setting.

Adult students are not merely driven by the market realities of making more money and advancing in their jobs; they also are not simply like traditional aged students, just older. These are individuals, many of whom experience a sense of hardiness, who also experience a sense of growth, mastery and empowerment that moves beyond the personal into the political and social realities in the world in which they live and work.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Conclusions, Implications and Limitations

Conclusion

I examined five research questions in this dissertation. In the first research question, I examined the relationship between hardiness on the one hand and demoralization and self-esteem on the other among reentry college students. I found that hardiness was positively related to higher self-esteem and lowered demoralization in a quantitative survey of 245 participants. African Americans were found to demonstrate higher self-esteem while women showed higher demoralization though the contribution to the total variance was quite small. Career development was related to self-esteem, suggesting a role for concerns that surround job advancement and promotion.

The second research question involved the use of quantitative data to examine the configuration of commitment, control and challenge among adult students. It was found that commitment alone, was significantly related to higher self-esteem, independent of demographic variables. Commitment was also negatively related to demoralization. Race, gender, and career development exerted similar influences as they did with hardiness. Personal growth was related to demoralization but contributed only a small part to the total variance. It may be that personal growth (constructing an intellectual argument, learning to write well) is associated with some general distress in individuals for whom these skills are important but not actualized skills. While hardiness is significantly related to mental health outcomes, in this

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sample it is commitment that accounts for the relationship to self-esteem and demoralization, rather than challenge or control.

The third research question examined examples of hardiness that emerged from the written narratives of adult students. I found examples of hardiness and particularly illustrations of challenge, control and commitment in the written narratives of adult students. I embedded these illustrations of hardiness within specific themes that are emblematic of the adult college student experience.

The fourth research question focused on narratives of transformation (both personal and political) and found evidence for the development of conscientization among adult students. One finds a space of critical consciousness such that students are addressing issues of oppression and injustice within their classes and that an increased level of empowerment as well as mastery is developing among adult students. While there is evidence for political transformation among adult students, I have also argued that personal transformation defined as a sense of personal mastery and growth independent of job advancement and career motivation was an incremental step toward political transformation. I have also included the involvement of dialogic learning strategies as a step toward the development of critical consciousness.

I have looked at the relationship between the qualitative measure of growth and transformation that students describe in their narratives and the survey measure of hardiness (as well as challenge, commitment and control)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and found that there was a significant relationship between the presence of transformational narratives and the measure of hardiness. Additionally, I found a relationship between the qualitative measure of transformation and commitment though not for challenge and control.

The fifth research question examined the effect that gender played among men and women in an adult college setting. It was found that while both men and women experience strain, growth and the development of critical consciousness in education, there were also substantial differences between them. I found that men and women constructed the experience of being in school differently. Women were far more likely to connect to supports in their family and community than men are. Men were more likely to experience pride in a public sense in describing what a college education meant to them, while for women I detected a sense of personal mastery and empowerment in being in school. Both groups displayed strain, but men had an unacknowledged system of supports from spouses and partners that permitted them to navigate through the strains of being in school. Women experienced the strain more directly.

This dissertation continues a research tradition of inquiry surrounding the role of gender in adult education settings. It has become clear from prior research that when women return to college as adults, the experience stimulates feelings of mastery and growth. What this dissertation uncovers are a set of differential meanings that adult men and women attribute to the reentry college experience. Furthermore, this dissertation uncovered a clear

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sense of unacknowledged privilege that sustains men as they go through the adult college experience. What is very important, methodologically, is how gender meanings are dealt with in research. The gendered explanations emerge from focus groups because the focus groups were organized, in part, based on gender. The narratives were not organized with gender as an organizing principle. It would seem important to consider in future research that the organizing principles for how focus groups or qualitative research groups are organized can have important consequences for what is discovered. It becomes important to consciously consider how one frames one's research and why particular frames are used or not used.

Implications

This dissertation contributes to the literature and thinking in a variety of disciplines including psychology, critical theory and adult education. The dissertation reframes and extends the construct of hardiness in a number of ways. Hardiness has been linked to the stress and coping literature for nearly twenty years. There have been attempts to thread hardiness through other areas in personality and social psychology. I am hopeful that I have connected hardiness to a new area of exploration, an area of growth and transformation, an area of praxis. At the very least, I sought to illustrate examples of hardiness in a new area of adult education where students are living with strain and functioning well despite numerous stressors. However, the evidence from this dissertation goes much further in connecting hardiness, and particularly commitment, to personal and political transformations in the adult

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

classroom. Hardiness acts within a larger social and political matrix so that it becomes threaded with many political and social beliefs and feelings of empowerment. This dissertation takes a step toward portraying hardiness as a construct that exists within and contributes to a larger structural system. The illustrations of hardiness that emerged from the student narratives combined with the psychometric data from the larger survey were threaded through the growth and transformation narratives that suggest a development of a critical consciousness within the adult education classroom. We need to further unpack hardiness inside other social and political areas to tease out these meanings apart from the stress and coping literature so that hardiness becomes a personality stance in the world. Ouellette (1993) had discussed the importance of seeing hardiness beyond its contribution in understanding stress and coping. There has been a sense that hardiness as a construct makes statements about personal empowerment that separate the hardy person from a critical stance toward the world. The hardy person can be involved in seeing and transforming social and political inequities in an oppressive system. In fact, this dissertation has made a step in that direction, toward seeing hardiness tied with praxis in the classroom.

Methodologically, hardiness has been investigated using a number of first through third generation psychometric tools. I have continued this tradition by using the Personal Views Survey, to assess challenge, commitment and control along with the unitary construct of hardiness. I have begun the movement toward looking for illustrations of hardiness

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

within student narratives. I have identified themes of challenge, commitment and challenge that speak to the adult student experience. In future work on hardiness, it is hoped that we can use systematic methods to probe, qualitatively, for hardiness in the lived experience of the adult reentry student. Furthermore, it will be important to look at the specific vocabulary of hardiness that emerges in particular populations as a guide to develop more refined measures of challenge, control and commitment.

This dissertation has added considerably to the ways in which one frames the adult education experience and the role that critical theory, and particularly conscientization, plays within the models of adult education. Adult students have always been seen as returning to school for specific job linked purposes and that the critical and transforming aspects of education are less important to them (Aslanian, 1996; Kasworm, 1990b; Sewall, 1984). What this dissertation contributes is a sense that adult students may talk about the meanings of job advancement and money, but that underlying those meanings there lies a discussion of personal and political growth and transformation. This is tied to the idea of conscientization that Freire has developed, a sense that adult students come back and begin to actively learn about an oppressive social system and to become empowered in the face of that system.

The narratives that adult students provide are rich snapshots of their confrontations with strain, coping and the use of support systems. They are also narratives of students recognizing the classroom as a site for change, a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

place where their "brain can actually grow." I continue to be struck by how involved adult students are with a sense of transformation in the face of formidable strains. The implications of this sense of empowerment are set against a backdrop of colleges and universities that need to more seriously consider what Dewey has called the progressive social purpose of education in people's lives. Universities need to see adult education in broader social terms. Colleges need to see that while adults do come back to school for jobs and for advancement in already established career trajectories, there are complex meanings of mastery and growth that can be unthreaded. Perhaps the value of qualitative research combined with quantitative surveys is to tap into that complex tapestry of adult student experiences such that these meanings do not remain obscured.

Gender was a good example of a construct that would have remained obscured had not a complex triangulated methodology been conducted. While previous research has tapped on the role that education plays for adult women, the surveys and qualitative narratives did not yield meaningful information about the role that gender plays among adult students. Part of the reason for this obscurity of gender information is how qualitative narratives were organized. It was through the focus groups, formed with gender as an organizing principle, that substantive differences in the experiences of men and women began to emerge. It was through these focus groups that the unexamined privilege that men experience in going to school at night becomes visible.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

These data transform the existing literature in hardiness and adult education in several ways. While the data support the contention that hardiness and more specifically commitment are related to mental health outcomes, these data begin to reframe hardiness as a personality stance that relates to growth and transformation that occur in a particular social setting.

The work transforms educational research by framing the experience of the adult education student in terms of growth and transformation and the development of critical consciousness. It further examines the narratives of hardiness within this particular population. This dissertation invites the reader into a world of adult education at odds with market based realities that have traditionally defined the adult education student. This dissertation sees concern with financial growth and career advancement, but then addresses issues of mastery, of the development of personal and political consciousness and transformation that underlie these pressing and real financial and job-related concerns.

Beyond the substantive role that this dissertation plays in presenting data on hardiness, growth and transformation, and gender, it has provided insight into the need for triangulated research projects. The data gathered from quantitative surveys, qualitative narratives, and focus groups create a prism of relationships that promote a deeper, richer understanding of people's lives.

My dissertation sets the stage for future research projects in this area. I believe that we must further investigate the role of hardiness and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

transformation within the lives of the adult student. The life histories of the adult students can provide a lens through which to examine hardiness, how it is expressed, and its relationship to the classroom experience. We need to go further in our thinking and measurement of the configuration of challenge, commitment and control and how particular settings may pull for particular configurations. I believe that qualitative methods in assessing hardiness and its subcomponents can be further developed to truly and reliably capture the meanings of hardiness that adult students express. Further, the identities of adult students need not be seen in isolation from other identities. How does the social world of the adult student support or undermine their experience of going back to school? How do meanings associated with gender, race and class intersect with one's identity as an adult student? One can also look at how claimed identities of parent, worker and partner intersect within the life of the adult student. The contradictory quantitative picture that has emerged in the literature concerning multiple role identities may be informed by a qualitative picture of the lived experience of the adult student within these multiple roles. Future research efforts, then, can be guided by framing hardiness in the context of the larger social and structural conditions within which people are situated. Furthermore, research efforts among adult students can look at the development and expression of personal and political transformations, the development of critical consciousness and the dialogic learning settings within which this conscientization can take place.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Limitations

There are a number of limitations to this dissertation that constrain some of the conclusions that can be made. Some of the issues arise out of ambiguities in the conceptual formulation of hardiness while other problems are related to measurement difficulties that surround the hardiness construct. Carver (1989) has addressed some of these conceptual and measurement issues in working with multifaceted constructs like hardiness. Hardiness is made up of three components that are additively combined to create a unitary scale that is then linked to specific dependent variables. There is an elegance in this solution, but there are risks in what Carver calls a latent variable composed of imperfectly measured subcomponents. One problem that occurs when one uses subcomponents like challenge, control and commitment to additively derive hardiness is that if the components are wrong then erroneous conclusions can occur along with a loss in conceptual clarity. With regard to hardiness, if challenge, commitment and control are not the correct variables, then conceptually a decrease in information occurs.

In this dissertation, I have found a negative relationship between hardiness and demoralization and positive relationship between hardiness and self-esteem. However, when one looks at the subcomponents, it is commitment, alone, that is predictive of self-esteem and demoralization. I sense that Carver makes an important point in that if one continues to measure challenge and control and it is really commitment that is making hardiness work, then this erroneous information is reducing theoretical and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

conceptual clarity in our analysis. Measurement may not be the issue at hand; theory rather, may be the root of the problem.

I remain convinced that hardiness provides an important conceptual framework for understanding "self in the world" but that we need too to broaden the sense of hardiness as a health construct and a construct that is redolent of individualism to a construct that embeds individuals in a larger structural and political matrix.

With these conceptual concerns in mind, I am aware of the complex issues of measurement that still confront the hardiness researcher. Since the hardiness scale is made up of three imperfectly measured subcomponents, we need to find more effective ways to measure these subcomponents. Qualitative research, using the hardiness construct, is an important step in the direction of creating a better set of subcomponent scales as well as creating richer, more vivid portrayals of the lived experience.

At its most basic, qualitative research can be the base for creating a set of scales that may be more effective in tapping control, challenge and commitment. Focus groups have proven to be an effective tool for this iterative process of scale construction for in the process of brainstorming, new ideas can emerge as the basis of scale construction.

Discrete narratives can be a source of information upon which the construction of new scale items can be based; however, the way these narratives are generated can color the kind of information that emerges. In this dissertation, the narratives are generated through statements that are

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

clearly situational in nature. "Think of a situation at college in which you feel like you experienced growth. What made the situation growth-enhancing? How did you react to the situation?". These questions are so situational in nature that it may have constrained the construction of hardiness narratives.

A second methodological concern surrounds the reliability of the text that I have coded. I used grounded theory to generate, code and recode narratives to create a plausible argument for growth and transformation, as well as to provide examples of hardiness, strain, coping and social support. This is a first step toward extending hardiness out of its psychometric origins, but we need more precise qualitative tools to probe student narratives for challenge, control and commitment imagery. We can further use qualitative data systematically to assess strain, coping and social support information.

The qualitative narratives that I solicited in this dissertation strike me as snapshots of growth and transformation that adult students experience, still pictures of commitment, control and challenge. I believe we need to look more deeply into the life stories individuals present that will give a richer sense of how growth and transformation is constructed and enacted in one's life (McLaughlin & Tierney, 1993). If we can see hardiness embedded in particular social worlds, with specific meanings, then I am convinced that our view of hardiness and its connection to critical consciousness will be increased.

It is the task of the next generation of hardiness researchers to both find better ways of pulling for challenge, control and commitment and to probe for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the lived experience of hardiness in people's lives. Lastly, we need to continue to frame hardiness within larger ecological contexts. Adult education settings have provided a vital beginning for this research enterprise.

With these limitations in mind, I am convinced that adult education matters greatly and that hardiness, as a construct, gives us a better understanding of growth and strain in the adult student experience. Finally, these meanings of growth, strain and hardiness do not exist independent of the larger political and structural reality, but can and do lead to personal and political transformations. It is this dialogic and transformative learning that contextualizes the experience of the adult student and then builds on it that I find so important, and ultimately so empowering.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix A

April 29, 1997

Dear Fordham University Student:

This is an invitation to participate in a study of the adult educational experience. This research will illuminate factors that contribute to one's experience as an adult student. You will be asked to fill out a confidential questionnaire. The questionnaire should take about 45 minutes to complete. Your participation, in addition to facilitating your deeper understanding of your educative process, will contribute to an expanded appreciation of what adult students go through toward the completion of their degrees. Three participants, selected by lottery, will receive $100 gift certificates.

Participation in this research is completely voluntary. You can terminate your participation in this study at any point. This study will have no impact on your status as a student at Fordham University, nor is it connected in any way with any university office. There are no known risks associated with such participation apart from feelings that may be stimulated by answering the questions. Furthermore, your identity as a participant in this study will remain entirely confidential. Completed questionnaires will be stored in a locked cabinet. To insure confidentiality your name will not be used on the questionnaire packet; Identification will be made by code number only.

Your participation in this research will consist only of completing a questionnaire. If you have any further questions about the study or your participation in this research, feel free to contact me at (718) 817-4605 or you may contact the Office of Sponsored Research at the Graduate School at CUNY at (212) 642-2069.

Let me thank you in advance for participating in this study.

Sincerely,

David E. Koch
Assistant Professor, Fordham University

I agree to participate in the proposed research on adult education. I understand that I will be asked to complete a questionnaire that will take about 45 minutes. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw at any time. I can also refuse to answer any question, should I wish.

Name (Please print) Signature

Address Daytime Telephone Number

City, State, Zip Code Evening Telephone Number

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix B

General Instructions: This questionnaire addresses motivations, thoughts, and feelings that adult students have had. The questionnaire consists of six sections.
Please fill in or circle the best answer for each question.

Part I.
Returning to school can mean different things for different people. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following ways of thinking about the impact of school on your life.

As a result of returning to school, I have ...

1 = Disagree Strongly
2 = Disagree
3 = Disagree Slightly
4 = Agree Slightly
5 = Agree
6 = Agree Strongly

1.	become a well rounded person.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	become better prepared to serve my community.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	made new friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4.	discovered I can be interested in many different subjects.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	discovered a supportive faculty member.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	made my family proud.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7.	become excited by ideas in the classroom.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8.	gotten a promotion at my present job.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9.	learned how to write better.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10.	developed better communication skills.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11.	found a fascinating major in which to specialize.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12.	exercised more control in my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

		1 = Disagree Strongly 2 = Disagree 3 = Disagree Slightly 4 = Agree Slightly 5 = Agree 6 = Agree Strongly					
13.	acted as a role model.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14.	learned how to construct intellectual arguments.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15.	discovered new ways to solve problems.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16.	prepared for downsizing of my company.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17.	enhanced my self esteem.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18.	prepared to get a new job.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19.	learned new ways of understanding the world.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20.	increased my understanding of different kinds of people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21.	increased my flexibility in job choices.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22.	pursued an intellectual challenge.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23.	reduced my fears about how the economy might affect me.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Was there a particular class at Fordham University that was especially worthwhile? How was it valuable?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Was there a particular class at Fordham University that was not at all worthwhile? What made it so?

Part II

PERSONAL VIEWS SURVEY

Below are some items that you may agree or disagree with. Please indicate how you feel about each one by circling a number from 1 (Disagree Strongly) to 6 (Agree Strongly) in the space provided.

As you will see, many of the items are worded very strongly. This is to help you decide the extent to which you agree or disagree. Please read all the items carefully. Be sure to answer all on the basis of the way you feel now. Don't spend too much time on any one item.

1 = Disagree Strongly
2 = Disagree
3 = Disagree Slightly
4 = Agree Slightly
5 = Agree
6 = Agree Strongly

1.	I often wake up eager to take up my life where it left off the day before.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	I like a lot of variety in my course work.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	Most of the time, teachers listen to what I have to say.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4.	Planning ahead can help avoid most future problems.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1 = Disagree Strongly
2 = Disagree
3 = Disagree Slightly
4 = Agree Slightly
5 = Agree
6 = Agree Strongly

5.	I usually feel that I can change what might happen tomorrow, by what I do today.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	I feel uncomfortable if I have to make any changes in my everyday schedule.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7.	No matter how hard I try, my efforts will accomplish nothing.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8.	I find it difficult to imagine getting excited about school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9.	No matter what you do, the "tried and true" ways are always the best.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10.	I feel that it's almost impossible to change my spouse's or a friend's mind about something.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11.	Most people who work for a living are just manipulated by their bosses.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12.	New laws shouldn't be made if they hurt a person's income.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13.	When you marry and have children you have lost your freedom of choice.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14.	No matter how hard you work, you never really seem to reach your goals.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15.	A person whose mind seldom changes can usually be depended on to have reliable judgment.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16.	I believe most of what happens in life is just meant to happen.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17.	It doesn't matter if you work hard at your job, since only the bosses profit by it anyway.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1 = Disagree Strongly
2 = Disagree
3 = Disagree Slightly
4 = Agree Slightly
5 = Agree
6 = Agree Strongly

18.	I don't like conversations when others are confused about what they mean to say.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19.	Most of the time it just doesn't pay to try hard, since things never turn out right anyway.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20.	The most exciting thing for me is my own fantasies.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21.	I won't answer a person's questions until I am very clear as to what he is asking.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22.	When I make plans I'm certain I can make them work.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23.	I really look forward to going to school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
24.	It doesn't bother me to step aside for a while from something I'm involved in, if I'm asked to do something else.	1	2	3	4	5	6
25.	When I am at work performing a difficult task I know when I need to ask for help.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26.	It's exciting for me to learn something about myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
27.	I enjoy being with people who are predictable.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28.	I find it's usually very hard to change a friend's mind about something.	1	2	3	4	5	6
29.	Thinking of yourself as a free person just makes you feel frustrated and unhappy.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1 = Disagree Strongly
2 = Disagree
3 = Disagree Slightly
4 = Agree Slightly
5 = Agree
6 = Agree Strongly

30.	It bothers me when something unexpected interrupts my daily routine.	1	2	3	4	5	6
31.	When I make a mistake, there's very little I can do to make things right again.	1	2	3	4	5	6
32.	I feel no need to try my best at school, since it makes no difference anyway.	1	2	3	4	5	6
33.	I respect rules because they guide me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
34.	One of the best ways to handle most problems is just not to think about them.	1	2	3	4	5	6
35.	I believe that most athletes are just born good at sports.	1	2	3	4	5	6
36.	I don't like things to be uncertain or unpredictable.	1	2	3	4	5	6
37.	People who do their best should get full financial support from society.	1	2	3	4	5	6
38.	Most of my life gets wasted doing things that don't mean anything.	1	2	3	4	5	6
39.	Lots of times I don't really know my own mind.	1	2	3	4	5	6
40.	I have no use for theories that are not closely tied to facts.	1	2	3	4	5	6
41.	Ordinary work is just too boring to be worth doing	1	2	3	4	5	6
42.	When other people get angry at me, it's usually for no good reason	1	2	3	4	5	6
43.	Changes in routine bother me.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1 = Disagree Strongly
2 = Disagree
3 = Disagree Slightly
4 = Agree Slightly
5 = Agree
6 = Agree Strongly

44.	I find it hard to believe people who tell me that the work they do is of value to society.	1	2	3	4	5	6
45.	I feel that if people try to hurt me, there's usually not much I can do to try and stop them.	1	2	3	4	5	6
46.	Most days, life just isn't very exciting for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
47.	I think people believe in individuality only to impress others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
48.	When I'm criticized at school, it usually seems to be unjustified.	1	2	3	4	5	6
49.	I want to be sure someone will take care of me when I get old.	1	2	3	4	5	6
50.	Politicians run our lives.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Part III-
In this section, think of some actual events that have occurred in school.

1. Think of a situation that developed in school that you perceived as particularly stressful for you? What made the situation stressful? How did you handle the situation?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2. Think of a situation at college in which you feel like you experienced growth. What made the situation growth-enhancing? How did you react to the situation?

Part IV

The questions in this section and the next relate to a student's thoughts and feelings about oneself. Please rate your level of agreement with each of the following statements.
For each statement, circle the response which is most accurate for you.

1 = Disagree Strongly
2 = Disagree
3 = Disagree Slightly
4 = Agree Slightly
5 = Agree
6 = Agree Strongly

1.	On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	At times I think I am no good at all.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4.	I am able to do things as well as most other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	I certainly feel useless at times.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1 = Disagree Strongly
2 = Disagree
3 = Disagree Slightly
4 = Agree Slightly
5 = Agree
6 = Agree Strongly

7.	I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8.	I wish I could have more respect for myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9.	All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10.	I take a positive attitude toward myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Part V

The following questions address feelings and thoughts that people may experience. How often have you had these feelings or thoughts over the last month.

During the last month...

0=Never
1=Almost never
2=Sometimes
3=Fairly often
4=Very often

1.	how often were you bothered by feelings of sadness or depression – feeling blue?	0	1	2	3	4
2.	how often did you feel confused and have trouble thinking?	0	1	2	3	4
3.	how often did you feel lonely?	0	1	2	3	4
4.	how often did you have trouble concentrating or keeping your mind on what you were doing?	0	1	2	3	4
5.	how often did you have trouble with headaches and pains in the head?	0	1	2	3	4
6.	how often were you bothered by feelings of restlessness?	0	1	2	3	4

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

		0=Never 1=Almost never 2=Sometimes 3=Fairly often 4=Very often				
7.	how often did you fear being left all alone or abandoned?	0	1	2	3	4
8.	how often were you bothered by nervousness, being fidgety or tense?	0	1	2	3	4
9.	how often did you fear going crazy–losing your mind?	0	1	2	3	4
10.	how often did you have attacks of sudden fear or panic?	0	1	2	3	4
11.	how often did you fear something terrible would happen to you?	0	1	2	3	4
12.	how often have you felt anxious?	0	1	2	3	4
13.	how often did you feel confident?	0	1	2	3	4
14.	how often did you feel useless?	0	1	2	3	4
15.	how often did you feel you were bothered by ailments in different parts of your body?	0	1	2	3	4
16.	how often did you have times when you couldn't help wondering if anything was worthwhile any more?	0	1	2	3	4
17.	how often did you feel that nothing turned out for you the way you wanted it to?	0	1	2	3	4
18.	how often did you feel completely helpless?	0	1	2	3	4
19.	how often did you feel completely hopeless about everything	0	1	2	3	4
20.	how often was your appetite poor?	0	1	2	3	4
21.	how often were you bothered by cold sweats?	0	1	2	3	4
22.	when you got angry, how often did you feel uncomfortable, like getting headaches, stomach pains, cold sweats and things like that?	0	1	2	3	4

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

		0=Strongly disagree 1=Somewhat disagree 2=Neither agree nor disagree 3=Somewhat agree 4=Strongly agree				
23.	You are the kind of person who feels a failure generally in life. Do you...	0	1	2	3	4
24.	You are the kind of person who feels he or she has much to be proud of. Do you...	0	1	2	3	4
25.	You are the kind of person who is the worrying type–you know, a worrier. Do you...	0	1	2	3	4
26.	In general, if you had to compare yourself with the average person, what type of grade would you have given yourself in the past 12-month period. 4 = Excellent 3 = Good 2 = Average 1 = Below average 0 = A lot below average	0	1	2	3	4
27.	In general, how satisfied were you with yourself during the past 12-month period. 4 = Very satisfied 3 = Somewhat satisfied 2 = Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied 1 = Somewhat dissatisfied 0 = Very dissatisfied	0	1	2	3	4

Part VI.

In this last section we would like information about yourself.

1. How old are you? _____Years.

2. Are you 1. Male or 2. Female?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3. What is your race or ethnicity?

1. Asian/Pacific Islander
2. Black/African American/African-Caribbean
3. Hispanic/Latino
4. Native American
5. White/Caucasian/European
6. Other. *Please specify:*

4. How would you describe your sexual orientation?

1. Heterosexual
2. Bisexual
3. Gay/Lesbian
4. Other

5. What is your partnership status?

1. Not in a relationship
2. Married / In a serious partnership/ Living with
3. Separated/Divorced/No longer in serious partnership
4. Widowed

6. If you are married or in a serious partnership,

Is your spouse or partner currently employed outside the home?
1. Yes 2. No

If Yes
1. Full time
2. Part time
3. Seasonal work

What type of paid work does your spouse or partner do?

How many hours does your spouse or partner work per week?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

7. If you are married or in a serious partnership,

What is the highest level of school completed by your spouse or partner?

1. Junior High School or lower
2. Some High School
3. High School
4. Some College
5. College
6 Some graduate school
7 Graduate or professional degree

8. What is the highest level of school completed by your mother?

1. Junior High School or lower
2. Some High School
3. High School
4. Some College
5. College
6 Some graduate school
7 Graduate or professional degree

9. What is the highest level of school completed by your father?

1. Junior High School or lower
2. Some High School
3. High School
4. Some College
5. College
6 Some graduate school
7 Graduate or professional degree

10. Are you currently employed outside the home? 1. Yes 2. No

If Yes
1. Full time
2. Part time
3. Seasonal work

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

What type of paid work do you do?

How many hours do you work per week?

11. What was your individual income level last year?
    1. less than $25, 000 per year
    2. $25, 000 to 49, 999
    3. $50, 000 to 74, 999
    4. $75,000 to 99, 999
    5. $100,000 or more

12. How is your tuition paid? *Circle all that apply.*
    1. I pay for all or part of it myself as I go.
    2. My parents pay for all or part of it as I go.
    3. My spouse/partner pays for all or part of it as I go.
    4. I receive some financial aid.
    5. I take out Student Loans
    6. I receive Scholarships
    7. I receive Tuition Remission from my job

13. What are your current living arrangements? *Circle all that apply.*
    1. I live alone
    2. I live with a partner or spouse
    3. I live with a roommate or roommates
    4. I live with parents
    5. I live with children
    6. Other. *Please specify*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

14. Are you a parent?

1. Yes 2. No.

How old are your children?	Do your children live with you?
-	Full time
-	Part time
-	Not at all

15. How many credits have you completed toward your BA/BS degree?

1. 0 -30
2. 31-60
3. 61-90
4. 90-120

16. How long have you been working toward your Bachelor's degree

1. less than 1 year
2. 1 - 2 years
3. 3 - 5 years
4. 5 - 7 years
5. over 7 years

17. How many breaks have you taken in your work toward your degree.

1. none
2. 1-2
3. 3-5
4. over 5

18. How many credits do you generally take each semester?

1. fewer than 6 credits
2. 6-11 credits
3. 12-15 credits
4. over 15 credits

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

19. How many credits did you take during the Spring, 1997 semester

1. zero credits
2. 1-6
3. 6-12
4. over 12 credits

Thank you very much for helping us with this survey. After you have completed the questionnaire, please return it in the attached envelope to Ignatius College Dean's Office -
118 Keating Hall, Fordham University, Bronx, NY 10458.

We would very much like to talk to some of you in more depth about your experience in college as an adult. If you would be available for an individual interview, please put your name and phone number below.

Name (Please print) Signature

Address Daytime Telephone Number

City, State, Zip Code Evening Telephone Number

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix C

August 26, 1996

Dear Fordham University Student:

This is an invitation to participate in a study of the adult educational experience. This research will illuminate factors that contribute to one's experience as an adult student. You will be asked to participate in a 90 minute focus group. I hope your participation will provide an opportunity for you to deepen your understanding of how your education fits with other demands in your life. It will also contribute to an expanded appreciation of what adult students go through toward the completion of their degrees.

Participation in this research is completely voluntary. You can terminate your participation in this study at any point. This study will have no impact on your status as a student at Fordham University, nor is it connected in any way with any university office. There are no known risks associated with such participation apart from feelings that may be stimulated in the discussion. Furthermore, your identity as a participant in this study will remain entirely confidential. The focus session will be recorded on audio tape. Names will be changed in any subsequent transcription.

Your participation in this research will consist only of participating in the focus group. If you have any further questions about the study or your participation in this research, feel free to contact me at (718) 817-4605 or you may contact the Office of Sponsored Research at the Graduate School at CUNY at (212) 642-2059.

Let me thank you in advance for participating in this study.

Sincerely,

David E. Koch
Assistant Professor, Fordham University

I agree to participate in the proposed research on adult education. I understand that I will be asked to participate in a 90 minute focus group. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw at any time. I can also refuse to answer any question, should I wish.

Name (Please print) Signature

Address Daytime Telephone Number

City, State, Zip Code Evening Telephone Number

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

References

Allred, K. D., & Smith. T. W. (1989). The hardy personality: Cognitive and physiological responses to evaluative threat. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56, 257-266.

Amstey, F. H., & Whitbourne, S. K. (1981). Continuing education, identity, sex role, and psychosocial development in adult women. Sex Roles, 7, 49-58.

Antonnucci, T. C., & Akiyama, H. (1987). Social networks in adult life and a preliminary examination of the convoy model. Journal of Gerontology, 42, 519-527.

Antonovsky, A. (1987). Unraveling the mystery of health. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Apps, J. W. (1981). The adult learner on campus. Chicago, IL: Follett.

Apps, J. W. (1986). Comments from the field: Barriers older students face when returning to school. Continuing Education and Outreach News, 2, 7-10.

Aronowitz, S., & Giroux, H. A. (1991). Post-Modern education: Politics, culture and social criticism. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Aronowitz, S., & Giroux, H. A. (1993). Education still under siege (2nd ed.). Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

Aslanian, C. B. (1996). Adult learning in America: Why and how adults go back to college. New York, NY: The College Board.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Aslanian, C. B. & Brickell, H. M. (1980). Americans in transition: Life changes as reasons for adult leaning. New York, NY: College Entrance Examination Board.

Ballmer, H., & Cozby, P. C. (1981). Family environments of women who return to college. Sex Roles, 7, 1019-1026.

Banks, J. K., & Gannon, L. R. (1988). The influence of hardiness on the relationship between stressors and psychosomatic symptomology. American Journal of Community Psychology, 16, 25-37.

Barnett, R. C. (1993). Multiple roles, gender and psychological distress. In L. Goldberger & S. Breznitz (Eds.), Handbook of stress: Theoretical and clinical aspects (Second ed.), (pp. 427-445). New York, NY: Free Press.

Bartone, P. T., Ursano, R. J., Wright, K, M., & Ingraham, L. H. (1989). The impact of a military air disaster on the health of assistance workers. The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 177, 317-328.

Baruch, G. K., & Barnett, R. C. (1986). Role quality, multiple role involvement and psychological well-being in mid-life women. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51, 578-585.

Beder, H. (1989). Purposes and philosophies of adult education. In S. B. Merriam & P. M. Cunningham (Eds.), Handbook of adult & continuing education (pp. 37-50). San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.

Beutell, N., & Greenhaus, J. (1986). Balancing acts: Work-family conflict and the dual career couple. In L.L. Moore (Ed.), Not as far as you think (pp 149-162). Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath Co.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste. Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press.

Boyer, E. L. (1974). Breaking up the youth ghetto. In D. W. Vermilge (Ed.), Lifelong learners: A clientele for higher education (pp 4-11). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Brickell, H. M., & Aslanian, C. B. (1987). Policy recommendations for educating adults (Policy Report, Office of Learning Services). New York, NY: The College Board.

Brookfield, S. (1984). Adult learners, adult education and the community. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Brookfield, S. D. (1986). Understanding and facilitating adult learning. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.

Carver, C. S. (1989). How should multifaceted personality constructs be tested: Issues illustrated by self-monitoring, attributional style and hardiness. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56, 577-585.

Cassel, J. B., Platt, L. P., & Ouellette, S. C. (1991, August). Stress and stress resilience in prospective AIDS volunteers. Poster session presented at the 99th annual convention of the American Psychological Association.

Cohen, J. (1992). A power primer. Psychological Bulletin, 112, 155-159.

Contrada, R. J. (1989). Type A behavior, personality hardiness and cardiovascular responses to stress. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57, 895-903.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Crimmins, E. & Riddler, E. W. (1985). College enrollment trends among the population thirty-five and older: 1972-1982 and projections to 2000. Educational Gerontology, 11, 363-385.

Crosby, F. (1987). Parent, spouse, worker. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Cross, K. P. (1981). Adults as learners: Increasing participation and facilitating learning. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Cunningham, P. M. (1992). From Freire to feminism: The north american experience with critical pedagogy. Adult Education Quarterly, 42, 180-191.

Darkenwald, G. O., & Merriam, S. B. (1982). Adult education: Foundations of practice. New York, NY: Harper & Row.

Dean, L., Hall, W. E., & Martin, J. L. (1988). Chronic and intermittent AIDS-related bereavement in a panel of homosexual men in New York City. Journal of Palliative Care, 4, 54-57.

Delight, C. (1982). An exploratory study of the educational support systems of female G.E. D. students. (Report No. CE 045 920). Springfield, MA: Springfield College. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 276 843).

Denzin, N. K. (1989). The research act (3rd Ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Dewey, J. (1966). Education and democracy. New York, NY: Free Press.

Dohrenwend, B. S., & Dohrenwend, B.P. (Eds.) (1974). Stressful life events: Their nature and effects. New York, NY: Wiley.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dohrenwend, B. S., & Dohrenwend, B.P. (1981). Life stress and illness: Formulation of the issues. In B. S. Dohrenwend & B. P. Dohrenwend (Eds.), Stressful life events and their contexts (pp. 1-27). New York, NY: Prodist.

Dohrenwend, B.S., Shrout, P. E. , Egri, G., & Mendelsohn, F. S. (1980). Nonspecific psychological distress and other dimensions of psychopathology. Archives of General Psychiatry, 37, 1229-1236.

Dukes, R. L. & Martinez, R. (1994). The impact of ethgender on self-esteem among adolescents. Adolescence, 20, 105-115.

Elias, J. L., & Merriam, S. (1980). Philosophical foundations of adult education. Huntington, NY: Krieger Publishing.

FileMaker Pro User's Guide (1992). Santa Clara, CA: Claris Corp.

Fine, M. (1992). Disruptive voices: The possibilities of feminist research. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Florian, V., Mikalincer, M. , & Taubman, O. (1995). Does hardiness contribute to mental health during a stressful real life situation? The roles of appraisal & coping. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68, 687-695.

Fontana, A., & Frey, J. H. (1994). Interviewing: The art of science. In N. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of qualitative research. (pp. 364-365). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Freire, P. (1970). Pedagogy of the oppressed. New York, NY: Seabury Press.

Freire, P. (1985). The politics of education: Culture, power and liberation. New York, NY: Bergin & Garvey.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Funk, S. C. (1992). Hardiness: A review of theory and research. Health Psychology, 11, 335-345.

Funk, S. C., & Houston, B.K. (1987). A critical analysis of the hardiness scale's validity and utility. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53, 572-578.

Ganellen, R. J., & Blaney, P. H. (1984). Hardiness and social support as moderators of the effects of life stress. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 47, 156-163.

Garrison, D. R. (1985). Predicting dropout in adult basic education using interaction effects among school and non-school variables. Adult Education Quarterly, 36, 25-38.

Garrison, D. R. (1988). A deductively derived and empirically confirmed structure of factors associated with dropout in adult education. Adult Education Quarterly, 38, 199-210.

Gentry, W. D. & Ouellette-Kobasa, S. C. (1984). Social psychological resources mediating stress-illness relationships in humans. In W. D. Gentry (Ed.), Handbook of behavioral medicine (pp. 87-116). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Gilbert, L. A., & Holahan, C. K. (1982). Human Relations, 35, 635-648.

Gilbert, L. A., Holahan, C. K. & Manning, L. Coping with conflict between professional and maternal roles. Family Relations, 30, 71-79.

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). The discovery of grounded theory. Chicago, IL: Aldine.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Goode, W. (1960). A theory of strain. American Sociological Review, 25, 483-496.

Gramsci, A. (1971). Selections from prison notebooks. New York, NY: International Publishers.

Gramsci, A. (1983). Gramsci's prison letters. London: Zwan Publications.

Gray-Little, B., Williams, V., & Hancock, T. D. (1997). An item response theory analysis of the Rosenberg self-esteem scale. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 23, 443-451.

Hatfield, T. M. (1989). Four year colleges and universities. In S. B. Merriam & P. M. Cunningham (Eds.), Handbook of adult & continuing education (303-315). San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.

Hagborg, W. J. (1996). Scores of middle-school -age students on the Rosenberg self-esteem scale. Psychological Reports, 78, 1071-1074.

Hochschild, A. (1989). The Second Shift. New York, NY: Viking Press.

Holahan, C. K., & Gilbert, L. A. (1979). Conflict between major life roles: The women and men in dual-career couples. Human Relations, 32, 451-467.

Houle, C. (1980). Continuing learning in the professions. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Hull, J. G., Van Treuren, R.R., & Propsom, P. M. (1988). Attributional style and the components of hardiness. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 14, 505-513.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hull, J. G., Lehn, D. A., & Tedlie, J. C. (1991). A general approach to testing multifaceted personality constructs. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 61, 932-945.

Hull, J. G. , Van Treuren, R. R., & Virnell, S. (1987). Hardiness and health: A critique and alternative approach. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53, 518-530.

Janesick, V. J. (1994). The dance of qualitative research design: Metaphor, methodolatry and meaning. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of qualitative research (pp 209-220). Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage Publications.

Kahn, R. L., & Antonucci, T. C. (1980). Convoys over the life course: Attachment, roles and social support. In P. B. Balters & O. G. Brim (Eds.), Life-span development and behavior (pp 253-286). New York, NY: Academic Press.

Kasworm, C. E. (1990a). Adult students in higher education: Myths & realities. Community/Junior College Quarterly of Research and Practice, 14, 155-175.

Kasworm, C. E. (1990b). Adult undergraduates in higher education: A review of past research perspectives. Review of Educational Research, 60, 345-372.

Kasworm, C. E., & Pike, G. R. (1994). Adult undergraduate students: Evaluating the appropriateness of a traditional model of academic performance. Research in Higher Education, 35, 689-710.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Knowles, M. S. (1980). The modern practice of adult education: From pedagogy to andragogy. Chicago, IL: Follett Publishers.

Knox, A. B. (1977). Adult development and learning: A handbook on individual growth and competence in the adult years. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.

Kobasa, S. C. (1979). Stressful life events, personality and health: An inquiry into hardiness. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 37, 1-11.

Kobasa, S.C. (1982). The hardy personality: Towards a social psychology of stress and health. In J. Suls & G. Sanders (Eds.), Social Psychology of Health and Illness. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Kobasa, S. C., Maddi, S. R., & Courington, S. (1981). Personality and constitution as mediators in the stress-illness relationship. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 22, 368-378.

Kobasa, S. C., Maddi, S. R., & Kahn, S. (1982). Hardiness and health: A prospective study. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 42, 168-177.

Kobasa, S. C., Maddi, S. R., & Puccetti, M. (1982). Exercise as buffers in the stress-illness relationship. Journal of Behavioral Medicine, 5, 391-404.

Kobasa, S. C., Maddi, S. R., & Zola, M. A. (1983). Type A and hardiness. Journal of Behavioral Medicine, 6, 41-51.

Kobasa, S. C., & Puccetti, M. C. (1983). Personality and social resources in stress resistance. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 45, 839-850.

Krueger, R. A. (1994). Focus groups (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage Publications.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lambert, V. A., Lambert, C. E., Jr., Klipple, G. L., & Menshaw, E.A. (1989). Social Support, hardiness and psychological well-being in women with arthritis. Image: Journal of Nursing Scholarship, 21, 128-131.

Lennon, M. C., Dohrenwend, B. P., Zautra, A. J., Marbach, J. J. (1990). Coping and adaptation to facial pain in contrast to other stressful life events. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59, 1040-1050.

Lindeman, E. (1926). The Meaning of Adult Education. New York, NY: Republic.

Loevy, S. S., & O'Brien, M. U. (1994). Community based research: The case for focus groups. In A. J. Dan (Ed.), Reframing women's health: Multidisciplinary research and practice. (pp. 102-110). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. H. (1984). Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observational research. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Maddi, S. R. (1989). Personality theories: A comparative review. Chicago, IL: Dorsey.

Maddi, S. R. (1990). Issues and interventions in stress mastery. In H. S. Friedman (Ed.), Personality and disease (pp 121-154). New York, NY: Wiley.

Maddi, S. R., & Khoshaba, D. M. (1994). Hardiness and mental health. Journal of Personality Assessment, 63, 265-274.

Maddi, S. R. & Kobasa, S. C. (1984). The hardy executive: Health under stress. Homewood, Il: Dow-Jones-Irwin.

Manning, M. R., Williams, F. J., & Wolfe, D. M. (1988). Hardiness and the relationship between stressors and outcomes. Work and Stress, 2, 205-216.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Marks, S. R. (1977). Multiple roles and role strain. Some notes on human energy, time and commitment. American Sociological Review, 42, 921-936.

Martin, J. L. (1988). Psychological consequences of AIDS-related bereavement among gay men. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 56, 856-862.

Martin, J. L., and Dean, L. (1993). Effects of AIDS-related bereavement and HIV-related illness on psychological distress among gay men: A seven year longitudinal study. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 61, 94-103.

McCranie, E. W., & Lambert, V. A., & Lambert, C. E., (1987). Work stress, hardiness and burnout among hospital staff nurses. Nursing Research, 36, 374-378.

McLaughlin, D., & Tierney, W. G. (Eds.). (1993). Naming silenced lives: Personal narratives and the process of educational change. New York, NY: Routledge.

Merriam, S. B. (1987). Adult learning and theory building A review. Adult Education Quarterly, 37, 187-198.

Merriam, S. B., & Caffarella, R. S. (1991). Learning in adulthood: A comprehensive guide. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Merriam, S. B., & Cunningham, P. M. (1989). Handbook of adult and continuing education. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Merriam, S. B., & McClark, S. (1991). Lifelines: patterns of work, love and learning in adulthood. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.

Meyer, I. H. (1995). Minority stress and mental health in gay men. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 36, 38-56.

Mezirow, J. (1991). Transformative dimensions of adult learning. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods. (Second Ed.) Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Mishler, C. (1983). Adults' perceptions of the benefits of a college degree. Research in Higher Education, 19, 213-230.

National Center for Educational Statistics. (1994). Digest of Education Statistics, 1994. (NCES 94-115). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

Neugarten, B. L. (1979). Time, age and the life cycle. American Journal of Psychiatry, 136, 887-894.

Neugarten, B. L., & Hagestad, G. O. (1976). Age and the life course. In R.E. Binstock and E. Shanas (Eds.), Handbook of aging and the social sciences (pp. 35-55). New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Neugarten, B. L., & Neugarten. D. A. (1983). The changing meanings of age. Psychology Today, 29-33.

Ouellette, S. C. (1993). Inquiries into hardiness. In L. Goldberger & S. Breznitz (Eds.), Handbook of stress: theoretical and clinical aspects (Second ed.), (pp. 77-100). New York, NY: Free Press.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pagana, K. D. (1990). The relationship of hardiness and social support to student appraisal of stress in an initial clinical nursing situation. Journal of Nursing Education, 29, 255-261.

Pearlin, L. I. (1982). The social contexts of stress. In L. Goldberger and S. Breznitz (Eds.), Handbook of stress: Theoretical and clinical aspects (pp. 367-379). New York, NY: Free Press.

Pearlin, L. I. (1983). Role strains and personal stress. In H.B. Kaplan (Ed.), Psychosocial stress: Trends in theory and research (pp.3-32). Orlando, Fl: Academic Press.

Pearlin, L. I. (1989). The sociological study of stress. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 30, 241-256.

Platt, L. P., Ouellette Kobasa, S.C., Cassel, J. C., & Wong, L. M. (1991, June). A contextual approach sheds light on AIDS volunteer issues. Poster session presented at the third annual convention of the American Psychological Society.

Pleck, J. H. (1985). Working wives, working husbands. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Rachal, J. R. (1989). The social context of adult & continuing education. In S. B. Merriam & P. M. Cunningham (Eds.), Handbook of adult & continuing education (pp. 3-14). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Rhodewalt, F., & Zone, J. B. (1989). Appraisal of life change, depression and illness in hardy and non-hardy women. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56, 81-88.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Rich, V. L., & Rich, A. R. (1987). Personality, hardiness and burnout in female staff nurses. Image: Journal of Nursing Scholarship, 19, 63-66.

Richards, T., & Richards, L. (1994). Using computers in qualitative analysis. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of qualitative research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Robertson, D. L. (1991). Gender differences in the academic progress of adult undergraduates: Patterns and policy implications. Journal of College Student Development, 32, 490-496.

Robertson, D. L. (1993). Bringing reentry home: The phenomenlogy of a woman's return to college. Proceedings of the 1993 symposium of research fellows: Project for the study of adult learning. Normal, IL: Illinois State University.

Rook, K. S., Catalano, R., & Dooley, D. (1989). The timing of major life events: Effects of departing from the social clock. American Journal of Community Psychology, 17, 233-257.

Rosenberg, M. (1979). Conceiving the self. New York: Basic Books.

Ross-Gordon, J. M. (1991). Needed: A multicultural perspective for adult education research. Adult Education Quarterly, 42, 1-16.

Roth, D. L., Wiebe, D. J., Fillingim, R. B., & Shay, K. A. (1989). Life events, fitness, hardiness and health: A simultaneous analysis of proposed stress-resistance effects. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57, 136-142.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Schlossberg, N. K.(1984a). The mid-life woman as student. In G. Baruch & J. Brooks-Gunn (Eds.), Women in mid-life (pp. 315-339). New York: Plenum.

Schlossberg, N. K. (1984b). Counseling adults in transition: Linking practice with theory. New York, NY: Springer Publishers.

Schlossberg, N. K., Lynch, A. Q., & Chickering, A. W. (1989). Improving higher education environments for adults. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.

Schmeid, L. A., & Lawler, K. A. (1986). Hardiness, type A behavior and the stress-illness relation in working women. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51, 1218-1223.

Seidel, J.V. & Clark, J. A. (1984). The ethnograph: A computer program for the analysis of qualitative data. Qualitative Sociology, 7, 1984.

Sewall, T. J. (1984). A study of adult undergraduates: What causes them to seek a degree. Journal of College Student Personnel, 25, 309-314.

Sheppard, J. A., & Kashani, J. H., (1991). The relationship of hardiness, gender and stress to health outcomes in adolescents. Journal of Personality, 59, 747-768.

Shor, I., & Freire, P. (1987). A pedagogy for liberation: Dialogues on transforming educators. Springfield, MA: Bergin & Garvey.

Sieber, S. (1974). Toward a theory of role accumulation. American Sociological Review, 39, 567-578.

Spanard, J. A. (1990). Beyond intent: Reentering college to complete the degree. Review of Educational Research, 60, 309-44.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1994). Grounded theory methodology: An overview. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of qualitative research (pp 273-285). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Strosnider, K. (1998). For profit higher education sees booming enrollments and revenues. The Chronicle of Higher Education, 44, A36-A38.

Taylor, D. L. (1995). A comparison of college athletic participants and nonparticipants on self-esteem. Journal of College Student Development, 36, 444-451.

Thoits, P. A. (1983). Dimensions of life events that influence psychological distress: An evaluation of the literature. In H.B. Kaplan (Ed.), Psychosocial stress: Trends in theory and research (pp.33-103). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Thoits, P. A. (1983). Multiple identities and psychological well-being: A reformulation of the test of the social isolation hypotheses: American Sociological Review, 48, 174-187.

Thoits, P. A. (1986). Multiple identities: Examining gender and marital status differences in distress. American Sociological Review, 51, 259-272.

Thoits, P. A. (1995). Identity relevant events & psychological symptoms: A cautionary tale. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 36, 72-82.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Thompson, D. (1992). Beyond motivation: A model of registered nurses' participation and persistence in baccalaureate nursing programs. Adult Education Quarterly, 42, 94-105

Topf, M. (1989). Personality, hardiness, occupational stress and burnout in critical care nurses. Research in Nursing and Health, 12, 179-186.

Voydanoff, P. (1988). Work-role characteristics: Family structure demands and work-family conflict. Journal of Marriage & the Family, 50, 749-761.

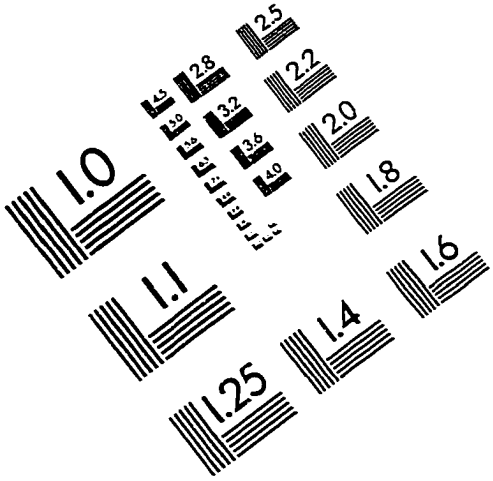
Wheaton, B. (1990). Where work and family meet. In J. Eckenrode & S. Gore (Eds.), Stress between work and family (153-174). New York, NY: Plenum.

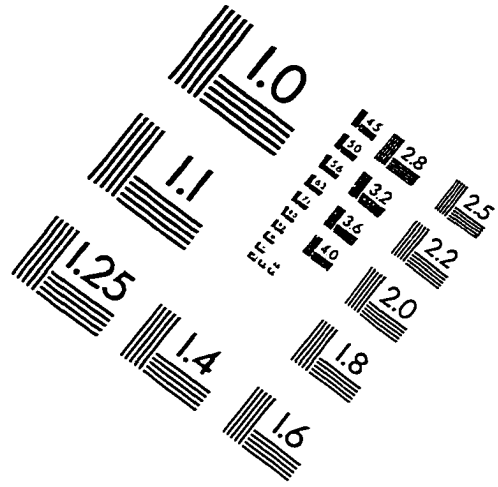
Wiebe, D. J. (1991). Hardiness and stress moderation: A test of proposed mechanisms. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 60, 89-89.

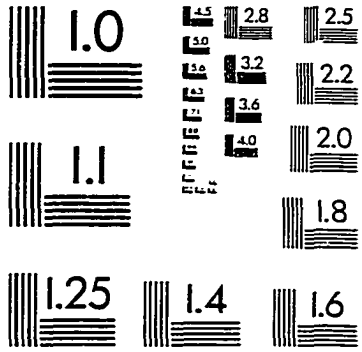
Wiebe, D. J., & McCallum, D. M. (1986). Health practices and hardiness as mediators in the stress-illness relationship. Health Psychology, 5, 425-438.

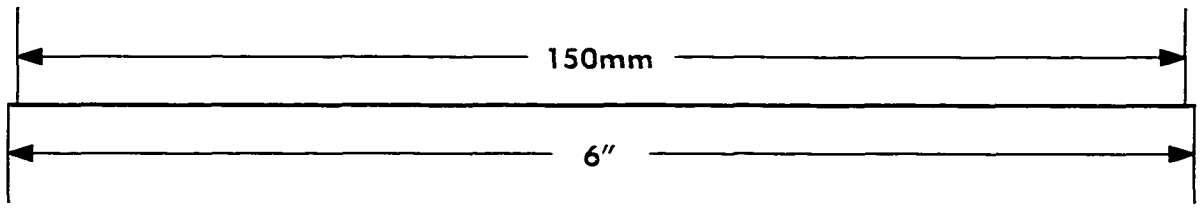
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

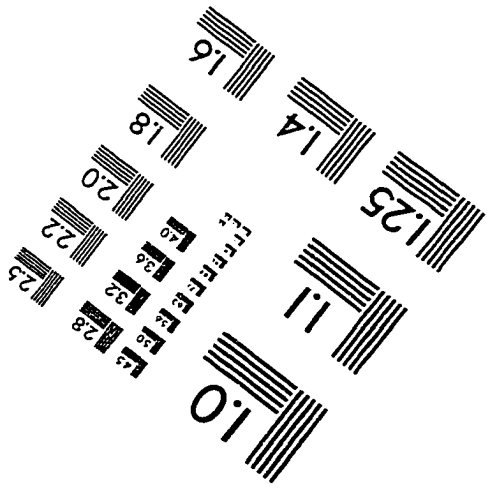
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

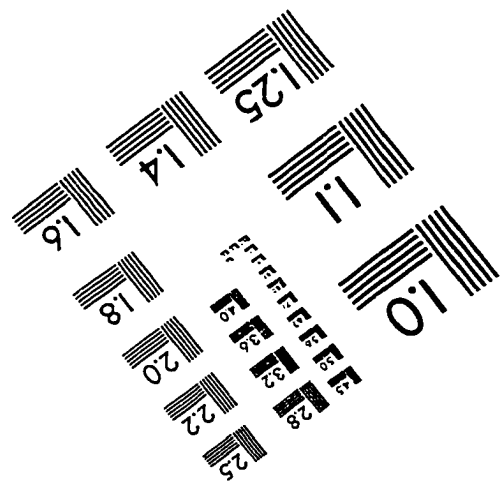












APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.